



European Community

DECEMBER 1973 NO. 171



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EC Commission President Ortolí Visits Washington



EC Commission President François-Xavier Ortolí (left) meets in the "Oval Office" with President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Talks between President Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, and EC Commission President François-Xavier Ortolí were described by a US Government spokesman as "very positive, broad-ranging, and useful." The October 1 talks in Washington covered such topics as the proposed US-EC Joint Declaration of Principles (see *European Community* No. 170, page 3), trade negotiations, international monetary reform, and the world's growing food shortage.

Following the meetings, Ortolí held a news conference at Blair House, in which he stated: "Today, the Community of the Nine is on the verge of new and important internal developments. It is also prepared to assume its full role in the major negotiations which are now getting underway." Ortolí was referring to the Community's movement toward economic and monetary union and its participation in world trade and monetary negotiations.

In his talks with US leaders, Ortolí said he had stressed "that the Community, which is already an equal partner in the formulation of the world's trade policy, is beginning now to speak with one voice in monetary affairs and has

shown its political dimension during the recent Copenhagen Conference on the future of US-European relations.

"In this way—through common efforts—our European identity emerges," the EC Commission President said. "This European identity has a particular meaning. It does not confer upon us an opposition role. It does enable us to enter into constructive dialogues and carry out common tasks with our partners, and particularly with the United States. We have discussed this perspective with President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger in the context of the discussions which are now taking place. I am confident it will help confirm our common objectives."

In addition to the US-EC Joint Declaration of Principles, Ortolí cited as equally important "the success of the worldwide trade negotiations" within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); "rapid progress in negotiations on the reform of the international monetary system," and "a deeper commitment by all rich countries, by Europe, the United States, and other industrialized nations, in favor of the developing countries."

On all these subjects, Ortolí said

his discussions with US leaders had been "frank, concrete, and constructive. . . . I am confident that they will contribute to strengthening the bonds of mutual interest that have long characterized relations between the United States and Europe."

In answer to a newsman's question about the US-EC Joint Declaration of Principles, Ortolí said: "The number of points we agree on is far greater than the number of those on which we disagree."

At an October 3 news conference, President Nixon said the timing of his planned trip to Europe would depend upon, among other things, the progress made on the subjects he had discussed with Ortolí. "That progress is going on, incidentally, well ahead of schedule, according to Dr. Kissinger," the President said. "As soon as those preliminary negotiations are completed and as soon as it is clear on both sides of the Atlantic that this will be a trip not for protocol reasons but one that will have real substance in it, then we will work out a date." Also on October 3, the House Ways and Means Committee approved trade legislation that would provide authority for US negotiators in the GATT talks.

Ortolí's meeting with the President and Kissinger the morning of October 1 was followed by a working luncheon at the State Department with Kissinger and other US officials, including Senator J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush, and US Representative to the European Communities Ambassador Joseph A. Greenwald. Accompanying President Ortolí were Emile Noël, Secretary General of the Commission; Edmund Wellenstein, Director General for External Affairs; Beniamino Olivi, Commission Spokesman; Philippe de Margerie, Chief Executive Assistant to President Ortolí; Pierre Malvé, Executive Assistant to the President, and Denis Gautier-Sauvagnac, the President's Counselor for Economic and Monetary Affairs.

Krag to Head EC Delegation to the United States

Jens Otto Krag, former Danish Prime Minister, will head the EC Delegation to the United States beginning January 1. He succeeds Aldo Maria Mazio, former Italian Ambassador to Belgium, who headed the Delegation for two years. The EC Commission announced Krag's appointment on October 5.

Krag resigned as Danish Prime Minister on October 3, 1972, hours after leading the pro-EC forces to victory in the Danish referendum on EC membership. Denmark became an EC member on January 1. In recognition of his dedication to the "European" cause, Krag received the Charlemagne Prize in 1966 and the Schuman Prize in 1973.

Prior to becoming Prime Minister, Krag served his country as Minister of Economics and Labor (1953-57) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1958-62). Krag was born September 15, 1914, in Radours, Denmark.

The US Government expressed "satisfaction" with the announcement of Krag's appointment to the United States.



Jens Otto Krag, former Danish Prime Minister, will head the EC Delegation to the United States beginning early in 1974. Photo: Embassy of Denmark.

EC Presents Common Front in Nairobi

The 126 countries at the September 24-28 International Monetary Fund (IMF) meeting in Nairobi set a July 1974 deadline for completing a monetary reform package. Although some observers and participants found it discouraging that no immediate results were forthcoming, EC Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli, in a September 28 speech in London, found "the world's reaffirmation in Nairobi to restore a sound monetary order . . . encouraging."

The new IMF Managing Director H. Johannes Witteveen, former Finance Minister of the Netherlands, said expectations for immediate results had been "too optimistic." US Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz called the new July deadline "unambiguous" and said that

World Bank President Robert S. McNamara (right), met by Kenyan Finance Minister Mwai Kibaki, arrives in Nairobi for the annual IMF-IBRD meeting. Photo: United Press International.



it would force an "acceleration" of reform efforts.

EC Member States' Finance Ministers, prior to the IMF "Group of Twenty" meeting in Nairobi on September 23, had agreed on a joint position on international monetary reform. This joint position was presented by Danish Foreign Economic Relations Minister Ivar Norgaard, the President in Office of the EC Council of Ministers, on September 25. He noted that monetary reform requires a "complex process of negotiations," the success of which depends upon an in-depth examination of all the problems. Toward this end, Group of Twenty meetings are scheduled for January and late spring.

Commenting on the search for a new monetary order in Nairobi—"a monetary safari"—Leonard Silk, of *The New York Times*, cited a passage from Ernest Hemingway's "Green Hills of Africa": "Now it is pleasant to hunt something you want very much over a long period of time, being outwitted, outmaneuvered and failing at the end of each day but having the hunt and knowing every time you are out that, sooner or later, your luck will change and that you will get the chance that you are seeking."

Also meeting in Nairobi on the same dates was the World Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, IBRD). Robert S. McNamara, the Bank's President, called attention to "the absolute poverty" of nearly 800 million people in the world and outlined a new strategy for channeling aid directly to the world's poor.

Prior Consultation on Cooperation Accords With Comecon Countries

EC Member States would have to consult Community authorities before signing cooperation agreements with members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), according to an EC Commission proposal. The proposal was sent to the Council of Ministers on October 11.

Comecon members have in the past refused to recognize or negotiate with the Community as an entity, preferring to deal with its individual Member States. (See *European Community* No. 170, page 18). For this reason, and because the Community's common commercial policy does not strictly apply to cooperation agreements, Community agreements have not replaced bilateral agreements with Comecon members, as they did EC

members' bilateral agreements with Western countries.

Nevertheless, cooperation agreements involve trade policy at such points as market prospection, export promotion, and credit policy. Because of the potential impact of cooperation agreements on the Community's overall trading position with the East bloc, the Commission believes that they should now be made subject to Community scrutiny, lest individual Community members, competing with each other, weaken the Community's overall competitive position. The Commission considers a united Community especially important now that the United States and Japan have begun to compete strenuously for the East bloc markets.

Community to Protect Fishing Grounds



Fishing boats at dock in the Mediterranean.

Community action to conserve biological resources and safeguard fishing activities around the Danish islands of Greenland and the Faroes has been recommended to the EC Council of Ministers.

A September EC Commission report suggested safeguards to include fishing restrictions in the Danish-supervised waters, extension of the 12-mile territorial limit, a fixed annual catch quota for certain fish giving priority to Greenland and Faroe Islands fishermen, regulating fishing techniques, and imposing limits on fishing rights.

The Commission also said that Community financial institutions could be tapped to modernize the fish processing industry on these islands. Taking into account the effect of these safeguards on other EC regions whose fishing industry depends on Greenland and the Faroes, the Commission proposed that the affected regions be made eligible for similar Community aid. Safeguards similar to those proposed for the Danish islands could be applied to other EC regions with, the Commission said, similar economic and social problems.

Inflation Remains a Community Problem

Continued inflation still jeopardizes the European Community's progress toward full economic and monetary union, according to the EC Commission's third annual report on the Community's economic situation. Therefore, the report said, the battle against inflation must be given highest priority among the Community's economic objectives. The report, the first to encompass the enlarged Community, was submitted to the Council of Ministers on September 18 and was to be sent to Member States' legislatures for consideration during budgetary debates.

Inflation is worldwide, the Commission noted in reviewing the general economic situation. Rapid growth in booming industrialized countries has been accompanied by monetary disorders, commodity speculation, and supply problems which have skyrocketed raw material and foodstuff prices.

The Community's situation for the first half of 1973, the report found, was characterized by rapid economic growth and accelerating exports to third countries. The leveling off of exports to the United States was offset by sales to other European and developing countries. The growth of intra-Community trade was boosted by the first 20 per cent tariff reduction between the Community and the three new members, Britain, Denmark, and Ireland. The report also saw a drop in unemployment, although Italy and Ireland still face heavy structural unemployment.

Although Germany, Denmark, and the Benelux countries have restrained public investment, overall EC public expenditures have continued to grow. The Commission saw no repercussions from higher interest rates or new credit restrictions.

Despite EC anti-inflationary measures, overall price increases gained momentum in the first half of this year. The rate of increase jumped from a range of between 5.5 per cent and 8 per cent in 1972 to a range of between 6 per cent and 11 per cent in 1973. The report said producer and wholesale prices of industrial products were

rising faster than consumer prices.

The report also found a slight deterioration in the Community's trade balance. Internal demand has stimulated imports, and supply shortages have reduced exports. Of the "Nine," only the Netherlands and Germany increased exports.

The Commission reported some anti-inflation progress in measures carried out under the Community's short-term economic policy. These measures have succeeded in raising the cost of credit, discount rates, and interest on savings accounts. Additionally, the influx of short-term capital has been checked, and the internal capital flow has slowed down.

The Commission sees a continued vigorous economic expansion in the Community during 1974. However, anticipating a slowdown in world trade, due primarily to a slowdown in growth in the United States, Canada, and most European countries, the report predicted a reduction in the Community's third country exports.

Calling on Member States to pursue economic policies geared to curb inflation, the Commission stressed the need for coordinated action on the Community and national levels.

EC Competition Rule Hits German Firm

The EC Commission has fined Deutsche Phillips GmbH, of Hamburg, 60,000 units of account (one UA equals one 1970 dollar) for violating Community competition rules, it was announced October 12.

The German firm, a subsidiary of NV Gloeilampenfabrieken, of Eindhoven, the Netherlands, had not, despite a 1967 Commission ruling, removed its export ban on electric shavers. The parent company in 1968 had promised to end this and other export bans. The German subsidiary finally did lift the ban in October 1972, and the Commission's fine is based on a charge of negligence on the company's part.



Ministers from Europe and the "Third World" gather in the Egmont Palace to open negotiations on a new EC Association Treaty.

