

E U R O P E A N C O A L A N D
S T E E L C O M M U N I T Y

**What is
the Community ?**

first edition

INFORMATION SERVICE OF THE HIGH AUTHORITY

The European Coal and Steel Community has set in motion a number of far-reaching changes in Europe.

Not everyone is as yet fully aware of what is going on, because the technical aspects of coal and steel problems often overshadow the scope and implications of these changes.

The object of this series of publications is to make the Community's work better known and understood in all its aspects.

This booklet gives a general overall picture of the Community; there will be others dealing with the institutions of the Community and the Common Market, and others again with particular problems such as living and working conditions, financial operations, technical research and transport.

Already published :

Towards European Integration

FIRST RESULTS FOR COAL AND STEEL.

Printing :

Workers' incomes in the industries of the Community

EUROPEAN COAL AND
STEEL COMMUNITY
THE HIGH AUTHORITY

WHAT IS THE COMMUNITY ?

LUXEMBOURG, NOVEMBER 1956

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WHAT IS THE COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY ?

In Luxembourg, in 1952, a unique experiment was launched by six European countries in the field of coal and steel.

How did the process begin ? On May 9, 1950, the French Government, profoundly concerned over developments in the international situation and the weakening of Europe's position in the world economy, proposed "*the placing of Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole under a common higher authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.*" (1)

Why this new type of appeal ?

Because, with things as they were after the second World War, the lessened importance of a disunited Europe in relation to the might of America and the rapid expansion of the Soviet bloc was creating additional tensions. "*World peace cannot be safeguarded without an effort proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.*"

Why France and Germany ?

Because the enmity between France and Germany in the past had always been the main obstacle to concerted action by the peoples of Europe. Because the precarious alliances contracted, the beggar-my-neighbour rivalries and the alternations of ascendancy led to three wars in Europe in three-quarters of a century. Because, in the final analysis, both the problems of France and the problems of

(1) The text of the Declaration of May 9, 1950, will be found in the Annex.

Germany can be solved only within the broader framework of an organization built up with an eye to the future. “ *The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. The gathering together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. The first concern in any action undertaken must be these two countries.* ”

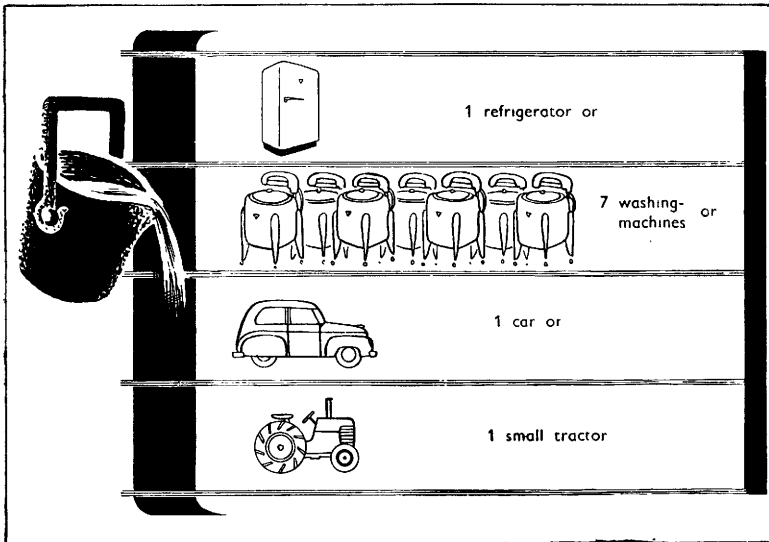
Three Wars in three Generations

1870-71	20-25,000 dead (<i>7,000 Germans, approx. 15,000 French</i>)
1914-18	10,500,000 dead (<i>including 1,857,000 Germans, 1,321,000 French</i>)
1939-45	14,000,000 dead (<i>including 2,800,000 Germans, 245,000 French</i>)

And why coal and steel ?

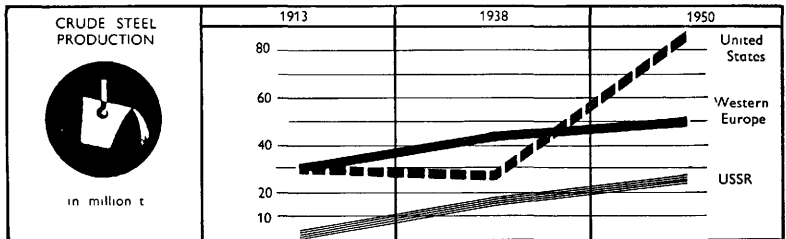
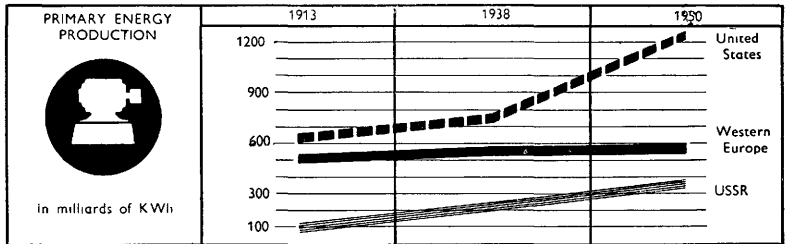
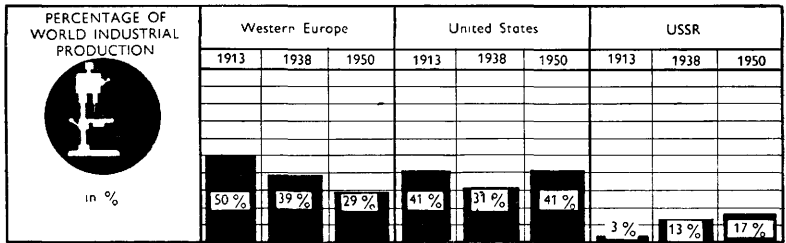
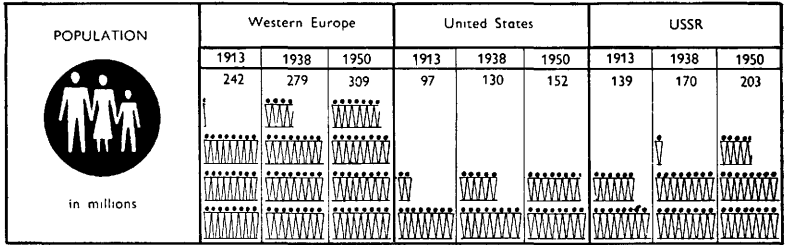
Because the countries of Europe are among the chief coal and steel-producing areas of the world. Because industrial expansion and the raising of the standard of living depend very largely on regular supplies of basic products at low cost. Because in the minds of the different peoples coal and steel are still the symbols of power, and it is power and the Powers, force and uncontrolled forces, and conflicts and rivalries between them, that have been the main causes of war. “ *Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single general plan. It will be built through concrete achievements, which first create a de facto solidarity ...The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe.* ”

WHAT CAN BE PRODUCED WITH ONE TON OF STEEL



The future Community was conceived from the start as an *open-to-all organization*, which any country that so desired could join. Similarly, there was to be no policy of self-sufficiency *vis-à-vis* those countries which did not wish to join : “ *This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and the promotion of peaceful achievements.* ”

EUROPE IN THE WORLD



A divided Europe in an advancing World (1)

	1913	1938	1950
<i>Population (in millions)</i>			
Western Europe	242	299	309
United States	97	130	152
Soviet Union	139	170	203
<i>Share in world industrial production (in % of total)</i>			
Western Europe	50 %	39 %	29 %
United States	41 %	31 %	41 %
Soviet Union	3 %	13 %	17 %
<i>Energy production (in millions of tons of hard coal)</i>			
Western Europe	536	574	584
United States	657	780	1,272
Soviet Union	104	238	394
<i>Crude-steel production (in millions of tons)</i>			
Western Europe	32	46	52
United States	32	29	88
Soviet Union	4	18	27

(1) Compiled from statistics published by the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations.

