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europaean community



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Community News

EC-US Relations High On Summit "Agenda"

The European Community's relations with the United States, the Communist bloc, and the developing world; economic and monetary union; and the future of Community and other European institutions after enlargement are to be the main topics of discussion for the heads of government at the ten-nation European summit meeting expected to occur next year.

Meeting at Bracciano, near Rome, on November 5, the foreign ministers of the Six decided that a summit conference should take place as soon as possible in 1972. They did not fix a date or place.

The "Four" to Help Plan

The next day the British, Irish, Danish and Norwegian foreign ministers were informed of, and agreed to, the summit plans. All ten nations, and the Commission, will take part in preparing the conference. However, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway may not participate actively in the meeting if it is held before the membership referendums they are to hold next year, or if the referendums prove negative. The British Parliament's October 28 vote in favor of entry is regarded as qualifying Britain for the same status at the summit as existing member states, and the United Kingdom is now helping to prepare for the conference.

The Rome meeting was the third of the twice-yearly consultations agreed on in July 1970 to increase political cohesion. The first

took place in Munich in November 1970 and the second in Paris in May 1971. The meetings are arranged by the Davignon Committee: the heads of the political departments of the six foreign ministries. Belgium's Etienne Davignon is the group's chairman.

New Institution Suggested

At the Rome meeting, the Netherlands suggested that member states' Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization might try to strengthen the Community's political unity by coordinating political, military, and economic activities of member states. Germany proposed the formation of a Community political secretariat, to supplement the social and economic work of existing Community institutions. France said the Six should resolve their differences on the monetary crisis before the summit.

Commission President Franco Maria Malfatti pointed out to the foreign ministers that just as the Community was becoming a political reality, economic problems were threatening to paralyze it. The necessary political decisions could be made only at a summit meeting.

The Commission has set up a summit "task force" headed by Mr. Malfatti and Commission member Jean-François Deniau. It is preparing proposals for submittal to the heads of government on how to strengthen Community institutions, on monetary union, and on relations with the rest of the world.

Argentina-EC Sign Historic Trade Pact

The European Community and Argentina have signed a non-preferential trade agreement, the first of its kind between the Common Market and a Latin American country.

Negotiated last January, March, and June, the Argentine-EC Treaty was signed on November 8 in Brussels. The three-year agreement, which can be extended for one year, conforms to the most-favored-nation clause of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This clause states that signatories granting tariff concessions to any country must extend the same concessions to all GATT members.

Purpose of Agreement

The Agreement is intended to promote

- reciprocal liberalization of trade regulations affecting imports and exports
- cooperation on agricultural development by means of exchanges of information on research.

A joint Community-Argentine body will be formed to study ways of promoting economic

and commercial cooperation between the two powers. This committee will also consider long-range problems, such as the gradual reduction of quantitative restrictions, Argentina's specific problems in the context of the Community's generalized trade preferences to developing countries, and customs duty evaluation problems in Argentina.

38% of EC Meat Imports

Argentina now supplies 38 per cent of the Community's beef imports. According to the trade pact, the Community will lower levies on frozen meat imported from Argentina for processing. To improve import cost stability, the Community agreed to set the variable levy on imported chilled meat 30 days in advance.

In return, Argentina agreed to

- phase out its import deposit system for some of the Community's exports
- make concessions on ocean transport; seek solutions for problems.
- create favorable conditions for foreign investment in Argentina.

Italy Postpones TVA

Italy has again postponed the introduction of the European Community's common turnover tax on the value-added (TVA) at each stage of production and distribution.

TVA was to apply throughout the Community by January 1, 1971, but Italy secured a year's delay so that the switch could be made simultaneously with other extensive changes in the Italian tax law. Partly for administrative reasons and partly because of domestic inflationary pressures, Italy has asked for an additional six months. The other five member countries apply TVA.

EIB Loan to Germany

Transportation in the Moselle area will be improved by the electrification of several railroad lines.

One hundred forty miles of track will be electrified with a loan of \$21.9 million which the European Investment Bank concluded on October 29 with the German Federal Railroads. The loan was made for 20 years at an annual interest rate of 8.5 per cent. The two-track railroad runs from Koblenz to Völklingen (the so-called Moselle Line) and has two branch lines to Luxembourg and France. The Moselle Line will be the shortest and fastest rail between the Saar-Lorraine-Luxembourg economic region and the Rhine-Ruhr area which has excellent access to the harbors on the North Sea.



A toast after the signing of the Community's first non-preferential trade agreement with a Latin American country, Argentina. Left to right: Argentinian Minister for Foreign Affairs Luis Maria de Pablo Pardo, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs Aldo Moro, and Commission President Franco Maria Malfatti.

EC to Sponsor European Institute in Florence

The last roadblock to the creation of a European University Institute in Florence has been removed.

Meeting for the first time since the establishment of the European Communities, the European Communities Council of Education Ministers, on November 16 in Brussels, selected a temporary method of financial support for the proposed Institute.

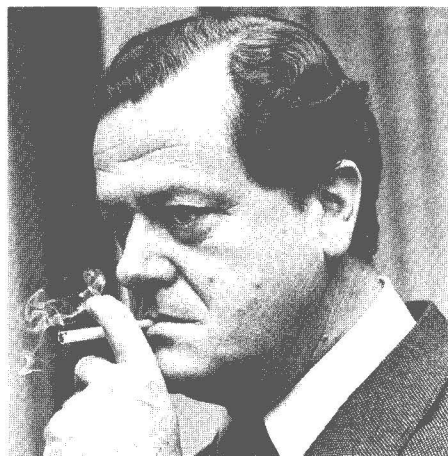
First mentioned in the 1957 Treaty creating the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), the post-graduate institute will be financed by the six member states from national budgets until the end of 1977, according to the Council decision. Beginning on January 1, 1977, the Council will consider alternative support methods, including direct financing from the Community budget, to begin January 1, 1978.

A Center for Postgraduate Study

The Council asked the Committee of Permanent Representatives (made up of the ambassadors of the Six to the Community) to draft the agreement on the Institute. It will be submitted to the member governments for signature. The Institute will be a European center for study and research in four areas: history and civilization, political and social science, economics, and law. The Council also established a Committee of Experts associated with the Commission to examine the possible functions and organization of such a center and methods of financing it. The working languages of the school have not yet been determined.

Mutual Recognition

In other business, the Council asked the Committee of Permanent Representatives to



French Minister for Education Olivier Guichard presided over the first Council of Ministers meeting on education.

speed up the Community's work on mutual recognition of diplomas and other professional certificates.

Work in this field begins by determining equivalency of training for the award of a degree or a certificate enabling the holder to practice a profession or qualify for a certain type of job. An award made in one member state will then be considered proof of a person's qualifications or skills. Thus, by "mutual recognition," people will be able to offer their services in any member state of their choosing, rather than only in the member state where they studied.

The Commission has made proposals for mutual recognition of qualifications in many fields (most recently for engineers, physicians, and hairdressers), but none has gotten past the Council.

Joint Undertaking Status for Public Service Firms

Companies performing public services in the European Community countries would be given incentives to form multinational ventures, by a plan the Commission sent to the Council of Ministers on September 14.

According to the proposal, such ventures could receive "joint undertaking" status, entitling them to tax and other advantages. Joint undertakings could be formed

- to pool public service operations of organizations in different countries
- to bring organizations in at least two member states together to work on projects related to technological development or the supply of raw materials in the common European interest.

The Advantages

Status as a joint undertaking would offer sev-

eral advantages. The joint undertaking would have, throughout the Community, the same rights and powers as national establishments in each country. The Community could contribute financially to a public service or industrial venture.

A non-member country, international organization, or a national of a non-member country would be allowed to take part in the joint undertaking, which could be particularly beneficial for the establishment of European public services, advanced technology projects, or raw material supplies. Finally, the joint undertaking could qualify for certain privileges linked with the public good, tax concessions, special treatment under customs regulations, low interest loans, and loan guarantees provided by the Community.

US Protests EC Plans for Accord with EFTA

The United States has lodged a formal protest against the European Community's plans to conclude agreements with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries which have not applied for membership in the Community.

The note was delivered to the Commission in Brussels on November 5. This was three days before a meeting of the Council of Ministers whose agenda included continuation of discussions on the type of agreement that should be concluded with the EFTA non-applicants. The EFTA non-applicants are: Portugal, Sweden, Iceland, Austria, Switzerland, and associated Finland.

Council Agrees on Mandate

At the November 8 Council meeting, agreement was reached on the contents of the Commission's initial mandate for negotiations with the non-EFTA applicants. The Council also agreed that the mandate could be supplemented later. No date has been set for the opening of negotiations.

EC Prepares for Last Kennedy-Round Cut

The European Community is getting ready to make its fifth and last tariff cut agreed upon during the Kennedy Round of negotiations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

On November 11, the Commission sent to the Council of Ministers the draft regulation proposing the necessary amendments in the common external tariff. If passed on schedule, the tariff cuts will go into effect on January 1, 1972. Tariffs on most industrial imports will be reduced, and some agricultural products and processed agricultural goods will be exempt from duties.

France Gives to UN to Fight Drug Abuse

France has contributed \$100,000 in 1972 to the United Nations Fund against drug abuse (see page 20).

In his letter to Secretary-General U Thant, Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, French Permanent Representative to the United Nations, stated that the contribution supplements measures taken by France to control illicit drug traffic and drug addiction. The French Government has made a constant effort to combat drug abuse, the letter said.

National Legislatures to Consider Community Good in Budget Debates

The national legislatures of the Six, beginning their budget debates, will have before them a tangible reminder that their responsibilities towards the good of the entire European Community transcend the narrow confines of national borders.

The Community's first annual report on the economic outlook for the next year, was passed by the Council of Ministers on October 26, meeting in Luxembourg. The member governments thereby agreed to send the report to the national legislatures in time for the budget debates, in accordance with the March 1971 decision to tighten coordination of the members' cyclical policies. This procedure is part of the Community's efforts to reach full economic and monetary union by 1980.

The report contains guidelines for cyclical, budget, and structural policies and for adjustments in the means used to achieve them. These guidelines can be revised according to economic developments by the end of the first quarter of 1972, when the Council holds its next economic policy meeting.

Reduced Growth Rate Expected

The 1971 economic situation in the Community is characterized by monetary uncertainty on the international front, and continued inflation combined with a business slow-down in the domestic domain. Thus, the economic outlook is indeed cloudy, according to the report. If the Community members' currencies appreciate in relation to the US dollar, export demand can be expected to slacken, slowing the Community's economic growth. Within the Community, investment trends as well as a decline in consumer demand seem to point to a reduced growth rate in 1972.

The Community thus faces "the most difficult situation that has arisen since its creation." Not only must it adjust to normal times after the boom years of 1969 and 1970, but it must also make this adjustment in an unpredictable trade and monetary climate. This handicap is severe, as the Community relies on foreign trade for 17.7 per cent of gross Community product.

Priority should therefore be given to re-establishing order, "but the choice, measure, and timing of the means to be employed must be guided by the imperative necessity of ensuring conditions for medium-term growth . . . the measures taken must at the same time contribute towards the establishment of a new international order."