Talks With Associates and "Associables"

A ministerial conference on October 17 in Brussels opened negotiations on trade and aid links between the Community and 40 developing countries. The developing countries include the 19 African Associates of the Yaoundé Convention and all countries eligible to be Associates, in particular the so-called Commonwealth "associables." The negotiations will determine the future of the Yaoundé Convention, which expires January 31, 1975.

Danish Foreign Economic Relations Minister Ivar Norgaard, the President in Office of the EC Council of Ministers, opened the conference at the Egmont Palace by presenting the Community's position. He said the Community hopes to negotiate "a single model" for association. If some developing countries do not accept this model, however, the Community is prepared to negotiate other types of relations, Norgaard said.

The following day, the Associates and associables replied with a single voice through Namwisi Ma Koyi, Zaire's Minister for Trade. He welcomed the Community's opening position as the beginning of "a constructive dialogue." The two parties then adopted procedural rules for the negotiations, which entered the technical stage on October 22. During this stage, the EC Commission negotiates on behalf of the Community and a "Committee of Ambassadors" on behalf of the three groups of Associates and associables—the African, Caribbean, and Pacific groups.

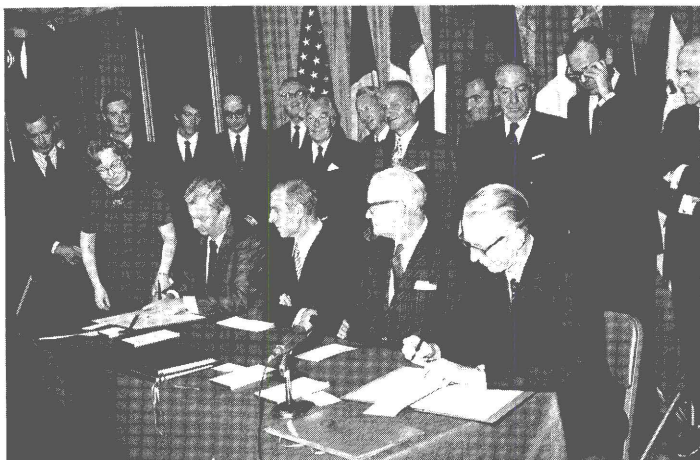
In September, Claude Cheysson,

the EC Commissioner responsible for the Community's relations with developing countries, made a tour of the Caribbean countries involved in the negotiations. There he reaffirmed what he had said a month earlier in Washington (see *European Community* No. 169, page 4): "Community aid to developing countries will be considerable and quite apart from that of other countries. The Community wants to develop imports on preferential bases. It will not ask for any clause of reciprocity."

Prior to the opening of the negotiations, the EC Commission sponsored an "African Fortnight" September 15-30 in Brussels. The cultural, commercial, and touristic program was organized to promote African products. Traditional dance troupes from Cameroon, Zaire, and Niger performed; African sculpture was exhibited, and Senegal's national theater produced a contemporary comedy and an African-setting version of Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire* ("The Hypochondriac"). Brussels stores featured African leatherwork, fashions, and tropical produce. The 19 Yaoundé Associates and the three Arusha Associates (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania) participated.

On October 1, in Dar Es Salaam, a conference of African states was held in preparation for the negotiations with the Community. The African states must maintain solidarity, said Tanzania President Julius Nyerere, or they will be "the hostages of the industrialized countries."

Atlantic Partnership's New Dimension



Signing US-European space agreement (left to right): ESRO Director Alexander Hocker, European Space Conference Chairman Charles Hanin, Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush, and NASA Administrator James C. Fletcher.

Europeans will participate in the United States' post-Apollo space shuttle program. The agreement was signed in Washington on September 24. The shuttle is due to be launched in 1979.

Signing the agreement for Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland was Dr. Alexander Hocker, Director General of the European Space Research Organization (ESRO). Dr. James C. Fletcher, Administrator

of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), signed for the United States. Acting Secretary of State Kenneth Rush and Charles Hanin, Chairman of the European Space Conference (see *European Community* No. 169, page 5) signed a joint communique.

The agreement, in the words of Rush, marks a "new and major cooperative undertaking and a new dimension in the Atlantic partnership."

Finland Joins Industrial Free Trade Area

The signing of two agreements between the European Community and Finland marks the end of negotiations to establish an industrial free trade area between the Community and all European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries which did not apply for full EC membership.

Talks between the Community and all non-applicant EFTA countries, including Finland, were begun in Brussels in December 1971 and concluded in July 1972. Agreements previously signed with Austria, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland went into force on January 1, 1973. EFTA country Norway, which had applied for EC membership and then rejected it in a referendum last year, concluded

a free trade agreement with the Community which came into force July 1, 1973.

The agreements with Finland, which, if ratified, will enter into force in 1974, are essentially the same as those signed with the other EFTA countries. They provide for reduction of industrial tariffs between Finland and the six original EC members plus Ireland (the only one of the three new EC members which was not an EFTA country), in five 20 per cent stages. The agreements, intended to secure free trade in industrial goods, also provide for safeguard measures to prevent distortions of competition. The agreements leave both parties free to establish trade links with any other third party.

United Europe Tackles the Weather

A European Center for Medium-Range Weather Forecasts to benefit agriculture, construction, transport, and other sectors affected by the weather is expected to become fully operational in five years. A convention to establish the Center was signed by 19 countries, including the nine EC Member States, on October 11 within the framework of European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research (COST).

The primary functions of the Center will be to produce and perfect mathematical models for medium-range weather forecasting and to prepare and transmit medium-range forecasts to national meteorological offices. The Center will also help train a research staff for numerical weather forecasting in Europe and will make available special computing capacities and a data bank to national meteorological offices.

The Center will cost an estimated 22 million units of account (UA) and will be located in England. (One UA equals one 1970 dollar.) The ratio between the economic benefits likely to come from the use of the Center and its operating cost (UA 8.9 million) are estimated at better than 25-to-1.

The non-EC countries signatory to the Convention are Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia, Norway, Austria, Portugal, Switzerland, Finland, Sweden, and Turkey.

ECSC Helps Danish Steel Industry

A European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) loan of 7.6 million units of account (one UA equals one 1970 dollar) to a Danish steel company marks the first ECSC loan in a new Member State.

The loan to Danske Stålværk AS will help double its annual steel output to a million tons and help create 500 new jobs. This year ECSC loans have totaled more than UA 200 million. Denmark, along with Britain and Ireland, joined the Community on January 1.

Month in Brief

OCTOBER 1973

1-2 Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli meets with President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in Washington (see page 3).

4-5 European Parliament holds special session in Luxembourg to discuss strengthening of its budgetary powers.

15-16 Council of Ministers meets in Luxembourg.

15-19 European Parliament holds plenary session in Strasbourg, France.

17 Ministerial conference in Brussels opens negotiations between the Community and its Associates and "Associables" (see page 5).

25-26 Council of Ministers meets in Luxembourg.

28-30 Commission Vice President Christopher Soames visits Washington (see next issue).

29-30 European Parliament members visit Washington (see next issue).

EC Disaster Relief to Ethiopia, India, and Pakistan

The European Community will give emergency food aid to India and Pakistan, stricken by floods, and to Ethiopia, hit by drought, under terms of an EC Commission proposal to the EC Council of Ministers.

The aid involves 10,000 tons of wheat and 1,500 tons of powdered skim milk for Pakistan and the same amounts of the same products for India. The aid would supplement the International Red Cross' relief efforts. For Ethiopia, the aid involves 5,000 tons of cereals and 120 tons of powdered skim milk.

Under terms of EC emergency aid, the Commission's September 18 proposal would include EC financing of transportation and distribution costs to the millions of Indians, Pakistanis, and Ethiopians hit by severe food shortages.

Europe's Working Women

EC Commission Finds Pay Bias

The principle of women's equality with men in employment was guaranteed by Article 119 of the 1957 Common Market Treaty. But, despite the irrefutable progress made in applying this principle, an EC Commission report reveals that real job equality for women is still a long way off.

The Commission's "Article 119 Special Group" report, completed in July, showed widely differing work patterns among Europe's women, who now account for one-third of the Community's total working population. Half of France's female population between the ages of 14 and 65 hold a job. In the Netherlands, only one woman in four goes to work; in Italy, only one in five. In all the original six EC countries, except for Italy, more than half of the female workers are in service occupations.

In most cases, equality for women is guaranteed by the Member States' own constitutions. Germany's 1949 constitution states that "nobody may be placed either at an advantage or a disadvantage because of his or her sex." France put women's liberation into the constitution in 1946, Italy in 1948. By 1965, legislation in Luxembourg gave equal wage rights to all women. Only Belgian women working under collective agreements could assert their claim to equal pay until 1967, when the right was extended to "any female worker." Belgium applies criminal sanctions to employers who discriminate by sex.

Although the French Government believes the principle of equal rights for women constitutes the basis for court action and enacted a 1972 law providing for criminal sanctions, there has never been a court ruling. In the Netherlands, apart from arrangements for implementation of a minimum legal wage, the right to equal pay exists only in collective agreements or individual work contracts. The Netherlands, however, is the only EC Government having the power to cancel discriminatory collective agreements.

The Commission report found that many Member States have inadequate supervisory facilities. The inspectors used by Luxembourg and France to oversee the application of equal rights provisions have too many other responsibilities and are too few in number to be effective. Only Italy employs inspectors responsible solely for supervising equal rights. Germany and the Netherlands have no administrative checks whatsoever.

TO DEFINE "EQUAL WORK"

The principle of "equal pay" has been relatively easy to define, said the Commission, but the definition of "equal work" is more elusive. Article 119 only indicates that "equal pay without discrimination means that pay for the same work at piece rates (pay based on output) shall be calculated on the basis of the same unit of measurement, and that pay for work at time rates shall be the same for the same job." Since most workers are paid by the hour, the time rate clause presents the most problems.

Italy and Germany have decreed that women cannot receive lower wages for their supposed lower yield. Nor can the fact that social protection of women is costlier than for men be used as an



Anesthetist, Belgium.

excuse to reduce women's salaries. In the Netherlands, the Commission's Special Group discovered that women are excluded from one in every four pension plans, and, when allowed to join, receive about 25 per cent less than men in monthly pension payments, because women either live longer, retire earlier, or both.

Several occupations, employing large numbers of women, are not covered by national minimum wage requirements. Among those excluded in France and Luxembourg are caretakers and domestic servants, and farm, wine growing, and truck gardening workers, as well as those under 18 years of age. Although nearly 60 per cent of all women workers in the Netherlands are under 23-years-old, Dutch law applies only to full-time workers between the ages of 23 and 65.

The Commission's report distinguished between what it calls "direct" and "indirect" discrimination. Most EC Member States claim that direct discrimination (differing wage scales) has either been or is being eradicated. The report also notes, however, that in Italy, 1.5 million workers, three quarters of whom are women, work at home. Only 40,000 of these people are covered by collective agreements. According to the trade unions, the remainder, regarded as self-employed, are, in fact, engaged in dis-

guised salaried work. Lower salaries for Dutch women persist in such sectors as the garment, textile, bakery, laundry, ceramic, and footwear industries.