THE HISTORY OF A TREATY

As soon as the French scheme was announced, it caused a great stir everywhere. For the first time in history, countries had been invited to meet, not to assert their sovereign rights and interests, but to pool a portion of their resources and surrender part of their sovereignty, and thereby make the old dream of a European federation come true at last.

The governments of five other European countries associated themselves with the French Government in stating, in a joint communiqué issued on June 3, 1950, that their aim was “ *the pooling of coal and steel production, and the establishment of a new higher authority whose decisions would be binding upon France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and other countries joining.* ”

The British Government, though stressing its support for the scheme, decided not to take part in immediate negotiations on the basis proposed. (1)

On June 20, 1950, the delegations of the six countries were received by M. Robert Schuman and M. Jean Monnet at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2)

(1) As will be seen further on, the British Government signed an Agreement of Association with the Community in December 1954.

(2) The delegations were headed by

- *France* : M. Jean Monnet, at that time Director-General of the French Reconstruction Plan, who became the first President of the High Authority, and is now Chairman of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe;
- *Germany* : Prof. W. Hallstein, now Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- *Belgium* : the late M. Suetens, who died in 1955;
- *Italy* : Sig. P. Taviani, now Minister of National Defence;
- *Luxembourg* : M. A. Wehrer, now a Member of the High Authority;
- *Netherlands* : Mh. D.P. Spierenburg, now a Member of the High Authority.

They started work the following day, and the proceedings were completed ten months later, on April 18, 1951, when the draft Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community was finally signed.

The draft was then put to the vote in the parliaments of the six countries. When it had been ratified by the governments, it came into force on July 25, 1952. Some days later, the High Authority, which had been installed in Luxembourg, assumed its duties. *The first European federal government had come into being.*

How the Schuman Plan was voted

		For	Against	Abstentions
<i>Germany</i>	Bundestag	232	143	3
	Bundesrat	43	—	—
<i>Belgium</i>	Sénat	102	4	58
	Chambre des Représentants	165	13	13
<i>France</i>	Assemblée nationale . .	377	233	—
	Conseil de la République	182	32	—
<i>Italy</i>	Senato della Republica .	148	97	—
	Camera dei Deputati . .	265	98	—
<i>Luxembourg</i>	Chambre des Députés. .	47	4	—
<i>Netherlands</i>	Tweede Kamer	62	6	—
	Eerste Kamer	36	2	—

THE BIRTH OF A FEDERATION

Luxembourg is the seat of a sovereign authority, the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. It is at the same time the seat of another "authority," a new one, which does not direct the affairs of *one particular country in all spheres*, but directs the affairs of *six countries in one particular sphere*.

This represents a new departure, for here, on the soil of the member States of the Community, the decisions of another "authority" independent of those States are directly operative. This authority levies taxes on industrial enterprises, lays down binding regulations, and imposes disciplinary measures.

The "Constitution" of the Community comprises a number of democratic institutions, just as a national constitution comprises an executive, a legislature, a judiciary, and so on.

The Community is quite different from the usual international organizations, such as the United Nations (U.N.), the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.), or the Council of Europe.

Even where they are not merely consultative bodies, *the international organizations merely establish bonds between States* : each State appoints its representatives to their committees and boards and can control and recall them; it retains supreme control over the implementation of any decisions taken.

In a federation, the procedure is entirely different : it is the Federal State, as distinct from the federated States, which exercises

direct authority over the enterprises or subjects of the federation. The structure of its institutions — its government, parliament, and law-courts — provides those under its jurisdiction with the safeguards that the separate States in international organizations seek to provide by means of unanimity procedure, action by qualified majority, and the right of veto.

The Community, then, is more akin to the federal type of structure. The only difference is that it represents *partial* integration (of coalmining and iron and steel).

The European Coal and Steel Community has four institutions.

1^o *The High Authority* is the Executive, “responsible for assuring the achievement of the purposes stated in the Treaty within the terms thereof.” To this end, it is empowered to take decisions, formulate recommendations and issue opinions.

A Consultative Committee of 51 members — producers, consumers and workers — is attached to the High Authority. The latter is usually required to consult it before taking decisions.

2^o An authority with power to act must be supervised when it does act, and in a democratic society this supervision must be exercised by a parliament which represents the people. In the European Coal and Steel Community, this parliament is the *Common Assembly*, consisting of seventy-eight members, who are at present nominated by the national parliaments, but can, under the Treaty, be elected by direct universal suffrage of the peoples of the six countries.

The Assembly has supervisory powers over the activities of the High Authority — it exercises them mostly through its parliamentary committees — and it can, by a vote of censure, compel the High Authority to resign.