Costs Proportionate to GNP Growth

In general, Community members should strictly regulate bank liquidity and control capital inflows. Budgetary policy should be used to keep cost increases proportionate to growth in gross national product (GNP). Adequate provision must, however, be made for investments in infrastructure, which has been neglected in recent years, while private consumption has been allowed to expand too rapidly.

National Guidelines

Guidelines were also set for the individual member states whose economies still follow divergent trends.

- **Germany.** Improved price control should remain the prime objective. In view of the *de facto* revaluation of the German mark which may limit the growth of export demand, domestic policy should keep down pressures on costs and prices which could curtail corporate investments and the entire economy. Capital inflows should be carefully watched and budgetary expenditures, both state and federal, should not be allowed to increase more than 7.5 per cent to 8.5 per cent, and the total deficit should not be allowed to exceed \$1.9 billion.

- **France.** Production will progress satisfactorily in 1972, but due to the impending revaluation in currencies, the relationship between import prices and export prices will bear watching, and inflationary effects should be anticipated. Both public and private investment should be increased. To control consumer spending, bank liquidity should be carefully controlled. In the budgetary field, state spending should not expand by more than 8 per cent, and the budget should be balanced or in surplus.

- **Italy.** The Italian economy contrasts sharply with the other member states'. Priority should be given to increasing production which will depend partly on improving the labor climate.

The budget should run a deficit of \$4 billion, which will be the main expansionary device. State expenditures should be allowed to increase by 11 per cent to 12 per cent.

- **The Netherlands.** Domestic demand should be vigorously restrained and a restrictive monetary policy followed, in view of the 5.2 per cent price rise which occurred in the first half of 1972 even before the repeal of wage/price measures in August. State spending should be cut back to a rate of 10 per cent and the budget deficit should be reduced to \$441 million. Austerity measures should not, however, be allowed to curtail regional investments or vocational training.

- **Belgium.** Domestic demand, particularly consumer spending, should be moderated

to prevent further price increases.

To limit the budget deficit, direct taxation should be limited and state spending should not be allowed to increase more than 10 per cent to 12 per cent, a rate that the Community considered excessive but inevitable. The budget deficit should be limited to \$33 million in 1972 and reduced over the next few years. A flexible, selective device should be provided to pick up domestic demand if it drops too abruptly.

- **Luxembourg.** The success of this country's stabilization efforts hinges on the stability of the other members' economies, relying as it does on one commodity (steel). The budget deficit should not, however, be allowed to exceed \$32 million.

Community Structural Policy

The Community must support the member states' struggle against inflation by trying to intensify competition and passing specific measures to improve economic structure. Free trade in goods throughout the Community and competition were mentioned as good ways of keeping prices down.

In the area of employment, the Community could continue its efforts to protect workers' incomes, especially during periods of vocational training or rehabilitation.

In the area of regional policy, the Community could sponsor investments in its most underdeveloped areas. In particular, it could provide money to retrain labor in those areas and to attract capital investments.

CED Calls for End to US Import Surcharge

The Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development has called for the removal of the US import surcharge, which only "adds to inflationary pressures in the United States."

In a policy statement released in Washington on November 22, the Committee of 60 US business and educational leaders said that there should be a return to established international negotiating procedures for solving international trade and payments problems. The Committee also called upon the United States not to limit its investment credit proposal to plants and machinery manufactured in the United States.

Speaking with approval of the US move to cut the dollar's tie to gold, the Committee said, "The European Community, the United States, and third countries should develop a clear view now, while a wide range of options still remains open, of how they wish the world's monetary system to evolve in the light of the new circumstances created by the events of August 1971."

UK Has Say in Running Policy Community

The Six agreed in November that, as of November 10, the United Kingdom would be able to ask for consultation on any new Community legislation before its enactment. The decision is a further step towards full UK participation in the Community's decision-making process. Thus, the consultation procedures agreed on for the "interim period" between the end of the negotiations and full membership are in force, even though the negotiations have not been formally concluded.

Under the procedure, Britain and the other candidate countries are informed of draft proposals as soon as the Commission has them ready. The United Kingdom can then submit its reasons, in writing, for wanting to be consulted. Consultations would take place after the Council of Ministers had reached its first general conclusions on the proposal, but before it had arrived at a final conclusion.

Although the agreement does not give Britain a right of veto over Community decisions, it should ensure that Britain will have a say on all legislation considered by the Six between now and the time the United Kingdom becomes a full member. Britain will not insist on consultations on legislation which does not affect UK interests or on measures

which expire before January 1, 1973, the scheduled date for entry.

Reciprocal Consultations

In the negotiations, the United Kingdom and the other candidate countries agreed to adhere to the Community Treaties and "derived law," but their acceptance could not include decisions which the Community has not yet made and would make after the conclusion of the negotiations. It was therefore decided to introduce a consultation procedure on decisions reached between the end of the negotiations and formal accession. There had been suggestions that this procedure should apply after the signing of the Treaties. This would have implied the danger of having to negotiate the contents of the Treaties up to the last minute, to include the latest Community decisions. The two parties therefore considered it advisable to fix a time-limit, after which the consultation procedure would be applicable. The date of November 10 was chosen.

The consultation procedure for the interim period is reciprocal: the applicant countries have undertaken not to enact, without prior consultation with the Six, national measures capable of influencing their membership in the Community.

European Parliament Hears Commission's '72 Plans

Outlining the priorities for the Common Market during the next 12 months, Franco Maria Malfatti, President of the Commission of the European Communities has assigned major importance to improving the relationship between the Common Market and the United States.

Speaking to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, on November 18, Mr. Malfatti stressed that the Community must begin negotiations with the United States on a global solution for assuring free trade. He urged immediate consultations with the United States to eliminate the 10 per cent American import surcharge, and, at the same time, realign the Western world's major currencies into a realistic value structure.

Mr. Malfatti said it would be desirable to reach an agreement on fixing parities by the end of the year. If this failed to occur, he said, the Community should take measures to fix the exchange rates of the currencies of the member countries to establish at least internal stability.

Other major objectives outlined by the Commission President were:

- the admission of the four candidate coun-

tries (the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland, and Norway) to the Community

- the successful conclusion of trade negotiations between the Community and the European countries which do not plan to join the Community (Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Portugal, Iceland, and Finland)
- a balanced sharing of defense burdens by Europe
- preparation for a high level conference on security and cooperation in Europe
- successful conduct of the third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

Mr. Malfatti told the European Parliament that perhaps the most crucial question was: "Are these events going to inspire us (the Community) to find our identity and personality? Do we want to exist or not?" These reasons, he said, should make it clear why the Commission was strongly promoting the idea of a summit conference of European chiefs of state as soon as possible.

The President also stressed that the Community must develop in the course of its enlargement, a more efficient strategy not only towards the West but also towards the East.

Consumer Information to Be Supplied By TV

Comparative shopping information may soon be televised in the European Community.

Representatives from TV stations in the Community member states, the Consumers Contact Committee met on October 28-29, 1971, in Rome to discuss the use of television for consumer information. The meeting, sponsored by the Commission of the European Communities, is part of the Commission's efforts to provide consumers with objective data.

The Consumers Contact Committee, formed on April 2, 1962, consists of representatives of labor unions, consumer cooperatives and consumer organizations.

French Cement Producers Modify Agreement

French cement producers modified an agreement establishing an export sales agency, CIMFRAN, to conform with the competition rules of the European Community, the Commission announced in Brussels on November 16.

The agreement sets export prices and an export quota system for each member company. During a hearing, the parties to the agreement proved to the Commission that these restrictive practices had not been used in trade within the Community. The Commission therefore suggested a modification in the agreement to reflect this situation. The agreement was altered so that it does not apply in the Community member states, but only after the Commission had followed up its initial suggestion with a notice of intent to prosecute.

NOTICE

In accordance with the US Securities and Exchange Commission regulations, the European Coal and Steel Community published its Balance Sheet as of June 30, 1971, and its Statement of Revenues and Expenditures for the period January 1, 1971, to June 30, 1971.

This information is published in connection with European Coal and Steel Community Bonds issued in the United States under applications:

A-16929	A-23715
A-17648	A-24049
A-19218	A-24459
A-20452	A-25274

Copies of "Supplemental Information to Bond Holders" have been deposited with The Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, N.Y.

Commission to Resign in December 1972

The nine members of the Commission of the European Communities will resign at the end of 1972, so that when the Commission nominees from the applicant countries take their places at the beginning of 1973, the enlarged body will begin with a new mandate.

The foreign ministers of the Community agreed on this principle at the October 18-19 meeting of the Council in Luxembourg.

Under current arrangements the mandates of the Commission President and the three Vice Presidents would expire on July 1, 1972, and those of the Commission members on July 1, 1974. However, the foreign ministers decided that the early resignations should be delayed for six months and the 1974 expiries should be moved forward 18 months.

Similar arrangements are expected to be made for membership in other Community institutions.

Manual Labor Working Shorter Hours in EC

Manual workers in the European Community are working shorter hours.

According to a study made by the Community's Statistical Office between 1966 and 1969, the reduction was most marked in Italy (4.5 per cent), the Netherlands (3.9 per cent) and France (3.4 per cent). The average number of hours worked a year was highest in France and Luxembourg: 2,000 hours, compared with 1,900 hours in the Netherlands, 1,870 hours in Belgium, 1,860 hours in Germany and 1,800 hours in Italy.

In 1969 the average hourly cost of manual workers (all industries) was \$2.12 in Luxembourg, \$2.00 in Germany, \$1.96 in the Netherlands, \$1.94 in Belgium, \$1.70 in France, and \$1.60 in Italy. Half of Luxembourg's manual workers are in the high-wage steel industry.

These labor costs are based on exchange rates effective before the devaluation of the French franc and revaluation of the mark in 1969. The new exchange rates would raise the German figures and lower the French ones.

Average monthly costs of employing office workers in 1969 were \$566 in Luxembourg, \$544 in France, \$526 in Belgium, \$504 in the Netherlands, \$498 in Italy, and \$472 in Germany.

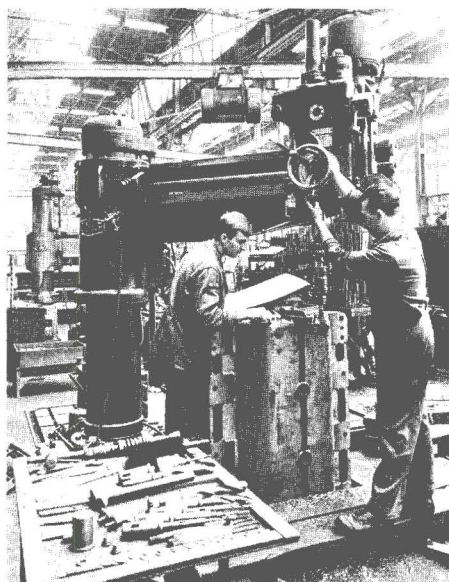
Between 1966 and 1969, costs increased much more quickly for manual than for white collar workers in France and Italy (i.e. the countries where costs for manual workers

Two Barriers Removed to Restore Open Market

Two agreements in the construction material sector were removed on the recommendation of the Commission of European Communities, because they restricted competition.

