

# LIBRARY Europe 82

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## Treaty of Rome, 1957-82: a 25th anniversary review

**GASTON THORN** sums up the experience of the first twenty-five years

**MICHAEL CHARLTON** retraces the steps that brought the Cabinet to the brink

**EDWARD HEATH** tells of the missed chances that still haunt the British

**RICHARD MAYNE** recalls inspiration – and hard work – under Jean Monnet



# The Community's 'jubilee' warrants a pause for reflection



Prominent in our pages this month is a group of articles marking the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome. Historic landmarks come and go, and closeness to events can make it difficult for us to recognise the transient from the significant.

Nevertheless, the fact that the European Community has now been in existence for a quarter of a century surely deserves commemoration – not just in a Community context, but in the wider world of which we remain a part.

The United Kingdom was late to join. There are many reasons why this should have been so, most of them political rather than cultural or ideological. They receive particular attention in the contributions by Michael Charlton and Richard Mayne in our commemorative review starting on page 9; and some of them remain active in the continuing see-saw of British public opinion.

The overriding justification of Britain's membership of the Community remains no less valid than on the day we joined – as Edward Heath, who signed the Treaty of accession on Britain's behalf in January 1972, reminds us in a special interview (page 19).

Since then, British history has been part of Europe's. Our people are engaged in the same endeavours, and face the same difficulties in coming to grips with the times we live in.

The Community's 'jubilee' warrants this pause for reflection. It is better for all ten member states that we should be facing the future together.

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# New wealth from East Anglia's farmland

The yellow carpet that rolls out across the East Anglian farmland in the early days of summer is a bright symbol of Britain's membership of the European Community. It is produced by a crop – oil seed rape – that provides oil and protein. Since the

Community is anxious to reduce imports of these vital commodities, it is subsidising oil seed rape production, with the result that the crop has increased dramatically since Britain joined the Common Market.

**B**ecause East Anglia is one of the country's most fertile agricultural regions and is ideally suited for growing oil seed rape, the fields of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire become a riot of colour in early May, when the crop produces its yellow flowers.

One of the largest producers of oil seed rape in the region is United Farm Production, based at Framlingham, Suffolk. It is a farmers' co-operative which, ten years ago, had just a couple of members who were looking with interest at oil seed rape. They were encouraged to do so by UFP, which has helped make it a profitable crop to grow.

'Acreage given to the crop has expanded rapidly,' says UFP general manager Roger Adshead, 'Since our small beginnings in 1973 we now have around 150 growers with a total of some 9,500 acres. In a good year they can produce something like 12,000 tonnes of oil seed rape.' An estimated 400,000 acres is now given to the crop nationally, and a very high proportion of this is in East Anglia.

What makes it particularly appealing to farmers is that it is a 'break' crop – one that can be grown between a run of other crops to break the rotation. There was a time when oil seed rape was grown only as a break crop, but now it is also a cash crop in its own right.

Two techniques are used to harvest the crop, in the last weeks of July or the beginning of August. It is either cut down and left to dry for 10 days before being picked up by a conventional combine harvester and thrashed, or else it is sprayed with chemicals, to stop the process of photosynthesis, and then combined direct.

The black seeds are then marketed by UFP, usually to one of the three principal UK crushers, who extract the oil and refine it. The rape oil can be used in its pure form as a cooking oil, or it can be blended with other oils for numerous food products, such as margarine and salad dressings. At least 90 per cent of the oil produced in the UK is for edible use. The meal that is left after the crushing process contains proteins, and is sold to animal feed manufacturers.

Such is the increase in the growth of oil seed rape that it now occupies a comparable acreage to that given to sugar beet – another crop of great importance to the region.

The main concentration of the UK sugar beet crop is in East Anglia, which provides half the sugar input for the British Sugar



## ROY STEMMAN reports from one of the most productive grain-growing areas in Europe, where Community funds are helping to expand an age-old agrarian economy

Corporation. It, too, is a crop that has benefited from UK membership of the EEC and the decision to stop importing raw sugar from Australia, which produced a shortfall of around 300,000 tonnes a year.

As a result, the British Sugar Corporation began an expansion programme which increased its production from one-third of the UK's domestic requirement to a half. Since the completion of the programme, in 1980, it has been producing an average of 1.1 million tonnes of sugar a year.

Many of its sugar processing factories are in East Anglia, including the two largest in the UK – at Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, and Whittington, Norfolk. Each can process over 10,000 tonnes of beet a day.

East Anglia is one of the most productive grain growing areas in Europe. One Ipswich-based company, Pauls & Sandars Ltd, has been trading in malt and barley for brewers since the early 19th century. The company is

part of Pauls & Whites, one of the top 250 UK manufacturing companies with yearly sales of £240 million covering animal feed, malt, food flavours and related products.

Barley from local farms, mostly in Suffolk, is delivered by road to Pauls & Sandars' Ipswich maltings, which stand on the dockside. The barley is germinated to produce malt – some 50,000 tonnes is produced in the Ipswich area each year. Practically all of it is for export, the exception being a very small supply to a local brewery.

Other parts of the company's maltings operation in the UK cater for the home trade, though this has been hit badly by a slump in beer and whisky consumption. Ipswich is one of seven maltings centres in the UK which together make Pauls & Sandars the second largest malsters in Europe.

Very little of the malt is exported to the Continent. France is self-sufficient, for example, and the other European countries can meet most of their own requirements. Pauls & Sandars is very much a European company, however, with subsidiaries in France, Germany and Belgium.

The malt produced at Ipswich could find its way to the far reaches of the globe: South and West Africa, South America, Japan and Russia are all in the market at the moment.

Animal feed manufacture has traditionally been carried out close to ports, because of reliance on imported cereals. Since the last war, however, and the steep increase in home production of cereals, there has been a marked move to other parts of the country.

Because of the availability of cereals, East Anglia is also an important pig and poultry producing area – grain being part of their staple diet. So it is not surprising to find that Pauls Agriculture has joined forces with Britain's leading grocery chain, J. Sainsbury Ltd, in a pig farming enterprise. It has just opened a new breeding and fattening unit in the region, enabling it to increase the number of pigs produced each year by 20 per cent.

Direct aid to the East Anglian region from Europe comes from the Agricultural Fund, which has given in excess of £4½ million since 1973. Much of this money has been used by pig and poultry farmers to improve their processing capabilities.

For example, recent EEC farm aid has included a £217,622 grant to improve hygiene standards at a poultry processing plant at Eye, Suffolk; £214,010 for the construction of a





poultry processing factory at Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk; £444,330 for the modernisation and expansion of a pig processing factory in the same town; and £269,212 for modernisation and expansion of an abattoir at Peterborough, Cambridgeshire.

Potato processing facilities have also received farm aid, including two grants of

## Agricultural Fund aid helps farmers with drainage problems

around £100,000 each for businesses at Chatteris, Cambridgeshire.

A large amount of Agricultural Fund aid has also gone to help East Anglian farmers overcome drainage problems on their land, many acres of which are extremely marshy. Numerous grants, of between £20,000 and £30,000, have been made towards the construction of small pumping stations in the area to improve drainage. Others have been made to help drainage schemes on specific farms.

European Community farm aid has en-

abled one farm, between Ipswich and Felixstowe, to install a £150,000 drainage scheme and recover 1,000 acres of land which could not previously be used for growing.

Not all the Agricultural Fund's aid is spent on the land. East Anglia also has a fishing industry, with Lowestoft its major port. Recent grants to the region have included nearly £¾ million for the construction of fishing vessels based at Lowestoft, and an additional £49,858 on modernisation of works and landing facilities at Lowestoft's fish docks.


But the port's amenities are still very old-fashioned and its depleted fleet, which fishes for plaice in south Norwegian waters, awaits anxiously an agreement on a common fishing policy for the EEC, so that its market can be revitalised.

Farming and fishing are not the region's only 'natural' resources. East Anglia attracts tourists and holidaymakers, too. Some head for the congested waters of the Norfolk

Broads in search of peace and tranquility. Others go in search of the sun and sand at Clacton or Great Yarmouth, or they may explore Cambridge.

Because East Anglia was almost solely dependent on agriculture for its economy until the early part of this century, and it has no great mineral or energy resources, heavy industry has not put down roots in the region. This is making it easier for small, high-technology firms to establish themselves.

Although at present it has the smallest population of all the UK regions except Northern Ireland, East Anglia is fast filling up. In the last 20 years its population has increased by 25 per cent—and there is room for still more growth without becoming uncomfortably crowded. Today, in this traditionally farming region, only 6.6 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, representing 11.8 per cent of the total UK farm labour force.

With the lowest unemployment rate after the South-East, East Anglia owes much of its present relative prosperity to the Common Market – not least those vivid yellow fields that yield the harvest known as rape. 



# The Community's lesson for Ireland

**T**o many people abroad the image of Ireland, created and nurtured by newspaper headlines and dramatic television news clips, is one of interminable conflict between two communities whose traditions, cultures and religions seem destined to keep them for ever apart.

The hatred and violence which, to outsiders, appear to pervade everyday life, have frightened off foreign investment and tourists. Security requirements have involved both the British and Irish governments in enormous expenditure. The damage done to the general economies of both sides of the border is incalculable.

For all that, the image which the Irish people's fellow citizens in the European Community have of the troubled island is, to a large extent, a misleading one. Only a minute fraction of either the Protestant or Catholic communities is involved in violence. The vast majority of the population tries to lead a normal life in the shadow of the violence, which gives its perpetrators an impact out of all proportion to their numbers or political support.

While the violence tends to exaggerate the differences which divide the communities, and makes it more difficult to resolve them, it cannot be denied that these do exist – between the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland, where the Protestants are in a two-to-one majority, and between Northern Ireland and the Republic south of the border, where the population of almost three and a half million is 95 per cent Catholic.

Both the Dublin and London governments are working together in an attempt to break old political moulds and to bring about a measure of reconciliation. Alongside these efforts, various individuals and organisations have been working quietly, among them a group which owes its origins to the ideals and achievements of the European Community.

Cooperation North was founded in 1979 by a group of prominent individuals in the Republic who felt that a fundamental cause of the island's political problems was a lack of understanding between the communities on either side of the border. They decided to set about resolving this, by encouraging increased trade and industry and improved social and cultural links.

'Images are potent,' says Dr Brendan O'Regan, chairman of Cooperation North, 'and in this island they are too often distorted. These distortions damage all of us. We must do all we can to substitute facts for myths.'

With financial support from the four main banking groups – two based in Dublin and two in Belfast – the organisation, which emphasises its non-political nature, has sponsored a flow of familiarisation visits in both directions across the border for public repre-

**Bringing old enemies together as partners has worked in the EEC. It could also help to end sectarian conflict in Ireland, writes PETER DOYLE**

sentatives, businessmen, journalists, youth organisations and the like. It has also established an independent trading company to encourage trade between North and South.

Backed by funds from the European Commission in Brussels, Cooperation North has carried out a series of important studies on the potential for cooperation between border communities in such areas as agriculture, tourism and energy. It has also prepared proposals for a feasibility study to be carried out on the establishment of a cross-border industrial zone, as well as educational projects which (it hopes) will attract funding from the Community as well as from both governments.

It is no accident that, soon after it was

established, Cooperation North should have looked to the Community as well as to the London and Dublin governments for support. The Community has already given substantial backing to studies on communications, tourism, drainage and the fishing industries in the border areas, as well as direct grants from its Regional, Social and Farm Funds. The Community has also served as the model for the organisation.

Says Dr O'Regan: 'Perhaps the basic aim in the establishment of the European Community was the creation of an economic framework which would end for ever the long-standing enmity between France and Germany. Surely there is a lesson for us in this experience.'

'If two countries as powerful and diverse as these, with all their history of conflict, can use the best of both traditions to build a future for themselves and their children, surely we on this small island can appreciate the futility and the waste of destructive conflict.'

Dr O'Regan adds: 'I believe that we can move now, and try to give expression in practical terms to the aims which, in a wider context, inspired the founders of the Community.'



This is the front cover of 'About Europe' – an up-to-date, 24-page account of the European Community just published in Brussels. It is available, free of charge, from EC Distribution Department, PO Box 22, Weston-super-Mare, Avon BS24 9EW.

# Action for the Community's migrant workers

**LUCIEN JACOBY, a member of the Commission's directorate of employment, social affairs and education, explains the educational and vocational problems which arise from free movement within the Community.**

Mobility of the labour force in the community poses two major problems: school education and vocational training. A committee consisting of representatives of the governments, employers and trades unions has been formed to assist the Commission to ensure worker mobility within the Community.

Special emphasis is laid on the vocational training of employees and the education of their children.

A resolution passed by the Community's Council of Ministers in 1974 gives priority in the social sector to the institution of an action programme for migrant workers both from the Member States and from other countries. The plan which the Commission put forward in December 1974, calls for concerted action to help the children of migrant workers and emphasizes the importance of language classes and vocational training.

Since 1974 the European Social Fund has been able to help member states which incur additional expenses in their efforts to provide suitable education for the children of migrant workers. The Fund also assists in action programmes designed to improve training facilities

## Every year, the Social Fund helps 150,000 adult migrant workers

ties for social workers and teachers who work with migrant families and their children.

Every year the Social Fund contributes towards educational courses and training schemes which help some 80,000 schoolchildren, 3,000 teachers and social workers, and 150,000 adult migrant workers.