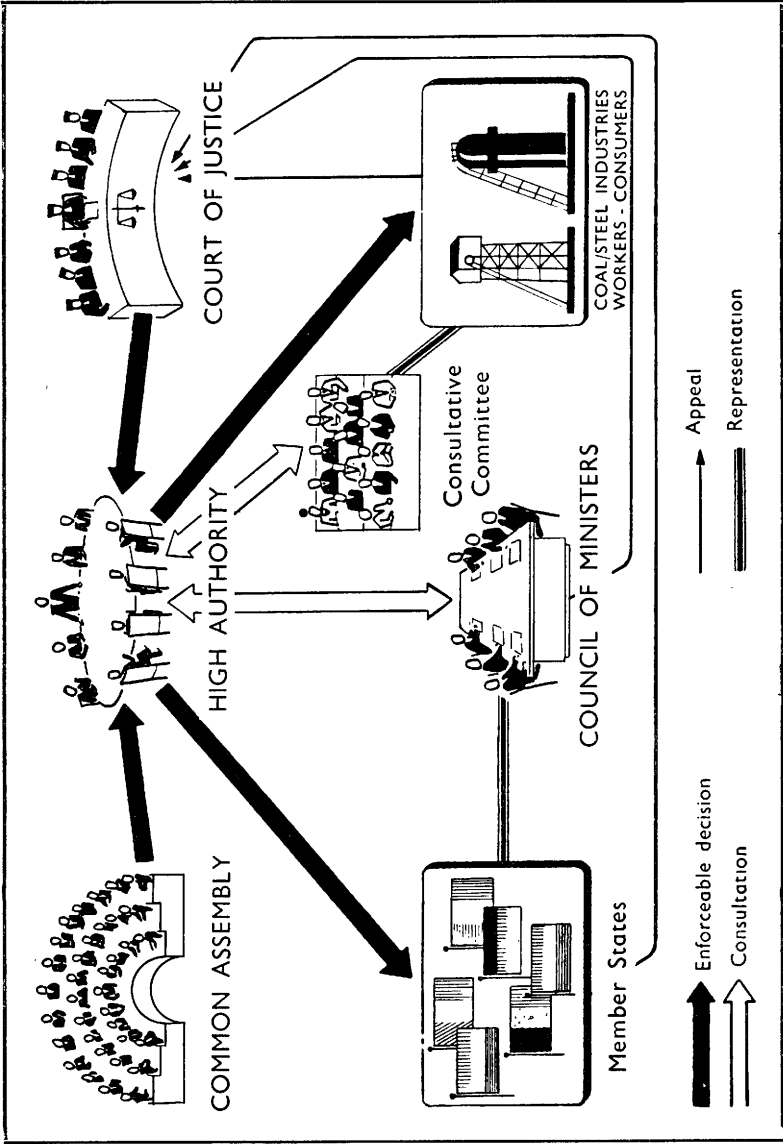
3^o Independent of parliamentary control, those under the jurisdiction of an authority (in this instance the governments, the enterprises and the associations of enterprises) must be able to challenge the executive authority's decisions before a Court. The Community has the *Court of Justice* to ensure respect for the rights of all concerned as laid down in the " Constitution, " i.e. the Treaty. Like the High Authority, the Court is independent of the governments. It can reverse High Authority decisions and can order the High Authority to pay damages. Its judgments are directly enforceable throughout the six member States, in the same way as judgments by the regular courts of those States.

Principal Judgments of the Court of Justice

December 21, 1954 : The Court, on the petition of the French and Italian Governments, reversed a High Authority decision aiming at greater flexibility in the application of iron and steel price-schedules.

March 18, 1955 : The Court overruled an appeal by the Netherlands Government against High Authority decisions fixing maximum prices for the Ruhr and Nord/Pas-de-Calais coalfields.

THE COMMUNITY'S INSTITUTIONS



4^o Finally, any problems that arise in harmonizing the action of the High Authority with that of the national governments, responsible for their countries' general economic policies, are settled by the *Special Council of Ministers*. This consists of representatives of the member States. The High Authority is obliged to consult the Council in a considerable number of cases; sometimes it can only act with the Council's agreement — indeed, in certain cases only with its unanimous agreement.

At first glance, these various institutions may appear somewhat complicated. But national States could not delegate their powers to an independent Authority, even for a sector limited to coal and steel, unless the exercise of those powers were made subject to strict supervision. Should additional tasks be assigned to the Community in the future, its existing institutions would not need to be greatly changed. The Court and the Assembly could extend their supervision of the activities of European executives to these additional tasks.

By the end of 1952, all the institutions of the Community had been duly set up. The first European federal tax, a levy on the coal and steel-producing enterprises, was being collected. The Community had begun to establish relations with non-member States : the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Sweden (later joined by Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, Austria and Japon) had accredited diplomatic delegations to the High Authority.

The Common Market was on the way.

A HUNDRED AND SIXTY MILLION CONSUMERS

The mission of the European Coal and Steel Community is “ to contribute to the expansion of the economy, the development of employment and the improvement of the standard of living.” It has to do this “ in harmony with the general economy of the member States, through the creation of a common market.”

Before the introduction of the Common Market, each industry in each of the countries of Europe produced mainly for its own home market — that is, for a mere ten million, or forty million, or fifty million consumers — or, at any rate, was governed chiefly by national considerations.

This worked, or was likely to work, to the disadvantage of the consumers in two ways. Firstly, the national interest was sometimes confused with the temporary interest of the most powerful or influential national producers, at the consumer's expense : in this case a quantitative restriction on trade or a Customs duty is a kind of subsidy paid by the home consumer, who finds himself debarred, or partly debarred, from outside supplies. Secondly, the cumulative effect of clashes between one country's practices and another's was to keep the production and consumption of European countries as a whole below the level they might have reached : one industry which could have produced more and better-quality goods would find its production restricted by the uncertainty of its foreign markets; another would protect inefficient production units, in order to safeguard itself against possible supply difficulties.

French consumers of iron and steel products, for instance, had the utmost difficulty in buying from other countries, not only since the import-licence system was introduced, but even before

the war, in the days of the International Steel Cartel. On the other hand, when iron and steel production was high, France, although it possessed very considerable iron-ore resources, imposed restrictions on sales to Belgium and Luxembourg, which were consequently obliged to send farther afield and buy more expensive ore ; and such ore as did go from Lorraine to the steelworks in Belgium and Luxembourg was sold at higher prices than the ore that went to French works. Again, only limited tonnages of coal and iron and steel products from Lorraine and the Saar were allowed into Southern Germany, while the German collieries kept a tight grip on consignments of coke and coking coal to other countries, and charged higher prices abroad than at home.

To change this unsatisfactory situation and put an end to the “ cold war ” of tariffs and protective measures, it was essential to *pool resources* by abolishing existing trade barriers so as to facilitate “ the expansion of the economy, the development of employment and the improvement of the standard of living.”

This pooling of resources was essential. But it was not enough, for three reasons :

1) Economic protection as then existing had plenty of strings to its bow, and merely to abolish the most obvious impediments by “ liberalizing trade, ” as the phrase goes, would not have been nearly enough to put a stop to it. Customs duties can be just as effective a form of protection as quantitative restrictions on imports. Discriminations in transport rates can have very much the same effect as customs duties. Cartel agreements between producers can result in control by private interests in place of the old State protectionism. And lack of harmonization between economic policies, and artificial differences between production conditions, can distort the operation of the market.

2) Even when all these impediments have been done away with — either in one stroke at the outset or gradually, in accordance with “transitional provisions” — it is necessary to make sure that neither enterprises nor governments will undertake anything which will reintroduce them in another form. It is necessary, too, to ensure that the economy in its new form will leave no room for unfair competition to the detriment of the consumers, the workers, or other producers. In other words, a common market is not simply a market broadened to take in the territories of more than one State and relieved of various artificial impediments to trade : it is also a *market governed by a whole range of rules*, the observance of which is subject to strict supervision and, if necessary, enforcement.

3) Even a regulated market would not by itself be sufficient to ensure *economic expansion* and *social progress*. The process of transformation had to be eased still further, by such measures as the proposal of general development objectives, by speeding up the introduction of new technical methods, assisting the financing of new investments, and helping to protect workers from the burdens and risks involved in any change of employment they might have to make.

To remove impediments, to apply rules of competition, and to promote economic and social progress — these are the three tasks of the Community's institutions, and more particularly of its executive, the High Authority. And they are tasks which the High Authority must perform without recourse to “controls,” taking direct action over production and the market only where circumstances make this strictly necessary.