Ten tile manufacturers in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, together with two Belgian professional associations of tile dealers, had concluded an agreement called the "Faience Convention" which resulted in virtual exclusion of other tile dealers and manufacturers on the national markets. When notified, the Commission heavily criticized the agreement, and issued a recommendation to abolish or modify the convention in order to restore free market access and competition.

On October 20, therefore, the participants agreed to cancel the agreement, together with a similar agreement called the "Stoneware Convention" which had also been the target of Commission criticism.



The cost of manual labor in the Common Market is rising faster than the cost of office workers. The photo shows workers at the Anglo-Belgian Company plant in Ghent, Belgium. PHOTO: Courtesy Belgian Consulate General, New York.

were the lowest). Costs for office personnel rose most in the Netherlands and Germany where they had been lowest, so that costs for office workers are converging. Belgium and the Netherlands have experienced the greatest rise in costs for manual and office workers.

New Holiday Suggested at Britain's Entry

Britain may proclaim "Europe Day" a bank holiday after joining the Common Market.

On September 27, Lord Harlech, Chairman of the European Movement, and Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, M.P., Chairman of the British Committee for Europe Day, in a joint statement suggested that declaring a new public holiday would be an appropriate way of celebrating Britain's entry into the European Community. Resolutions to this effect are being prepared for submission to Parliament in the fall.

Europe Day, the anniversary of the founding of the Council of Europe, is already celebrated in the Community in May. For practical and business consideration, the holiday is attached to a weekend. Britain's Europe Day will be the second Friday in May.

Britain will not immediately coordinate its other holidays with the Common Market's since the Six enjoy an average of eleven public holidays, compared to six in Britain. The Council feels that additional public holidays would impede Britain's effort to catch up with the higher industrial growth rate of the Six.

Nuclear Power Plants Revised Output in 1970

Nuclear power plants in the European Community increased their electricity output to 14,000,000 MWh net in 1970, a 30 per cent rise since 1969.

Germany and France each produce about 40 per cent of the Community's nuclear electricity. Italy exceeded the level of 3,000 GWh for the first time since 1967, mainly because the Trino plant returned to service. The generating capacity of nuclear power plants in the Community is divided about equally between light water reactors (in service mainly in Germany and Italy) and natural uranium reactors (primarily a French type). Light water reactors are the main type used in the United States.

There are 20 nuclear plants, a capacity of 3,150 MW, now operating in the Community. Fifteen nuclear plants with a capacity of 9,200 MWe are under construction, but their impact will not be experienced before 1972.

	Electricity Output in MWh—1970	Per Cent Increase 1969/70	Average Utilization of Plants in Hours	
			1969	1970
EC	14,000,000	30	3,800	4,500
US	23,600,000	46	5,983	4,562

Long-Term Export Credit Growing Fast Since '63

Long-term private export credit has been growing steadily since 1963, according to a study released in October by the Commission of the European Communities.

The study is based on 4,300 contracts for sales worth \$19 billion to be financed over periods longer than five years. It showed that since 1963, new export credits extended each year have risen from \$705,367,000 to \$3.6 billion in 1969. Maximum terms of credit have also lengthened from five years to ten years, in response to demand, and the European Community supplied 40 per cent of the outstanding private credits.

Poor Countries Owe 58% of Credits

Underdeveloped countries received 58 per cent of the total outstanding credits. The 18 African countries associated with the Community by the Yaoundé Convention accounted for only 1 per cent of the total long-term

private credits outstanding, a fact that the Community attributed to the unusually high volume of government grants given to these countries.

Nearly 25 per cent of the outstanding total went to companies in Panama and Liberia. Both countries have large registries of foreign owned fleets.

State trading countries received 14 per cent of the outstanding private export credits. The USSR was the main beneficiary, followed by Liberia, South Korea, Brazil, Iran, and Norway.

The credits were used to finance ships (25 per cent of the total), chemical plants (10 per cent), aircraft (6 per cent), oil refineries (5.5 per cent), investments in metallurgy (5 per cent), power plants (3 per cent), and telecommunications equipment (4 per cent).

IAEA-Euratom Start Negotiations on NPT III

The European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), an agency of the United Nations, have concluded preliminary discussions on arrangements for IAEA verification of Euratom's nuclear materials inspection systems.

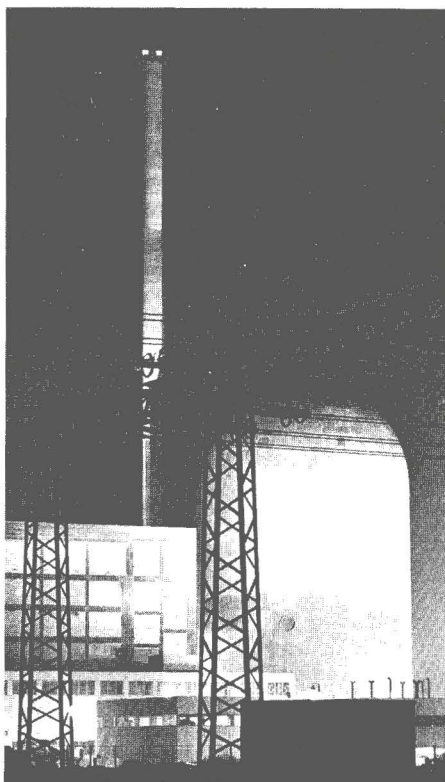
Delegates from the Community and the IAEA expressed satisfaction at the constructive atmosphere surrounding the negotiations which took place in Vienna, Austria, November 9-11. Formal discussions will resume in December.

The negotiators are trying to reach an agreement on an international inspection system to assure the peaceful use of nuclear materials in the European Community under Article III of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Article III relates to the implementation of inspection systems to protect against diversion of nuclear materials for military purposes.

The Community has its own system of safeguards and control and the authority to check any civilian nuclear facilities within Six. The IAEA seeks an inspection procedure whereby UN inspectors would have the job of checking Community nuclear supplies. A compromise, in which the Euratom safeguards system would continue, subject to UN verification, is the basic arrangement being sought by the Community.

Helmut Sigrist, the European Community Commission's director general for external relations, headed the EC delegation, comprised of Commission officials and representatives of the five member states that

have signed the non-proliferation treaty (France is the non-signatory). His counterpart for the IAEA was David Fischer, the agency's director of foreign affairs.



The Kernkraftwerk RWE-Bayernwerk GmbH reactor in Gundremmingen, Germany. Nuclear power plants in the Community produced 30 per cent more electricity in 1970 than in 1969.

The Month in Brief

NOVEMBER 1971

2-5 Commissioner Albert Borschette made an official visit to the United Kingdom. Regional problems were the main item on the agenda.

4 The Council of Finance Ministers met in Versailles to consider internal monetary problems.

4-5 The Foreign Ministers of the Six met in Rome (as the Davignon Committee) to discuss political union. The European Security Conference was high on the agenda (see page 3).

8 The Council of Foreign Ministers met to prepare for accession negotiations with the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway; and to formulate a negotiating position for discussions with non-applicant European Free Trade Association members.

• The first trade agreement between the European Community and a Latin American country, Argentina, was signed in Brussels (see page 3).

Negotiations between the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the International Atomic Energy Agency opened in Vienna for the conclusion of a verification

10-13 Commission President Franco Maria Malfatti, paid an official visit to Sweden.

15-19 The European Parliament met in Strasbourg.

16 The Ministers of National Education held their first meeting (see page 4).

22-23 The Council of Agricultural Ministers met to continue discussion of the Mansholt Plan.

29 The Council of Foreign Ministers met to continue discussion of enlargement problems dealt with in their October 8 session.

Johannesburg Seeks Trade Talks With EC

South Africa would like negotiations with an enlarged European Community to minimize any adverse effects of UK entry on its exports. Speaking in London during a tour of European capitals from October 25 to November 1, South African Minister for Economic Affairs S. L. Muller said, "We cannot sustain our already heavy trade deficit with them [the United Kingdom and the Community] if our exports to them should materially decline as a result of the radically changed conditions created by Britain's entry into the European Communities."

In 1970, South African bought goods worth \$1.7 billion from Britain and the Six combined, and exported goods to them worth \$1.02 billion.

The Accession of the Four

ARNOLD TOYNBEE

The six founding members of the European Community are about to take the most important step in their history since the original act of association that brought the Common Market into existence. The Six are accepting applications for membership from four other European states [the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway]. Conciliatory adjustments on both sides and mutual understanding and consideration have brought these complicated and delicate negotiations close to a successful conclusion. This achievement and the political climate in which it occurred augur well for the Community's future.

A Voluntary Association of Sovereign States

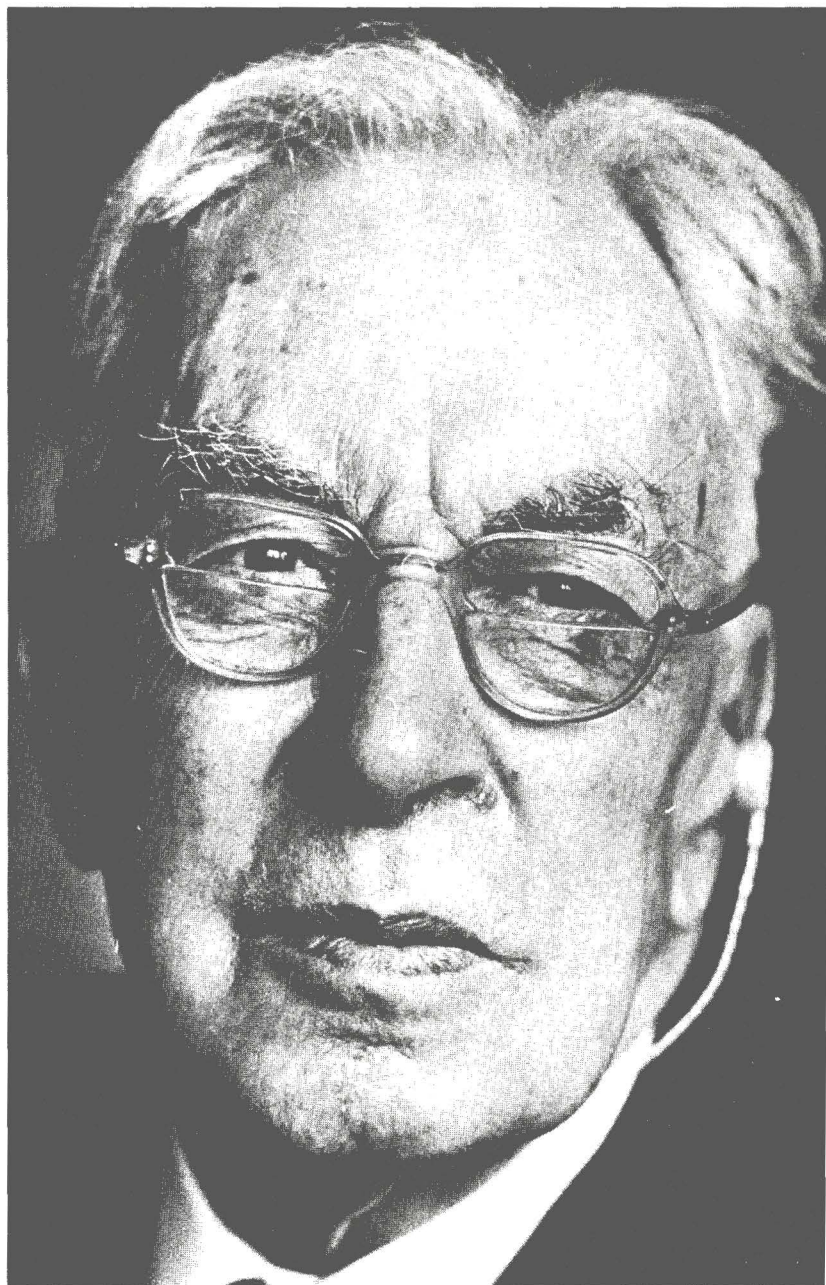
Voluntary associations between sovereign states are rare enough to be historic, particularly in Western Europe; for, although the Swiss Confederation is the oldest in the modern Western World, voluntary associations have been less frequent in Western Europe itself than among the new communities created by West European settlers overseas in the Americas and in Australia. The creation, in the nineteenth century, of a united Italy and a united Germany, was, of course, an epoch-making event in European history; but the Community even within its original confines, exceeds all previous voluntary European unions in scale to a degree that amounts to a difference in kind. The combined territories of the Six are approximately coextensive with Charlemagne's and Napoleon's European empires (if we reckon, as we should, that the Confederation of the Rhine and the Kingdoms of Italy and Naples were part of the Napoleonic French Empire *de facto*).