The education and vocational training of migrant families and their dependants are guaranteed by law. A Community regulation has laid down the rules concerning the mobility of migrant families within the Community. The regulation stipulates that 'migrant workers from other member states must be given the same opportunity to visit schools, training colleges and re-training centres, with equal rights and under the same conditions, as the nationals of their country of residence.'

Furthermore, 'children of an EC citizen who works, or has worked, in another member state must have the same rights with

**LUCIEN JACOBY, a member of the European Commission's directorate of employment, social affairs and education, explains the problems that arise from free movement within the Community – and how they could be dealt with**

regard to school education and apprentice or vocational training as the citizens of that state, as long as these children are resident in the country in question.' Finally, the regulation requires that 'the member states should support all efforts designed to ensure that such children are able to make the most of their education at the above-mentioned institutions.'

In July 1981 a directive came into effect providing for the school education of the children of migrant workers in the European Community. It requires that the host country offer some form of introductory teaching for migrants in the (or an) official language of the country concerned. Such teaching should be geared to the needs of foreign children. The host country is also bound to provide special training facilities for teachers who work with the children of migrant families.

In addition, the directive calls upon host countries to cooperate with the migrants' nation of origin to ensure that instruction is provided in the native language and culture of foreign children. So far the directive is legally binding only with regard to the dependent children of citizens of EC countries who are working, or have worked, in other member states. But the Community has announced its firm intention to extend the provisions of the policy to all groups of foreign children.

Introductory educational training for migrant children, which is absolutely vital for their later development at school, is no longer left to the discretion of the individual school authorities. It has become an acknowledged right, enforceable by the Community courts.

The requirement that member states offer instruction in the native language and culture of the migrants' home country is designed to help immigrants to retain their national identity. It is a positive step towards better international relations within the Community. What's more, the presence of the children of migrant families has ensured that the EC languages are now taught at schools in the

major industrial centres of Europe.

At present some ten pilot projects are in operation in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Great Britain and West Germany. They are being run as part of an action programme on the education of migrant workers and their dependants. The programme covers such areas as introductory educational training, instruction in the language and culture of the home country, intercultural education, teacher training, and the development and promotion of special teaching aids. These projects are now being evaluated.

Such measures are comparatively new. But the trend towards inner-European migration on a large scale dates back to the decade 1960-70. The education authorities have responded very late to the radically changing school population. Today this population is multi-lingual and has a great diversity of cultural backgrounds.

In industrial regions, for example, the children of migrant workers now represent 30 per cent-40 per cent of the total number of chil-

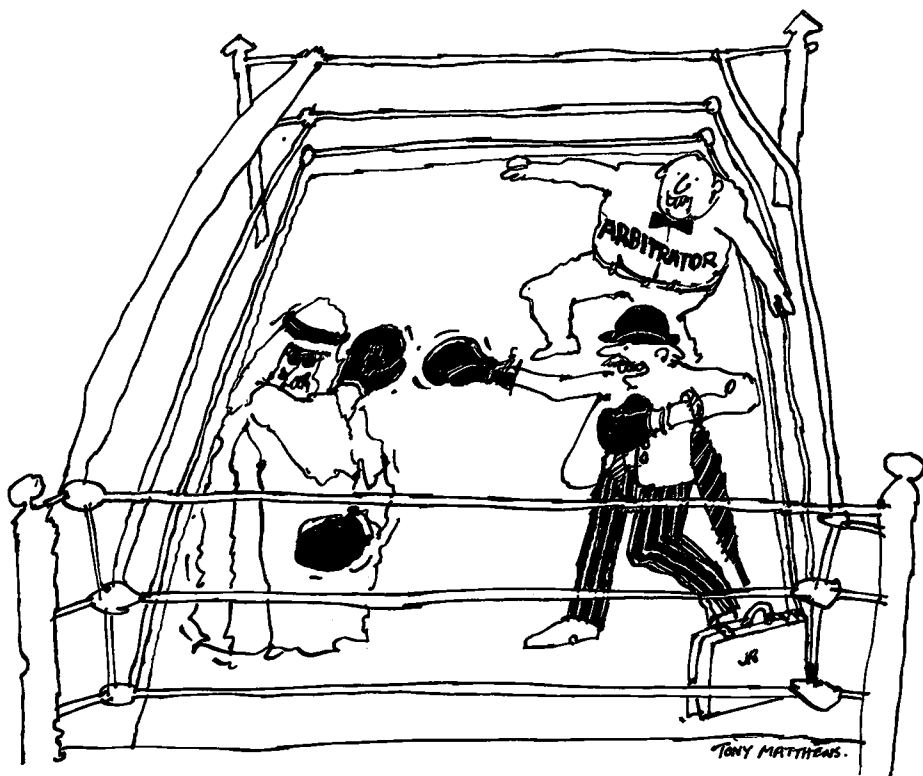
## The vast majority of immigrant children have problems at school

dren at school. Although immigration from non-EC countries has been halted, the number of foreign school-children is still rising steadily, as a result of both the reuniting of families and the high birthrate.

The vast majority of immigrant children have great problems at school. Their entry into working life is therefore correspondingly difficult. There are two million foreign children at school in the member states, which mean that around 200,000 leave every year.

Only half of them are able to move on to vocational training, and of these only a few participate in full-length training programmes. The rest can only contribute to the rise in unemployment: they have little chance of getting a traineeship or a job.

The Commission intends in future to take action in nursery education. It has become clear that foreign children who visit a nursery school from the age of three are easily integrated into the educational system of the host country. Again, more foreign teachers are to be appointed to instruct migrant children in their native language and culture. The Commission also recognizes that it is irresponsible to allow 40 per cent of young foreigners to be excluded from vocational training because of their lack of success at school. ☐



## How to harmonise an argument with an Arab

**W**hen businessmen fall out, corporate lawyers prosper. It is expensive enough taking commercial disputes through the courts of your own country. But imagine the trouble you run into when deals go wrong between European and Arab companies. You not only have the problems of distance and language to contend with, but a yawning gap between the cultural and legal codes of the other party as well.

It's a problem underlined by the steadily widening range of Arab and European companies entering into import and export deals, joint ventures and service contracts.

Oil, naturally enough, accounted for the bulk of the Arab goods imported into the EEC countries. But European exports to Arab states—worth over £20 billion in 1980—reflect the widening of trading links.

Euro-Arab business has developed from a few, multi-national deals turning petrodollars into dry docks or air fields, to involve countless smaller businesses on both sides of the Mediterranean. As more and more European and Arab companies get together, the scope for commercial disputes inevitably widens. The big boys of international trade can handle their contractual disputes from

### JOHN BRENNAN reports on a scheme to ease the ways Europe's businessmen settle legal disputes with their Arab clients

board room up to royal, or presidential palace level. But for the rest, the choice when things go wrong is arbitration, risking a lengthy tour of the courts, or accepting a writing-off as expensively-earned experience.

Not a very satisfactory situation. But it is about to change.

Sir Richard Beaumont is chairman of the Arab-British Chamber of Commerce, one of the chambers established in each European country to stimulate trade with the 21 Arab League member states. Sir Richard explains: 'At the moment a big question mark hangs over the whole business of arbitration—that's execution of the arbitrators' decision.

'It is very difficult for any government to abrogate the power of its own courts. So companies are wary of arbitration if they think that, when a decision has been taken, the party the arbitrators find against can still go to law.'

There would not, he feels, be much sense in dragging all the details of your business dispute before a panel of arbitrators if that turns out to be no more than an additional time-wasting step on the way to the courts.

The Arab-French Chamber of Commerce began to look closely at the problem a year or two ago, and started a movement that is developing into a formal 'Euro-Arab Arbitration System' accepted by all the Arab states.

There are various systems of arbitration in existence worldwide says Sir Richard, but the French evidently felt that they were too loose a network for what is essentially bilateral Arab-European trade. So they drew up a plan, which is now under discussion, to extend this into a European-wide arbitration system.

Every company signing a contract involving trade between the Europe and the Arab world would add an arbitration clause spelling out the legal system to be used in the event of any dispute, and agreeing to submit disputes to the panel of the Arab-European arbitrators.

'At the moment', Sir Richards explains, 'many firms simply don't specify the legal code that covers their contracts, or make any provision for arbitration.'

### Whichever company loses is likely to cry 'Foul!'

When problems arise, the first partner to court has the edge, or ad hoc arbitration schemes are used. But, in a dispute between two companies, neither is overkeen to accept the other's 'independent' nominee. One arbitrator picked by each side, and acceptable to each side, is not too much of a problem. But what about the third? Who picks the man with the casting vote?

Under the present system whichever company loses the argument is likely to cry 'Foul' and head for his local court. Minor arguments about contractual details turn into feuds.

So, as Sir Richard explains, the Arab Chambers in Europe are working towards a single secretariat for the system, that would forward the necessary papers to the relevant Chamber, whether in Britain, France or Saudi Arabia. Then a panel of jurists would choose an arbitrator to join the nominees picked by the companies in dispute.

It is critical, says Sir Richard, to have an outside body picking that third arbitrator. And, as the Arab Chambers handle the documentation work necessary to trade with companies within the Arab League states, they are in an ideal position to press ahead and create that accepted 'outside' body.

Not that all disputes need to get to that stage. 'A great deal of our work,' says Sir Richard, 'is informal—or formal—conciliation. It's surprising how many disputes fade when a third party sits down and talks through the problems.'



# Pardon me, boy – is this the European choo-choo?



## LOUIS JOOS sees great potential in France's new record-breaking express – a high-speed rail link between the power centres of the Community

**T**he success of the French *train à grande vitesse* (TGV), which has cut the journey from Lyons to Paris to 2 hours 40 minutes, demonstrates that surface transport is still competitive with air travel over medium-haul routes.

It is surprising, therefore, that the European press has reacted with comparative indifference to the latest round in the struggle to create the 'Europole' train, at the 16th meeting of the European Conference of Local Authorities, held in Strasbourg last November.

Apart from its technical and economic aspects, the creation of a rail link has political implications. All too often, national transport policies stop short at frontiers – and that perhaps is why Europole has yet to get going. But now a new political factor seems about to revive the project. Strasbourg wants to remain the seat of the European Parliament, Brussels means to keep the executive – the European Commission; Luxembourg is hanging on to the Court of Justice, the European Investment Bank and the Statistical Office.

These conflicting political pressures, which have so far successfully prevented the creation of a single Community capital, will not abate. Furthermore, supporters of regionalism have recently discovered that a 'dispersed' or 'polycentric' capital as the technocrats would have it, does have some advan-

tages. It is the best guarantee against the resurgence at Community level of that centralism which has so often marked the nation state. Careful observers have also noted that the proposed route of Europole would bring benefits to frontier regions which are still bypassed by major economic developments. Europole would reduce still further the time required to travel from one end of the decentralized capital of Europe to the other. The aim is to do the journey from Brussels to Strasbourg via Luxembourg in 103 minutes. The train would then continue to Basle, taking a total of just over three hours at a cruising speed of over 200 miles per hour.

The second section of the line would leave Community territory but it would still link places where the countries of Europe meet. Geneva is the seat of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, while Basle frequently hosts meetings of the central bankers of the industrialised world.

A glance at the Europole timetable shows that traditional solutions are technically quite inadequate. What the project's sponsors propose is a 'hovertrain' propelled by a sound-proofed turbo jet on a cushion of air. Each carriage would hold 80 passengers, giving a capacity of 1,600 people per hour. Technically, this solution is perfectly feasible and offers a number of important advantages over conventional railway systems. The elevated monorail requires little land and can easily negotiate all kinds of obstacles, especially those found around towns. Compulsory purchase would be reduced to a minimum, and maintenance of the track virtually eliminated, since there is no direct contact with the train and therefore no friction.

Furthermore, the hovertrain could cope quite happily with gradients far steeper than

The TGV could point the way to closer links within Europe.

those that conventional trains can manage. A line from Brussels to Geneva would certainly cost less than Roissy airport near Paris. It would also be a good deal cheaper than the Channel Tunnel. Finance would be comparatively easy, since four countries would share the cost.

The Community could also make a contribution from the Regional Fund, since the route through Liège, Luxembourg, Metz and Nancy would stimulate activity in the frontier areas of the Ardennes and Lorraine – regions which have hitherto been disadvantaged or in decline.

A further benefit would be the construction of a spur from Strasbourg to Frankfurt via Ludwigshafen, to ease pressure on the overcrowded German rail system in the right bank of the Rhine. Improved links between Brussels and London would allow travellers from Britain to reach the heart of Europe for the price of a rail ticket but with the directness of an aeroplane. The success of this pioneer railway project would give a boost to European prestige, with attendant economic gains, just as the European Airbus and Ariane have done.

Europole could be built before the end of the Eighties – but public opinion must first be mobilised in its favour. For a long time, the press has poked fun at the dispersion of the capital of Europe over an area of 275 miles. Why should it not now support a project which would reduce the Community's scattered capital, in terms of time, to the size of a conventional city? The 103 minutes from Brussels to Strasbourg is little more than the time it takes to cross Paris from Roissy to Orly, or Greater London from Romford to Heathrow. E

*'The people of Europe  
have seen the  
absurdity and futility  
of fratricidal strife'*

- GASTON THORN

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The Treaty of Rome  
**1957-1982**

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A JUBILEE REVIEW



Last month the European Community celebrated its Silver Jubilee. It is now a quarter of a century since the signing of the Treaties of Rome, the source of Europe's inspiration and strength and a charter for European integration. For those of us committed to the European venture, this anniversary provides an opportunity to pay tribute to the vision and political courage of the eminent statesmen who conceived and won acceptance for a grand design: to replace centuries of warfare by a process of integration and a shared political objective.