Indirect discrimination, through inequitable job classification systems, is widespread. For example, low salaries are set for jobs reserved almost exclusively for women, or in some cases, for "light work." So called "light work" is only light in that little physical strength is required.

Member States have moved to combat indirect discrimination through introduction of single classification systems for men and women. Nevertheless, trade unions in most countries complain of discriminatory practices in the application of the new unified systems and in real wages and bonus payments. No single classification system for Italy's jasmine and olive pickers, for instance, exists.

INFERIOR STATUS

In another example of women's inferior status, the Commission found that in most countries a man is automatically assumed to be head of his family, while a woman, if she is, has to prove it. Belgian labor leaders reported that women tend to be the last hired, first fired—a problem which the Commission suspects is Community-wide. French labor leaders maintain that employers' attitudes are prejudiced by the higher absenteeism rate and shorter work careers of women; but Luxembourg says that its high labor shortage has created a real demand for women workers.

Women suffer from having fewer training opportunities than men. The notion that women are essentially part-time or occasional workers has encouraged their omission from many training programs. EC Member Governments have tried to remedy this situation by stimulating special training programs to give women more lucrative skills.

Realizing the rising importance of part-time female work to the economy, Luxembourg is pioneering the extension of pension and insurance plans to include some part-time workers. Italy, however, is still at the stage of introducing government-run day care centers, and the Netherlands is only just passing legislation to outlaw the firing of women who get married or become pregnant.

Despite the legislative efforts to remove the gap between men's and women's wages, differentials still exist in most sectors of the Community's economy. The textile, food, and clothing industries show a variance of 13 per cent in Italy, 15 per cent in France, 20 per cent in Germany, 22 per cent in Belgium, and 27 per cent in the Netherlands. Differentiation statistics for the electrical equipment industry are 10 per cent in France, 12 per cent in Italy and the Netherlands, 20 per cent in Germany, and 21 per cent in Belgium. Most women still fall at the bottom of the wage hierarchy. The most striking reforms have occurred in government services.



Electronics worker, Germany.



Kindergarten teacher, Germany.



Cancer researcher, Germany.

The Commission, seeing national public authorities as having a crucial role in the implementation of equality for women, has recommended that Member States institute firmly entrenched provisions for equal wages, for protecting women from dismissal when cases alleging discriminations are brought to court, for nullification procedures for labor agreements contrary to Article 119, and for increasing supervisory inspections with effective penalties.

The Commission also calls on employers and unions to clean their own houses by refusing to sign discriminatory collective agreements, by including in collective agreements a clause specifying the manner in which equal pay will be applied, by streamlining job classification systems, and by giving priority to raising the lowest wages.

Employers' organizations are urged to direct their members to give women better access to skilled posts. Unions are urged to play a greater watchdog role, to support and promote legal action in cases of discrimination, and to involve women in negotiations affecting their interests.

The Commission says it will start proceedings against Member States which do not faithfully apply Article 119. The Commission also plans to draft a new Community instrument more detailed than Article 119, and proposes that the Special Group be enlarged to include representatives of the Commission, member governments, employers' organizations, and unions.

CONDITIONS SIMILAR IN THREE NEW EC COUNTRIES

An additional report on the status of wage equality for women in the three new Member States (Britain, Ireland, and Denmark) is currently being prepared by the Commission. From evidence gathered so far, however, conditions seem to be similar to those found in the "Six."

Denmark has the largest percentage of women in the labor force: 38 per cent, followed by 37 per cent in Britain and 26 per cent in Ireland. An Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report on Denmark pointed out that "women are concentrated in unskilled work in industry, and in shops, offices, and service occupations." Danish women's movements also complain that, although equal pay may have been obtained for equal work, jobs of equal value are still lacking. The OECD report seems to regard it as encouraging that "new openings are reported for women in the lower levels of computer work, as draftswomen and laboratory assistants, and as taxi, bus, and tram drivers." But such jobs could hardly be said to evidence equality of opportunity. In the Danish Government, for example, women ministers still tend to deal only with church, culture, and family.

Ireland is still at the stage of trying to eliminate tangible discriminations like separate wage scales for men and women and demarcation lines between male and female jobs. A recent setback came with rejection by the Equal Pay Commissioner of the

EC Commission's Glass House

"People in glass houses shouldn't throw stones." The adage appears appropriate for the EC Commission, which operates out of a modern, glass-facade headquarters building and which, while finding employment discrimination against women throughout the Community, may itself be accused of discrimination.

Women filled only 99 out of 1,625 top—"A" category—posts in the Commission at the end of last year, and the Commission admits that this number is unsatisfactory.

The Commission explains that, since officials must be recruited through competitive examinations, the number of "A" "Eurocrates" can increase only if more women take the tests and do well in them.

However, appointments in the top three grades of the "A" stream are largely "political" and exempt from formal examinations—and it is here that sex discrimination seems most marked.

Confectionery assembly line workers, Germany.



first claim submitted to him. The claim involved women confectioners who serve the same apprenticeship (four years) as men do and do the same work but earn 70 per cent of the male basic wage. Although in legalistic terms the decision was correct within the Commissioner's terms of reference, the psychological effect has been considerable.

An EC Commission report on the status of women, published in Dublin last year, noted: "The removal of . . . actual discriminations leaves untouched a larger and more subtle area of discrimination . . . the stereotyped role that is assigned to women, the inculcation of attitudes in both boys and girls in their formative years that there are definite and separate roles for the sexes and that a woman's life pattern must be predominantly home-centered while the man's life pattern must be predominantly centered on employment. It is from this type of cultural mold that formal discrimination arises." Too, with high levels of unemployment in Ireland, a woman who works is often seen as taking the bread out of a man's mouth. The report also criticized the "subordinate and muted participation of women in trades union organization."

Britain in legislative terms is among the least biased of the EC countries. An Equal Pay Act exists, although it will not come into full force until 1975. The British Government is holding consultations on a bill which would make "discrimination in employment against women (and where appropriate men) unlawful" and would set up an Equal Opportunities Commission unique in Europe. The Commission, including representatives of industry, education, the professions, and women's organizations, would have the power to conduct wide-ranging inquiries into relative positions and opportunities for men and women.

The bill's need can be seen in some statistics: Only 10 per cent of women at work are given leave for further education, compared to 40 per cent of men. Only two women are on the 39-member Trades Union Council, although 21 per cent of the union membership is female. Only 1 per cent of draftsmen are women (the figure is 50 per cent in Sweden). The bill's critics deplore, among other things, its restriction to employment and complain that eight clauses are devoted to vague and ambiguous exceptions such as "where it could be shown that for the performance of personal services strong preferences among customers or clients made the employment of a man (or a woman) essential to the business."

A recent advertisement by a British employment agency specializing in women graduates sums up the issue: "Why isn't there a woman at Number 10? There's never been a woman prime minister in Britain. There are virtually no women directors among Britain's top 500 companies. It's not because women don't have the talent. After all, three other countries in the world already have women prime ministers. And indeed, if you go by university results, you'll see that a higher percentage of women get first or second class honors than men. But when they go off to get a job



Textile worker, Belgium.



Rural housewife, Belgium.

after university, three times the proportion of men graduates actually get jobs in industry or commerce than women. . . . Since 1968 . . . we've been trying to do something about this waste of Britain's resources. . . . In short, a girl with a brain now has a chance to use it. Which isn't just nice for the girls. It can't be bad for the country, either."

Some Statistics

The National Center of Sociology of Social Rights, of Brussels, and the EC Commission last year surveyed working women in the original six EC countries. Some of the results follow:

In 1971, women made up a large part of the salaried work force: 36.6 per cent in France, 32 per cent in Germany, 29.9 per cent in Belgium, 24.7 per cent in Italy, and 23.4 per cent in Luxembourg. Of these working women, many were married: 63.1 per cent in Belgium, 58.1 per cent in France, 56.4 per cent in Germany, 51.4 per cent in Italy, and 28.2 per cent in the Netherlands. Some women have no choice but to retain both working roles: among single parents, many more are women than men, and these women represent 5 per cent to 12 per cent of all families with dependent children.

Women generally begin an active working life later than men. A woman's husband and children continuously interrupt her professional life. In the Netherlands and Luxembourg, for example, the majority of women who work have no children, confirming a sociological thesis that married women who work have a lower pregnancy rate. A relatively high percentage of women over 55-years-old who work still have dependent children. In France, 7 per cent of the working women are over 60-years-old, and in Germany there are more old than young employed women. At the other extreme, young women often jump into the work force prematurely without adequate preparation or qualifications. Ten per cent of the working women in France and 11 per cent in Italy are between 14- and 18-years-old. In the Netherlands, 68 per cent of the workers between 18- and 25-years-old are women. This last statistic reflects a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly frequent in Europe: women putting their husbands through school and relinquishing the opportunity for continuing their own education.

Women who do continue their education are often unable to obtain a job commensurate with their qualifications. Women's educational levels, in general, remain low: 10.5 per cent of Italian women have attended a university (the highest percentage), while in Germany the figure is 0.6 per cent. Most of the women interviewed said they were not given opportunities to make responsible decisions in their businesses: 88 per cent of the Italians, 80 per cent of the Belgians, and 39 per cent of the French and Germans. The survey found that most women have jobs with little possibility for advancement: in the Netherlands, 78 per cent of women employees who had been working for more than

15 years are factory workers; and in Germany, 33 per cent of 10-to-15-year employees have subordinate positions. Employees confined to the "feminine ghetto" (around 70-80 per cent of the women employees in the six countries) have less chance for advancement and receive lower wages than those who do not perform exclusively "feminine" tasks.

Approximately half the employed women in four EC countries work in industry—51 per cent in Italy, 46 per cent in Germany, 45 per cent in France, and 42 per cent in Belgium—while the figure is only 28 per cent and 27 per cent, respectively, in the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Agriculture, on the other hand, employs few women, except in Italy, where 9.2 per cent of the working women are employed in the agricultural sector. The remainder of the female working force includes: 15.1 per cent of Italian working women are teachers; commerce and banking employs 42 per cent of the working women in Luxembourg, 29 per cent in France, and 28 per cent in the Netherlands; medical and sanitary services employ 15.2 per cent of the working women in the Netherlands and approximately 8 per cent in Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg; domestic and maid services employ 7.5 per cent in the Netherlands, 6.2 per cent in Germany, and 4.3 per cent in Belgium.

Three-quarters of the women surveyed said they worked for economic reasons. Women who are the heads of families represent 42.7 per cent of the working women in Luxembourg, 42.7 per cent in Germany, 41.2 per cent in France, 24.5 per cent in Italy, 22 per cent in Belgium, and 21.9 per cent in the Netherlands. The largest percentage of women who work because their husbands' salaries were insufficient was found in Italy (37.4 per cent) and the smallest percentage in Luxembourg (4.8 per cent). Specific economic reasons for working, such as purchasing a home or putting children through school, were cited most often by women from Luxembourg (25.6 per cent) and Germany (22.6 per cent) and least often by women from the Netherlands (2.5 per cent) and Italy (3.5 per cent). Working "to raise living standards" was cited most often among the Belgians (27.9 per cent) and French (18.4 per cent).