However, the Community of the original Six differs from its two precursors in at least one vital point. Charlemagne's and Napoleon's empires were put together by conquest, and, for this reason, were ephemeral, since Europeans are allergic to unification by force. By contrast, the Community is a spontaneous association based on equality, and it therefore has good prospects of enduring. This is a new departure in the history of continental Western Europe, and it has therefore confronted Britain, the largest and most powerful of the West European insular countries, with a new situation and a new problem.

British Intervention Tipped History's Scales

In the modern age, Britain's attitude towards her relations with continental Western Europe has been governed by medieval England's egregious failure to carve out a continental empire for herself in France. This English failure is symbolized dramatically in the figure of Joan of Arc, the dazzling and appealing heroine who has put England trebly to shame—first by exposing the immorality of England's attempt at empire-building at France's expense, then by frustrating this misguided English ambition, and finally by luring the English into playing the odiously vindictive role of admitting and confirming Joan's triumph over them by making her a martyr. Ever since this humiliating defeat Britain has confined her military intervention on the Continent to preventing any continental country from uniting Europe by military conquest.

In aiding the victims of continental conquerors, Britain



*International historian Arnold Toynbee, now retired, has taught at the University of London and at Oxford University and holds honorary degrees from Princeton University and Columbia University. His long and distinguished career has also included appointments to government posts during both world wars and to the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference of 1946. The 12-volume *A Study of History* is one of his best known works. PHOTO: Tom Blau, Camera Press, London.*

was, of course, guided mainly by self-interest, but she could play the role of liberator with a good conscience because Joan's ghost did not forbid Britain to play it. Britain has intervened in this way repeatedly with success. Her intervention has tipped the balance against successive attempts to unify Europe by military force.

Response in an Unprecedented Situation

The unprecedented event of the Community has confronted Britain with an unprecedented situation. Britain can neither



The United Kingdom's accession to the Community will mark, in the author's view, the end of an era haunted by the ghost of Joan of Arc. To the author, Joan of Arc is the dramatic symbol of "medieval England's egregious failure to carve out a continental empire for herself in France." This failure has conditioned modern Britain's relations with the Continent. PHOTO: Courtesy French Government Tourist Office, New York.

prevent nor undo a voluntary association of her continental neighbors. Even if she had the power, she would not have the incentive. Yet Britain could no more remain outside the Community than she could have remained outside Napoleon's Europe, if Napoleon's Europe, like the Community, had come to stay.

For Britain, the only possible response to an association of continental West European states that Britain cannot break up and does not want to break up is to join it. Conversely, the Community has been incomplete so long as Britain has remained outside. The accession of Britain and of three other West European countries to the EC is welcome evidence that all parties have recognized, and acted, on their common interests.

A "Distinctive Contribution" From the Four

What is going to be the effect of the increase in the Community's membership from six to ten? It can be surmised already from the experience of the Six. Clearly, the Community is something greater than the aggregate sum of its parts. The effect of voluntary association in the Community has been qualitative as well as quantitative, for it has resulted in a fruitful cross-fertilization of institutions, traditions, ideas, and ideals. What has happened in the Europe of the Six is likely to happen, still more dynamically, in the Europe of the Ten.

The accession of the Four will make some notably fresh contributions to the Community's common stock. For the Six, the Community has not been the first experience with association. Britain, on the other hand, has not been asso-

ciated with the Western Europe of the Six at any time since the fifth century, when the Roman Empire disintegrated in the West. Ireland, Denmark, and Norway have never been associated with the Europe of the Six at any date. Consequently, the contributions of the Four to the Community will be distinctive, and all ten members will benefit from them.

Britain's distinctive contributions will be her overseas connections, her comparatively uncentralized and un-bureaucratic tradition of local government, and the nature of English and Scottish law. (Scottish law differs from English law, and has an affinity with continental law, in having "received" Roman law to some extent.)

Can countries that have different systems of law cooperate with each other effectively? Both Britain and Canada did, and indeed the legal systems of the Six are not homogeneous; the influence of the Napoleonic codes has been great, but it has not reduced the local systems of continental countries to uniformity.

And what about the overseas connections of the Four? Ireland, Denmark, and Norway have all sent swarms of emigrants to the overseas Western countries. The Irish and Scandinavian elements in the population of the United States are well known, but perhaps it is not so well known that about a quarter of the pre-1945 population of Australia was of Catholic Irish origin, and that the name of Chile's hero-liberator is O'Higgins. The Irish, British and Scandinavian elements in the overseas Western countries will strengthen the Community's links with the overseas world; so too will the British and the Norwegian merchant marine.

Overseas Connections Will Be an Asset

Is there a danger that these overseas connections of the Four may loosen the Community's cohesion? The answer is that at least three of the original Six (France, the Netherlands, and Belgium) also have important overseas connections which, far from having been detrimental to the Community, have proved advantageous to it. France and the Netherlands, like Britain, have long traditions of overseas trade and settlement. The French language is spoken today in Canada, and the Dutch language in South Africa, side by side with English. France has not found membership in the Community incompatible with maintaining close ties with African countries that were formerly under French rule; and the Community itself has admitted a number of countries into various degrees of economic association.

For the Community, being outward-looking and cohesive are not incompatible, and both objectives are necessary in the present-day world. The Four have convinced the Six that, as members of the Community they are going to be as good Europeans as the Six are. The Four, on their side, value the overseas connections that they have in common with some of the Six. The Community collectively has an important role on the world's stage, since no individual member has the capacity to conduct the full scale of operations required in a global society. For the World, for the Community, and for its components, founders and new members alike, the accession of the Four opens up wide and promising horizons.

Parliament Votes "For"

ROBERT SHEAF

The Houses of Parliament on October 28 approved by large majorities the principle of entry into the European Community on the terms so far negotiated. There was a majority of 112 (356 to 244) in the Commons, after a seven-day debate; and a nearly eight-to-one majority in the House of Lords, where the Leader of the Labour Peers and many former Labour ministers voted for entry following a three-day debate.

The vote came more than ten years after Britain's first request for membership, in August 1961; nearly eight years after General de Gaulle's veto of British entry in 1963; and four years after the renewed application made by Harold Wilson, then Labour Prime Minister, in May 1967.

On June 23, 1971, Geoffrey Rippon had successfully concluded negotiations (which began June 30, 1970) on all major points with the Six at Luxembourg.

Britain seems certain to sign the Treaty of Accession. It is likely that enough of the 69 Labour members of Parliament (MP's) who voted for entry will at least abstain during critical votes to assure passage of the enabling legislation.

Crowded House

On the last day of the debate, the House of Commons was more crowded than it has been in recent years. The debate was the longest on a single subject since the war, and there were 176 speakers.

Although the expectations were for an affirmative vote, the Government was theoretically in jeopardy, since it was not clear in the weeks leading up to the debate that Prime Minister Edward Heath would be able to carry the House of Commons on Conservative votes alone. This heightened the pressure exerted by the anti-Marketeters in the Labour Party on their pro-Market minority of members of Parliament (MP's), led by Roy Jenkins. Tied up with this pressure was the question of Mr. Jenkins' reelection as deputy leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Variations in Estimates

On the morning of October 28, there were wide variations in the press of what the majority would be, with forecasts ranging from 60 to over a hundred. The final margin of 112 was seen as a resounding and probably conclusive victory for the pro-Marketeters.

All had depended on how many in each of the major parties would in the end be prepared to defy the party line. In the months leading up to the debate, Mr. Heath had given a strong impression that the Government would demand strict party allegiance, although he never said so in so many words. At the last moment, however, he decided to allow a free vote on the Government side of the House.

Strong efforts were made to persuade the Labour pro-Marketeters "not to vote in the Prime Minister's lobby," in the words of a letter sent to Roy Jenkins by 101 anti-Market (and largely left-wing) MP's. But Mr. Jenkins was clearly speaking for others beside himself when he replied that it had never been in doubt that he would vote for entry. To do



"The European Effort"

By Backes for Kolnische Rundschau, Cologne, Germany. © Ben Roth Agency, Scarsdale, N.Y.

so was not in any way to vote for the Conservatives, he wrote, but for European socialism.

At the time of the October 28 vote, the state of the parties in the House of Commons was:

Conservatives (less chair)	326
Labour	289
Liberal	6
Independents, Nationalists	6
Non-voting chair	3
TOTAL	630

The Government's normal overall majority was generally estimated at 25.

Since it had been known for some time that more than 30 Conservatives intended to follow the lead of extreme anti-Market MP's such as Sir Derek Walker-Smith, Neil Marten, and Enoch Powell, it seemed that if the Government were to gain the support of the House for its European policy, it would need the help not only of the five pro-Market Liberals, but also of at least some of the Labour pro-Marketeters. Scenting the possibility of a Government defeat followed by a general election, the Labour "antis" became even more anxious to persuade their pro-Market colleagues to change their minds. The debate was opened in the Commons by Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home. After arguing the broad economic case for entry, Sir Alec turned to the political side. Other participants in the debate had supported a federal system, which had caused some anxiety. Some might still like to pursue this idea, said Sir Alec, but in the Six it was agreed that political change had to be unanimous, and they had found that they must proceed by consensus.

Handicaps Not Considered

Denis Healey, former Defense Secretary in the Labour Government, described the attempt to enter the Community as "the despairing gambler's last throw." He argued that if the Common Market were a real Community aiming to share costs and benefits alike, the Six should have taken into account the special handicaps the United Kingdom would incur by joining and should have reduced its contribution to the Community budget accordingly.