Removing impediments

Customs duties, import and export quotas and currency restrictions were abolished when the Common Market was first introduced — on February 10, 1953, for coal, iron ore and scrap, on May 1, 1953, for steel, and on August 1, 1954, for special steels. (1)

From now on, if a shipyard in, say, Rotterdam or Saint-Nazaire finds it to its advantage to buy steel plates from the Ruhr, or a manufacturer in Munich gets more favourable quotations in Luxembourg or in Lorraine, they can obtain all the marks or francs they need, and cannot be prevented, by governments or anybody else, from dealing direct with any supplier they choose.

The increase in trade between Community countries

(in millions of metric tons)

	1952	1955
Hard coal	15·8	22·8
Coke	8·1	8·9
Iron ore	8·7	12·9
Iron and steel products	2·1	5·6

Applying rules of competition

The rules of competition have been drawn up with two aims in view — to prevent enterprises from resorting to practices which

(1) One exception, for a limited period, is permitted by the Treaty regarding the abolition of Customs duties : continued tariff protection is allowed on Italian steel and coke production ; it must be scaled down as time goes on and abolished altogether not later than February 1958.

would distort normal competition (for instance, by fixing their prices, according to “whether they like the look of a customer or not,” by placing artificial restrictions on their production, or by allocating markets among themselves,) and to ensure that competition does not damage the interests of the workers, as it was so often allowed to do in the nineteenth century.

The rule of publicity affects a very wide range of activities in the Community. Primarily, it relates to enterprises’ price-schedules and terms of sale : all Community producers are obliged to publish in their schedules detailed specifications of the products marketed by them or by selling organizations under their control.

The publicity principle, however, does not affect only trade relations between one enterprise and another and between the producer and the consumer. There are a number of details of the day-to-day affairs of Community enterprises (agreements restricting competition, major investment programmes), or the part played by the various States in connection with coal and steel (transport rates, trade agreements with third countries), which have to be supplied to the High Authority. The High Authority has to be kept permanently informed on the economic and structural development of the market. In its turn it publishes its decisions and opinions, the reasons for its action, and, subject to the requirements of trade secrecy, “such data as may be useful to the governments or to any other interested party.”

The rule of non-discrimination amounts to a ban on all practices whereby unequal terms are imposed on buyers or producers for comparable transactions.

Dual pricing, which formerly favoured or handicapped one buyer as against another, has been abolished. The Belgian steelmaker now pays the same price ex-mine for his Lorraine iron ore as does his French competitor; the Lorraine steelmaker gets his Ruhr coal and coke at the same price as his German competitor. The same price-schedule applies to sales of Belgian steel in Belgium and the Netherlands, as also in Italy and the other countries of the Community.

Discriminations in rail transport, which aggravated the effect of dual pricing, so that customers in other countries paid different rates over the same distance, were abolished either at the opening of the Common Market or during the months immediately following. From May 1, 1955, terminal charges, theoretically for re-loading, at the frontiers, which involved an extra cost for consumers outside the country of origin, were partially abolished, with full abolition to follow as from May 1, 1957, for all Common Market products. International railway through-rates have also been introduced for international transport of coal, iron ore, scrap, and iron and steel products. They “ taper ”, or fall, for the whole of the distance covered within the Community, instead of being subject as previously to a “ break ” at each frontier, after which the highest rate was again applied.

Subsidies for certain producers and special concessions to certain consumers have been brought to light and, according to circumstances (for the “ transitional provisions ” allow a good deal of latitude), either abolished forthwith or, to avoid economic and social disturbances, temporarily retained under strict High Authority supervision.

Finally, the High Authority has applied the provisions of the Treaty which aim at ensuring that distortions of competition in the Common Market resulting from State intervention are not simply replaced by similar distortions resulting from cartels and monopolies. As early as 1953 it declined to authorize organizations and regulations for the allocation of scrap in Germany, France and Italy; early in 1956, it decided to reorganize the activities of the existing selling agencies in the Ruhr (GEORG), Belgium (COBECHAR) and Southern Germany (O.K.U.), as well as those of the central coal importing agencies in France and Luxembourg. Some organizations ceased their activities or made structural changes of their own accord when the Common Market was introduced, so as to avoid being banned altogether: among them were the Belgian Syndicat de l'Acier, the Entente Belgo-Luxembourgeoise des Tôles Fines, and the French Comptoir des Produits Sidérurgiques and Comptoir des Mines de Fer de l'Est.

The main aim in the *protection of the workers* against unfair competitive practices is to prevent enterprises from cutting wages in order to outdo their competitors. Moreover, in order that competition should not endanger full employment, either upon the introduction of the Common Market or as a result of new production processes, the Treaty provides for the retraining, re-employment, and compensation of workers ("readaptation").

The provisions prohibiting wage cuts have not so far been invoked, but various readaptation schemes are under way in France, Belgium and Italy, affecting in all some 20,000 workers employed in enterprises which have been undergoing reconversion in order to withstand competition in the Common Market.

TWO EXAMPLES OF READAPTATION

1. — The Ateliers et Forges de la Loire, France

- 1946-47 The Modernization Commission of the National Reconstruction Board recommended a regrouping of the steelworks in the Loire area, but recognized the psychological difficulties involved so far as the shop-stewards were concerned.
- 1952 Merger between the Aciéries de la Marine et d'Homécourt and the Aciéries de Saint-Etienne.
- 1953 Two more firms absorbed by the new Company, which then took the name of Compagnie des Ateliers et Forges de la Loire (15,000 employees).
- 1954 Scheme worked out for technical regrouping, modernization and specialization, under which some 1,500 workers were likely to become temporarily redundant.

The High Authority received an application for readaptation, and decided to take action as follows :

- 1) the enterprise to undertake *not to lay off any workers* during the two years expected to be necessary for the reconversion and the two years following;
 - 2) redundant workers waiting to be re-employed on productive work in the new firm to be employed on general duties and to be *guaranteed the basic wage* of their trade category for a 40-hour week, with the corresponding social-insurance benefits;
 - 3) some workers to attend *vocational-training courses*, and others to be employed on general duties;
 - 4) *the workers' unions to be associated* with the organization and supervision of these various measures;
 - 5) the High Authority and the French Government each to assume responsibility for one-half of the cost of readaptation (Ffr. 300,000,000).
-

2. — The Ilva Works at Darfo, Italy

- 1954 Ilva, one of the most important Italian steelworks announced its intention of closing the obsolescent part of its plant at Darfo in northern Italy.
- 1955 The High Authority received an application for the readaptation of some 400 workers employed at Darfo until July 1, 1955, when they were laid off. The High Authority was asked to intervene in order to facilitate the re-employment of these steelworkers in a steel tube factory to be built by another Italian firm, Dalmine, at Costa Volpino, some 8 kilometres from Darfo.
- 1956 In April the High Authority approved the project and set in motion a programme of readaptation applicable to all the laid-off workers. It assumed responsibility for the whole cost of readaptation (some 500 million lire), after the Council of Ministers had waived the normal obligation of the government concerned to meet half the readaptation costs. In this case, the Italian Government had undertaken to assist the financing of new industries - including the Costa Volpino factory - re-employing laid-off steelworkers.