**In a personal introduction to this review of the 25 years since the signing of the Treaty of Rome, GASTON THORN, seventh President of the European Commission, sums up the Community's gains – and what still remains to be done**

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS! A mere twinkling of history's eye, according to Jean Cocteau. It has obviously proved impossible, in such a short space of time, to complete the grand design of the founding fathers of the Community. And it is hardly surprising that, despite the distance covered, the considerable measure of integration achieved is under constant threat.

But, to my mind, no quirk of history can diminish some of our achievements. First, the people of Europe have seen the absurdity and futility of fratricidal strife.

Secondly, a number of milestones have been passed on the road to economic and political unity. The removal of customs barriers within the Community has meant an unprecedented broadening of businessmen's horizons, an extraordinary expansion of trade and a spectacular rise in standards of living. At the same time the common agricultural policy has laid the spectre of food shortages, guaranteeing secure supplies and providing farmers with fair incomes.

Thirdly, Europe is now the main source of public aid to the Third World – its unique policy of cooperation with some sixty developing countries sets an example in many respects.

Lastly, Europe has its own elected parliament, supplying the democratic legitimacy which the Six, the original European nucleus, so desperately lacked. Successive enlargements, and the Community's attraction for the rest of the world, testify to the vitality and credibility of what we have built so far.

But the structure is still precarious, vulnerable to storms which damage its internal cohesion and strain external relations. It may be that the Community is traversing the most difficult period in its history – for never, in all its 25 years have the winds of crisis blown so hard.

What are the clouds threatening the Community's future? First and foremost, there is the unending economic crisis reflected in soaring unemployment. All the indications are that this upward trend will continue for some months. It is partly explained by inadequate investment: we are devoting a diminishing proportion of our resources to investment, at a time when we should be investing massively in new, advanced industries to compensate for the decline of a number of traditional ones.

Our failure to invest means that we are beginning to lag behind the United States and Japan, and gravely compromising the competitiveness of our industries and our products for a long time to come.

Our list of priorities would be incomplete if we failed to mention the importance of fighting inflation, striving for greater energy independence, putting our public finances in order, restoring our trade balance, and narrowing divergences in economic development.

In these circumstances there are many who advocate a return to protectionism and renationalisation of the internal market. It is our business to prove them wrong. A return to egoism and national barriers would be a serious historical error. By undermining our efforts at

integration, it would compromise the prospects of the nations of Europe and lead to their irreversible decline.

We cannot hope to rise to the challenges of the Eighties unless we are properly equipped. We need to restore Community cohesion, adapt the common agricultural policy to the changed situation, and develop new common policies, notably for industry, energy and research.

This was the essence of the mandate the Commission was given on 30 May 1980. As I write, agreement on the Commission's proposals is proving elusive. Although consensus has emerged on a number of important issues, we are still concerned that the deadlock on others could hinder the general revitalisation of the Community.

This is a time for action, not empty words. Our first step must be to preserve, consolidate and develop our predecessors' achievements. I cannot believe that those who govern us will allow the European edifice to crumble.

Our second step must be to define new objectives which will fire the imagination of the younger generation, a generation which has no wish to belong to a declining Community as it moves into the 21st century.

The Community can find this new lease of life. But it needs to take a decision now.



*The seven presidents of the Commission who have served in its first 25 years. Top row: Walter Hallstein; Jean Rey; Franco Maria Malfatti. Second row: Sico Mansholt; François-Xavier Ortoli; Roy Jenkins. Right: Gaston Thorn.*





## The Treaty is signed – but without the British

It is Spring 1955. The European Coal and Steel Community has been functioning satisfactorily for three years.

Encouraged by its success, member states of the Community are convinced that another major step forward is possible. International circumstances, in any case, require it.

The member states negotiate and conclude the treaty setting up the European Defence Community. This is signed by the six governments, ratified by five parliaments, but runs into problems with the French parliament, which finally – in August 1955 – with the complicity of the government of Mendes-France rejects the treaty.

The resulting disappointment and disarray run deep in Europe.

It is Mr Beyen, the Dutch Foreign Minister, who takes the initiative which puts an end to this rather gloomy state of affairs. He visits his colleague Mr Spaak, in Brussels, and suggests that the Benelux governments should make a new effort. Because no further action

**JEAN REY, a former president of the Commission, recalls how the original six member states moved towards their historic decision**

is possible on the defence front, he suggests that European integration should be relaunched in the economic sector.

Spaak is rapidly convinced; the two ministers agree to ask for assistance from their colleague from Luxembourg, Mr Bech, the wise old man of Europe, who falls in with their plans. They decide to ask for the agreement of their three German, French and Italian colleagues, who agree immediately. The Italian Foreign Minister, Gaetano Martino, has to stay in Sicily because of an electoral campaign. But he says: 'I do not have time to travel to the north of Europe, but come to Italy. I am



Daumier's classic – and prophetic – cartoon, published in 1867, shows Europe performing a balancing act on a globe that is smoking like a bomb. Low, in 1948, personified Europe less dramatically – as a bus, with the title 'French Double-decker'. The conductor is Robert Schuman, whose famous Plan was an early pointer towards a united Europe.

prepared to receive you.' This is why the conference is held on 5 June 1955, at Messina.

The Benelux representatives arrive with two projects. The first, modest one, calls for the extension of the successful coal and steel integration process to other sectors such as textiles or chemicals. The other, more daring, proposal calls for the creation of a real and wider-ranging Economic community.

Luckily, the representatives of the three big countries – Antoine Piney for France, Walter Hallstein for Germany and Gaetano Martino for Italy – are all 'good Europeans'. They agree immediately to adopt the more ambitious proposal, and set up a committee of experts to discuss its basis.

Agreement is rapid, and the delegates are enthusiastic. One evening, on the beautiful terrace of the San Dominico Grand Hotel at Taormina, discussions are particularly lively until Antoine Panay, who is unable to sleep because of the noise, opens his window and empties a jug of water on to the terrace – and,

by doing so, baptises Europe...

Initiated in Brussels at meetings of expert groups, the negotiations open in a series of lively discussions and in very evident disagreement. Two English experts invited to the discussions as observers – Messrs Bretherton and Figgures smoke their pipes all day long and do not utter a word. After several months, convinced that agreement would never be reached, they leave the meetings on tiptoe.

They are very surprised a year later to learn that the treaty has been signed. We will never know whether they left voluntarily, as the continentals say, or whether they were no longer invited, as say the British.

October 1961: a German view of Britain's plight. Macmillan, shipwrecked, is rowed across the Channel by the German economics minister, Dr Erhard. Aboard the good ship Europa, de Gaulle stares down, unimpressed.

The next step is the Conference of Venice, preceded by the Spaak report drawn up by Messrs Uri, von der Groeben and Hupperts. An intergovernmental group is established to draw up the treaty. Two Belgians play a particularly distinguished role: Baron Jean-Charles Snoy et d'Oppuers, secretary general in the Ministry of Economic Affairs, and Paul-Henri Spaak, president.

A man like Spaak, a real genius when it comes to reconciling attitudes, simplifying solutions, and convincing the reluctant, was clearly needed to negotiate the compromise and obtain general agreement. We can never thank him enough.

It would require much more space than I have been given to analyse the tremendous merits of the Treaty, the results obtained and the present difficulties facing the Ten.

Generally speaking, the Treaty has not grown old. It allowed faster than expected achievement of a customs union; and it began the construction of common policies which

## 'Progress is hampered by the frightening slowness of Council procedures'

are the basis of economic union. It also allowed for new policies such as monetary integration, which is currently in the process of being developed. Regional policy is another example. However, absence of an energy policy, eight years after the beginning of the oil crisis, is a major drawback which illustrates the crisis now confronting the Community.

Even if, externally, the Community has made a name for itself in the Kennedy and Tokyo Round tariff negotiations; even if it has brought together over sixty developing countries in the Yaoundé and Lomé negotiations; and even if it has extended its frontiers to include Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland and Greece, the Community's internal development has been slowed down incredibly. This has been due to the re-emergence of nationalism; member state individualism; and the frightening slowness of Council procedures which – despite the texts of the Treaty and appeals from the Commission – continue to apply the unanimity principle in reaching decisions.

The Council must modernise its working methods, in keeping with appeals made by Mr Dankert for the Parliament, Mr Thorn for the Commission and Mr Tindemans for the Council. This will allow the Community to recapture its initial creative momentum.

The world today can no longer be seen in terms of sovereign states, but rather in terms of continents. Europeans, if they want their old and precious continent to play a leading role in world affairs, must take these new realities into account. It is not too late. But, as Paul-Henri Spaak told the United Nations in 1949, it is time.



# Promise and problems in the new Europe

**A**ll the bells in the Eternal City had rung as the Treaty of Rome was signed. Now the ceremony was over; but the real battles still lay ahead. The new Community was starting from scratch, with nothing to its name but a basic legal charter, a set of fairly specific goals, and the hopes invested in it.

The first task was to phase out customs barriers. This was something the authors of the Treaty had expected to cause enormous problems, so they had taken the unprecedented step of setting a firm timetable. On a given date a given step forward must be taken; the member states might be tempted to drag their feet on customs 'disarmament', but they had bound themselves by their signature and must honour the pledge.

The role of France here was decisive. General de Gaulle was no protectionist: he had faith in the ability of French industry not only to withstand foreign competition on the domestic market but also to compete on its partners' markets. In December 1958, therefore, he decided to devalue the franc and end a venerable French tradition of protectionism. The first 10 per cent tariff cut came into force on 1 January 1959, ahead of schedule.

This 'negative' integration, the removal of national frontiers in trade, turned out to be comparatively easy. As intra-Community trade took off, there were sneers at the 'Community of shopkeepers', as if trade was something of concern to businessmen alone. Importing and exporting, of course, are not abstract transactions – goods cross frontiers to satisfy demand and to fuel the expansion of industry.

Europe grew more prosperous. People were not necessarily any happier; but then, the Treaty of Rome was not legislating for happiness. At all events, the first stage was a success.

The Community, however, had an agricultural as well as an industrial dimension. Agriculture, indeed, was the only sector put on a wholly Community footing. At the Commission, the man responsible for agriculture, Sicco Mansholt, had been a farmer himself. He knew he was being asked to square the circle – guaranteeing farmers a comfortable income while providing consumers with goods at reasonable prices, defending Europe's farmers against those of other continents without succumbing to protectionism,

**The first stage was a success. But hopes of positive integration have been disappointed, writes HENRI BRUGMANS, Rector Emeritus of the College of Europe, Bruges**

and rationalizing farming without driving people off the land.

His first step was to invite top specialists and representatives of the different interest groups to a meeting in Stresa. Mansholt was too astute to ask them what *they* wanted from *him*; instead, he presented them with his blueprint for European agriculture in the year 2000.

His plans were too ambitious; or rather, they were not such as could be grasped by those with their eyes firmly fixed on their own short-time advantage. But he was not without allies. He went around the Community talking to local farmers' organisations, always in their own language. Undeterred by occasionally shaky grammar, he got his message across. At grassroots level his views won much respect, and he himself was popular.

The governments, understandably, reacted somewhat differently. The farming community was an important section of the electorate, and farmers' votes could win or lose elections. All too often, the interested parties had a sharper eye for immediate profit, however small, than for even the most sensible longterm investment. The creeping 're-nationalisation' of Community policy blurred the overall design, and the common agricultural policy degenerated into an annual price-fixing exercise. A certain amount of bitterness attended Mansholt's departure from the Commission, of which he had latterly been vice-president and even, for a few months, President.

The national governments, however, had no intention of scrapping the agricultural common market, which provided better outlets for their produce and also a convenient scapegoat when dealing with perennially disgruntled farmers. 'Their' farm minister had fought to the last ditch for them in the Council, they would be told; but the others, unfor-

tunately, had refused to budge. Again, the whole subject was impossibly complex, and it was nice to be able to pass the buck back to the Commission when the problem became too hot to handle.

The fact that blaming the Community for everything that went wrong tended to make it unpopular with the public, was glossed over – the damage could always be repaired by an uplifting speech on the vital importance of integration, the historic nature of the enterprise, the nobleness of the aims.

That, in spite of everything, the common agricultural policy did not sink without trace is partly due to the fact that de Gaulle's France remained fiercely attached to it. Paradoxically, although Mansholt freely cursed French nationalism, he worked hand in glove with Edgar Pisani, who for many years was de Gaulle's minister of agriculture.

The two men had much in common. Both socialists, they saw the issues in terms of human welfare, not cold figures. De Gaulle, in any case, was passionately committed to the European farm policy – not simply because it was in France's interests but because, once convinced of the need for reform, he was not the man to flinch from radical change. Here again, he supported the European venture.

France also made a valuable contribution in relations with the developing countries. During the protracted negotiations over the text of the Treaty of Rome, the French delegates raised the question of the overseas territories. France had special arrangements for its trade with these mainly African countries, allowing their exports in duty-free. But the common external customs tariff which it was planned to bring into force would operate in the Community against imports from all non-member countries. A measure which was designed to combat protectionism would in practice have raised barriers to trade between France and its former possessions, which to the French was clearly unacceptable.

Not all the prospective member states saw things in this light. Germany, stripped of its colonies in 1919, was extremely reluctant to go along with what was seen in some quarters as French neocolonialism. The Netherlands, too, had misgivings: the decolonisation of Indonesia had left its scars, and there was little enthusiasm for a fresh overseas adventure. It was not easy to get the necessary provisions included in the Treaty.