Peter Shore, a former Labour Minister and known for his strongly anti-Market views, said the people were against membership for three reasons: they were convinced that the economic terms were bad. Secondly, they thought there were far-reaching and adverse implications for their own democracy and independence. Thirdly, they did not want to

link up with Europe at the expense of surrendering a looser association with many other countries and continents.

James Prior, Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, said he was confident that food prices would remain among the lowest in Europe. Main speakers on October 22 were Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Social Services, and Fred Peart, a former Labour Minister of Agriculture.

Social Services

Sir Keith found much to praise in the social services of the Six, but pointed out that entry would not place any obligation on the United Kingdom to alter its own. "The Common Market countries are seeking through the Treaty of Rome to improve the living conditions and the social services of their own nationals and they are making progress in so doing. Nothing but good could come from closer association and collaboration with our neighbors."

Mr. Peart said there was great anxiety among certain sections of the farming community about Britain's proposed entry into the Community. The floating of the German mark had put the common pricing system into disarray.

One of the first speakers when the debate resumed on October 26 was Geoffrey Rippon, minister responsible for negotiations with the Community. He said that Britain would not be joining a static Community. From the outset, Britain would have a full and influential voice in the decision-making processes, including decisions on the budget. The United Kingdom would be active inside the Community in pressing for developments in regional, industrial and social policies that should bring great benefits.

The United Kingdom should join the Community in the knowledge that it represented a mutual balance of interests of the national states. "We are not joining just a customs union. We are joining a Community, but where the balance of advantages between the nations in the Community is constantly changing. That is why MP's cannot make mathematical estimates of what will happen in the 1980's."

Michael Foot, left-wing member of the Shadow Cabinet and a passionate anti-Marketeter, suggested that Britain should not join the Community on any terms. If the negotiations had gone so well, why had the British people been so little persuaded? He thought there was a conflict between the main argument for joining—that great decisions were to be made in Europe and that Britain should be there—and the contention that entry into Europe would not involve any erosion of essential sovereignty. "What," he asked, "is the Prime Minister heading into? On to what rocks and to what Parliamentary shoals, shallows, and subterfuges is

HOW MP'S VOTED

For		Against		Non-Voters	
Conservatives	282	Conservatives	39	Conservatives	3
Labour	69	Labour	198	Labour	20
Others	5	Others	7	Others	0
Total	356	Total	244	Total	23

The Speaker and the chairman and deputy chairmen of Ways and Means and the four tellers are not included in the voting.



"At Last . . ."

By Behrendt for Het Parool, Amsterdam, the Netherlands. © Ben Roth Agency, Scarsdale, N.Y.

Mr. Heath steering—the most daring display of seamanship since the wreck of the *Hesperus*."

High Food Prices, Slower Growth

Douglas Jay, who had left a previous Labour Government because of his extreme anti-Market convictions, returned to the Labour front bench for the debate. Britain's living standards were at least as high as those of the Six, with the possible exception of Germany, he argued. "We have retained as high a real standard as these countries because of our low food prices, and only if we gratuitously switch to a dear food policy shall we begin to fall behind them." Entry on the terms offered would mean even slower economic growth than in the past, Jay declared. Contrary to the views held by some people that Britain could adjust to this situation by repeated devaluations, once inside the Community, further rises in food prices would be inescapable. A slow-down in economic growth, in turn, would bear hardest on the developing areas, which had borne the brunt of past recessions. New industrial development would tend to shift from the British Isles to Holland, Belgium, and the lower Rhine, he maintained.

Full Employment in Large Market

Michael Stewart, former Labour Foreign Secretary and known for his staunchly pro-European views, declared that a number of Labour MP's believed it correct to vote in favor of entry. He did not think the terms could have been substantially improved.

Labour Party National Chairman Anthony Wedgwood Benn dwelled on the theme that the people had not been consulted. The Government had set out on a course that could only be interpreted in terms of a major federal structure in Western Europe. To undertake changes of this magnitude without specific and explicit public consent would be to undermine the basis of British parliamentary democracy, said Mr. Benn. This process would not end with a British signature on the treaty of accession and legislation forced through the House. These steps would not commit the Opposition, which entirely reserved their rights, or the British people. These actions would precipitate a major crisis and unleash the biggest constitutional and political struggle that the United Kingdom had seen for years, he said.

John Davies, Secretary for Trade and Industry, said that as far as regional policy was concerned, Britain could not

be over-ridden on a basic national interest. Business, at least the management which was responsible for the failure or success of industry, was solidly in favor of entry.

Barbara Castle, a leading Labour anti-Marketeer, said there was not a word about political control over this vast extension of supranationalism. The government had been assured that the powers of the House of Commons would remain complete, but officials knew that monetary and economic union implies the transfer to the Community of the House of Commons' central control over taxation. They would have taxation without representation on a scale that would make Charles I look like a democrat.

Not only had the facile assumption about growth in Britain not been proven. The glowing picture of growth in Europe had been dimmed as well. The European dream was disintegrating before our eyes, she said.

By accepting farm policy, Britain would not only be supporting it but also saving it from the extinction it deserved. That was the bargain Mr. Pompidou had struck before he would agree to negotiate at all, she maintained.

Consent Not Obtained

The last day debate (October 28) belonged chiefly to the front benches, but noteworthy speeches were made by leading Conservative anti-Marketeers Enoch Powell and Sir Derek Walker-Smith and Conservative pro-Marketeer Duncan Sandys.

Mr. Powell's main argument was that "the fullhearted consent of the Parliament and people" had not been obtained.

Opposition Leader Harold Wilson said the key issue was the financial burden and the Governments' total surrender on the common agricultural policy.

Liberal Leader Jeremy Thorpe said he believed in European federalism and found Mr. Wilson's threat to "behave like a pocket De Gaulle" distasteful. He wanted to see less nationalism and more political cooperation.

From the conservative front bench, Home Secretary Reginald Maudling said that "Those who vote against tonight are voting not on the terms. They are voting because they want to remain the littlest of Little Englanders."

James Callaghan, shadow Home Secretary, said that it was not the end of the debate, but the beginning.

World Watching

Prime Minister Heath concluded the debate with "a deliberately low-key speech" which avoided party politics, in the words of the British daily *The Guardian*. He said he did not think any peace-time Prime Minister had asked the House of Commons to make a positive decision of such importance before. The world was watching to see whether the British Parliament would reject what would probably be the last chance of uniting Europe for many years.

After arguing that there was an urgent need for Europe to provide more for its own defense, Mr. Heath said that the postwar international monetary system was no longer a basis for relations with the United States and other countries. As a consequence, the risks for liberal trading policies

on which Britain so much depended were now immense.

There would be a summit of the Ten next year, probably in the spring. This would settle a joint European approach to monetary problems, trading arrangements and future political developments. It was important for Britain to be there.

"Tonight," he concluded, to cheers and counter-cheers that drowned his words, "many millions of people right across the world will rejoice that Britain will be taking up her rightful place in the true European unity which we are going to seek."

Heath: "Into a New World"

In a statement issued from 10 Downing Street after the Parliamentary vote, Prime Minister Heath said the decision that Britain should in principle join the Community had been reached "by a clear majority of the elected representatives of the British people: men and women who, irrespective of party political differences, share the conviction that this decision is right for their country.

"This is the outcome of years of patient negotiation by governments of both parties. It marks the end of 10 years of debate. Now we stand ready to take our first step into a new world full of new opportunities.

"Our historic decision has been made; the British people accept the challenge. Let us show ourselves, to that new world as we would wish it to see us; confident, proud and strong."

Nixon: "An Historic Turning Point"

President Richard M. Nixon described Parliament's decision as an "historic turning point for Europe and the United Kingdom." It would help his own efforts to create "a cohesive transatlantic partnership for years to come."

Warm Welcome From EC Leaders

National leaders within the Community warmly welcomed the news. "It is a great day," said German Chancellor Willy Brandt. It was historic for the whole future development of Europe. "I am convinced it is good for Britain," said the Chancellor. "It is above all good for Europe, for Western Europe first of all economically and then of ever increasing political importance."

Italian Prime Minister Emilio Colombo praised Mr. Heath for having the "far-sightedness of a great statesman" and said that the closing parliamentary speech of the British Premier showed perfect understanding that Britain was facing "not only a commercial and economic choice but a great political choice."

Commission President Franco Maria Malfatti said that Britain's presence in the Community was of fundamental importance.

An Autonomous Europe

MAX BELOFF

After Parliament's vote on October 28, nothing can ever be the same again. It is quite certain that the public will accept the decision of both Houses of the United Kingdom Parliament in favor of Britain's entry into the Community, and will expect that legislature to pass the enabling legislation. It would, however, be wrong to say that all is over but the shouting.

It is of course not the same situation as would have existed had Britain's first application a decade ago been successful. Much that was then obscure about the Communities and their institutions has now been clarified, and we can see that progress has in some respects been faster and in some ways slower than was expected.

Regions to Grow in Importance

The alternatives between integration and other and wider forms of association no longer look so stark; even an enlarged Community will need extra-European links of many kinds; it will also have to pay more attention than the "founding fathers" may have thought necessary, to pro-

gress away from national governments towards regions and localities, as well as to forms of integration at the center.

The simple-minded assertion of the greater efficiency of larger units is not acceptable in a world where economic theory is increasingly modified by social theory, where the need for popular support and participation is seen as an element in the efficiency of institutions and not merely as a political frill. If the enlarged Community is to capture the enthusiasm and command the services of a new generation, it will have to accept some of its postulates—a measure of participatory democracy among them.

Bipolarity of Super Powers Ended

Europe is more complicated than it was a decade ago; and the world scene is both more complicated and more dangerous. The bipolarity of the super powers is a thing of the past. A United Europe will at best be one of a constellation of five world powers, with the likely advent on the world scene in a much larger and more ambitious way of both China and Japan. Neither can we assume that the postwar

An anti-entry demonstration on October 24 in Trafalgar Square. If the debate prior to the Parliament's vote on the principle of Common Market entry was an indicator, Britain's main contribution to the Community may be what the author calls "a measure of participatory democracy."





Young Britons, such as these demonstrators on October 28, were more eager to join the Community than were their elders, according to opinion polls.

principles of free trade and free exchanges which served recovery so well will persist unchallenged. The United States has taken some steps in the opposite direction. The enlarged Community will be valuable chiefly as an interlocutor in world economic negotiations which can claim to be taken more seriously than its individual members acting severally.

It is also vital for relations with the Third World that common policies looking towards its healthy development should be worked out, instead of allowing competition for exclusive spheres of influence between the five world powers to continue accelerating.

An Enlarged and United People's Role

It is both politically and economically important that the enlarged Community should act as a unit, especially in its relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. While the dangers of an armed clash with the Soviet Union are no longer as dominant in people's minds as when the Communities first struggled into existence, we have no good reason to believe that any fundamental change in Soviet policy has occurred or is likely to occur. Any weakening in the unity and cohesion of the West, any serious recession in western economies, any lasting bout of social upheaval will lead to a renewal of Soviet pressure to detach individual countries



British housewives demonstrated against joining the Community on October 28 outside the houses of Parliament.

from the Communities and the Western Alliance and to suck them into the Soviet orbit. Any lessening of the economic dynamism of the western countries would also minimize the impact of their growth upon the economic outlook and social and national aspirations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) nations, including those of the Soviet Union itself.