The High Authority's measures include :

- 1) Payment to the laid-off workers of a "waiting allowance" based on the previous net wage of each worker, bonuses included. Some of the workers were immediately re-employed in the building of Dalmine's new factory in which, when it was completed, the 400 workers would be re-employed on steel tube work.
- 2) For the re-employed workers, a year's guarantee of a minimum wage equal to the latest former wage they received at the Darfo works, any difference between their former and their present wages being made up by the High Authority.
- 3) The financing of retraining courses for all the laid-off workers to enable them to learn their new jobs in the Dalmine steel tube factory.
- 4) The payment of a removal allowance to any workers obliged to move from Darfo to Costa Volpino. This allowance totalled 200,000 lire for heads of families, plus 25,000 lire for each dependent child; for bachelors, the total was 100,000 lire.

The whole operation will be completed in 1957 when the new Dalmine works will go into full production.

Promoting economic and social progress

When the Common Market was established and functioning, the High Authority turned to the further work of stimulating the development of the most economic production units, helping to carry through investment programmes, encouraging technical research, and promoting the improvement of living and working conditions for the labour force.

As a general guide for its operations, the High Authority published in July 1955, and revised in October 1956, its first long-term objectives, together with recommendations as to the means to be employed.

The General Objectives of the Community

	Production 1954-55 (1)	Probable requirements 1960
<i>Crude steel</i>	48m. metric tons	67-73m. metric tons
<i>Pig-iron</i>	37m. metric tons	53-59m. metric tons
<i>Iron ore</i> (in Fe content)	20,5m. metric tons	43-48m. metric tons (incl. 27,500,000 to be produced by the Community)
<i>Coke</i>	64m. metric tons	90m. metric tons
<i>Hard coal</i>	243m. metric tons	300m. metric tons

(1) Average for the two years.

The development of production units in a market of 160m. consumers involves drastic structural alterations to the enterprises.

Some types of up-to-date plant, such as modern rolling-mills, can only be introduced by large production units; a number of works, started some time ago under the old system of isolated and protected markets, are now, in a common market, obliged to merge with others and/or rationalize their plants, in order to lower their production costs.

The High Authority is naturally anxious to facilitate these adjustments to the new conditions of the Common Market, but at the same time to remain on the alert against any disadvantages to the consumer from concentrations not subject to proper control. It has, therefore, made a start on defining its policy in this field. It intends to authorize concentrations which help to improve the production and distribution of commodities, but it will not allow more restrictions on competition than are absolutely necessary for that purpose.

Finally, in order that the introduction of new technical methods and plant may not result in labour difficulties, the High Authority can provide financial assistance to compensate those workers who have been laid off, to retrain them for other jobs, and even to create new activities to re-employ them.

The financing of investments in industries such as coalmining and iron and steel, in countries impoverished by the war, is one of the major problems of economic expansion. The High Authority, having first set up a guarantee fund out of the levy on coal and steel production, has now contracted a first series of loans in the United States and in Europe.

A loan of one hundred million dollars obtained from the United States in April 1954 has made it possible to carry through various

investment programmes in collieries and iron-ore mines, involving a total expenditure of over \$ 370 m. A loan of 50 million Swiss francs (\$ 12 m.) was contracted in June, 1956, for re-loan to the Community's steel industry.

Further loans raised in Europe and various financial agreements, involving a total of twenty-five million dollars, are being used for the building of 15,000 housing units for workers. A second programme on a similar scale is to be launched in 1957-58.

The encouragement of technical research takes a number of different forms. In some cases, the High Authority is the co-ordinating body which organizes meetings of experts from different countries to discuss what is being done, systematize their work and pool their findings. In others, it provides financial grants for the starting or developing of research work.

Various operations are now in progress, both in the industrial field proper (steel-rolling, refractories, coking) and in the economic and social field (experimental housing, combating of silicosis and other occupational diseases). All findings of research financed with the aid of Community grants are published.

In everything it undertakes, therefore, the High Authority is concerned with both the economic and the social aspects of its aims and problems.

In addition to its direct help on re-employment, housing, and medical and social research, it is helping indirectly *to improve living and working conditions* in the industries of the Community, particularly by carrying out surveys in the six countries and publish-

ing the findings. There have been surveys of wages and social charges, of vocational training, of working hours, of safety in the mines, of holidays, of social-security systems and so on — all of which help to keep those concerned, especially the workers' organizations, better informed on the progress made in different parts of the Community, and on the chances of bringing any new improvements into general use.

WHAT THREE YEARS HAVE SHOWN

Right from the start, the idea of the Community and the scheme for a common market gave rise to high hopes and heated controversies. Some were afraid they would be unable to adjust themselves to new competitive conditions; some feared domination by one or other of the parties to the Treaty, or by a coalition of more than one, which might hamper its institutions; others again regarded the project rather sceptically and adopted an attitude of "I'll believe it when I see it."

Four years of experience have yielded three major conclusions on the European Coal and Steel Community.

1) *The new conditions created by a common market — in contrast to previous methods such as "liberalization of trade" and "economic co-operation" — very quickly provide an incentive to progress and soon produce results.*

For, while the national governments in our European countries can do a great deal themselves to further the adoption of the latest technical methods, to introduce structural changes in the economy and to stimulate expansion, there is one thing they cannot do unaided : that is see that their nationals are able, without artificial impediments or discriminations, to buy and sell in a large market of a hundred and sixty million inhabitants.

Investments are increasing, enterprises are regrouping, producers are specializing in all the countries of the Community — developments which have undoubtedly been stimulated by the existence of the Common Market. And producers and consumers are

generally agreed in recognizing that the Common Market is helping to stabilize prices.

Investments in the Community

(in millions of dollars)

	Actual expenditure			Estimated expenditure
	1953	1954	1955	
Iron and steel industry	493	438	525	654
Collieries	448	445	404	474
Lignite mines	7	5	10	6
Iron-ore mines	28	30	30	50
Total :	976	918	969	1,184

2) *The Common Market has not produced any of the disturbances so often predicted.* The reason is first, that the preliminary adjustment difficulties were overestimated, wittingly or unwittingly, by a great many people; and secondly, that transitional measures were introduced in order to ease the process of adjustment.

Each transitional arrangement is a preparation for a definite step forward. The Belgian and Italian collieries, temporarily enjoying the benefit of a special system whose cost is partly borne by the German and Dutch collieries, have made substantial progress by concentrating on their best pits; various subsidies paid by the French Government on briquettes, imported coal and sales to Southern Germany have gone down from Ffr. 13,300 million in 1953 to an estimated Ffr. 5,000 million for 1956; the Customs duties temporarily authorized in Italy are being reduced year by year, and Italian purchases of iron and steel products in the Community are increasing.

Each of the transitional measures has a time-limit, and is subject to supervisory arrangements fixed in advance, with no possibility of going back. Nor is delaying action possible, and pressure from those interests which are anxious to keep things as they are meets counter-pressure from those which are banking on a quicker change-over. Between them, the High Authority has the task of defining and promoting the common good.