The survey exposed the myth of inevitable "biological absences" among women employees as just that—a myth. With the exception of Italy, women in the six countries took leaves of absence for the same reasons as their male colleagues in nine out of 10 cases.

—**MARINA GAZZO**, staff writer for the Brussels newsletter Agence Europe

MARION BYWATER, a staff writer for the Brussels newsletter *European Report*

“Her abilities were of a kind uncommon in women, or at all events very rarely developed in one of her sex. She could have managed a large and complicated business, could have filled a place on a board of directors, have taken an active part in municipal government—nay, perchance in national. . . . Her aim was to draw from the overstocked profession of teaching as many capable young women as she could lay hands on, and to fit them for certain of the pursuits nowadays thrown open to their sex. She held the conviction that whatever man could do, woman could do equally well—those tasks only excepted which demand great physical strength.” The description comes from the novel *The Odd Women* by English writer George Gissing. Although the book was published in 1893, the narrator’s sentiments continue in today’s Europe as elsewhere.

Women in Britain, Germany, and Luxembourg gained suffrage 50 years ago—women in Belgium, 25 years ago—but has the European woman’s lot really changed? Women still have unequal representation in the legislative process: In the Danish lower house, 16.8 per cent of the members are women; in the Dutch lower house, 8.7 per cent; in the German Bundestag, 6.1 per cent; in the Luxembourg house, 4.3 per cent; in the British House of Commons, 4.1 per cent; in Italy’s lower house, 3.0 per cent; in Belgium’s Chamber of Deputies, 2.8 per cent; in the Irish Dail, 2.0 per cent, and in France’s Chamber of Deputies, 1.6 per cent (all figures for early 1972).

True, of the five monarchies in the nine countries of the European Community, three are ruled by women—Denmark, Britain, and the Netherlands. Of the Dutch Queen Juliana, it has been said that if the monarchy were abolished she would be her country’s first president. But a woman has no chance of working her way up to such a post. It is a case once again of women being able to succeed only when they start from a privileged position.

A HARD FIGHT

In a sense, today’s European women have a harder fight than the suffragettes, who fought discrimination embodied in legislation. Now discrimination has largely gone underground, such as employers’ dividing labor into male and female jobs (see page 7). How do women fight the discrimination—and humiliation—of men stopping in their tracks to watch a woman driver park her car in anticipation of a crash? How do you prove you are not paranoiac when you claim that the restaurant had no table free because you are a woman?

Trouble begins at birth. Even a woman’s birthright of nationality is inferior to a man’s. A man can be certain of carrying the same passport all his life, but Italian women lose their nationality altogether on marriage to a foreigner. In some other EC countries, a woman loses her nationality unless she marries her foreign fiancé on the soil of her country of birth. A woman who is married several times as a result of divorce or widowhood may acquire and lose several nationalities in one lifetime—with

implications for social security benefits and, if she is an EC official, her expatriation allowance. The children of a mixed nationality marriage frequently find it harder to take the mother’s nationality than the father’s.

Treatment of women as second-class citizens discriminates against men, too. If a man wants to acquire the nationality of his wife, he will find it difficult. Exceptions are Ireland—and Germany, where a law passed in 1970 making it easier but still not automatic.

The new-born European baby soon gets put in its—masculine or feminine—place. As in the United States, tomboys or sissies are frowned upon. Stereotyping is often unconscious and imposed by toys and school books which portray boys and girls and men and women in traditionally male and female roles.

Denmark is the only EC country where a large-scale attempt has been made to change school books and curricula to teach the boys to sew a button on their shirt and the girls to change a fuse. Women’s movements in Britain have been campaigning against single-sex schools, but at least at an all-girl school there is no psychological pressure that says it is unfeminine to be competitive and seek the top of the class. Where action is really needed is in the teacher training colleges to prevent new generations of teachers from perpetuating sex roles.

SINGLE VERSUS MARRIED

Except in social security benefits (Belgian women receive less unemployment benefits than men, for example), single women probably have the best of it in the thicket of petty regulations and disparaging attitudes that women must face. Not that they have an easy time if they want to make a career on men’s terms in a man’s world. Credit and mortgages are harder to obtain, and businessmen’s clubs remain closed to them. But the real discrimination is bound up in the institution of marriage.

In Ireland, the ban on married women working has only recently been lifted in the civil service and still persists in many areas of industry. The popular image of the woman who does not work after marriage is one of idleness and an easy existence. Yet the Dutch Family Ministry has calculated that the work of a woman in terms of the professional rates for washing, cleaning, child care, and cooking is worth a salary of \$50 a week for a woman without children, \$85 a week for a woman with two children, and \$144 a week for a woman with more than two children. A study by Britain’s National Council of Women estimated that the average homemaker should be receiving at least \$8,000 a year. “Total homemaking would account for 39 per cent of gross national product for the 12 million homes of England and Wales,” the study said. The German magazine *Stern* recently calculated a housewife’s value at almost \$100 a week.

Today the institution of marriage is indissolubly linked with family planning. A double standard seems to apply which condemns women who want no children but which does not facilitate



Young married women with their children, Belgium.

childbirth for the working woman. The right to publish information on contraception still does not exist in Ireland and Italy. It has existed in France only since the early Seventies and in Belgium only since July. In two EC countries—Britain and Ireland—women are not safe from dismissal for pregnancy. In other EC countries, a woman's salary, job, and associated rights (such as seniority premiums and pensions) are either safeguarded by the social security system or by the employer, but the same safeguards would apply if she caught the plague.

The German Government's report on the status of women, published in August 1972, states: "Since the problem of an unwanted pregnancy mainly affects women and since there are too few social and educational facilities like crèches and full-day schools to facilitate the mother's position, more account should be taken than previously of the woman's responsibility in the decision on future life. Moreover, current law has not been able to stem the large number of illegal abortions, which imply multiple dangers for health and life and a degrading situation. The threat of punishment mainly affects those women who as a result of difficult living conditions are in a particularly desperate situation as a result of pregnancy." But this enlightened attitude has not yet brought abortion reform.

ABORTION AND BIRTHS

Abortion on demand, with the decision fully in the hands of the woman, exists only in Denmark. In Britain, although abortion on demand exists in theory, in practice it is available only for the articulate and relatively well-off and the final decision remains with a doctor. Where abortion is illegal, the laws are unenforceable—and therefore meaningless and even detrimental. The Council of Europe estimates that illegal abortions each year num-

ber: one for every birth in Luxembourg, one per two births in France, one for every birth in Italy, and one in every five pregnancies in the Netherlands.

A woman who chooses to have a child usually has an unequal say in the child's fate. In the Netherlands, for example, the husband's word goes in the case of a dispute over the child's upbringing. Yet, if there is a divorce, the woman, rightly or wrongly, is generally given custody and a full say in the upbringing.

On the Continent, women often have an irrevocable marriage contract concluded before the ceremony. Most commonly this contract provides for community of property. A woman who wants to safeguard her own earned or inherited property can have a separation contract. This contract gives the wife the right to administer her own property in Belgium for example, but she still needs her husband's signature on the tax return, just as she needs his signature to have a bank account.

In Denmark, until the law was recently changed, divorces for tax reasons were not uncommon. In a number of European countries, the woman must reveal her earnings to her husband but has no right to know what he earns. In France, divorced and single women with children pay more tax on an equivalent income than a widow with children. Generally, she also loses all her accumulated widow's pension rights. Partly because of inequities like these and generally poor provision for widows, women in Britain are the largest number of beneficiaries of supplementary social benefits, and in Germany 507,000 women (compared to 247,000 men) in 1970 were receiving additional social benefits for their everyday existence.

The necessity for supplementary benefits is also connected, of course, with women's longer life expectancy and the thorny problem of their retirement pension rights. Most women in the vanguard of the equality fight would be happy to see women have the same retirement age as men and are fighting for widowers' pensions just as much as for widows' pensions. For women are fighting for equality not superiority: should not a widower who has come to rely on his wife's income to support their children, for example, be compensated for his wife's death just as his wife would be for his? In Britain, under a new law introduced last year, a woman will actually get less pension per week than a man after paying identical premiums. In another anomaly, a woman who after marriage continues to pay full national insurance contributions during any period she stays at home, may never draw a pension if her husband is five years older than she. A retired married man qualifies for a pension for his wife, but she will not be able to draw the pension toward which she has paid. The law acts only as an insurance against the eventuality of divorce.

The examples given above—far from exhaustive—show why the Community Treaty's Article 119 and why even the first anti-discrimination bill in an EC country (Britain, see page 10) do not go far enough. Inequality is not just found on the job. It is a way of life.

East and West Talk

Security Conference Demonstrates EC Unity

RICHARD C. LONGWORTH, *Brussels correspondent for United Press International*

Despite recent squabbling over money, energy, farming, and even their relative devotion to the European cause, the nine European Community Member States have presented a common front at the European Security Conference that has impressed their friends, attracted neutrals, and stymied the Soviet Union.

Preparatory talks for the Security Conference—or Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), to give it its full name and abbreviation—began in November 1972 in Dipoli, a student center in suburban Helsinki. The conference was the fruit of more than 10 years of persistent Soviet lobbying, but the Western allies came determined that it would be more than what Moscow wanted it to be—a World War II peace conference to endorse not only the continent's postwar borders but its political divisions as well.

Thirty-five nations were invited and 34 came: only Albania stayed home. The Conference was deliberately structured as a meeting among nations—not between blocs. No provision for representation by relevant organizations or institutions, like the EC Commission, was made.

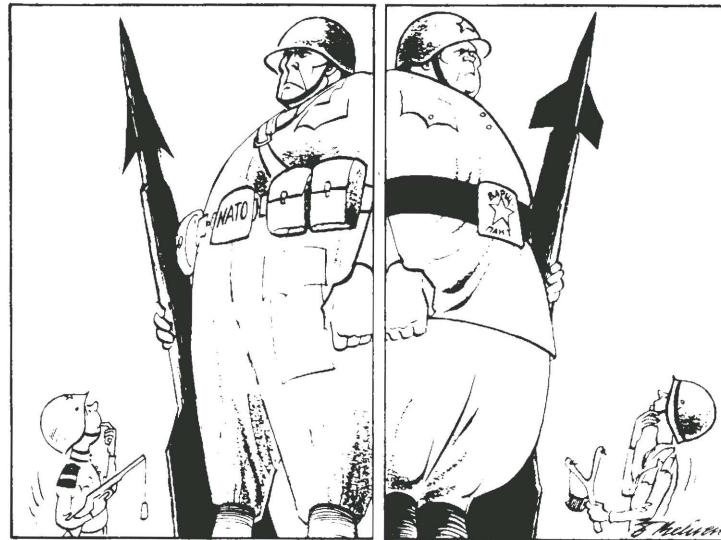
Yet the “Nine” have operated as a bloc. Frequently this solidarity has broadened to become a joint front of the 15 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries. In addition, the EC Commission itself has made its way to the conference table, albeit by the back door. At this writing, the Commission has successfully withstood loud objections to its presence by the Soviet Union and, for different reasons, Romania.