As the United States retreats further into its own internal preoccupations, as it strives to come to terms with the new constellation in the Far East, its interest in and support for Western Europe inevitably diminishes.

Europeans have been ungrateful about the extent to which their own achievements were made possible by the American initiatives that culminated in the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Alliance. The enlargement of the Communities is taking place at a time when Western Europe is again called upon to take an autonomous place in the world and resume full responsibility for its own destinies. It is not catching up with what the Communities have done that is most important for Britain, but playing its full part in what they must do next.

Max Beloff is Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration in the University of Oxford and a Fellow of All Souls College.

Some Typical Views on Joining EC

UNITED KINGDOM



JONATHAN TURNER,
painter and art teacher,
favors British membership
in the Community.

"I have always believed that Britain should join the European Community. The wider market would provide a tremendous incentive for British industry and the increased competition from Europe would force us to be more competitive. There would be greater encouragement for investment and therefore more jobs."

Mr. Turner has a French wife. They have four children, two boys and two girls. He says: "I regard myself as a European. It is in Europe that Britain's future prosperity lies. We are essentially a trading nation and we need to belong to a trading community. Australia and New Zealand are geographically too remote to offer an alternative to joining Europe."

"I think much could be achieved through common European policies. For example, by combining our aid policies to underdeveloped countries, we could be much more effective. On our own continent we could concert our effort to combat pollution."

"I am a little cautious about political union and about giving too much control to Brussels. I believe that Westminster should retain its control over major constitutional questions affecting this country."



CHRISTINA BIRCH,
social worker,
opposes British membership
in the European Community.

"I am against Britain's joining the Community because it will be too big a group of nations for the individual to influence or to feel part of. Decisions will be made in Brussels, and the average person will have no control over them."

Mrs. Birch says she is already concerned about the lack of participation people have in their local government. "As a member of the Community we will be even further divorced from the decision-making process."

"I don't believe the Community is concerned with the average man or woman. It works in the interest of big business and makes little provision for the redistribution of wealth. Visiting Belgium and Germany, I have seen how the value-added tax and the common agricultural policy have

put up prices. The same will happen here, and the poorer people will come off worst."

"I can't say I feel strongly about our links with New Zealand and Australia. I believe a lot of phoney sentiment has been expressed on that subject. What I am against are the Community's protectionist policies which threaten to curb the rights of other nations to trade freely in Britain."

IRELAND



MAT MCNULTY,
travel agent,
favors Ireland's joining the
European Community.

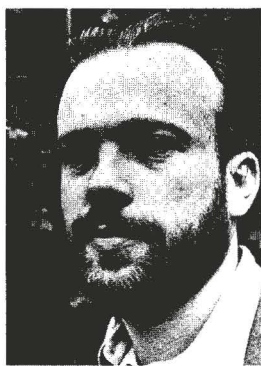
"Ireland should join the Common Market because it will mean bigger markets for our exports. Our farmers will also get higher prices for their produce. Besides, if Britain joins the Community, it would be difficult for us not to. This dependence is regrettable but it is true. By joining the Community, Ireland will be able to renew cultural links with Europe which we once had but which were broken when we were under British domination. Entry won't greatly affect my tourism business as there are few obstacles to travel at present. In the long term, membership in the Community should help end the partition of Ireland as the need for customs checks disappears. I think there is some truth in the usual arguments against joining but they are insular."



GERALDINE DEMPSEY,
student,
opposes Ireland's membership
in the Community.

"I'm completely against Ireland's joining the Common Market. The increase in the cost of living sums it all up. There may not be more unemployment, but wages will remain relatively static, so working people will lose out at least initially. We haven't a chance economically against the bigger countries in the Community. Ireland is too small and the economy, too weak. We'd simply become merged into larger units. Culturally we'd probably keep our end up all right, although culture eventually depends on economics, doesn't it? It'll be all right for the farmers. They will get higher prices but their costs will be higher too. We'll also risk losing our neutrality in the Community, as the other countries will have a hold over us. Foreigners will probably be more easily able to buy land here, although they're doing enough of that as it is already in Dublin and in the country."

DENMARK



KNUD VILBY,
*editor of "Information," a
daily newspaper founded during
World War II, opposes Denmark's
joining the Community.*

"The European Communities is a dangerous tendency towards closing the frontiers of a still bigger group of countries against the less developed countries. The gap between the richer and the poorer becomes still wider, and it is dangerous that the poorer countries get fewer countries to trade with. I would prefer multinational trade between as many smaller countries as possible, to trade between fewer bigger blocks. I fear that much of the talk about a European détente hides growing tension between the rich and the poor countries, so that we will soon face a north-south conflict even more serious than the last year's East-West conflict."



SIGURD PETERSEN,
*agricultural economist,
favors Denmark's joining
the Community.*

"Denmark will obtain considerable economic advantages. Stronger competition but with greater possibilities will promote more vitality in industry and trade. Agriculture gets more export possibilities and the chance again to expand production. In many ways, membership will mean a challenge at a time when demands are big but where there is a background too for big results. As a full member of the enlarged Community, Denmark will get a chance to continue economic expansion which would scarcely be possible if it stayed outside. Membership will give possibilities too for stable economic political development which could result in limiting the growth of public spending.

Apart from the purely economic advantages, Denmark must join to participate in building the future united Europe, which gradually must be a reality. This is the European Communities' most essential purpose. With the Community, Denmark will have more influence than we would have outside the Community."

NORWAY



TONE TORP,
*archivist,
favors Norway's membership in the
Community.*

"I think it would be quite wrong of Norway to isolate itself from Europe. If this country does not join the Six, it won't have any possibility of influencing the decisions being made in Brussels. And those decisions will, in any case, be of vital importance to Norway, a country with a very high degree of external trade. I make a reference to Norwegian shipping, too.

"I do not fear the influx of foreign capital, as many people seem to do. I rather wish it welcome but stress the need for some sort of control. Concerning fishery and agriculture, our negotiators will be able to convince the Six that it is vital for Norway to get some sort of special arrangements, but we should not claim too much. Everything has its limits," says Miss Torp, who thinks the forthcoming referendum on the question of membership may prove to be exciting.



TORE GJERTVIK,
*printing shop foreman,
opposes Norway's membership
in the Community.*

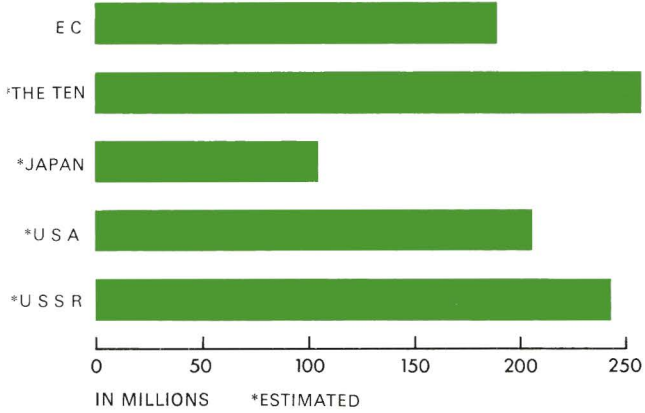
"I fear our fisheries and agriculture will suffer severely, as I do not think it is possible for Norway to obtain the special arrangements necessary to secure acceptable living standards for the people in these sectors.

"Concerning our independence, I feel sure we will lose most of what is left of it if we are going to cooperate with the bigger continental nations. Our voice probably won't be heard, and Norway will end up as one of Europe's outer reaches. This is my main objection against Norwegian membership."

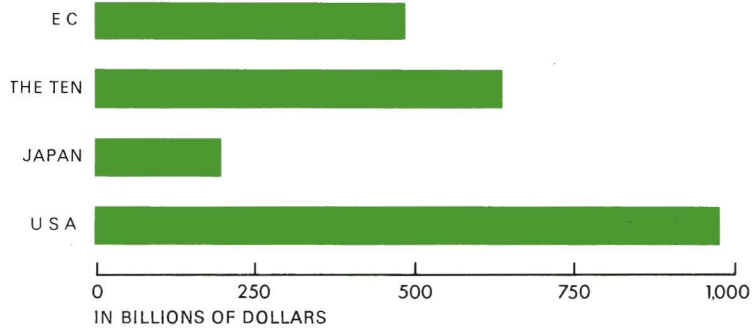
Asked whether he may change his mind when Denmark and the United Kingdom join the Six, Mr. Gjertvik said, "No. That would not change anything concerning my objections. The free movement of labor with foreigners streaming to Norway may bring imbalance into our labor market and foreign capital and the free establishment of industries may be a threat to our independence," he added.

Profile of a Community of Ten

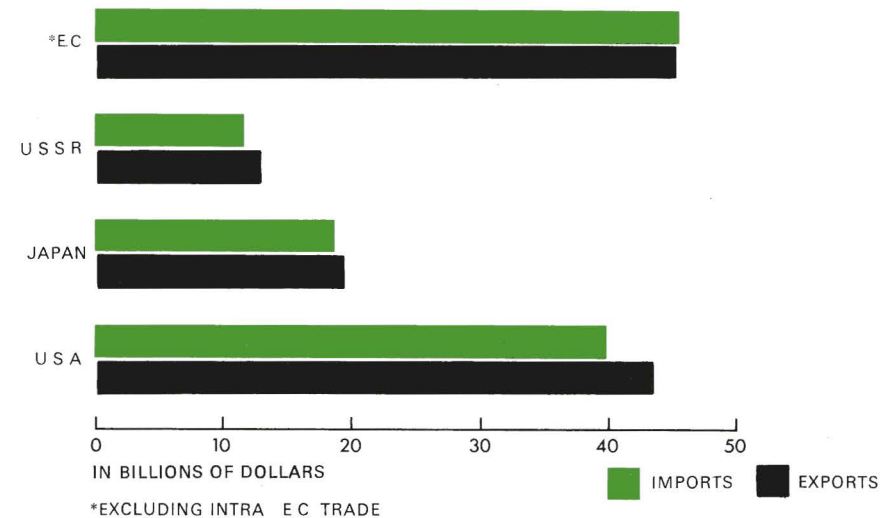
POPULATION 1970



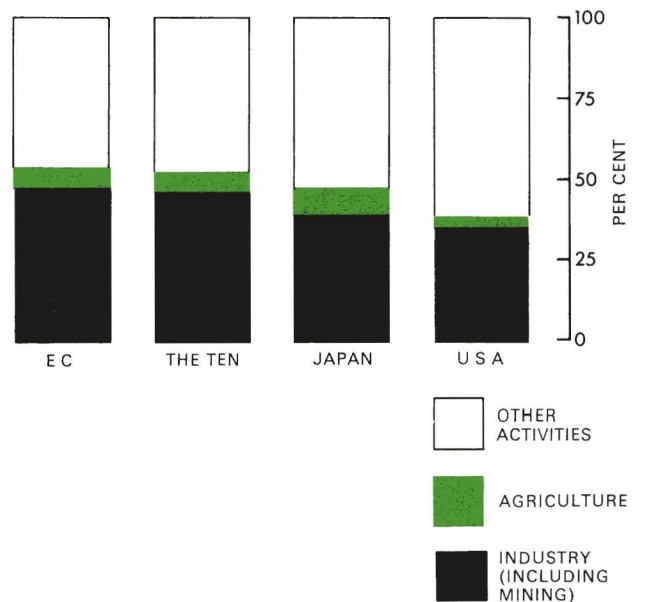
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT 1970



EXTERNAL TRADE 1970



SOURCES OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT 1969



Joint Drive Against Drug Abuse

EC AND UK PLAN TO ACT BEFORE DRUG ABUSE BECOMES A MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEM

CHRISTOPHER MATTHEW

The European Community and the United Kingdom, in a joint drive, intend to crack down on drug pushers and curb drug abuse.