3) *It is possible for a public Authority, subject to supervision but possessing decisive powers, to function in harmony with the States without being hamstrung by narrow ideas of national interest as soon as any difficulty arises.*

This is a factor of paramount importance in the affairs of the nations. In the old days, governments had no redress except by taking the law into their own hands, and the parties concerned in any particular question could only be sure of a hearing from their governments by bringing their own means of pressure to bear. Now, both of them are turning more and more to a common authority. The High Authority has to arbitrate and to decide, and whether it acts or does not act, it is responsible to the Court of Justice, to the Assembly and to public opinion.

M. Jean Rey, the Belgian Minister for Economic Affairs, was speaking from experience when, at the Session of the Common Assembly in November 1955, he summed up these new relationships with the words :

“ The Community — both the High Authority and the Assembly — has a *bird’s-eye view* of a kind that no government or sector of our economy in a particular country can ever obtain.

Moreover, the High Authority also possesses a *moral authority* such as governments do not always have... When it states that such and such a thing is good or bad, practicable or inadvisable, it speaks with a moral authority perhaps greater and more general than a government could do.” (1)

Four years is certainly not long enough for the individual observer to reach a considered opinion on the Community. But the results it has achieved and the course it has followed should provide some guidance.

The Community is a reality. The Common Market is in process of transforming an important sector of our economies. The common institutions have stood the test of the running-in period. The Community’s relations with other countries are being extended and consolidated, as witness the Agreement of Association with the United Kingdom (signed at the end of 1954), and the Consultation Agreement with Switzerland (May 1956).

The existence of the Community does not mean that all problems are automatically solved, or that any country is entitled to relax its own exertions. But *in the field of coal and steel, the solution*

(1) Debates of the Common Assembly (available in the four official languages of the Community only), No. 11, February 1956, p. 96.

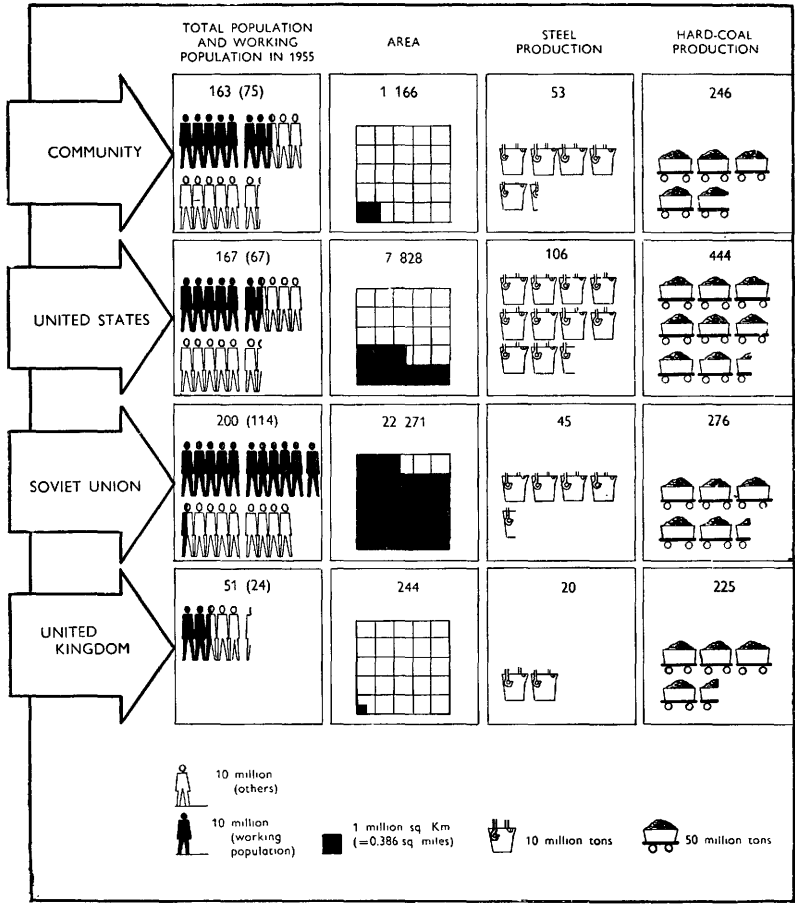
is on its way for a whole string of problems — economic problems, social problems, and ultimately political problems too — which must be solved if the peoples of Europe are ever to keep pace with the world of today.

These problems are general problems, and their solutions are general solutions. They would arise in a similar way in any sector which the governments decided to include in their plans for European integration.

There was a good deal of talk three or four years ago of “ a leap in the dark. ” Today we can see clearly where that leap has brought us. We have positive proof that the peoples of Europe can sink their ruinous and destructive rivalries in favour of a truer sense of community.

It is for the governments and parliaments of our countries to decide what further progress is to be made towards a Federation of Europe.

	Population in 1955 (in millions)	Working population (in millions)	Area (in 1000 sq. m.)	Steel production in 1955 (in millions of metric tons)	Hard-coal production in 1955 (in millions of metric tons)
Community	163	75	486	53	246
United States	167	67	3,022	106	444
Soviet Union	200	114	8,708	45	276
United Kingdom	51	24	93	20	225



ANNEXES

DECLARATION OF MAY 9, 1950

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of constructive efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than twenty years the rôle of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved, and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single, general plan. It will be built through concrete achievements, which first create a *de facto* solidarity. The gathering together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. The first concern in any action undertaken must be these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes to take action immediately on one limited but decisive point. *The French Government proposes to place Franco-German production of coal and steel under a common "higher authority," within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.*

The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately provide for the setting-up of common bases for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes, not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting-up of this powerful production unit, open to all countries willing to take part, and eventually capable of providing all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay the real foundations for their economic unification.

This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to the raising of living standards and the promotion of peaceful achievements. Europe, with new means at her disposal, will be able to pursue the realization of one of her essential tasks, the development of the African continent.

In this way there will be realized, simply and speedily, that fusion of interests which is indispensable to the establishment of a common economic system; and that will be the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by sanguinary divisions.

By pooling basic production and by setting up a new higher authority, whose decisions will be binding on France, Germany and other member countries, these proposals will build the first concrete foundation of the European Federation which is indispensable to the preservation of peace.

In order to promote the realization of the objectives it has thus defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following basis :

The task with which this common "higher authority" will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; and the equalization as well as improvement of the living conditions of the workers in these industries.

To achieve these objectives, starting from the very disparate conditions in which the productions of the member countries are at present situated, certain transitional measures will have to be instituted, such as a production and investment plan, compensating machinery for equating prices, and an amortization fund to facilitate the rationalization of production. The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed of all Customs duties; it will not be permissible to apply differential transport rates to them. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously ensure the most rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to international cartels, which aim at dividing up and exploiting the national markets by means of restrictive practices and the maintenance of high profits, the proposed organization will ensure the fusion of the markets and the expansion of production. (1)

(1) The original text goes on to describe the negotiations to be undertaken for drawing up the Community Treaty.

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

1950

May 9

Statement by M. Robert Schuman, on behalf of the French Government, proposing that French and German coal and steel production be placed under a common authority, decisions by which would be enforceable, in a community open to participation by the other countries of Europe.

June 20

Opening of conference to draw up the Treaty between the six countries (Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands), which had agreed to join the Community.

1951

April 18

Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community signed in Paris.