This solidarity resulted from years of advance preparation. In the late Sixties, several European nations—particularly France and the Scandinavian countries—came to agree with Moscow that a Security Conference might be a good idea. To varying degrees, they insisted, however, that the Soviet agenda be broadened to include such items as economic cooperation and “human contacts.” Gradually, it dawned on other European nations that the Conference, if properly handled, could be made to produce so many East-West contacts—political, economic, and “human”—that it could help erode, instead of endorse, the divisions of Europe.

The United States, a late convert to this thinking, finally gave its blessing after the Soviets agreed that both America and Canada should be included as full participants. US participation was also linked to Soviet agreement that progress in the CSCE should run more or less parallel with advances toward Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR)—a set of negotiations which Washington hopes will persuade Moscow to pull back troops to match the now inevitable US force cutback in central Europe.

NATO AND EC COOPERATE

The Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia delayed the Conference but did not stop it. Meanwhile, small international groups of enthusiasts were hard at work in Brussels' two bureaucracies—



“Depending on how you look at it” Behrendt, *Het Parool*, Amsterdam. Ben Roth Agency.

the EC Commission headquarters in the Berlaymont Building and five miles away, the sprawling corridors of NATO. Officially, there was no contact between the two—NATO, a military alliance, and the EC, without a foreign policy, let alone a military policy. In fact, however, working groups from the two organizations met frequently but discreetly to coordinate planning, especially on economic issues. That eight of the nine EC countries (all but Ireland) also belong to NATO made this cooperation not only easy but inevitable.

By the time the preparatory talks began in Helsinki on November 22, 1972, the Western allies were ready to go. Foreign ministers of the Nine had put their approval on the relevant EC document only the previous day—a notable example of cooperation even before the EC expanded officially from six to nine members on January 1.

The allies' presentation was divided into three sections or “baskets,” as they came to be known—economic cooperation, military security, and the “freer movement of peoples and ideas between East and West. To underline Western solidarity, each “basket” was presented by Belgium, Italy, and Denmark, which let it be known that they were speaking for their allies as well. In briefings later, the presentations were publicly described as a joint effort by the EC Member States. The substantial work done in NATO was played down, but American officials, when asked, said the Conference was, after all, about Europe. As long as it was represented, Washington was content to keep its profile low, the officials said.

The preparatory talks lasted six months, and the Nine's solidarity never wavered. The Soviet Union had hoped to speed the preparations through to a set of broad generalizations that could be easily swallowed by any government. Valerian Zorin, the chief

Soviet delegate, even objected to a Christmas recess, earning a public rebuke from Ireland, which drew the support of many neutrals, for the most part Christian countries. The neutrals also supported the Western emphasis on the "freer movement of peoples and ideas." The Western proposals included suggestions for easier travel, more liberal emigration policies, simpler marriages across borders, better working conditions for foreign journalists and businessmen, more access to foreign broadcasts and publications. The attractive package had one serious flaw: many of the proposals would undercut time-honored security measures within the Soviet Union and could hardly be accepted by Moscow in the spirit with which the West presented them.

The final document that emerged from the preparatory talks did, however, include almost all the Brussels-born proposals. This fact in itself gave testimony to the persistence with which the Nine and the NATO countries stuck by their briefs in Helsinki. But this document was only the first step on a long road.

WEST STRESSES "HUMAN CONTACTS"

After the preparatory talks came the "first stage" of the Security Conference—a meeting of the 34 foreign ministers in Helsinki's glistening Finlandia Concert Hall. In the speeches that week in July, the basic conflict was made clear. The West stressed the "human contacts" package. The East stressed the "security" aspects—particularly the "respect for the rights inherent in the

sovereignty" of each country, the "territorial integrity of states," and "non-intervention in internal affairs." The West saw these phrases as a negation of the "Brezhnev Doctrine" that had justified the 1968 Czechoslovakian invasion. Undaunted, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko said "human contacts" were fine so long as they did not infringe on any nation's "sovereignty." This sovereignty, he said, came first, and he implied that each country wrote the definition of its own sovereignty.

The document drafted in the preparatory talks and endorsed by the foreign ministers became the agenda for the CSCE's "second stage." In this stage, which began September 18 in Geneva, committees from East and West are carrying out the dull and crucial work of writing the specific measures to achieve the targets summed up in the three baskets. Again, the Soviet Union is in a hurry. Again, the Nine are taking it slow, chewing over each point to get language as precise as possible. If successful, the results will be enshrined in an international agreement at a gala "third stage" to be held—possibly at the "summit"—sometime next year.

The solidarity among the Nine achieved in Helsinki and Geneva has not been easy. Not only have the Nine battled every step of the way against the Soviet Union and its allies, but cooperation with the United States has been frayed on occasion. Part of the EC-US difficulty has been the offshoot of the panoply of much-publicized differences over money, trade, agriculture,

The European Security Conference's "second stage" opens in Geneva. Photo: United Press International.





German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel (left) talks with his East German counterpart, Otto Winzer, during the European Security Conference's "first stage" in Helsinki. Photo: United Press International.

energy, and détente. But part of it has been a breakdown in the European-American common front over CSCE-MBFR. This breakdown was particularly evident early this year in preparatory talks in Vienna on MBFR, where the United States was more willing than its allies to accept Soviet suggestions. The American-Soviet viewpoint eventually prevailed, but not without damage to the Atlantic alliance.

EC solidarity was not easy even within the Community itself. The EC Commission had to work hard to persuade the nine EC governments that it deserved a voice at the Security Conference, at least when trade and economic issues were being discussed. Since the Community could not have a separate delegation, Commission officials have gone to Geneva as members of the delegation of Denmark, which currently holds the EC Council of Ministers presidency. In the first half of October, these Commission officials intervened twice: in support of universal application of the most-favored-nation clause, and to say that growth in trade must take into account both reciprocity and the differences between economic and social systems.

Relatively mild stuff, but the Communist countries reacted strongly. All the Communist countries protested the presence of the Commission delegates on Denmark's team. But not all protested for the same reason.

The Soviets objected to the Commission's speaking at all. So far, the Soviet Union has not officially recognized the European Community, although the Soviets have put out feelers toward this end by suggesting negotiations between the EC and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), the loose economic grouping of Communist nations which has inaccurately been called the EC's East European counterpart (see *European Community* No. 170, page 18). It was considered possible that Moscow might demand Comecon representation in Geneva. Danish Foreign Minister K. B. Andersen, President in Office of the EC Council of Ministers, already has said he would "have no

objection" to Comecon participation.

Romania, which has been frequently at odds with the Soviet Union at the Security Conference, opposed EC representation at the Conference for the very reason that it might lead to a Comecon presence. Romania first earned its reputation as a Soviet bloc maverick 10 years ago by objecting to Comecon proposals and does not want Comecon to coordinate Communist economic policy at the Security Conference.

CONFERENCE DRAWS NINE TOGETHER

On balance, it appears that the preparations and execution of the Western position at the Security Conference has drawn the Nine together in their common commercial policy and even in areas of policy where they had previously shunned a common front. What effect the Conference will have on relations between the two halves of Europe is another question.

Negotiators acknowledge that the Security Conference, no matter how successful, will not produce truly open borders between East or West, or completely free exchanges of information or totally unrestricted emigration. Unhampered trade also is out, at least for the time being: the Communist economies lag so far behind those in Western Europe in productivity and quality that the former will require protection for the foreseeable future.

But short of the millennium, there is much that can be done. Western businessmen in Moscow can be allowed to deal directly with Soviet factories, instead of channeling everything through monolithic ministries. Economic cooperation can move forward on joint power grids, pipelines, and transportation systems. Trends toward cultural exchanges can be speeded up. Emigration policies can be relaxed. Already most of these steps have been taken by the Soviet Union's East European allies. Although the Soviet system remains much more rigid than that in, say, Poland or Hungary, Western negotiators believe the Kremlin would make it less rigid in return for the trade, technical expertise, and recognition of postwar frontiers which the Soviets so badly want.

The pressure on the Soviet Union to take liberalizing steps reveals the chief irony of the Security Conference. Originally the West opposed the Conference for fear it would be a Trojan Horse for Soviet influence in Western Europe. Since the talks began, it has become obvious that the Conference poses more of a threat to the status quo in the East than it does to the West.

The possibility was once taken seriously that the Security Conference would undercut Western unity by merging the European Community with the Soviet bloc and neutrals into one big European organization. There are still fears that other factors—such as a too-hasty US troop disengagement from Europe—might lead to a Western Europe uncomfortably subservient to Soviet pressures. But this day is far off. In the meantime, the Security Conference has strengthened, not weakened, the unity of the Nine by forcing them toward an unprecedented degree of cooperatio

The Grand Play

US-EC Relations as a Card Game

PHILIPPE HEYMANN, managing editor of *Vision* magazine, Geneva

The American poet Wallace Stevens once wrote of 13 ways of looking at a blackbird. If a blackbird can command 13 different perspectives, EC-US relations can be seen from an almost countless number of approaches. Here, Philippe Heymann sees US-EC relations as a card game. At a time when "game theory" has gained currency in the academic study of international politics, Heymann uses the analogy of different hands and stakes to illustrate US-EC relations in trade, monetary affairs, energy, technology, international investments, and methods of negotiations. He cautions, however, that "it is a bit artificial" to analyze each hand separately. They are all interrelated and modified by other factors ranging from defense issues to the personal relationships among the heads of state or government.

The respective hands dealt for trade negotiations within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) are by far the most voluminous and complex. (See *European Community* No. 170, pages 15-17.) Although the negotiations could be concluded within two years, compared with five years for the "Kennedy Round," the outcome is far from certain. For example, a lot depends upon what happens in the separate but related negotiations within the International Monetary Fund (IMF, see page 4).

An EC *trump card* consists in its place as the world's greatest commercial power. The Community accounts for about 24 per cent of world trade, compared to the United States' approximately 17 per cent. In addition, the Community members are linked through trade agreements with most other West European countries, whose interests therefore reinforce the EC negotiating position.

A US *trump card* stems paradoxically from the Community's very strength. The Community's enlargement from the original "Six" to include Britain, Denmark, and Ireland and the subsequent trade agreements with European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries that did not become EC members, in the eyes of US critics, means a loss for US exports. The United States must be compensated for this loss, the US Government claims. The Community is thus put on the defensive.