In the event, things worked out in rather an unexpected way. The Six concluded an association agreement at Yaoundé with seventeen African countries plus Madagascar. For the first time, such negotiations had taken place neither bilaterally, with the stronger party dictating the terms, nor within the unwieldy UN framework, but between two groups of countries, two emerging continents.

It was decided first of all that, while the associated countries could continue to protect their infant industries, their exports would enjoy duty-free access to the whole Community, not just France. This was an important point of principle, though in practical terms the impact was slight.

But the habit of treating former colonies as the private preserve of the former colonial power had been broken. This process is bound to continue.

Aid, it was then decided, would go not to the governments of the newly-independent states, but to the companies awarded the contracts to carry out projects which had been jointly approved. If a country decided it wanted a new hospital, it must first show that it had the doctors and other trained people needed to staff it. If it wanted a port enlarged, it must show that the trade was there to justify the new facilities.

Of course, mistakes were made. But the experience acquired under the two Yaoundé Conventions was useful – shortcomings were pinpointed, improvements made. Not surprisingly, development cooperation officials are the most dedicated members of the Community's staff.

Their workload was considerably increased when the United Kingdom became a member. Its post-imperial position was similar to that of France, with the result that the number of associated countries, which had already been creeping up, suddenly increased to over fifty. The two Yaoundé Conventions have been succeeded by the first and second Conventions of Lomé, along similar lines. Today there are 61 associated states, taking in most of black Africa (talks with Angola and Mozambique are under way) and countries in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

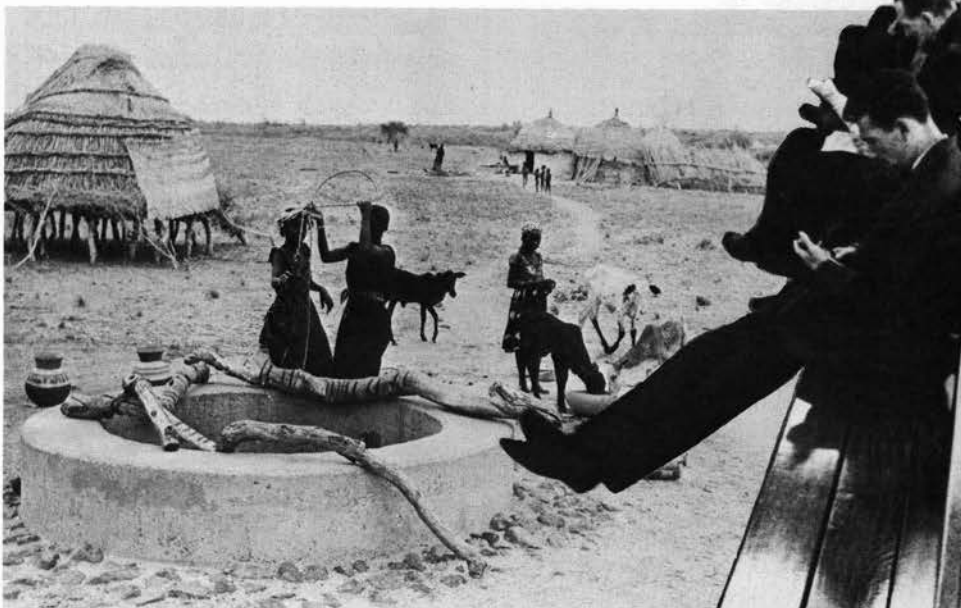
The Community's poor public relations are probably to blame for the fact that the many idealistic young people who plead so fervently on behalf of the Third World have never even heard of Lomé – just as the general public had never heard of Claude Cheysson, for many years in charge of the development portfolio at the Commission, until he became French foreign minister in the Mitterrand government.

When Robert Schuman put forward his plan for a coal and steel community, the two industries were seen as the lynchpin of the economy. Times have changed. Other metals and other fuels have become more important. And the newly industrialised countries can produce steel of equivalent quality more cheaply than Europe. This is at the root of the upheavals currently affecting the older industrialised nations.

## 'It is all too easy for governments to pass the buck to Brussels'

To save jobs and votes, governments spend millions of pounds on propping up industries in trouble, though they are sometimes simply delaying the inevitable. In this situation it is the Community's duty to uphold the basic

Aspects of Community policy are illustrated in this pictorial montage. They include aid to agriculture, help for the Third World, tariff-free choice in the shops, concerted programmes for the steel industry, regional and social aid schemes to combat unemployment – and the total demolition of customs barriers between member states.





competition rules of the Treaty. But it is all too easy for governments faced with such inextricable problems to pass the buck once again to Brussels.

European integration has, in many respects, proved a disappointment. A protocol was added to the Treaty of Rome, for instance, to the effect that the common market should not operate to make the rich areas of the Community richer while the poor areas got poorer. That has remained a dead letter. The Community's regional policy has had little impact, and governments have retained a firm hold on aid to backward regions. Those on the receiving end have seldom been aware that money was being channelled to them from Brussels.

Overall, little power has been transferred to the Community institutions. National governments have resisted 'positive integration', despite the provision for it in the Treaty and widespread hopes that it would follow on logically from the dismantling of frontier controls.

This lack of a veritable European government with responsibility for specifically European affairs – a European authority with 'limited but real powers', as the Council of Europe expressed it as early as 1949 – has also hamstrung the directly elected European Parliament.

A parliament will strike no chord with the electorate unless it has control over a corresponding executive, whether at local, regional, national or supranational level. Lacking such power, it remains an abstraction. It is a fair criticism of the European institutions, that they are not free agents, and are consequently both ineffectual and undemocratic. But can this really be laid at the door of the much-maligned Eurocrats?

A jubilee is a suitable occasion for reminiscence; but it is also an occasion to look to the years ahead. In conclusion, therefore, may one voice the hope that the member states might now start taking their European rhetoric more seriously? In December 1969 they announced their intention of achieving full economic and monetary union by 1980. Some years later they entrusted Leo Tindemans with the herculean task of preparing a blueprint for European union. This report, the fruit of a year's work, was quietly shelved without ever being given serious consideration.

It is never difficult to find an excuse for inaction, and the world recession came pat. But should it not have had just the opposite effect? The experience of recession has surely shown us that problems such as unemployment and inflation are too big to be tackled by national governments alone. None of the Community countries has more than about 50 or 60 million inhabitants, but in today's world we can only count in hundreds of millions.

The European Community is 25 years old. If it is to reach its golden jubilee in good shape, its citizens had better make up their minds to pull together and finish the job they started a quarter of a century ago.



# How Britain at last made up its mind

**W**hen Harold Macmillan succeeded Anthony Eden as Prime Minister in 1957 he took a piece of Number 10 Downing Street notepaper and wrote out, in his own hand, these words from a Gilbert and Sullivan opera, 'The Gondoliers': 'Quiet, calm deliberation disentangles every knot . . . ' This jaunty philosophy he stuck with a drawing pin to the green baize door which separated the Cabinet room from the private office in Number 10.

He made it a watchword as he set out to restore the lost national self-confidence of Britain and keep the country buoyant in the sea of troubles which flooded in upon it in the bitter aftermath of the Suez failure, and after what was becoming obvious by 1958 – the breakdown of the European policy.

In his own case, as Harold Macmillan has confided to us in his memoirs, 'quiet, calm deliberation' often masked 'some sickening anxieties.' As far as the European issue was concerned, his motto also masked a new sense of urgency, which had come with the belated but growing awareness that time was no longer on Britain's side.

It will no doubt remain a question of lasting historical inquiry and interpretation why it was that Britain so completely changed her mind between 1955 (when she had withdrawn from the talks which founded the Common Market, and thereby passed up a major say in the form it assumed) and 1960 (when that decision was put into reverse). The Cabinet's decision to reverse Britain's historical policy over Europe as the decade of the 1960s began was not the result of any sudden reappraisal. Edward Heath, who had made a remarkable (because it was an almost uniquely 'European') maiden speech in the House of Commons over the Schuman Plan in 1950, when he advocated full and immediate British participation in the Coal and Steel Community, considers that it was 'a gradual making-up of minds' confronted by an inexorable pressure of events which pointed the way to Europe.

By 1958, with Anthony Eden's departure and the failure under Macmillan of what proved to be Britain's last attempt to sidestep the issue posed by the successful creation of the Common Market – the rejection by the Six (at the instigation of General de Gaulle) of Britain's alternative scheme of an industrial Free Trade area – Britain faced exclusion

## MICHAEL CHARLTON retraces the decision- making process by which Harold Macmillan, on becoming Prime Minister in 1957, brought Britain to the brink

August 1961: 'If you can't lick 'em, join 'em by Jove!' was the caption to an American cartoonist's comment on Britain's negotiations with the Six. Opposite: The late 'Rab' Butler, drawn here by Vicky of the Evening Standard, and Christopher (now Lord) Soames, were key figures in Macmillan's cabinet.

from the markets of Europe and from consultation over Europe's decisions.

In consequence the European issue was becoming, for the Prime Minister, the dominant theme. The stakes had become very high. Britain's whole trading position and her role and place in the world were all, and at once, seen to be in question. Two factors, not foreseen by the Foreign Office in recommending Britain's negative decisions over Europe in the 1950s, had by the time the decade ended become heavy weights in a new balance of considerations. They were the competitive failure of British industry, and the return to power in France of Charles de Gaulle.

The Foreign Office line had been that – even if the Continental Europeans brought off the unity to which they aspired and about which London remained determinedly sceptical – it would always be possible for Britain to change her mind, and join later. But by 1958 both views were becoming dramatically





less tenable. The Common Market was a demonstrable success; and de Gaulle had closed the door on Britain's efforts to go on having it both ways.

In short, the existing policy had failed. It had failed to prevent the creation of a new, powerful, and rival economic system to that of Britain and the Commonwealth. More exactly, by the end of the 1950s it had failed to find some hyphen, or bridge, between the two.

The evidence is that, by itself, the breakdown of the European policy with the collapse of the Free Trade Area scheme was not sufficient to make the Prime Minister contemplate initiating the vital change. On the contrary, the evidence is that throughout 1958 and 1959, his long pro-European credentials notwithstanding, Mr Macmillan was still doing what he could to avoid it.

One has to look, therefore, between 1958 and 1960, for one or more additional considerations which, allied with the process described by Edward Heath as 'a gradual making-up of minds,' tipped the scales for the Prime Minister and brought the minds of others around to come to a wholly new conclusion about Britain's place in Europe. One of these new considerations was to be added to the deeper reflections which were following in the wake of the Suez Affair. Suez had been more than a demonstration – it was proof – that Britain was no longer mistress of all that

she held to be vital and which was accessible to her by sea. Not since the capture by Japan of the great naval base at Singapore during the War had there been such painful confirmation that an era in which Britain had been a maritime great power was indeed passing.

Harold Macmillan cast the aftermath of Suez in a European dimension. France and Britain had been met with the unnatural combination of Russia and the United States. It



**'I began to see that our farmers thought they would get a good deal'**

seemed, he wrote in his memoirs, to be a 'portent' and 'alarming'; 'never before in history had Western Europe proved so weak....' The Anglo-American relationship, while it was quickly repaired in the warmth of the personal friendship between Macmillan and Eisenhower, was thereafter never quite the same. So, more than the deflation of national pride, Suez had for Britain this fundamental implication.

One can see emerging, with growing plausibility, the new coalition of ideas born of economic constraints and the consequent loss of political freedom, particularly as at this very time the Common Market had become a fact and Western Europe was embarking on a period of unprecedented growth and prosperity.

In the first half of 1960, Harold Macmillan directed that all the assumptions upon which British foreign policy had stood since the Second World War were to be looked at afresh. In the wake of the rejection by General de Gaulle of the British proposal of the Industrial Free Trade Area in 1958, Britain was by now conducting essentially a holding operation in Europe, as the political competition for the future between the Six of the Common Market and the Outer Seven countries intensified. The Outer Seven, led by Britain, had formed themselves into the European Free Trade Association or EFTA.

It was an attempt by Britain to avert the danger of seduction of the other countries, one by one, into the Common Market orbit.

Now, at Macmillan's behest, the whole British situation and position was to be

subjected to analysis and profound re-examination. In July 1960 he carried out a Cabinet reshuffle which had, in view of the men he chose, an unmistakable significance for the treatment of the European issue. Three new appointments were made in areas which were critical for any decision over Europe, and which would need to be carried before any major reappraisal: the Commonwealth, the Conservative Party, and Europe itself. The Opposition, the House of Commons, and the Country would come later. Christopher Soames was given an appointment of critical importance as Minister of Agriculture.

He recalls: I decided that we were going to have to change our agricultural support policy anyway, because we couldn't afford to go on. The subsidies were too great. A greater share of the farmer's price had to be borne by the market. And this was going to be what the Continental system was to be based on, so I didn't see why this should stop us.

'It seemed to me, indeed (and this happened after I thought it was going to – I'd seen it coming, as it were) we were, at any rate to some extent, going to shift the burden from the tax payer to the consumer, to the market place. This was going to happen. I remember saying to the Prime Minister: We'll look rather silly if this is the reason we don't join – and then we go and do it ourselves. There's no doubt in my mind he was thinking that this was what he needed to do, this was what was necessary, to take Britain into Europe.'