1952

July 25

Announcement by the Ministers of the signatory countries, meeting in conference, that the Treaty had come into force.

I. INSTITUTIONS

1952

August 7

First eight Members of the High Authority appointed by the six governments :

M. Albert COPPÉ, Belgium,
M. Léon DAUM, France,
Herr Franz ETZEL, Germany,
Sig. Enzo GIACCHERO, Italy,
M. Jean MONNET, France,
Herr Heinz POTTHOFF, Germany,
Mh. Dirk SPIERENBURG, Netherlands,
M. Albert WEHRER, Luxembourg,

M. Monnet to be President, and Herr Etzel and M. Coppé Vice-Presidents.

Ninth Member, M. Paul Finet, Belgium, co-opted by the other eight.

August 10

Assumption of duties by the High Authority upon establishment in Luxembourg.

September 8-9

First meeting of the *Special Council of Ministers*, with Chancellor Adenauer presiding.

September 10

Opening of the first Session of the *Common Assembly* in Strasbourg. M. Paul-Henri Spaak elected President.

December 10

Inaugural session of the *Court of Justice* in Luxembourg, the members of the Court being Sig. ~~Piotti~~, Italy (President), M. Delvaux, Belgium, M. ~~Hömmes~~, Luxembourg, Dr. Riese, Germany, M. Rueff, France, Mr. ~~Serrarens~~, Netherlands, and Mr. ~~Van Kleffens~~, Netherlands (Judges), and M. Lagrange, France, and Dr. Roemer, Germany (Court advocates).

New Pres-
M.A.M. Donner
Netherlands

December 30

Publication of first issue of the *Official Gazette of the European Coal and Steel Community*, in the four official languages of the Community. (1)

1953

January 1

Introduction of the levy on coal and steel production, the first European tax.

January 10-13

Special Session of the Assembly to take cognizance of the situation of the Community.

(1) Available in English from July 31, 1954.

January 26 *Consultative Committee* convened for the first time in Luxembourg, in preparation for the introduction of the Common Market.

October 13 Resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers requiring the six governments to join with the High Authority in examining their general economic expansion and investment policies in order to harmonize them with that of the Community.

1954

January 14-16 Extraordinary Session of the Common Assembly to discuss the High Authority's investment policy.

May 11-21 Ordinary Session of the Common Assembly to discuss the Second General Report of the High Authority. Sig. Alcide De Gasperi elected President.

November 11 Announcement by M. Jean Monnet, President of the High Authority, that he did not intend to seek reelection on February 10, 1955.

November 29 -
December 5 Extraordinary Session of the Common Assembly. Sig. Giuseppe Pella, formerly Premier of the Italian Republic, elected President in succession to Sig. De Gasperi. High Authority's cartel policy approved, and a motion carried for the extension of the Community's jurisdiction.

December 21 First judgments by the Court of Justice, reversing Article 1 of the High Authority's Decision No. 2/54 (2.5 % margin either way on schedule prices), upon appeal by the French and Italian Governments.

1955

March 18

Judgment by the Court overruling the appeal by the Netherlands Government against High Authority decisions fixing maximum prices for coal from the Ruhr and Nord/Pas-de-Calais coalfields.

May 6-9

Extraordinary Session of the Common Assembly, which studied and approved a report by Sig. Pella on the proposed appointment of a working party to examine the Assembly's supervisory powers, the extension of the Community's material jurisdiction, and the problems involved by the election of Assembly members by direct universal suffrage.

May 10-14

Ordinary Session of the Common Assembly (Part One). Debate on the Third General Report of the High Authority. Resolutions voted on social policy, the rate of the levy and the policy of readaptation.

June 1-3

Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the member States in Messina. M. René Mayer, formerly Premier of the French Republic, appointed President of the High Authority, and Herr Franz Etzel and M. Albert Coppé reappointed Vice-Presidents, for the period up to February 10, 1957.

Statement issued by the governments to the effect that, in their view, the time had come to enter upon a new stage in the construction of Europe, and that the establishment of a united Europe must be pursued by the development of common institutions, the progressive merging of national economies, the introduction of a common market, and the gradual harmonization of their social policies.

- June 21-24 Ordinary Session of the Common Assembly (Part Two). Statement by the new President of the High Authority, M. René Mayer.
- July 9 First meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee (set up by the Messina Conference) in Brussels. High Authority invited to sit on the Steering Committee and to appoint experts to work with the committees and subcommittees, on the "relaunching of Europe" (*relance européenne*).
- November 22-25 Extraordinary Session of the Common Assembly. Sig. Pella re-elected President.- Debate on the High Authority's work in connection with coal cartels and on two parliamentary reports on the Assembly's supervisory powers and the extension of the Community's jurisdiction with a view to the full achievement of the objectives laid down by the Treaty.
- December 1 Sig. Massimo Pilotti, retiring President, re-elected President of the Court of Justice.
- 1956**
- March 13-16 Extraordinary Session of the Common Assembly. Report by M. P.-H. Spaak, President of the Brussels Intergovernmental Committee, on "the relaunching of Europe."
- April 23 The Court rejects an appeal by the Groupement des Industries sidérurgiques luxembourgeoises, asking for the abolition of the Compensation Office which taxes the import of solid fuels.
- May 9-12 Ordinary Session of the Common Assembly. Debate on the report of the Assembly working group on Euratom and the general common market. Beginning of the debate on the Fourth General Report of the High Authority.

June 18-22 Ordinary session of the Common Assembly (part two). Debate on the reports of committees. Resolutions voted on the action of the High Authority.

II. COMMON MARKET

1953

February 10 *Introduction of the Common Market for coal, iron ore and scrap.* Abolition of Customs duties, quotas, currency restrictions and dual pricing. Retention of coal price system up to and including March 31, 1953. Institution of temporary compensation arrangements for Belgian and Italian coal. Opening of five-year transition period.

March 6 Maximum prices fixed by the High Authority for collieries in the main Community coalfields from March 15, 1953, to March 31, 1954.

May 1 *Introduction of the Common Market for steel.* Prices freed.

May 19 Establishment of a Joint Office of Scrap Consumers, a Compensation Office for Imported Scrap and a Scrap Consumers' and Dealers' Advisory Bureau.

July 11 *High Authority decision implementing, as from August 31, 1953, the provisions in Article 65 of the Treaty prohibiting certain cartel practices.*

1954

February 15 Decision in principle by the High Authority to grant financial assistance, under the head of technical research, for an experimental workers' housing scheme.

March 18 Funds allocated by the High Authority to assist the resettlement in Lorraine of miners from the Centre/Midi in France.