The recent reversal in the US-EC trade balance has also contributed to the Community's defensive position. From the Community's inception in 1958 through 1971, the United States consistently had more exports to than imports from the Community. (In 1971, for example, when the overall US trade deficit was \$2.9 billion, according to US figures, the United States nonetheless ran a \$866 million trade surplus with the Community. EC statistics put the US surplus at \$1.3 billion.) Last year, however, the United States had a trade deficit with the Community, according to US statistics. This recent turn in events amounts to a *weak card* for the Community.

The United States, however, has two *weak cards*, stemming

from what the Europeans consider a lack of fair play. The US Congress' failure to revoke the "American selling price," a non-tariff trade barrier, has left a psychological mark on the Community, for US negotiators during the Kennedy Round had promised to work toward its removal. More recently, the US devaluations of the dollar have given the United States trade advantages without negotiated reciprocal concessions. In fact, the unilateral dollar devaluations have had a greater impact on world commerce than have all the tariff reductions of the Kennedy Round.



TRADE AND AGRICULTURE

Europe: *four trump and two weak cards*

United States: *three trump and five weak cards*

Americans frequently criticize the EC common agricultural policy (CAP) as protectionist, but US farm exports to the Community have consistently increased since the CAP's introduction. In 1964, the last full trade year prior to the CAP, American agricultural exports to the Community amounted to \$1.2 billion. By the end of fiscal year 1971-72, they had risen to a record \$1.9 billion annually, according to US Agricultural Department statistics. This increase—at a rate much higher than that of US farm exports to the rest of the world—gives the Community a *trump card*.

At the same time, however, the CAP gives a *trump card* to the United States. For, although the Community states the CAP's principles are not subject to GATT negotiations, the CAP is facing increasing attack within the Community itself. What may not be negotiated externally may be changed internally. The United States will no doubt exploit the European discord.

The Americans' own farm policies, on the other hand, are also subject to criticism. The Community would no doubt readily criticize them as protectionist. Here the United States has a *weak card*.

A comparison of European and American industrial customs tariffs gives the Community a clear *trump*. According to the GATT, the Community's common external tariff averages 6 per cent, against the United States' 7.1 per cent. The European trump is a bit weakened, however, in view of the different structure of the two external tariffs. While the Community has a rather uniform tariff, US tariffs vary from very high to very low. In negotiating tariff reductions, a problem thus arises. The Americans insist that all tariffs be reduced in an identical fashion; the Europeans, that the higher the tariff, the greater the reduction. The American method, on the surface, seems simpler to apply and measure.

This difference in method plus internal European disagreement over how tariffs should be reduced give the Community a

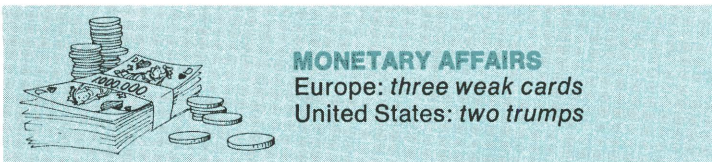
weak card. Some Member States seem ready for zero industrial tariffs throughout the world. Other Member States are reluctant to dismantle the EC common external tariff in the fear that the Community would then lose its identity and cohesion.

Nontariff trade barriers, of which GATT experts have counted more than 800, constitute one of the most complex issues in the world trade negotiations. The Community, through its efforts to harmonize legislation and technical standards among the nine Member States, has helped make the issue less complex and therefore receive a *trump*. To name only one example, common auto standards in the Community mean the cars the United States export to the "Nine" will not have to be geared for different country-to-country standards.

Conversely, the American nontariff barriers, often deliberately conceived as protectionist devices, give the United States a *weak card*. A good example is the "Buy American" Act, which requires the US Government to purchase American-made products unless domestic products are unavailable or unless the domestic product costs 6 per cent more than comparable foreign products. The Pentagon applies a 50 per cent price differential and also maintains a long list of products, including food and clothing, which cannot be purchased abroad.

The United States has an obvious *trump* in the Community's trade and association agreements, particularly those with countries in the Mediterranean basin. The Community, on the defensive, has said it will not extend its system of reverse preferences.

But the same spirit which conceived the EC third country agreements means a *weak card* for the United States. For, through such agreements, the Community has helped meet its responsibility to the "Third World" not only by opening EC markets to developing countries' exports but also by giving technical and financial assistance to developing countries. In addition, the Community has a system of generalized preferences for products from all developing countries. Here, the United States, having failed to enact such a system, is on the defensive.



MONETARY AFFAIRS

Europe: *three weak cards*
United States: *two trumps*

During the recent international monetary turmoil, it was often forgotten that the United States remains the world's strongest economy. According to the Hudson Institute think-tank, for example, in 1985 the United States will have a per capita gross national product of \$7,000, compared with the Community's \$4,500. Although weakened, the American dollar will continue to play a leading role in the world economy. A *trump* for the United States.

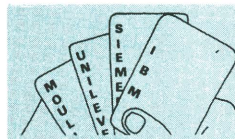
US economic strength means a *weak card* for the Community, which is faced with a contradiction. On the one hand, Europe demands a "more responsible" US economic policy, but tightening

the reins on the US economy would curtail European economic growth.

Because of the dollar devaluations or for whatever reasons, the US balance-of-payments does appear to be returning to equilibrium. For the first time since 1969, the United States has recorded a balance-of-payments surplus, according to figures from the second trimester of this year. Whether this recovery is only temporary, it is too early to tell. But, in any case, the United States now has a *trump*.

The huge mountains of dollars that speculators have dropped in European central banks endanger not only the Community's efforts at a common monetary policy but Europe's very monetary stability. All solutions are dependent upon the United States. A *weak card* for the Community.

Another *weak card* for the Community is its lack of unity in monetary policy. Although complete economic and monetary union remains the goal for the end of the decade, recent setback are acknowledged and different points of view persist. Without a common European front, the US hand is enhanced.



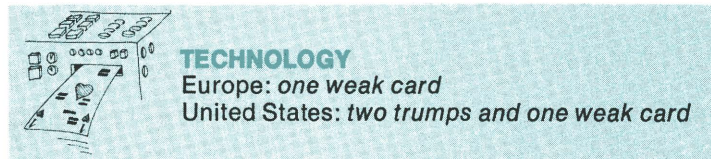
INVESTMENTS

Europe: *one weak card*
United States: *one weak card*

With the development of multinational corporations, international investment has a growing impact on all trade and monetary issues. The importance is recognized by such organizations as the United Nations (with a 20-man study group including former EC Commission President Sicco L. Mansholt and Atlantic Institute Research Director Pierre Uri, see *European Community* No. 169, page 17), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the International Chamber of Commerce, which have launched studies into multinationals, not to mention the work of the US Congress and the EC Commission.

More than half of all foreign investments come from the United States. Too, recent attention has focused on American multinational firms, such as International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) activities in Chile. Europeans complain that some American multinationals make decisions affecting their European subsidiaries without considering local problems, such as throwing workers out of jobs. All this focus on the United States results in a demand for US restraints, dealing a *weak card* to the United States.

Europe, too, has a *weak card*, since it is not beyond blame. At one time, certain European countries tried to brake US multinational penetration, but now most European firms seek to follow the American example. European investments in the United States are rapidly accelerating to the point that it would be surprising if someday Europe does not face the same criticism as the United States does today. Already, certain European chemical firms have been hit by pollution regulations in the United States.



TECHNOLOGY

Europe: *one weak card*
 United States: *two trumps and one weak card*

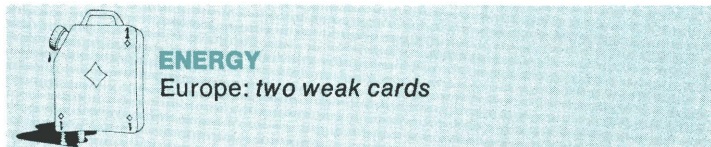
To some observers, a technological brawl is in sight between the United States and Europe. The brawl would stem from recent European technological advances. Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), for example, recently expressed concern over European aeronautical developments.

Despite European advances, however, United States maintains a *trump* from its clear superiority in the technological field. This superiority is likely to remain as long as the United States retains its ability to mobilize large funds for concerted research.

Another *trump* for the United States lies in the marketability of American technical products. In view of the US economy's strength and its resultant demand for high-technology products, the chances for success of American-made products, such as aircraft, computers, and nuclear reactors, remain much greater than for any competitors'. In 1985, estimates show, the United States will still possess more than half of the world's market for such items. Unless Europeans can sell on the American market, European technology will not have a chance. Here the question of nontariff trade barriers comes into play. Regardless of the outcome within GATT, however, the most realistic solution lies in European technological cooperation with US firms. A risk lies in the European firms' being at the mercy of their American partners, as shown by Rolls Royce's ill-fated contract with Lockheed for aircraft engines.

A *weak card* for the United States comes from what Europeans consider "a lack of frankness" in the technological field. The French, for example, recall that deliveries of American computers were sometimes delayed. For another example, the United States had restricted the sale of European aircraft to the Peoples Republic of China and other Communist countries under the pretext that the planes included American materials.

As in other fields, Europe has a *weak card* due to its lack of unity. Although technological cooperation is emerging in certain sectors (computers, for example), a "European" solution to the EC Member States' technological problems remains distant. Even where such cooperation does appear, it is tinged with irony. For example, the recent move toward European unity in space technology (see *European Community* No. 169, page 5) involves participation in the American post-Apollo space shuttle program.



ENERGY

Europe: *two weak cards*

It becomes increasingly apparent that energy-importing coun-

tries must form a united front. Yet, the Community and the United States—the two largest energy importers—seem often to have divergent interests.

Much more dependent on energy imports than the United States, Europe has a *weak card*. In 1970, for example, the United States imported 66 million tons of oil, primarily from areas outside the Middle East, while Europe imported 670 million tons (Japan, 170 million tons). Europe is therefore infinitely more sensitive to Arab pressures in the Middle East than is the United States.

Although the Community is developing a common energy policy, the Member States' interests often diverge. Some EC countries are less dependent than others on outside energy sources, and each EC country has its own particular relations with the Arab countries. Lack of unity again gives Europe a *weak card*.



NEGOTIATING METHODS

Europe: *one weak card*
 United States: *two trumps*

However the hands lay on the substantive issues, additional cards must be dealt on the procedural issue of the respective methods of negotiating on the two sides of the Atlantic. Profound differences exist.

In contrast to a disunited Europe, the United States knows what it wants and where it is going. The US Administration can formulate clear objectives and pursue them with determination. In formulating policy, the European approach depends on the issue—sometimes it involves EC institutions and other times nothing more than national intergovernmental cooperation. In pursuing that policy, the Europeans sometimes speak with one voice, sometimes with nine. The United States has a *trump*.

Added to this disunity is the necessity for any Community policy to meet long-term approval from nine separate home audiences and nine separate national parliaments, compared to the United States' one audience and one Congress. While US negotiators often utilize the Congress' reticence to their favor, European negotiators are slowed down. A *weak card* for Europe.