R. A. ('Rab') Butler was also, in terms of party and country, a crucially important figure to Harold Macmillan in heading for Europe. He carried great weight in the Cabinet; and in the arts of Cabinet government. As elsewhere, the Prime Minister made his moves with subtlety but with clear purpose. In giving to Butler 'that big job inside the Cabinet' the Prime Minister had deeply involved him in the reconsideration of British attitudes that was taking place. By locating him at the very centre of these activities he made it, presumably, more difficult for Butler, had he so chosen, to oppose the intended change or challenge Mr Macmillan's leadership of it. Here is the personal odyssey of 'a careful thinking Englishman', at that time of incipient historical change by Britain over Europe.

Lord Butler admitted: 'The funny part is that at first, before 1959, I was doubtful about the wisdom of going into Europe, and I was actuated by the fact that all my life I'd represented a farming constituency; and all my life I'd been connected in one way or other with the NFU, National Farmers' Union. I couldn't conceive the farmers of wanting to yield their annual price review to French and Germans, especially to the French.'

'I knew the French, having lived in France, and I was partly educated in France, I knew of the enormous political power of French peasants in agriculture, which still exists today, and that's why Giscard was always so jealous at our meetings, when farm prices





came on. You see, I thought that we should be done in. But then I had a long talk with Harold Macmillan, and he brought me round very cleverly. He asked me to go and talk to some of the branches in the North, in Yorkshire – I'd been talking in Essex and other parts. And although I had a fairly rough time I did put the case, and eventually the NFU came out very much in favour. I began to see that our farmers thought (as it turned out, in fact), they would get just as good a deal.'

It was with varying degrees of apprehension or comforting illusion that de Gaulle was perceived as a possibly insurmountable or, alternatively, a negotiable obstacle. Encounters with the Constable of France were at this stage some distance further off.

Before such a momentous decision could finally be recommended by the Cabinet there was the question of US attitudes. American support for the economic and political integration of Western Europe had been remarkably consistent throughout the years after the Second World War. By the end of 1960 the Eisenhower administration had ended and the US had elected a new President, John Kennedy.

Kennedy had appointed as Under-Secretary of State someone who, in retrospect, must be seen to have exerted a considerable authority upon the fundamental choices made by Britain. This was George Ball, of Cornish ancestry, a lawyer born in Illinois. He proved to be among the most influential of the Americans concerned with the making of policy who had come to Britain and Europe through those Western windows in the light of the Lend-Lease agreements and America's entry into the War.'

He had subsequently become deeply involved in the economics and the politics of Europe from the Schuman Plan onwards, as Jean Monnet's lawyer and his intimate friend. As the winter of 1960 turned to the spring of 1961, both London and Washington were preparing for Macmillan's visit to Kennedy; Ball had come to London for that reason.

And in the light of an all-important answer which he returned at a critical moment in the last stages of the reappraisal of British policy, and later was instrumental in persuading the young President of the United States to repeat, George Ball's interventions rank alongside those of Monnet himself.

The meeting of the Commonwealth Prime

September 1962: Cummings, in the anti-EEC Daily Express, shows prime minister Macmillan – deserted by the Commonwealth, the Labour Party and public opinion – charging on alone.

Ministers in London towards the end of 1962 was the last and widest river for Mr Macmillan to cross at home. That the Commonwealth should approve, and that it should not suffer unduly in consequence if it did, was the aspect of the decision which fell across all other considerations. For it touched, through 'kith and kin', both sentiment and emotion.

Residual doubts in the Cabinet were nourished at the last minute by the presence in London of that far-flung battle-line from those former colonies, dominions, and protectorates who, for centuries, had been intimately linked by the now quickly fading patterns of the old trade and the old flag.

According to Lord Butler the Australian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, was 'dead against' Britain joining. Macmillan and Butler managed to persuade him that the Empire was gone, and much of Britain's strength also. Had we not better join an economic unit where we could be a competitor with the USA and USSR? 'In the end we all went back into that wonderfully beautiful house, and decided to do it. But it was a very close thing until the end.'

The British decision was, in essence, a political one. The recovery and the exercise of sufficient sovereign power and influence in the second half of the 20th century had been judged, after 'quiet calm deliberation,' to lie in membership of the EEC.

On 31 July 1961, the formal announcement of Britain's intention to join was made in the House of Commons. Its impact there, and in the country, in Europe, and in the Commonwealth, became part of the story of the long negotiations which followed to carry this historic decision into effect. That story – and Mr Macmillan's defeat at the hands of General de Gaulle by his veto of the British application on 14 January 1963 – belongs to another account.

□ This article is condensed from a Radio 3 series, which formed the basis of three articles by Michael Charlton published last year in *Encounter* under the title 'How and Why Britain Lost the Leadership of Europe'. A book, 'The Price of Victory', is due in the autumn from the BBC.

# 'If we look at history we see that at this time, we've

## EDWARD HEATH, whose faith in Europe finally brought Britain into the EEC, recalls the missed chances – and misjudgements – that have dogged Britain's relations with the rest of the Community

Interview by Frank Entwisle

FRANK ENTWISLE: *Do you believe future historians will say that Great Britain, having survived World War II with her empire and reputation intact, proceeded to abandon greatness when she failed to take part in the discussions at Messina 26 years ago – talks in which the European combination first appeared possible?*

EDWARD HEATH: We don't have to wait for historians. It's quite clear today that we missed our opportunity of having the leadership of Europe – or, as some would prefer to put it, to play our part in creating a united Europe – much earlier than Messina. The real chance was missed in 1950, when the then Labour government was given the opportunity of joining the discussions which led to the formation of the Coal and Steel Community.

*Why did they say No, do you think?*

They had two reasons. First, they were afraid that the united Europe would be a Christian Democratic Europe in which they, as socialists, would be a small minority. It proved a false reason. A large part of Europe has been at times – and still is – a social democratic Europe.

The second reason was that they feared it would interfere with their nationalisation programme. They thought that public ownership under Community rules would not be possible. This fear also proved false. The regulations of the Community are that if there is public ownership it ought not to be given privileges over private ownership – a perfectly reasonable position. On both counts they were wrong.

# back at British that, all the been involved Europe'

There was also a third question which worried a number of people and that was going to a conference in which one accepted *en principe* that a community was going to be created. This is a procedure accepted by anybody who negotiates on the mainland of Europe. The British were not used to negotiating in that way. They said 'Oh no, we must settle everything beforehand, then we will decide whether we are going to join.' This can now be seen as a very artificial barrier. *That* was when our chance was missed – the big chance.

*And that was about the time when you were making your pro-European maiden speech in Parliament?*

Quite true. I made my maiden speech on June 24th 1950. I had been to Bonn to observe the reaction to the Schumann Plan. And I found that they were quite determined to go ahead whether we did anything or not.

*But we were reluctant Europeans long after that. The Conservatives were reluctant. Eden was reluctant.*

Yes, true. The great disappointment was that Churchill didn't carry out the policy which he had enunciated at The Hague and, as Prime Minister, ensure that we negotiated. Anthony Eden, at the Party Conference, produced the diplomatic doctrine that the free world was in three parts – the three circles of the free world – the Commonwealth, Europe and the United States, and that we were at the centre of all three.

This was a complete misjudgement. Because the Commonwealth no longer had power, after the independence of India had been achieved. As far as Europe was concerned, we weren't in the centre because we weren't in the Community. And the United States had by this time become a superpower which was not looking to us as a major ally but looking to the NATO powers as a whole.

*Would you agree with those who say that there is something in the bones of the British that makes them undesirous of involvement with a European system?*

No, not at all. This is a myth, created by the old-fashioned who just want to stay in their slit trenches. After all, if we look back at British



22 January 1972: Mr Heath, for Britain, signs the Treaty of Accession in Brussels.

history we see that it has been European. All the time, we've been involved in Europe: dynastic conflicts, the balance of power.

*Do you think the Gaullist attitude towards Britain still survives, and that perhaps this is an instinct in a Frenchman's bones?*

There is a much broader point again than this. De Gaulle's view was that you couldn't accept the benefits without the responsibilities. And what he suspected the British were trying to do all the time was to get the economic benefits of the Community and the political and military benefits of always being under umbrella of Washington. He thought that was not a just arrangement. You'll find a very large number of the Community who believe the same.

*Was de Gaulle justified in his suspicions?*

He felt that we weren't, as a country and nation, prepared to accept our responsibilities and join in the making of a community.

*So you agree with him?*

No I don't agree, because the majority – as we proved – were prepared to do this. Where he was wrong was in veto-ing the negotiations in January 1963 – not so much on that general point, but on the question of the relationship with the Americans on nuclear weapons. In fact we had reached a stage at the beginning of 1963 where we had solved our problems and we could have entered into the Community on a perfectly fair basis. That's where he will be condemned by history.

De Gaulle could have emerged as the man who reunited Europe. It could have been the Europe of Charlemagne. But he failed to seize the opportunity. I think this is rather sad, because de Gaulle did a great deal for France... raised its morale to immense heights, improved its standard of living. But he made no impact on Latin America. He caused havoc in Quebec. He caused chaos in south-east Asia. And in Europe he achieved nothing except to block the growth of European unity.

*Could you now project yourself into the future, and have a shot at describing how historians will see the present difficulties?*

What the historians will say is that the leaders of the Community forgot the first point about the Community – which is that it exists to find

common solutions to common problems. It's the same with any community – a village or a club. You are there to help each other, and when you have problems, to solve them together. The reason the leaders have forgotten this is that they have been overwhelmed by inflation and unemployment.

This has happened since the oil crisis of '73 and the beginning of '74, followed of course by the second major oil crisis of '79-80, the net result of which has been that the price of oil has gone up fourteen hundred per cent in eight years. They haven't known how to cope with it, and have retreated into their national shells.

The real point is that even the Community will find it difficult to solve the problem entirely on its own. It can only do so if the United States and the Community and Japan all follow similar policies in world economic affairs, and if all three communities are prepared to ensure that the developing world is helped by investment. At the moment there is no sign of this happening.

On questions like the budget adjustment and common agricultural prices and so on, the historians will say that these are no different from the problems any national government has. No-one would dream of telling our Chancellor of the Exchequer what he should be doing in April 1984 or 1985. Why, then, should one expect a community of 300 million people – ten countries – to be deciding years ahead what *their* budget is going to be at that time?

*But you haven't lost hope?*

No! I'm more convinced than ever. What I find is that, if you make the sort of points to people that we've made here today, they say 'All right. I'm prepared to accept that.' They accept it because it may not – as they think – make very much difference to them personally, it certainly will to their children and grandchildren. People will agree that we *have* managed to secure peace in Europe for the last 35 years, and that we should be able to go on doing so. What is lacking is that no government since 1974 has taken the trouble to explain to people what the advantages of European membership are. And the media have given up any attempt to pass on even basic information.

You can't blame the European institutions, or ambassadors, for this, because they have very little influence on what appears in the media. It's got to be done through parliamentary and government means, which the press will notice. What we've had is a series of ministers who believe that the only thing which appeals to people is to bang the table and say 'Down with the rest of you! We British are going to get our way, no matter what!'

That is no way of behaving in a community. What it does, psychologically, is to set the whole of the population against the Community. And that's what we've been suffering from.



In June 1963 GEORGE MIKES, the Hungarian-born humorist, came out with some characteristic reasons why Britain should be wary of joining up with Europe. This – in an article for *Gazette Swissair* – is what he said



*'The Continent seems to cherish one true desire – to become anglicised'*

I WANT to heave a sigh of relief now I know that Britain – for the time being at any rate – is not going to join the Common Market.

All sorts of opinions were voiced pro and con, but no-one seemed to consider me in this question. I devoted 23 years of my life to becoming a genuine Briton – and now the whole country was going to go European. I once wrote a little treatise called 'How to be an Alien'; I always expected it to be taken seriously but not quite so seriously as that.

I never foresaw the possibility that the United Kingdom would study it, learn the rules and try to turn alien, lock, stock and barrel. Turning our country into a Market – worse: part of a Market – was an exasperating notion in any case. How can you owe allegiance to a Market? Can the sword be drawn for such a cause? How can one possibly cry: 'Long live Export!' and fall with a bullet through the heart? And can one honestly sing with moist eye and husky throat, 'There'll always be a Market...' or: 'Rule, Ee-ee-C, Eee-ee-C rules the waves'?

Just in case the idea of joining the Common Market is not finally buried, let me solemnly warn the British Nation of some lurking disasters.

The *decimal coinage* is already casting its menacing shadows over us. It has often been explained that while Continentals have the *decimal* system, we have the *duodecimal* system which is just as good. Just in case your Latin is not quite what it used to be: the decimal system is based on the number 10 and the duodecimal on the number 12. The duodecimal system is called after the number 12 because there are 20 shillings in the pound (£1), 16 ounces in the pound (lb), 14 pounds in the stone, eight gallons in a bushel and 1760 yards in a mile.

Again, I wonder if the trades unions are aware of certain nasty habits Continental workers have. They *work*. Enter the Common Market and the infection will inevitably spread to these shores. Perhaps the Italians are at the moment the worst among all Common Market countries. They work as if they were paid for it.

Then consider the *food danger*. A very curious and welcome development has taken place in this respect in the last few years. To explain it, you must remember one astonishing habit of many Europeans: their *Anglomania*. While the British were busy until recently in turning themselves into aliens, the Continent seems to cherish one true desire: to become anglicised.