In the last two years or so since Europe turned on to drugs, the fear has grown, based on US experience, that drug abuse could become a major social problem. Already in Hamburg, a survey of 25,000 schoolchildren disclosed that one in four used drugs. Their average age was 13 to 14, and girls started younger than boys. In Germany last year, customs inspectors seized more than four tons of hashish, as compared with half that amount in 1969. The number of drug arrests rose from 1,981 in 1968 to 4,761 in 1969.

In France, more than a half ton of heroin was confiscated in the first six months of this year, compared with 671 pounds for all 1970. The number of drug addicts was estimated at 6,000 to 7,000 in 1969—a 300 per cent increase in three years.

In Italy, the quantities of drugs confiscated by police rose 300 per cent between 1969 and 1970. According to a survey by the daily newspaper *Il Messagero*, one in four boys of 15 to 20 years of age had tried hashish, LSD, or methydrin.

In the Netherlands, a survey by the criminological institute of Groningen revealed that out of 12,000 students aged over 18, more than 11 per cent had used drugs more than once.

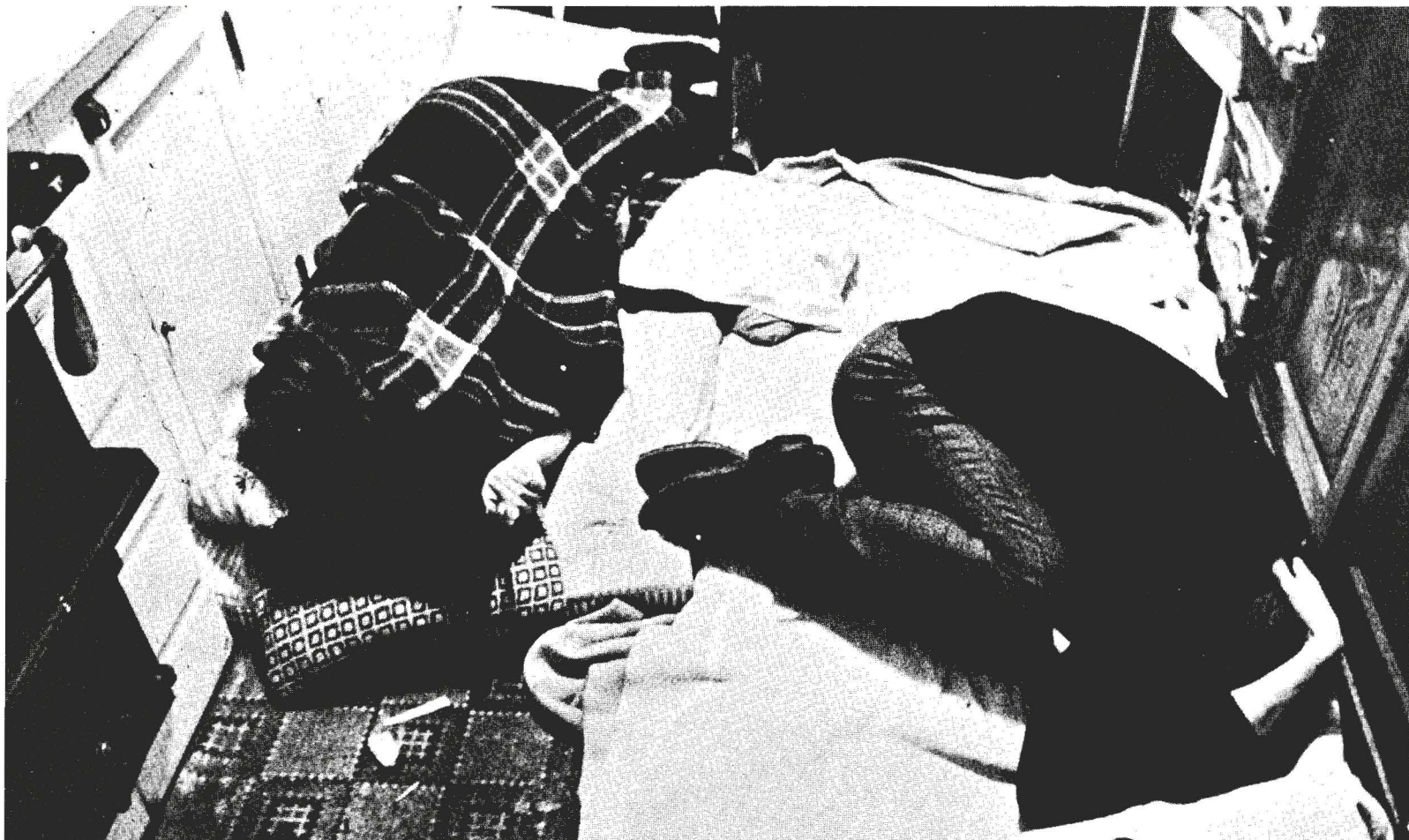
Europe is taking action against drug abuse before it becomes a major social problem.

The Pompidou Proposal

On August 6 of this year, French President Georges Pompidou appealed to the Community and Britain to form a united front against drugs. Mr. Pompidou suggested that ministers of health, education, justice, and interior should meet twice a year to coordinate national efforts. An intergovernmental secretariat of experts might be set up to help governments take swift and harmonious action, he said. The President's call drew a prompt and favorable response from British Prime Minister Edward Heath. It also gained widespread publicity on both sides of the Atlantic, coming as it did after a stinging allegation by the US Narcotics Bureau Chief in Europe, John Cusack.

Cusack charged that French authorities were turning a blind eye to the fact that Marseilles had become the center for heroin processing in Europe, and that leading pushers in the port city were earning \$10 million a month from US-bound narcotics.

The French President's intervention and the earlier controversy have helped to make public opinion in Europe more aware of the drugs issue. *Le Monde* of October 15 splashed on its front page a Tours-dated report about 14 boys and girls arrested on drug charges. This story might earlier have gone unreported or been buried inside the paper.





Drug experts from the six Community countries and the United Kingdom met, for the first time, in Paris on November 4 to plan a strategy for a joint campaign against drug abuse. Shown here are the French and German delegations to the meeting.

A Problem of International Dimensions

The soaring inflow of drugs to meet growing consumption poses a problem in European, rather than national, terms for a number of reasons, some of them technical, some of them inherent in the nature of the Community.

On the technical side, the opium and morphine base drug routes, according to US narcotics experts, run from the poppy fields of Turkey to the heroin refineries of Marseilles, passing through Italy and Germany, and sometimes through Belgium and the Netherlands. Effective drug traffic control depends on advance information and extensive cooperation by customs men and police officials of the countries involved. Random checks at the frontiers may occasionally turn up insignificant quantities of hashish on some unfortunate hippie, but large seizures of hard drugs from the professional traffickers are almost invariably based on tip-offs.

In the Community, where workers move from one country to another and where governments are gradually eliminating border checks on intra-Community traffic, the surreptitious narcotics trade benefits too. However, the question goes beyond merely controlling drug traffic. It would be senseless for the authorities to focus their efforts on the supply side without also tackling the causes.

EC Interest Spurred by European Parliament

The Commission has been studying the drugs problem since the publication in December 1970 of a somewhat

controversial report from the European Parliament's Social Affairs and Public Health Committee.

This document, prepared by Gaullist Deputy Hervé Laudrin, called on the Commission to draft a series of directives to keep drug abuse from spreading in Europe. They would be based on Article 48 of the Rome Treaty, which provides for the free movement of workers between member states "subject to limitations justified by reasons of public order, public safety and public health." Unless the Commission acted on drugs, Mr. Laudrin argued, free movement of labor in the Community could be endangered if member states invoked this clause.

Specifically calling for a strict tightening up of legislation against large-scale drug peddlers, the Laudrin report seemed sympathetic to the idea of invoking the death penalty in such cases. Major traffickers should be treated as murderers by member states, the report said, adding: "The press recently announced that several drug traffickers had been shot in Iran. News of this kind may be perplexing. However, considering the dangers and evils these individuals can cause, it is not excessive to classify them as real assassins . . ."

Drug abuse was spreading fast in the Community, because of the favorable social climate in Europe. "Society is impregnated with materialistic hedonism to an inadmissible degree," the document continued.

For Mr. Laudrin and the European Parliament committee, vigorous direct action against drug abuse should be followed up by "cleaning up the present atmosphere," whose decadence was manifest in current plays and movies.

An effective anti-drugs program should therefore also be



Dutch police arrested this suspect after finding 100 pounds of hashish in his possession.

directed at these sectors. "We must intervene to prevent people from being exposed to all sorts of depravity under the pretext of art or a hypocritical sort of liberty," the report urged.

Archaic National Laws on Addicts

Mr. Laudrin threw interesting light on the present state of anti-drug legislation in member states, where archaic laws often date back to a time when narcotics users were a mere handful of unfortunates addicted as a result of medical treatment with morphine. In Germany, a 1929 law set a maximum jail sentence on a narcotics count of three years, but in October 1971 it was raised to ten years; in Belgium it is three months to two years on first conviction; in France three months to five years; and in Italy one to three years. An Italian draft law that would make the maximum term 30 years seemed "realistic" to Mr. Laudrin but "still not severe enough," he declared.

Commission experts had virtually decided that Article 48 of the Rome Treaty provided no legal basis for action at Community level, when the drug issue was again thrown on to their desks, this time with added impetus.

The Schumann Plan

On September 20, France's Maurice Schumann surprised the first Council meeting of foreign ministers since the summer's dollar crisis by placing drugs as an unscheduled subject on the agenda. Repeating President Pompidou's call, Mr. Schumann laid before his partners a detailed plan for concerted action in four fields: health, education, police, and harmonization of national legislation. He proposed a step-by-step procedure starting with discussions at the expert level in Paris, which took place November 4, and culminating in an annual meeting at ministerial levels.

Though speaking in a Council session, Mr. Schumann made it clear that he was thinking of intergovernmental action via a group of national civil servants. Commission

President Franco Maria Malfatti argued that the Common Market as such did provide an appropriate framework for anti-narcotics action. A serious situation had arisen affecting Europe's youth and therefore Europe's future, he said. The task of deciding how the Community could and should act was subsequently handed over to Albert Coppé, Commissioner for Social and Labor Affairs.