Europeans often reproach the Americans for their "lack of tact and diplomacy." John B. Connally's "shock tactics" as Treasury Secretary in August 1971 are cited as examples. Whether "untactful" or "undiplomatic," the tactics proved effective. In short, perhaps the United States' best *trump* is that the Americans don't have any "hang-ups."

TALLY (Trump = +2 Weak card = -1)			
Europe		United States	
4 trumps	+8	9 trumps	+18
10 weak cards	-10	7 weak cards	-7
	-2		+11

Britain's Second Thoughts

Eurogloom Settles on Foggy London Town

MARTIN U. MAUTHNER, *Official in the EC Commission's Directorate General for Information*

A mood of "Eurogloom" seems to have overcome the British public, less than a year after the climax of Britain's long journey into the European Community.

About half the British population still opposes EC membership, according to public opinion polls. Many of those who supported British entry appear to have become deeply disillusioned.

Paul Barker, editor of the weekly *New Society*, says: "I'm for Community membership, but one doesn't say so too loudly." The pro-European newsmagazine *The Economist* says: "Support in Britain for the club other people made is now almost back to the rock-bottom levels it reached before Government publicity finally got cracking in late 1971."

On the extreme right, the National Front has altered the former slogan "Keep Britain Out" to "Get Britain Out." The consistently right-wing and anti-European weekly *The Spectator*, attacking "the sour bickerings of the Brussels bureaucrats," asks: "Who now boasts of the advantages to Britain of membership of this absurd Common Market. . . . These fool adventurers, the 'pro-Europeans,' are silent because they know that their European policy is a proved disaster; because they know that the British public was right to reject that which its defeatist politicians sought to inflict."

On the extreme left, voices call for radical renegotiation of the basic entry terms and withdrawal if that fails, as the leftwingers confidently expect it to do.

Various indicators reflect and have perhaps in turn accentuated the public's disenchantment. A poll that *The Times* published on its front page in July, for example, showed that the number of voters who believed that Britain should quit the Community had virtually doubled to 29 per cent from 15 per cent in January 1973. Support for continued British membership on the present entry terms, the poll showed, had fallen from 31 per cent to 23 per cent.

Stephen Fay, who covers European affairs for *The Sunday Times*, alleged on the paper's front page in July that some senior officials in the British mission to the Community in Brussels had reported to their chiefs in Whitehall that Britain's first seven months in the Community indicated that it could be an economic disaster for Britain. "It caused an awful fuss," Fay announced the following week, after the British Government denied his story.

In August, the influential commentator Samuel Brittan told his *Financial Times* readers: "The first seven months of membership have been a pretty well unmitigated loss from this country's point of view." Entitled "What changed my mind about the EEC," the article showed that the author no longer accepted the economic arguments for British membership.

In October, the Labour Party's annual conference narrowly defeated—by a vote of 3,316,000 to 2,800,000—a resolution opposing membership in principle. The conference, however, reaffirmed the Party's policy of boycotting the European Parliament and of submitting the membership issue to the electorate, either

at a general election or by a referendum.

George Thomson, one of Britain's two members of the European Commission, has confessed that he is "saddened and a bit mystified" by the souring of public opinion. His colleague, Commission Vice President Christopher Soames, has attacked Britain's down-at-hearts in typical fashion: "We're not in the instant miracle business, you know," he told a Chamber of Commerce gathering in Scotland.

NEED TO CONVINCING PUBLIC

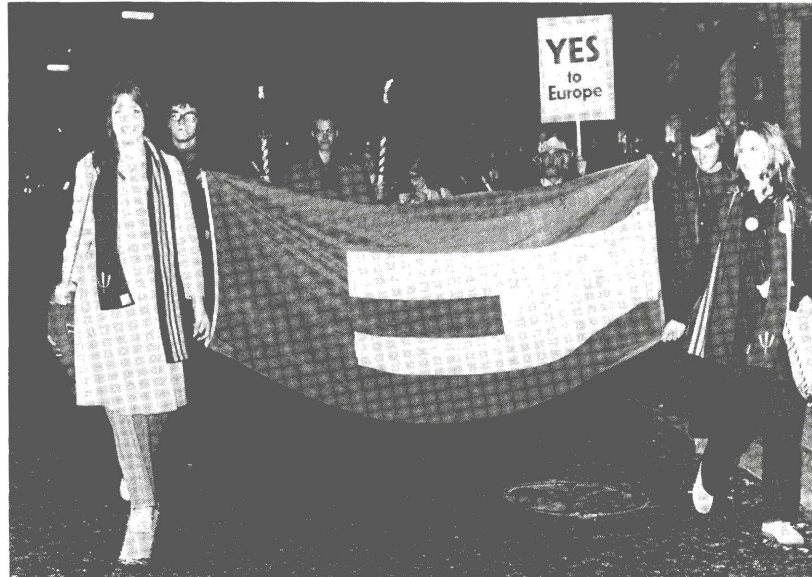
Due to fight a general election by the summer of 1975, Prime Minister Edward Heath's Government is concerned about the growing hostility to what it hoped the electorate would come to regard as a major achievement. Trailing behind the Labour Party and occasionally behind the Liberal Party, in opinion polls, the Government is studying ways of reversing the public's mood.

Geoffrey Johnson-Smith, a Government minister responsible for information policy, says: "We ought to take the public's disenchantment seriously, but we shouldn't overestimate it." He observes that *The Times'* poll shows that 58 per cent think Britain will have more influence on decisions affecting the country if it remains in the Community. He also notes that most people believe that membership is in their children's interest.

Sir Gilbert Longden, Member of Parliament and chairman of the Conservative Group for Europe, thinks the situation is "very serious for the [Conservative] Party, the country, and Europe." EC membership is likely to be a major election issue, he believes. Donald Watt, professor of international history at London University, believes that the public's disaffection could have serious consequences if the Labour Party were returned to power because of the strong "anti-Market" pressures in the Party.

Britain's "Eurogloom" is attributed mainly to the public's strong suspicion that EC membership has contributed to this year's spiraling prices, especially of food. Coming at a time when the Government has been struggling to contain wage increases higher living costs have naturally been deeply resented. "The coincidence of soaring world prices and membership has created the worst sort of background," says Commissioner Thomson. He has been trying to convince the British public that only 5 per cent of the total increase in food prices this year results from entry into the Community. He also emphasizes that Community wheat is cheaper than the wheat Britain is importing from world markets, so bread might have cost less in Britain had the country already been fully applying the EC common agricultural policy. Critics claim, however, that should present commodity shortages give way to world surpluses and lower world prices, the common farm policy would prevent Britain from buying more cheaply on the world market.

Peter Shore, Member of Parliament and the Labour Party's chief spokesman on Community affairs, admits that "it would be



Prior to the October 28, 1971, House of Commons vote to approve British entry into the European Community, public demonstrations (above) climaxed the long debate over EC membership. After one year of membership, some ardent British patriots are still wrapping themselves in the flag, while others feel "European."

wrong to attribute rising prices in Britain wholly or even predominantly to the EEC." He notes, however, that the prices of key foodstuffs, such as bacon, sugar, and butter, are rising as a direct consequence of EC membership.

COMMUNITY AS "SCAPEGOAT"

As Commissioner Thomson has suggested, it seems that the Community is being used as a scapegoat for Britain's domestic problems.

John Davies, Member of Parliament and Britain's "Minister for Europe," confirms that to many Britons Europe simply means rising prices. Although EC membership has had an "absolutely negligible" effect on prices so far, he thinks it natural that people tend to think differently. "People expect a very major event to have a major and immediate result. You could tell people till you were blue in the face that it would not . . . that the result would be long coming. They still don't believe that. When they don't have the result, they look for the most disagreeable that happens and say 'That's the result of going into Europe.' In an article I wrote at the beginning of the year I specifically said that everything that went wrong this year in Britain would be attributed to the Community—and I'm being proved right."

David Spanier, European editor of *The Times*, supports the Thomson thesis: "There is general discontent with the state of the economy and personal living standards. It is easy to blame these on the Common Market. As long as the Government is caught in difficult economic problems, nothing it says about the Community will change the public's view. The best thing the

Government can do is get its home mortgages policy right."

Professor Watt recalls that during the campaign for British entry even the "pro-Marketeers" had admitted that adoption of the common agricultural policy would produce a gradual, if limited, rise in prices. "It's difficult now to show the public that the rise is not connected," Watt says.

Politicians and the press have never ceased to criticize, in varying terms of severity, some of the EC agricultural policy's basic principles. They point out that it "costs" Britain nearly \$480 million a year and that several other EC member countries, Germany in particular, are unhappy about both the policy's effects in consumers and the farm surpluses it creates.

Butter is the most notorious example. The heavily subsidized butter sale to the Soviet Union earlier this year caused an outcry in Britain. As William Forrest, European correspondent of Gemini News Service, put it: "Could anything be more lunatic, or more outrageous, than the recent sale to Russia by the EEC's Commission of a huge chunk of the French-made butter mountain at a give-away price which old age pensioners in Britain and elsewhere would have been only too glad to pay?"

The widespread criticism of the EC farm policy has not been diluted by the public's awareness beforehand that such an unpopular policy was part of the "price" for EC membership. The same holds true for the Community's value-added tax (VAT) system. Criticism centers on the fact that VAT is levied on many goods and services that were previously tax-free and that it seems too complicated to administer—VAT's benefits are rarely acknowledged: lower tax rates on goods such as radios, cameras, jewelry, and furs.

“EUROCHICKEN” RESENTED

The public's irritation is provoked by constant reports that Britain will have to comply with Community rules and practices: to end the sterling float and join the Community's currency “snake in the tunnel”; to let Continental “juggernauts” (huge trucks) hurtle along narrow county lanes and through picturesque towns and villages: to abandon traditional ways of producing or marketing bread, milk, beer, ice cream, citrus, and poultry, although there are signs that the Community is rethinking this aspect of its work to create a truly common market.

In October, British farmers, poultry processors, and butchers set up a committee to fight a “monstrous and completely unnecessary” Community rule—the first adopted in the food hygiene sector—that bans the sale after February 1976 of chickens whose feet, head, and giblets are intact. About a quarter of Britain's poultry trade is in such fresh-plucked birds. The Community rule says birds should be eviscerated so that they can be inspected immediately after slaughter. “What on earth has this rule got to do with uniting Europe?” asks a convinced “pro-Europe” Briton.

Harmonization rules seem unjust because Britain was not an EC member when they were drawn up. The need to align British practices with those worked out by the original six EC members has roused opposition from many professional and business groups, such as the accountants and the insurance brokers. “The first impact the Community had on me was when I learned that we had to change the size of our notepaper,” complains one journalist.

“Professional groups are very apprehensive about harmonization,” according to Professor Watt. He forecasts that Britain's academic world will rise up in arms at the Commission's sixth draft directive on tax harmonization, because it does not exempt new or secondhand books from value-added tax. (Britain does not impose any taxes on publications.) “It will hit intellectuals, many of whom support the Community,” Watt says.