Pursuing their desire passionately, they have, in fact, persuaded themselves that even English cooking is something admirable and worth imitating. While in Britain English cuisine has been replaced by French, Italian, Greek and Swiss food, English dishes have found their way to the Continent. Today, if you want a good Lancashire hotpot, you have to travel to Boulogne for it; and more garlic is being consumed nowadays in the South of England than in the North of France.

The terrible, lurking danger, as I see it, is this: if we import all things and habits Continental *we might get our own cooking back*.

Traffic problems, too, may prove troublesome, even serious. For the Continental, motoring is simply a means of getting from one place to another. It would not be too much to say that a Continental looks at a car as though it were a means of transportation. For the British, motoring is all bound up with rights and personal liberty. Motoring in Britain has developed many personal rights of which the Right to Zebra-Cross is the most important.

A man on the zebra is not just a person crossing the road; he is a Briton, exercising a fundamental right. He walks slowly, with dignity, as academic or civic processions do; indeed, every zebra-crosser is a one-man civic procession. His face radiates self-assurance and often, in order to stop a car, he lifts his hand and waves imperiously. I often feel he must be waving a copy of the Magna Carta.

The long and short of it is that, according to some people, even at this stage Britain ought to do her utmost to be able to join the Common Market because she is specially qualified to make special contributions, *the first of which would be to lose these special qualities*. Slowly but most certainly we would become just like the rest.

But perhaps it would not work out that way. Knowing the British, I should not really be surprised if, five years after a treaty is signed, the pubs of Frankfurt close at 11 pm, 'matinées' in Belgium are held in the afternoon, and the Dutch are playing cricket; if all roadsigns in Europe show distances in miles instead of kilometres; if the Belgian franc consists of 12 Belgian centimes; or if one can go to watch the opening of the House of Lords in Luxembourg or Trooping the Colour in Milan.

No doubt of it, I realised on second thought: one ought to warn the Common Market not to join Britain.



*Europe's road has always been a rocky one...*

It seems a devil of a time. Twenty-five years: half the lifetime of a middle-aged man. Pre-history for the young. And the archives don't help much – especially the photo-archives.

Are you fond of pictures of archaic statesmen, shaking hands or raising glasses, attended by bespectacled functionaries? If so, you're in luck. But if you want something to make vivid a vital turning-point in Europe's history, all you are likely to find is the same old view of a long, brocade-covered table in the Sala degli Orazi e Curiazi of the Capitol.

Along it, under the teeming historical figures on the walls, sit the sober-suited signatories of the Treaties of Rome, coping as best they can with pens and pads and microphones. Nearest the camera is Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, looking a little like Churchill, gesturing a little like Napoleon – the chairman of the Spaak Committee which drafted the Treaties.

Prominent near the middle of the table is the gaunt, Asiatic face of Konrad Adenauer, legendary Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, flanked by his Secretary of State, Walter Hallstein, first President of the EEC Commission.

Also at the table are Joseph Bech, Father

**RICHARD MAYNE** turns back the calendar to the beginnings of the Community, and recalls his personal impressions of those early days

Christmas-like Prime Minister of Luxembourg; Christian Pineau, the French Foreign Minister, with his Secretary of State Maurice Faure; Antonio Segni from Italy; and Joseph Luns, from the Netherlands. Behind them is the usual mass of officials, among whom can be seen the sharp features of Robert Marjolin, future Vice-President of the EEC Commission and former Secretary-General of OEEC.

Not an inspiring picture; but the best-known record we have of a crucial event. Still only thirteen years after the end of World War II six countries still scarred by battle were making common cause, solemnly agreeing to work together, to treat each other's people, goods, and money like their own, in one single market without national barriers, and 'to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among



'The sober-suited signatories of the Treaties of Rome...'

the peoples of Europe.' And they were doing so only two-and-a-half years after a colossal failure: the defeat of their previous attempt at further unity, the European Defence Community, EDC.

Anyone discouraged by current quarrels within the European Community ought to remember that Europe's road has always been a rocky one. If suspense drama is what you enjoy, don't waste your time with *Dallas*: come and try building Europe.

Faith was needed, in those days. The British had left the Spaak Committee and showed no signs of returning; and Luxembourg, however hospitable, wasn't exactly Las

Vegas. It had five cinemas, several of which showed only German musical comedies, and six night-clubs, where the leg shows were rumoured to have varicose veins.

The 'High Authority', the Community's think-tank and executive organ, was housed in an ancient brownstone building once used by the Grand Duchy's railways. Its doors shuddered like stage doors; its corridors and offices were covered in gravy-brown linoleum; its desks, cupboards, and filing cabinets were a subfusc green. There was no obvious glamour about coal, steel, coke, iron ore, and scrap, the subject-matter of our daily labours. And yet it was exhilarating. Why?

Partly, because of the people. I shared an office with an ex-Reuter Comtel man who is now a lively Member of the European Parliament. Friends and colleagues included a former French *préfet*, a future editor of *Time* magazine, a future head of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the future Rector of the European University.

Some were ex-officials of trade unions;

## 'In Monnet's flat in the Avenue Foch we worked all night'

there were also live-wire lawyers, fanatical statisticians, successful businessmen who'd left lucrative employment to serve the cause, and brilliant if eccentric economists like Pierre Uri. The atmosphere was that of a bustling university, full of camaraderie, in-jokes, intellectual challenge, and democratic bonhomie.

The Secretary-General, I remember, used to come to work on an aged bicycle. My colleagues and I, who worked on the ground floor, used to enter through the window to save a long walk. Everyone was on first-name terms – including those who'd been wounded by each other's bombs or bullets only a few years before.

What we all shared was a sense of pioneering. As a 1956 alumnus, I personally felt like a latecomer: I had not been there in the first, heroic days of 1952, when Jean Monnet had proclaimed 'the United States of Europe' and declared: '*L'Europe ne se fera pas dans les boîtes de nuit.*' But we still worked at Monnet's killing pace for Monnet's killing hours. Ours was the true *boîte de nuit*, I sometimes thought.

Then, in the summer of 1956, Monnet summoned me to Paris. By this time, he had set up his Action Committee for the United States of Europe, to help European unification recover momentum after the failure of EDC. Composed of all the non-Communist trade unions and all the political parties of the Community except the extreme Right and Left, the Committee was more than just a pressure group: its constituent parties commanded majorities in all six national Parliaments.

The Suez crisis, sparked off by Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal that July, 22

seemed to put in jeopardy Europe's imported oil supplies; and Monnet's committee was arguing that this made it all the more necessary for the Community to develop its own resources of energy, by establishing Euratom, the European Atomic Energy Community. Euratom, Monnet then seemed to feel, was the more important of the two new projects then coming to fruition, the other being what was called 'the general Common Market' – the EEC.

In Paris, I realised that our Luxembourg working hours were luxurious: in Monnet's flat in the Avenue Foch we worked all night. The committee proposed the appointment of 'Three Wise Men' to study Europe's energy needs; and the Community Governments agreed. The Wise Men's report makes poignant reading today. It anticipated the 1974 oil crisis by just over fourteen years. Had it been heeded when it appeared, we might now be in less trouble. As it was, the report at least helped to speed Euratom.

Such was the scene, then, when the Rome Treaties came up for signature. We had survived one crisis – the failure of EDC. We had survived another – Britain's withdrawal from the Spaak Committee. There were plenty more visible in the distance.

Would the Rome Treaties be ratified? They were, by overwhelming majorities in all the six countries. Would the Free Trade Area proposed by Britain as an 'outer ring' round the EEC risk destroying the Common Market? It might: it tempted the Germans, and especially Ludwig Erhard, the liberal-minded Minister of Economic Affairs, with free trade without economic discipline.

Would the British Plan succeed? It at least botched one small step towards Europe. It failed.

How would the United States react? They backed the Community. Would Britain apply for membership? Would De Gaulle block her? Would he wreck the Community? Would it survive him? He died, by a strange coincidence, on Jean Monnet's birthday.

Would Britain try again, and succeed? Would she hold a referendum? If so, who would win it? Would the losers accept the result? If not, would they eventually succeed in pulling Britain out?

So the suspense drama continues. One day, perhaps, its protagonists will look as much like waxworks as those who signed the Treaties of Rome a quarter of a century ago. But don't let appearances fool you. Historic decisions are never inevitable, but always a matter of conflict, argument, and suspense.

One of Jean Monnet's old friends, the American Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, liked to quote a remark on the subject from Oliver Wendell Holmes: 'The mode whereby the inevitable comes about,' he said, 'is effort.'

□ *Richard Mayne has been involved in the European civil service since the early 1950s. He headed the Commission offices in the UK from 1973 to 1979.*

# Europe's links with the Lords

**LORD ARDWICK, the former political journalist John Beavan, describes how the peers at Westminster bring useful expertise to Community affairs**

In my early days as a member of the European Parliament I simply could not make head or tail of an insurance measure which was going through the economic and legal committees, on both of which I sat. Then I picked up a report which simply explained, analysed and discussed the measure, and tested the evidence of expert witnesses. And all was made clear to me.

This was one of the first reports of the House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities. Since then, it has published scores of reports examining the community's draft legislation in depth, and presenting the results with rare clarity and absence of bias. The Committee celebrates its eighth anniversary in April.

These publications are now regarded as the intelligent and busy person's best guide in depth to the way the Community is developing – or failing to develop. Their first readers, however, are members of the House of Lords and British Ministers and their Civil Service advisers, who will be negotiating on the subject in Brussels.

These reports are eagerly read, too, by members of the House of Commons, by the interest groups which may be affected by the legislation, and by the European departments of our universities.

Today MEPs find them useful; and a request has been made – and may yet be fulfilled – for an unofficial version to be produced in French. There has been an increased demand for the reports at the Commission itself.

For the general reader who wants to know how the CAP might be reformed, or what exactly are those budgetary arrangements which affect Britain adversely, or whether the Lomé countries are justified in their criticisms of the way the Convention works, there is no better source of evidence, and of critical judgement.

What gives these Reports authority is the special quality of the members of the Lord's Committee and their practical experience of the problems they examine. For today, the



House of Lords is very different from its popular image of landed aristocrats Rolling up from the shires to rub shoulders with superannuated politicians and millionaire patrons of party funds.

Since the development of life peerages nearly a quarter of a century ago, the Lords have acquired a brilliant cluster of newly ennobled scientists, economists, bankers, lawyers, Company chairmen, trade union leaders, diplomatists and former heads of Government departments – including the Treasury and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. And it is 93 peers belonging to all these categories, plus ex-Ministers and the highest judges in the land, the Lords of Appeal, who are continuously engaged in a deep scrutiny of the Community's work.

Nothing remotely like it exists in other member states. For this is the only non-democratic chamber in the Community, and its members are not elected but are hand-picked by the party leaders for honour by the Queen, largely because of the special knowledge and experience they can bring to Parliament.

It should be added that although this non-democratic House has considerable persuasive influence, it has little power—less than the frustrated European Parliament itself. The House of Lords has lived for seventy years under the threat of abolition, and has been a favourite butt of satirists since Gilbert's 'Iolanthe'.

Indeed, Labour is now resolved to get rid of it when next it has a substantial majority in the Commons over all other parties. But the House of Lords is in no immediate danger. Europe has, moreover, given it what is increasingly recognised as a valuable new role which fits in well with its traditional one as a revising Chamber.

The Committee's terms of reference are wide. They are to consider Community proposals and obtain all necessary information about them. Then, if the proposals raise important questions of policy or principle, the Committee must make reports on them – and on other questions – which they think require the special attention of the House. In practice, less than one in ten of the Community's proposals are the subject of Reports.

The Commons have a committee too, but they have a narrower brief and do not go into the merits of the proposals. When, however, they bring a motion before the House, MPs may amend it in an endeavour to bind a minister to a course of action at the Council of Ministers.

Only 23 peers are full members of the Select Committee. The Chairman is Baroness White, a former Labour minister at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who is now the salaried Principal Deputy-Chairman of Committees.

The other peers are co-opted to the seven examining sub-committees which cover roughly the same ground as the more highly specialised 17 Committees of the European Parliament. The European Parliament tries,

of course, to influence the Council of Ministers as a body. The Lords are simply trying to put their findings before the appropriate British member of the Council.

In my day, the links between the Lords and the European Parliament were more numerous, because ten of us peers were nominated members of that Parliament and we served on all its committees. Today, the elected Parliament contains only four peers – all Tories.

Yet if the links are fewer, they are stronger in some ways. The committees of the two bodies swap reports, and from time to time a few peers cross the channel for consultations in Strasbourg and Luxembourg. MEPs give evidence before the Lords' sub-committees, too. Pieter Dankert, the Dutch socialist who has recently been elected President of the European Parliament, appeared before the Lords' committee last year to give his views on the budget.

The techniques of the Lords' committees differ from those of the European Parliament. In the Parliament, a member is chosen as rapporteur by a rather mysterious process; and if he lacks the experience the subject may demand, the committee clerk allocated to him will see him through the ordeal and draft his report. (The Secretariat of his political group may help, too.) But the rapporteur himself has to fight it clause by clause through the committee, and later through Parliament. The weakness of the system is that the Clerk, too, may lack experience of a recondite subject, and seldom has the help of oral evidence—

a 'hearing', as it is called.

In the Lords, the chairman is the rapporteur, assisted by one of the committee's five clerks and two legal advisers. But most examinations have the services of a specialist adviser from outside, an acknowledged expert on the subject. He and the clerk usually produce the report, together with the experienced guidance of the Chairman. Then it is mulled over by the committee and they agree upon a conclusion.