- March 20 Maximum prices fixed by the High Authority for coal from the Ruhr and Nord/Pas-de-Calais collieries from April 1, 1954, to March 31, 1955. Prices for other coalfields freed.
- April 23 *Agreement signed in Washington between the Government of the United States of America and the High Authority, concerning a loan of one hundred million dollars to promote the development of the Community's natural resources by helping to increase productivity and reduce production costs.*
- May 6 *High Authority decisions regulating the application of the Treaty's provisions concerning concentrations.*
- May 14 Letter sent by the High Authority to the coal buying and selling organizations (Gemeinschaftsorganisation Ruhrkohle, Comptoir Belge des Charbons, Association Technique de l'Importation Charbonnière) informing them that certain of their activities were counter to the Treaty.
- May 26 Intergovernmental conference convened by the High Authority to draw up an agreement for a European labour card entitling its holder to work in any part of the Community regardless of his nationality.
- July 10 Meeting in Geneva, convened jointly by the High Authority and the International Labour Office, experts from the six Community countries to draft a European Social Security Convention.
- July 31 *Publication in the Official Gazette of the principles guiding the High Authority in regard to the financing of investments.*
- August 1 *Introduction of the Common Market for special steels.*

1954

October 25

Advances granted by the High Authority for the readaptation of workers obliged to change their employment as a result of a merger of four steel-works in Central France.

December 8

Announcement by the High Authority of the first loans advanced to Community enterprises.

Convention on freedom of movement for workers approved by the representatives of the six governments at a meeting of the Council of Ministers.

December 20

Resolution conveyed by the Consultative Committee to the High Authority proposing that measures be taken to harmonize terms of employment in the countries of the Community.

December 27

Agreement by the High Authority to take part in the readaptation of miners in the Belgian Borinage coalfield.

1955

January 8

Request from the High Authority to the Luxembourg Government to end the monopoly on coal imports.

February 5

First decision to fine two Community iron and steel enterprises for infringing the regulations of the Common Market.

March 9

First meeting of the Industrial Health and Medicine Research Committee.

March 25

Agreement by the High Authority to take part in the readaptation of Italian iron and steel workers.

March 26

High Authority decision to retain maximum prices for Ruhr coal and to amend the regulations governing the scrap market.

- April 10 Agreement by the High Authority to take part in the readaptation of workers in the collieries at Sulcis, Sardinia.
- April 30 Communication from the High Authority to the Oberrheinische Kohleunion (O.K.U.) informing it that no authorization could be granted for its activities in their present form.
- May 1 *Introduction (first stage) of international railway through-rates for fuels and ores.*
- May 28 Amendments to Belgian compensation scheme : compensation to be withdrawn from certain grades of coal and their prices to be freely established by the producers; compensation payments to be cut for collieries in a position to withstand competition in the Common Market with reduced assistance.
- July 19 *Publication by the High Authority of its first general objectives as to modernization, long-term planning of production, and expansion of production capacities.*
- July 20 High Authority decision fixing the financial arrangements to ensure the saving of scrap by an increased use of pig-iron. Rejection of an application for authorization by a German scrap-buying organization.
- Decision requiring prior declaration of investment programmes by enterprises.*
- July 28 Loans contracted in Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg for the building of workers' houses.

- November 19 *Statement defining the High Authority's position regarding coal-selling agencies, and fixing a time-limit within which they must be adapted to conform with the rules of the Treaty.*
- 1956**
- February 3 *Statement by the High Authority outlining the details of its proposed participation in the reorganization of the marginal collieries in the Borinage coalfield.*
- February 15 *Publication of High Authority decisions on the organization of the sale of Ruhr coal.*
- March 15 *First list of High Authority opinions on investment projects.*
- March 21 *Decision by the High Authority not to fix maximum prices for the Ruhr coalfield.*
- May 3 *Unanimous agreement given by the Council of Ministers to the High Authority for the grant of loans or guarantees to a total of 30 million dollars to finance the building of workers' houses (second programme).*
- May 16 *The High Authority signs with the Banque des Règlements Internationaux amendments to the Act of Pledge regulating the machinery for loans made and contracted. These amendments enlarge the scope of guarantees that firms can offer to the High Authority for the funds which it reloans.*
- June 6 *Signature in Zurich, between the High Authority and a group of Swiss bankers, of a loan of 50 million Swiss francs.*

- June 23 *Decision of the High Authority forbidding the signature by the French Association Technique de l'Importation Charbonnière (A.T.I.C.) of purchase contracts for coal from other Community countries.*
- July 18 First meeting, at Essen, of the Consultative Committee of the three sales organisations for Ruhr coal; representatives of the High Authority charged with inspection duties participate in the meeting.
- July 28 *Signature in Luxembourg between the High Authority and Switzerland of an agreement establishing international through -rates for Community rail traffic in transit through Switzerland.*
- August 14 Extraordinary meeting of the High Authority after the mine disaster of Marcinelle. The High Authority decides to submit to the special Council of Ministers a project for the calling of a conference on safety conditions in the mines.
- August 17 Appeal to the Court of Justice by the French Government requesting the annulment of the High Authority's decision on A.T.I.C.
- September 6 The Council of Ministers decides, in agreement with the High Authority, to call a conference on security in the mines.
- September 24 Meeting in Luxembourg, under the presidency of the High Authority, of the *conference on security in the mines*, with the participation of governmental, employers' and workers' representatives from the Community, together with a British delegation and experts from the International Labour Office.
- October 3 The High Authority authorises, on certain conditions, joint coal sales by the Comptoir Belge des Charbons (COBECHAR).

III. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

1952

- September 1 *United Kingdom Delegation to the High Authority installed in Luxembourg.*
- September 2 *United States Delegation installed.*
- November 10 Community countries authorized by G.A.T.T. to reduce their internal Customs tariffs without obligation to do so in respect of other countries.
- December 10 *Swedish Delegation installed.*

1953

- March 27 *Norwegian Delegation installed.*
- April 1 *Swiss Delegation installed.*
- April 17 *Danish Delegation installed.*
- May 19 *Austrian Delegation installed.*
- June 3 Official visit by the President and Members of the High Authority to the President of the United States.
- December 24 Invitation from the High Authority to the British Government to open negotiations for an association with the Community.

1954

- April 29 Letter received from the British Government inviting the High Authority to visit London with a view to discussing the proposed association.
- October 20 *Japanese Delegation installed.*

December 21 *Agreement establishing association between the Community and the United Kingdom signed in London.*

1955

September 23 *Entry into force of the Association Agreement, after ratification by the governments of the United Kingdom and the six member States of the Community.*

November 17 *First meeting of the Council of Association in Luxembourg.*

December 16 *Head of Permanent Delegation to the British Government accredited by the High Authority.*

1956

March 23 *Second meeting of the Council of Association in London. Agreement by the High Authority and the British Government to start negotiations on Customs tariffs.*

May 7 *Signature, in Luxembourg, of a Consultation Agreement with Switzerland.*

July 10 *Third meeting, in Luxembourg, of the Council of Association.*

CHIEF PUBLICATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY

Annual General Report on the Activities of the Community.
(available in English).

Bulletin mensuel d'information.

Informations statistiques
(bimestriel).

Bulletin mensuel de Bibliographie
(édité par l'Assemblée Commune).

Informations mensuelles de l'Assemblée Commune
(Revue de Presse).

Collection " Etudes et Documents " :
Réadaptation et réemploi de la main-d'œuvre (mai 1956).

Recueil de la Jurisprudence de la Cour de Justice.
(volume I, 1954 - 1955).

Annuaire - Manuel de l'Assemblée Commune.
(avril 1956).

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