Lord Stokes, chairman of British Leyland, the country's largest car manufacturer, has lashed out at “the faceless minions in EEC headquarters who scratch their heads and search for yet more regulations, harmonization directives, and homologation proposals to justify their very existence.” He claims that Community “bureaucratic red tape” is in danger of strangling the motor industry. (See *European Community* No. 169, page 11.)

Another explanation for Britain's disillusionment is what might be called the “arena theory.” British press reports tend to present the Community as an arena in which the member nations fight one another, with national pride at stake, according to Professor Watt. (“Britain gives in over farm bill,” ran a headline in the *Daily Express* recently.) Watt says these press accounts leave the impression that the British often lose “because the rules are stacked against us, and that Britain is being thwarted by France

and Germany. There's no feeling of Europe as a whole coming out of the reports, and little attempt to show how conflicting interests are reconciled.” Lord Maybray-King, a former Speaker of the House of Commons, expresses a similar viewpoint: “The people of Britain are afraid they are being sold down the river, although we know it isn't true.”

To evoke reader interest in the Community's often highly technical and detailed activities, the British press—as competent as any—can hardly avoid simplifying the issues in terms of conflict between countries and personalities. What is the answer?

TO REMEDY THE MALAISE

To overcome the current malaise of “Eurogloom,” most persons interviewed agreed that:

- An intense information campaign was necessary to explain the Community's aims and achievements and the “costs” of withdrawing from it.
- The “absurdities” and “pinpricks” of the EC farm policy and the harmonization programs should be removed.
- Effective Community regional and social policies that bring direct, tangible benefits to the people should be introduced soon.

“We must present harmonization proposals properly, show that the Community is not just a club for the benefit of French farmers, and emphasize that the Community style is to negotiate,” says Geoffrey Johnson-Smith, Member of Parliament. As recent achievements, he cites Member States' agreement on an environmental policy, a bigger social fund, relations with the United States, and the next round of negotiations to liberalize world trade. “We must stress the long-term nature of the benefit from membership,” he says. “After all, no shareholder would go to a company that had been set up six months earlier and complain that he had not received any dividends yet.”

Another Member of Parliament, John Davies, offers various solutions to change the public's negative views:

- by repeating and repeating the fact that Europe does *not* mean rising prices
- by pointing out that the sharp rise in industrial investment in Britain—which “means jobs, decent pay, and all the things people want”—is because firms see a “long sustained market” for their goods, and that market “is more and more in Europe”
- by explaining the Community's work more effectively to the public in all member countries—“Wherever I go in the Continent of Europe people say the same thing. They say ‘Oh yes, they're marvellously clever, these fellows you have in Brussels; they do wonderful things, but we don't understand them.’”
- by pressing for a “very much more real role for the European Parliament. We here in Britain believe that that real role has got to come.”

Recent Books

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

Business and Accounting in Europe. Edited by A. T. McLean. Saxon House, D. C. Heath Ltd., Westmead, Farnborough, Hants, England, jointly with Lexington Books, D. C. Heath & Co., Lexington, Massachusetts, 1973. 269 pages with tables and index.

A collection of 12 articles on business policy, administration, and accounting in Europe.

Since its inception, the European Community has developed a process of conducting business affairs which is totally European in concept. In the framework of 12 comprehensive articles, the book attempts to acquaint the reader with this system. Part I treats the administration, control, and nature of companies in the Community. The four chapters of Part II supply a useful text to students of European accountancy and finance. Part III covers aspects of economic integration and describes industrial and financial development from both historical and projected future bases.

Directed in part toward a British audience, the book stresses the future changes in British industry, commerce, and accounting caused by entry into the Community. The book attempts to remove the "hazards of the unknown" by acquainting the British reader with the less familiar European system of business practice.

The Competitive Law of the EEC: A Practical Guide. By James P. Cunningham. Noyes Data Corporation, Park Ridge, New Jersey, and London, England, 1973. 315 pages with tables, appendices, and index. \$20.00.

A guide to competition law of the European Economic Community directed at businessmen and their legal advisors who are doing business in the EEC.

Divided into four parts with extensive appendices, the book first

outlines the EEC's general principles, gives a background for understanding competition law, explains various aspects of competition laws, and applies these general principles to specific situations a businessman might encounter. The chapters dealing with particular types of agreements that businessmen are likely to face—distribution, intellectual property, joint research, joint selling, and other agreements—contain check lists for each type of agreement.

Industry and Government in Britain: The Federation of British Industries in Politics, 1945-65. By Stephen Blank. Saxon House, D. C. Heath Ltd., Westmead, Farnborough, Hants, England, jointly with Lexington Books, D. C. Heath & Co., Lexington, Massachusetts, 1973. 256 pages with appendices and index.

A study examining the role of the Federation of British Industries (FBI) in the growing and complex interrelationship of government and industry.

In this history of the FBI, the author, a professor at the University of Pittsburgh, traces the vast changes which the British economic and political system has undergone in recent years. He illustrates the scope of the FBI to influence change in economics and politics through participation with government and labor in the formulation of national policies. From its formation in 1916 to its merger with other private associations to form the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) in 1965, the FBI was the most important national industrial organization in Britain and was widely recognized as the voice of British industry.

The Rise of the Atlantic Economies. By Ralph Davis. Cornell Paperbacks, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1973. 352 pages with maps, bibliography, and index.

A study of the economic history of Portugal, Spain, France, England, and the Netherlands and their colonies in North and South America, from Fifteenth Century Portuguese and Spanish discov-

eries through the Eighteenth Century British Industrial Revolution.

The book not only discusses the economic development and influence of the countries and colonies in question, but also analyzes various non-economic factors which affected each of the countries' economies—including wars, epidemics, and personalities. The author relates important events, personalities, and conditions—both non-economic and exclusively economic in origin—to the development and perpetuation of "the Atlantic Economies." His study, fitting to the subject matter, includes statistical analysis.

European Community Treaties. Edited by Sweet and Maxwell's Legal Editorial Staff and K. R. Simmonds, advisory editor. Sweet & Maxwell, London, and Matthew Bender, New York, 1972. 334 pages.

The volume contains the text of the Treaties establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), and the three major amending Treaties: the 1965 Merger Treaty, the 1970 Budgetary Treaty, and the 1972 Treaty concerning the Accession of Denmark, Ireland, Norway, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. A final section consists of the European Communities Act 1972, as it stood after the third reading in the House of Lords.

Exporters Financial and Marketing Handbook. By Claude M. Jonnard. Noyes Data Corporation, Park Ridge, New Jersey, London, 1973. 308 pages with bibliography and appendix.

A comprehensive text and a basic methods manual on the fundamentals of overseas exporting and selling for business executives and students of international trade.

The author aims to provide the reader "with the necessary background and guidelines for the successful development and effective management of an international sales enterprise with all its distributive, legal, and financial

ramifications." After a survey of the scope and direction of the US position in world trade, the author gives a detailed discussion of: the selling terms most commonly used in export sales transactions; source material necessary to evaluate the overseas market; export sales financing; international agencies which provide programs and incentives to exporters; procedures in developing overseas distributorship agreements; free trade zones; development of an export pricing system simultaneously with a departmental budget separate from domestic operations; methods of evaluating the financial viability of an importing country. In conclusion, the author describes the opportunities and problems of instituting appropriate management controls for companies beginning overseas exporting, and reviews possible organizational approaches and theories for improving the effectiveness of businesses in international operations.

European Monetary Unification. By Giovanni Magnifico. John Wiley & Sons, New York-Toronto, 1973. 227 pages with index and appendix. \$14.95.

A group of four essays around the thesis that the creation of a common European currency, alongside existing national currencies, is an important and necessary step toward European monetary unification.

The author stresses the link between the mechanism of monetary union and the process of growth in the Community's regions and countries. His proposals hinge on the early introduction of a common European currency. He shows in detail how the proposals would work in practice. The author's approach to monetary unification includes a theory of optimum currency areas and monetary policy's interrelationship with regional policy. In addition to describing why policy harmonization has so far eluded the Community, the author suggests what might make harmonization effective. The market aspect of monetary unification is also discussed.

Publications Available

Publications listed may be obtained from the European Community Information Service, Suite 707, 2100 M Street, NW, Washington DC 20037. Persons in the New York area can order copies from the New York office, 277 Park Avenue, New York City 10017.

L'INFORMATION RELATIVE AUX REVENUS ET AUX PATRIMOINES DANS LES PAYS DE LA COMMUNAUTE. Serie Politique Sociale No. 22, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1972, 43 pages \$2.00.

Report on the revenue and other income of individuals and households in the Community countries. The data are based on 1963 and earlier years.

TROPICAL AFRICA: SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS. Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1973, 45 pages free
Basic economic data for nations of West, Central, and East Africa, for the late 1960's and 1970. Includes data on development aid received by these nations.

INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. Fondation Europeenne pour l'Economie, Paris, December 1972, 92 pages free
Synthesis of the reports submitted at the April 1972 Conference in Venice on "Industry and Society in the European Community."

DRAFT CONVENTION FOR THE EUROPEAN PATENT FOR THE COMMON MARKET. The Council of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1973, 303 pages . . \$6.40.

Final draft of the above convention completed in March 1973 and the basis for the work of a conference to be held in Luxembourg May 6-30, 1974. This is an additional draft to the "European Patent Convention" discussed in Munich from 10 September to 6 October 1973 by 21 European states. In addition to the Convention, the book contains the implementing regulations, protocol on deferred application of the provisions on the expiration of Community patents and national patents, draft resolutions, and a declaration on the ratification of the Patent Cooperation Treaty. (See the references to the "Common Market Patent" in European Community No. 170, page 21.)

ENERGY STATISTICS: UNITED KINGDOM, IRELAND, DENMARK: 1969-1970-1971. Energy Statistics No. 4, 1972, Statistical Office of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1972, 70 pages \$3.00.
Special issue of Energy Statistics on the Community's new members. Includes data on all types of energy and provides totals for the Community of the "Six" and of the "Nine."

INVESTMENT IN THE COMMUNITY COALMINING AND IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES. Commission of the European Communities, Luxembourg, July 1973, 134 pages \$5.00

Position as of January 1, 1973 of the six original Community iron and steel industries. Covers production, capital expenditure, and production potential for coal, coking plants, iron-ore, iron and steel industries.

Major Commission Papers

(one per reader)

GUIDELINES FOR A SOCIAL ACTION PROGRAMME. Supplement No. 4/73, Bulletin of the European Communities, Brussels, April 1973, 13 pages free.
Presented to the Council on April 19, 1973.

ATTAINMENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION. Supplement No. 5/73, Bulletin of the European Communities, April 1973, 19 pages free.
Submitted to the Council on April 30, 1973. Outlines progress in the first stage and an action program for the second stage.

RENEWAL AND ENLARGEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION WITH THE AASM AND CERTAIN COMMONWEALTH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. Supplement No. 1/73, Bulletin of the European Communities, Brussels, April 1973, 38 pages free.
Presented to the Council on April 9, 1973.

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