The specialist adviser is not highly paid—he gets £25 to £50 a day for five to twenty days' work. But the appointment adds to his prestige and brings him up to date with the way influential opinion is developing on his subject. One adviser was recently paid eight times as much per day for his advice when he gave it to an oil company.

The chairmen of the sub-committees all sit on the main committee and report to it. Lord Plowden, who presides over the finance, economic and regional committee, was chief executive of Britain's post-war Economic Planning Board, and has since performed a rich variety of public tasks including the chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Committee.

He has the support of two former governors of the Bank of England, Lords O'Brien and Cobbold; of Lord Roberthall, once economic adviser to the Government; of Lord Brimelow, former Head of the Foreign Office and member of the European Parliament; and of Lord Benson, a leading City accountant and adviser to the Bank of England.

Another former head of the Foreign Office, Lord Greenhill, presides over the sub-committee on external relations, trade and industry. His team includes Lord Stewart of Fulham, a former Labour Foreign Secretary; Lord Gladwyn, once ambassador to Paris and a former member of the European Parliament; and Lord Trevelyan, once ambassador to Moscow. Lord McFadzean was president of the British National Export Council.

Lord Seebom, who presides over the sub-committee on education, employment and social affairs, is a banker who produced a famous report on social work which bears his name.

The sub-committee on law is chaired by Lord Scarman, author of the report on the recent urban riots.

Those who want to sample the work of the Select Committee might look at the reports on development aid policy, human rights, fisheries policy, regional policy and the CAP. These are reports without party political bias, and indeed without bias for or against the Community. The committee judges whether a proposal is sensible, well-based and adequate and what effect it will have on Britain's interests.

I have only one criticism to make. The committee can be cool towards a proposal which does not specifically affect Britain without taking sufficiently into account that it may strengthen the Community, and that a strong Community is in Britain's long-term interests.

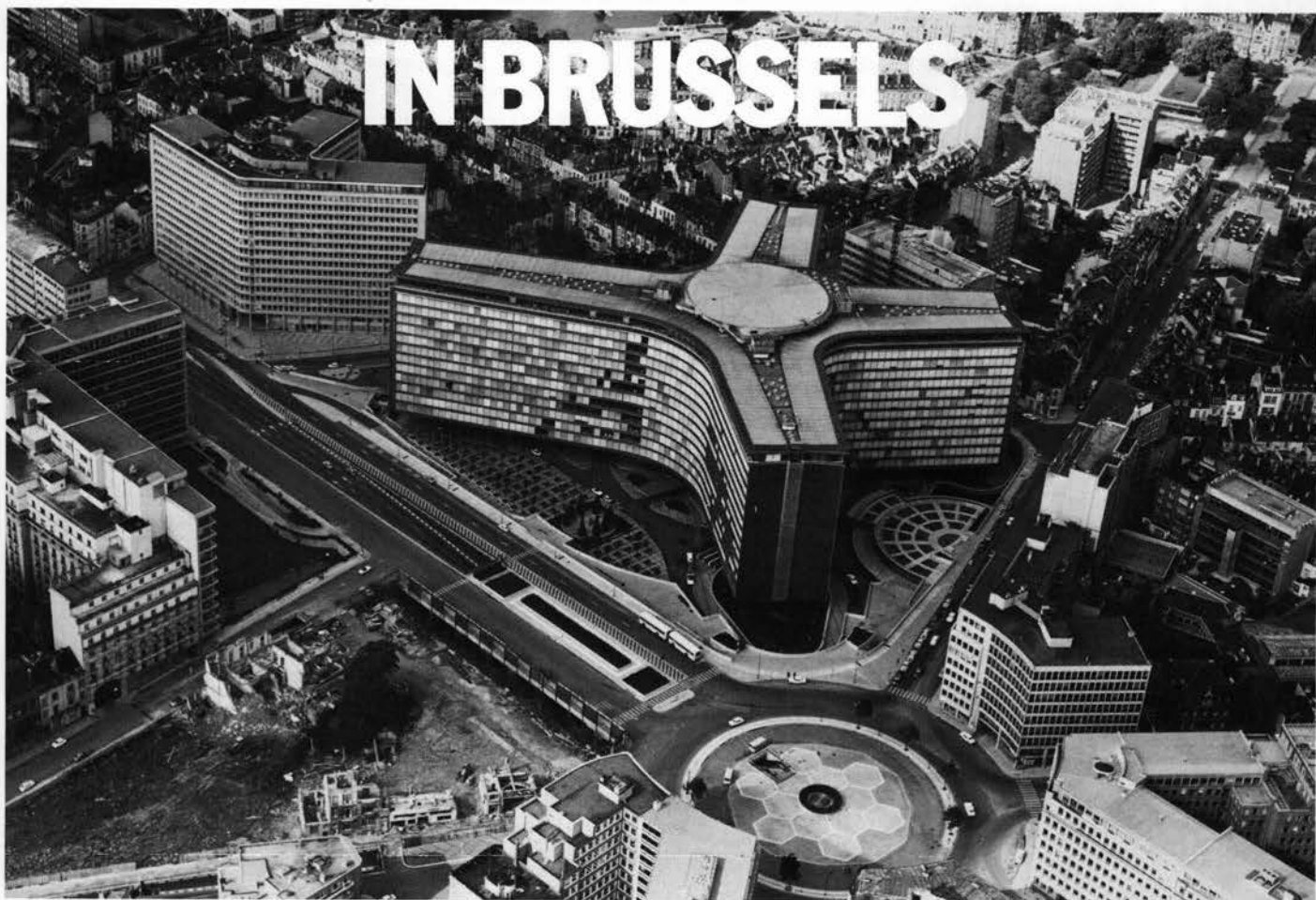


BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE GUARDIAN

'You've got my vote – we haven't had a decent representative since Puppet on a String won in 1967.' Bryan McAllister in the Guardian, during Britain's first Euro-elections, June 1979.

# Change – and charm –

# IN BRUSSELS



**B**russels, partly because of its large and wealthy foreign population, is probably the most expensive capital in Europe. But it is also a place where there is nearly always good value for money – even if that value clears you out of a week's British wages, as a meal for four will in any decent Brussels restaurant.

Food and domestic cosiness are primary considerations among the *Bruxellois*. They will spend 110 per cent of their income in satisfying both desires: a steady visceral intake of the richest comestibles, and the most elaborately individualistic set-ups in and around their homes. And 'home' is the word here – heavily insulated bastions of red brick, protected over minute lawns by serried ranks of azaleas and garden gnomes.

Brussels has comparatively few blocks of flats or high-rise apartments. Everyone seems to have been determined to carve out his own 'Mon Repos', no matter how grand that may be – as among the huge, leafy villas in the suburb of Uccle – or how squashed and noisy it is, down by the railway tracks a mile away in St Job.

Brussels in the rain (and it rains a lot) on a January night is an experience which will drive you straight to the bottle and bring on

**JOSEPH HONE, a widely travelled journalist, casts a critical eye over the collection of villages that has grown into the administrative capital of Europe**

the very worst thoughts about Europeans. But, once inside a restaurant or a private house, one soon becomes aware of a strong realism, a blunt charm among the people and their personal surroundings. These citizens may have ruined much of their city – and their digestion – but they have prospered in their individuality and their intimacy with one another. To that extent, Brussels is an excellent advertisement for the European community.

The city, because of this hungry individual-

**'The hammer has fallen here more grievously than in any European capital'**

ism, and because of the sharp and continuing antagonisms between its French and Flemish elements, is not really a city at all, but a collection of about 20 autonomous villages, each with a very definite, and often savagely protected, social and architectural character. Parts of Brussels are heavy *belle époque*. Yet other parts (a few, at least) on the outskirts are still villages: a narrow, cobbled main street, a leafy square and a wooden-shuttered country inn with fields and cows immediately beyond.

There is no natural centre to the city now. Instead, there are half-a-dozen 'downtowns,' from the original medieval foundations around the Grand' Place to the bustling Piccadilly of the Place de Brouckère; and then up to the Wagnerian grandeur of the Palais de Justice on a rise above the old town; and finally, a mile away from this, the 13-storey EEC headquarters in the Place Schuman, the Berlaymont.

Modern? Yes, certainly, to a degree: a cliff of tinted glass built on curved stilts in a foot-deep moat, with an equally unreal fountain that gargles and squirts and looks like one of those things the dentist puts in your mouth to suck the saliva up. This monster, called the Berlaymont, is set in what is still a Victorian inner suburb of rather broken-down terraced houses, mostly dead buildings waiting for

demolition but meanwhile doing a last turn as thriving little restaurants and cafés – vital lunchtime places – usually run by Italians or Yugoslavs.

Brussels badly needs such human places – for the hammer has fallen here more grievously and hideously than in any other European capital I know, laying waste vast chunks of the inner city and making the view a chequer-board of ugly concrete and raised open spaces. And yet, the EEC headquarters is appropriately sited in this half-derelict area. The matter in hand here, if it is about anything, is about change: a change from the rigid national and commercial barriers of the past, symbolised in so much of that past's town planning and architecture.

Hitler's admiration for the law courts down the road was no accident, for example. The

Palais de Justice exhibits a malign grandeur: the architecture, *par excellence*, of matter over man. But the tragedy is that the Berlaymont building is architecture of an even worse sort – stone without any heart in it at all, malign or otherwise. Of course, it is one of the penalties incurred when nationalisms and classes are rubbed away and replaced by a monetary and political egalitarianism. The decent parts of the past will go with the bad.

Here, I think, is one of the basic questions which must confront the EEC in the future, as it passionately absorbs many individuals and minorities in Europe now: to what extent, and in what manner, may a sense of individuality and national character survive in any future European uniformity? Can the inevitable and very necessary idiosyncrasies of human behaviour – in terms of language, custom, his-

tory – happily co-exist with the equally necessary political harmony of a united Europe?

But the most remarkable architecture in Brussels lies in some of the inner suburbs – often designed by Horta, a man who handled iron and stone with all the quirky, gravity-defying inspiration of a great baroque architect. Whole districts are purest art nouveau – shops, small houses, terraced apartments of the wildest contrivance and floral ornamentation – along with the rectangular or circular art deco of the Twenties and Thirties.

As with cities, so with people: the more we wish for real unity the more we must allow for minority expression and individual control. And what may seem incompatible here is, in fact, essential – for the first will never truly succeed without the second.

## 'IF THE COMMUNITY COLLAPSED, PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM WOULD BE THE POORER'



Freedom is a fundamental characteristic of our Community. It means the participation of all in public life, and hence the responsibility of all for preserving the conditions in which the common enterprise can flourish and prosper. This opportunity is also open to the freedom of others, to whom it lends its support and its own desire that others should themselves be free. I believe that the three values of peace, democracy and

freedom are the reasons why the Community exists and can continue to offer to the world an example of how countries, ways of thought and economies which are different – both in themselves and as a result of century-old traditions – can live and work together.

If the Community collapsed or lost the will to go on advancing, peace, democracy and freedom would be the poorer.

That is why I think it is important that when we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome we should do more than just hold formal celebrations. We should also look back to how and why the Community was founded and try to understand the basic reasons for its existence.

In doing so, we shall derive hope that our leaders will be wise enough to realise that there are no valid alternatives; that in the world of today, with all its troubles and confusion, to lose this historic opportunity of working together would not only be extremely serious but would also put us in a position where, alone, we would be unable to contend with the difficulties which threaten us.

This is the message of the past, the message of our past accomplishments. They are also our stepping stones to the future.

Lorenzo Natali



The European Community passed its infancy during a period of political stability and economic progress throughout the West, thanks largely to the responsible use by the United States of the strategic and economic domination it enjoyed. Now, the American hegemony has declined and Europe's economic power has increased. But we have not succeeded in finding a new collective leadership for the West. Too often we simply complain about American leadership. It is time to do something on our own account.

We have to find a means of bringing our joint influence to bear on the economic, political and strategic problems of the day. The need for the Community to use its combined strength on matters of trade, so that free and fair trade are not undermined, is generally understood. So, increasingly, is the need for common action on monetary matters so that world currency instability does not undermine economic policy in our countries. But the progress which has been made in finding and asserting our political and security role in the world is still limited.

Europeans must always be the principal providers of their own defence, as they are at present. But Europe cannot be successfully defended without the United States. The North Atlantic Alliance provides the indispensable means whereby the particular interests of each of the allied countries can be taken into account within the context of an overall security policy.

European public opinion needs to be convinced that the main objective of defence and security policy is the prevention of a war in Europe and the enhancement of Europe's ability to influence events that affect it, rather than simply the defence of America, which is what so many seem to think at present.

Christopher Tugendhat

□ Lorenzo Natali and Christopher Tugendhat are vice-presidents of the European Commission.



## Commission and auditors clash over spending

The European Commission has come in for tough criticism over its handling of the Community's finances from the Luxembourg-based Court of Auditors, the Community's financial watchdog.

The Court accuses the Commission of operating a less than adequate internal control system. 'About 100 bank accounts appear to escape the control of the Commission's accounting officer,' they note. They also point to a sizeable discrepancy between the cash in two bank accounts and the balance mentioned on the books.

The Commission has agreed to investigate the matter, and has promised to ensure that reconciliation of bank accounts will be carried out as soon as possible after the banking operations concerned have taken place.

But on other matters, the Commission finds much of the Court's criticism unjustified. It resents suggestions that it has failed to implement many of the suggestions contained in the Auditors' three earlier reports.