Search for EC Jurisdiction

This has proven to be a difficult task. "The connection drawn by Mr. Malfatti between drugs and the future of Europe may be a good political argument, but it does not hold water juridically," one official commented. Having virtually excluded Article 48 as grounds for Community action, legal experts have decided that other articles of the Rome Treaty provide an equally shaky legal basis.

Article 100 provides for harmonization of member states' legislation, but only where the laws "have a direct incidence on the establishment or functioning of the Common Market." Nor would an anti-drug program fit in easily under Article 118 dealing with action in the social field, such as protecting workers against industrial accidents and diseases.

Therefore, the "all purpose" Article 235 may have to be invoked in the drugs case. This article says that "appropriate provisions shall be enacted . . . if any action by the Community appears necessary to achieve, in the functioning of the Common Market, one of the aims of the Community in cases where this Treaty has not provided for the requisite powers of action."

Here again, it must be shown that joint action against drugs was necessary to ensure the functioning of the Common Market. It is to this problem that Mr. Coppé and his aides are devoting their ingenuity.

The Outlook for EC Action

The Commission can probably play a useful role in the fields of health and harmonization of legislation, but any alignment of penal laws, as suggested by the Laudrin report, is unlikely. Even ultra-federalists realize that harmonization of criminal law is at least 20 or 30 years away," one Eurocrat remarked. In view of the discrepancies between member states' laws, harmonization may be desirable.

In the absence of any genuine democratic control, however, is the Commission qualified to pass judgment on how to punish drug abuse? A leading Belgian newspaper, *Le Soir*, reporting on Mr. Pompidou's appeal, headlined its story "Towards a European Campaign Against Drugs" and said this proposal could lead to the birth of a Europe of police forces." For all its weight of expertise, it is not clear whether the Commission at this stage is the appropriate agent.

A more limited form of legal harmonization, such as in the customs field, looks like a more promising avenue. Another possibility is that familiar standby, a Community seminar, in which the experts and organizations concerned would discuss the implications of the problem and suggest solutions. Another possibility under consideration is joint financing by the Community of drug-rehabilitation centers.

Recent Books

European Community periodically lists books dealing with Community and Atlantic topics. Prices are also given, whenever known. This presentation does not indicate approval or recommendation of these publications which can be purchased or ordered from most booksellers.

The Kennedy Round and the Future of American Trade. By Thomas B. Curtis and John Robert, Jr. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971. 239 pages.

Written by one of the Congressional Delegates for trade negotiations and his assistant, the book is a discussion of the Kennedy Round, both in terms of commodity groups and of the broader problems of non-tariff barriers (specifically, dumping and multinational cartels obstructing free trade in particular products), and of special relations with the developing countries.

The authors say that the following issues were not resolved or only partially settled by the Kennedy Round cuts: trade distortions resulting from national agricultural price support policies relating to "voluntary" quotas on goods, such as textiles; the conflict between trade with and aid to developing countries; and the problems of trade with the no-longer monolithic Communist bloc.

The Kennedy Round is seen as part of a 30-year US tradition of reciprocal trade negotiations directed towards free trade. Despite the large cuts achieved by the negotiations, their failure to solve non-tariff problems, and, more importantly, the accompanying disorientation of US free trade policies have left the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with a dangerous future.

Gemeinsame Markt & Verkehr/Marché Commun & Transport. Edited by R. Wijffels, W. Stabenow, and L. Van Huffel. Edition European Transport Law. Antwerp, 1969.

A collection of articles in French and German on transportation problems and policies in the European Community and of Community transport decisions, directives, and regulations.

The first section contains articles on the general outlook for Community transport policy and on specific topics such as: juridical problems relating to transport integration, railways, navigation, air traffic, price regulation, price discrimination, the rules of competition, coordination of investment in infrastructures of the juridical documents themselves: relevant articles from both the Paris Treaty creating the European Coal and Steel Community and the Rome Treaty creating the European Economic Community, acts of the Council and the Commission; acts executing the Paris treaty, and position statements by the Community institutions.

American Direct Investment in the Netherlands Industry. Frank Stubenitsky. Rotterdam University Press, 1970. 191 pages with appendices and bibliography.

A study of the multinational corporation in the Netherlands with a section on Dutch direct investment in the United States.

The author first sets up a general theory of direct investment. The multinational corporation is its principle vehicle and its object is sales maximalization, subject to profit constraints. Two major categories of incentives for such investment are drawn: "positive," higher sales and profit opportunities, and "defensive," threats to existing sales and profits. Important characteristics of direct investments are the degree of control, use of foreign capital, their effect on competition, and the conduct of research and development programs.

The magnitude of United States' direct investment in the Netherlands is examined in this context. The author looks at the value of property, plant, and equipment, at annual investment expenditure, at employment, and at production, imports, and exports. He concludes that contribution to the growth of the Netherlands economy has been made by direct investment, but that the Dutch must be careful not to lose their own competitiveness.

Finally, in looking at the Dutch direct investment in the United States (which exceeds US investments in the Netherlands), the author concludes that the disadvantages to most countries are equally great, whether the investor be American or not. It is the size of US direct investments abroad that creates excess friction.

International Labor Relations Management in the Automotive Industry: A Comparative Study of Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors. By Duane Kujawa. Praeger Publishers. New York, 1971, 297 pages with appendices and bibliography.

A case study of the labor relations policies of the three major American automobile companies in their foreign subsidiaries, the differences in problem-solving between subsidiaries of the same corporation and between different corporations. Interviews were held at subsidiaries in Canada, Great Britain, the Netherlands, West Germany, Belgium, France, and Spain.

American corporations operating abroad still base their labor relations policies on habits and assumptions drawn from the US environment; according to the author this is exactly what should not be done. Coordination of policies between a local, responsible management and headquarters management is highly important for long-run local and international success. The author defines management as the planning of basic

objectives and policies, the determining of activities which will compel conformity to the plans, the grouping of those activities which will compel conformity to the plans, the grouping of those activities and the delegation of decision-making authority, and finally the staffing standards of the firm—all these must be applied to the establishment and administration of employer-employee relationships. Decisions must be made both locally and internationally as to who deals with whom, and what practices are to be followed, in the selection, the training, and the compensation of workers, in collective bargaining, grievance procedures, strike procedures, and in government relations.

Economic Regulations of the World's Airlines: A Political Analysis. By William E. O'Connor. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971. 155 pages with appendix, bibliography and index.

A study of possible changes in the economic regulation of world airline service: the right of an airline to establish service to another country, control of the frequency of flights and capacity of aircraft, and fares to be charged.

The author analyzes national and world interests, broken down into political, psychological, and economic categories. He discusses several systems of world economic airline regulation suggested in the past, and also various attempts over the years to substitute a multilateral agreement for the plethora of bilaterals. The author suggests a reorientation in the philosophy of airlines, government and people which would see the world airline network less in terms of national advantages and more as a public trust for the peoples of the world.

International Reserves: Needs and Availability. International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C., 1970. 552 pages with appendices. \$6.00.

A compendium of papers presented at a Fund-sponsored seminar on "Questions Relating to International Reserve Needs and Availabilities" in Washington, D.C., in 1970.

The seminar was convened in response to the change in the powers of the IMF brought about by the decisions to create Special Drawing Rights (SDR's) in 1969. Papers were presented relating to: world reserve supplementation; single country reserve needs; reserves, liquidity and the developing countries; international liquidity and balance of payments adjustment; effects of changes in international reserves; monetary policy in national and international economies; means of assessing the need for world reserves; and the connection between the supply of other reserves and SDR's.

Publications Available

ASSOCIES: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE DES A. O. M.: 1970. Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1971. 276 pages\$2.00

Basic statistics on the states, territories, and departments associated with the Community. Includes data on population, national accounts, agriculture, energy, industry, transport, foreign trade, salaries, prices, public finance, and the European Development Fund.

COMMERCE EXTERIEUR: PRODUITS CECA 1970. Statistical Office of the European Communities, 1971, Luxembourg, 581 pages \$4.00

French/German/Dutch/Italian text. Annual foreign trade statistics on European Coal and Steel Community products. The commodity categories are iron ores, steel, manganese, scrap, and coal. Gives 1970 imports and exports by commodity and by commodity groups broken down by country of origin and destination. Includes quarterly and annual data for 1970 and comparative annual figures for 1969.

PREMIER RAPPORT DE LA COMMISSION GENERALE DE LA SECURITE DU TRAVAIL DANS LA SIDERURGIE. Commission of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1970, 51 pages \$.50

Summary of the aims, composition and activities of the European Coal and Steel Community's Committee on safety in the steel industry. Includes annexes of accident statistics and suggestions for accident prevention studies.

SECOND PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF A CONVENTION ESTABLISHING A EUROPEAN SYSTEM FOR THE GRANT OF PATENTS.

(2 Volumes) Inter-Governmental Conference for the Setting up of a European System for the Grant of Patents, Luxembourg, 1971 \$5.70

Volume One: 291 pages, includes the second preliminary draft, proposed implementing regulations, and the first preliminary draft of the rules relating to fees.

Volume Two: 134 pages, Reports or commentary on the second preliminary draft, the proposed implementing regulations, and the first preliminary draft on the rules relating to fees. The above drafts are being published to obtain comments before the final text is written.

ASSOCIES: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE DES A.O.M. 1970. Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1971, 271 pages \$2.00

General statistics on Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Chad, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Gabon, Republic of the Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Madagascar, Surinam, Netherlands Antilles, and the French Departments and territories. Includes data on population, employment, health, education, national accounts, agriculture, energy, industrial production, transport, foreign trade, prices and salaries, and public finance. Includes tables on the status of the European Development Fund from 1958 through June 30, 1970.

PRIX DU FUEL-OIL 1966-1970. *Energy Statistics*, 1/2 Supplement, Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1971, 137 pages \$2.00

French/German text. Discusses the evolution of the prices of fuels in each member state from 1966-1970. Analyses customs and fiscal taxes and transport and distribution charges. Includes statistics on the prices in important cities of the member states and on consumption of fuels.

STATISTIQUE DES TRANSPORTS: 1969. Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1971, 347 pages \$1.00

French/German/Dutch/Italian text. Includes statistics on roads, railroads, inland waterways, air and sea transport, and oil pipelines of the member states. The data on each type of transport is broken down as follows: infrastructure, mobile equipment, number of firms, employees, use. Also includes special studies on road accidents, merchandise transported by road, and costs of labor and infrastructure.

RAPPORT SUR LA DECLARATION ET LA RESOLUTION ADOPTEES LE 29 JUILLET 1970 A BUENOS AIRES PAR LA COMMISSION SPECIALE DE COORDINATION LATINO-AMERICAINE (CECLA).

Documents de Séance No. 27/71, The European Parliament, Luxembourg, April 19, 1971, 24 pages \$.25

The Parliament's report on the Declaration of Buenos Aires and the Community's relations with Latin America. Reprints the Declaration and the Community's responses.

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