It also replies to many of the points raised in the latest audit. While stressing that these are by no means exhaustive, it notes: 'These show clearly that the laconic, rather stiff, tone of the Court's comments on the items in question is somewhat out of place.'

For the first time the Court examines the productivity of the Community institution's 700 typists in the various language sections. According to its calculations, the Commission managed a daily output per typist of 17 A4-sized pages and the Parliament a meagre 7 pages - both well below the 24 pages deemed feasible by the Court.

The Commission, however, disagrees with the basis of the calculation. It argues that there were fewer

typists employed, that it fails to take account of the other work they carry out and of the linguistic and terminology difficulties involved.

The Commission also dismisses as too general the Court's criticism of its overseas aid policy, when it complained that many supplies were not reaching their intended destination or that certain projects were unsuitable for the countries concerned.



## Alcoholism: MEPs call for more facts

Research into Europe's growing consumption of alcohol is turning up some disturbing facts about how much we drink, why, and what it is probably doing to us.

The scale of alcohol addiction in Europe is immense and transnational. Ten per cent of the male population of the West of Scotland suffers from alcohol-related disabilities, and more than a million and a half Germans are believed to be in some way dependent on alcohol. In Ireland, alcohol accounts for 13 per cent of expenditure on consumer goods. In Italy, the number of people dying from cirrhosis of the liver has nearly doubled over the past 25 years.

A group of European Parliamentarians has now called for an in-depth study on the problems of alcohol and its abuse in Europe.

## Talks with Portuguese

Following talks between European Commission President Gaston Thorn and Portuguese Prime Minister Pinto Balsemao in Brussels, both sides agreed that everything must be done to ensure that the target date for Portuguese entry to the Community - January 1984 - should be met. Mr. Balsemao, who was anxious that his negotiations should not be compromised by any difficulties which might arise in similar negotiations with Spain - due to join on the same date - later embarked on a tour of Community capitals.

They want to see research into its effects on individuals and society, and action at Community and national levels to combat it.

Young people are particularly at risk, according to the group, and preventative action in schools is a priority. They also want controls on the advertising of alcoholic drinks and a media campaign to inform people of the effects of alcohol and the need to drink only in moderation.

They say that higher taxes, aimed at making alcohol more expensive and therefore less accessible, just do not work. Higher prices simply prompt people to drink cheaper and often more dangerous things. Existing tax revenues derived from sales of alcohol should be re-directed by governments to repair some of the damage done by drink in the first place, they claim.

But the Parliamentarians' plea is primarily for information. Consumption of pure alcohol per head of population has increased by nearly 300 per cent in the Netherlands over the past three decades. In Germany it has increased by nearly 200 per cent, and in Denmark by over 100 per cent. In all other Community countries with the exception of France it has increased by between 40 and 70 per cent.

The problem is reinforced by a European industry that produces 70 per cent of the world's wine and 50 per cent of the world's beer, with an advertising budget to match.

Italian statistician Libero Lenti believes that alcohol consumption is rising simply because more people are drinking than ever before. In an Italian survey commissioned by the Italian federation of alcohol producers, importers and exporters, and published last year, he concluded that a combination of social change and a rise in the average age of the population were primarily responsible for the increase.

Vera Squarcialupi, the Italian Communist MEP who drafted the parliamentary report, believes that alcohol abuse is now primarily an urban problem. Whereas alcoholism used to be the product of poverty and ignorance in country areas,

she says, it is now mainly the product of neuroses brought on by the pressures of living in competitive urban industrial society.

## Commission reviews its aid to Turkey

The European Commission has told the Turkish government that it is prepared to reconsider further financial cooperation with Ankara. But it has refused to give a firm guarantee that the funds will be forthcoming in the near future.

The Community froze all aid after the military regime imprisoned former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit for four months.

The slight relaxation in the Community's attitude was indicated with the announcement of Mr Ecevit's release. But Commission President Gaston Thorn has expressed continued concern at the trial of 125 Turkish trade unionists, 50 of whom face possible execution.

At stake is the Community's fourth emergency aid package for Turkey, which has an association agreement with the Community designed to lead to eventual membership. For a new member to be admitted, existing members must be satisfied with its democratic credentials.

## Canada and Spain in new fishing deals

The Community and Spain have agreed terms for Spanish vessels fishing in Community waters this year. They allow for 130 boats to catch 8,500 tonnes of hake. This compares with last year's deal, whereby 10,500 tonnes were set aside for 142 trawlers.

The agreement does not altogether please the Spanish, who favour more long-term arrangements in their run-up to Community membership, and object to the progressive reductions applied each year. But Community negotiators have refused to yield on either count.

Meanwhile, the Canadian government has announced it will resume issuing licences to Commun-

ity boats fishing in its waters. Earlier, it had refused to do so in retaliation at the terms of the six-year agreement signed with the Community last December. This allows Community boats to fish in Canadian waters, while Canadian cod fillet exports to the Ten receive tariff concessions. The Canadians' original objections had been that the Ten had assigned import quotas to different countries.

## More out of work

Finalised figures for 1981 show that more than 10 million people were unemployed in the Community at the end of December. This represents 9.2 per cent of the civilian working population, compared with a rate of 7.2 per cent in the previous December. Increases over the 12 months were particularly marked in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Luxembourg, running as high as 50 per cent in the Federal Republic.



## Protection from the sun

An international convention to protect the earth's outer ozone layer from destruction by aerosol chemicals is to be drawn up at the initiative of the ten countries of the European Community.

The ozone layer, in particular, is under attack from chlorofluorocarbon chemicals used as propellents in aerosol cans. These, experts believe, are depleting the ozone layer through chemical reaction and reducing the earth's protection against excessive solar radiation.

The destruction of the ozone layer has very serious implications for the delicate ecological balance on Earth. In May of last year the governing council of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) adopted a proposal, sponsored by the European Community, to draw up a Convention on the protection of the ozone layer.

At the end of last year, the European Commission formally requested the Council of Ministers for authorisation to represent the ten Community countries in drafting this Convention. The first meeting of international experts was scheduled for the end of January.

## Europe of Opportunities

is the title of a 22-minute videotape produced for National Westminster Bank with the support of the Commission of the European Communities. Through the medium of unscripted interviews, it highlights the main grants, loans and business opportunities arising out of the UK membership of the European Communities. Inquiries to: National Westminster Bank Film Library Unit B11 Park Hall Road Trading Estate London SE21 8EL Telephone: 01-761 3035



## Aid for victims of the big freeze

Following the unusually severe winter in many parts of the Community, the European Commission has decided to give special emergency aid to three member states to help them recover from damage caused by the freeze-up.

The United Kingdom and France have each been awarded 1.25 million ECU and Ireland 1 million ECU. In addition, the Federal Republic of Germany is to get 150,000 ECU to compensate for damage caused by a hurricane in the northern part of the country last November. A sum of 500,000 ECU had already been set aside for Danish victims of the same catastrophe.

mobiles which are struck from the side. It will then be possible to define the criteria for giving them greater protection and to develop a test dummy.

Eventually, it is envisaged that the testing of the sides of vehicles would be part of the Community's type-approval procedure.



## New method of measuring dust pollution

A new and more reliable method for measuring the level of dust pollution in the air we breathe has been developed by the European Community's Joint Research Centre together with the European Commission's Environment Service and a private French company.

Compared to existing systems, the Community's new monitoring device has the advantage of not being affected by the chemical composition, colour or grain size of dust particles. Laboratory testing has shown very close agreement with the result of conventional optical and gravimetric techniques.

The new device draws in air and passes it through thin membrane filters which are tested using electron beams to gauge the change in weight and thereby the degree of pollution present. The level of dust pollution can be expressed either as an optical value or as a weight value and recorded on computer.

The device has been tested in some 18 locations throughout the

Community. The results produced are revealing. In the winter of 1980-81 a wide divergence in pollution levels was found. Frankfurt, for example, recorded a level of only 21, as against 126 in Berlin, with towns and cities such as Welwyn Garden City scoring 52, Dublin 108 and Peterborough 60.

## New rules on duty-free goods

International travellers will soon notice that the price of some goods offered in duty-free shops at airports and on board cross-channel ferries has gone up.

The change has been brought about by a European Court of Justice ruling, which the European Commission has to implement. But it will not affect what travellers have to pay for goods produced in the Community. In fact, it will make these more competitive compared with their rivals.

The decisions also signal a reprieve for duty-free shops, which at one time were threatened with extinction as being incompatible with the Community's 'fair trading' laws.

The Court ruled last year that 'butter boats' were illegal. These are a strictly German phenomenon: they sail out of North German ports, selling cheap agricultural produce and spirits to passengers who are ready to pay for a short trip. Eventually, traders on dry land complained because their livelihood was being threatened.

It has been decided that, if the butter boats have to go, then the rules on third country goods sold in tax-free shops will also have to be tightened up. In future, they will have to pay agricultural levies or customs duties.

Community-produced goods will continue to be exempt from value added tax and excise duties.

## Safer vehicles on the way

A study is currently being carried out for the European Commission which is designed to give greater protection to the drivers of motor vehicles and their passengers. It is expected to be completed by the end of this year.

One of the aims of the study is to examine the mechanical stresses suffered by the occupants of auto-





## Food aid plan

The European Commission has drawn up a food aid programme for 1982 which will cost the Community just over 700 million ECU. Its proposal, submitted to the Council of Ministers, involves around 1 million tonnes of cereals, 150,000 tonnes of milk powder and 45,000 tonnes of butteroil. The proposals were published soon after Edgard Pisani, the Commissioner responsible, revealed an elaborate strategy to combat hunger in the world.

## New grants for visits

Teaching, administrative and research staff in higher education establishments throughout the Community, as well as local and regional administrators in second-level establishments, are to benefit from a new series of grants announced by the European Commission.

In all, almost 300 people will be awarded grants to make short study visits to other Community countries with a view to broadening their own knowledge and helping promote more collaboration between educational establishments.

## Plans to make homes less noisy

Noisy machines in the home are under attack in a new proposal drawn up by the European Commission. Combating noise pollution is one of the objectives of the Community's Environment Action Programme; and with France already introducing special measures to deal with dishwashers and washing machines, and the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands embarking on similar

measures, the Commission sees the time as ripe to bring down noise levels in homes all over Europe.

The Commission also intends to make sure none of the new national regulations turn into technical trade barriers between the member states.

Rather than impose limits on manufacturers, the Commission's approach is to oblige manufacturers to test and publish the level of noise emitted by their equipment, and to make this available to the consumer.

That way, consumers have the final say in just how noisy—or quiet—they want their homes to be.

A procedure and technique will be officially established for measuring the noise emissions and for checking the noise levels given by manufacturers. Producers who refuse to supply the information will not be permitted to sell their products in Community countries.

Member states will have until next January to introduce the necessary regulations and provisions to comply with the planned directive.

## Third World role

Dieter Frisch, who was a director in the European Commission's budget section, has been appointed director-general for cooperation and development. He takes over from Klaus Meyer.

Australia's rather tenuous relationship with the EEC could well improve after the four-day visit of Mr Gaston Thorn, the Community President.

His visit is seen as being largely a public relations exercise to smooth the troubled waters of the past 10 years during which Australia has been virtually excluded from agricultural trade with the EEC.

— The Times

*Is there anything worse than joining the European Monetary System? Yes. An exchange rate objective which is not even announced and can be charged at any time at the discretion of the so-called "authorities" — i.e. the Bank of England, sometimes in consultation with the Treasury. Yet that is the system which is now developing.*

— Samuel Brittain, Financial Times

In spite of its policy decision to withdraw from the Common Market, the Labour party is likely to put up candidates for the 1984 European Parliament elections, Mr Foot indicated yesterday.

There was a 'good case for it' and he intended to argue it within the party in due course.

— Daily Telegraph

European MPs voted by 160 votes to ten last night in favour of ending all imports of furs from young hooded and harp seals.

Their vote in the European parliament in Strasbourg spearheads an international battle to outlaw the annual slaughter of baby seals in Canada. But before any EEC ban can be made effective, it must be approved by the EEC Council of Ministers. And they are under strong Canadian pressure.

The Canadians claim the cull is necessary to preserve stocks of fish. High Canadian officials have been lobbying in Strasbourg. EEC officials are pretty certain that the Canadians will threaten to tear up agreements allowing EEC trawlers to fish Canadian waters if the ban goes through.

— Daily Mail

Britain will never be bouncing up to the EEC and kissing it on both cheeks. The bureaucrats of Brussels are never going to be inundated with beribboned Valentines from this side of the Channel. But as it begins to prove its worth we could yet learn to love the Common Market in our own undemonstrative insular way.

— Daily Mail

*British farmers are more heavily subsidised than the French, claims an official at the French embassy in London.*

*Monsieur J. Danel, the Agricultural Attache, said yesterday that average aid per farm was £2,285 in France against £2,904 in Britain. In terms of farm workers the French aid amounted to £1,050 per head, £50 less than in Britain.*

*These figures dispelled the myth of massive agricultural aid paid to French farmers, M Danel said.*

— Financial Times

Who does the Commission of the European Communities think it is fooling?

In its 'guidelines' on the Mandate of 30 May 1980, it recognised that 'important though the question of farm incomes is, the latter cannot be the sole criterion on which to base guaranteed prices.' It stated,

moreover that 'it is neither economically reasonable nor financially possible to offer farmers total guarantees for surplus products'.

Only six months later, the Commission has already forgotten its own words. Its proposed increases (9 per cent on average) are in fact the highest for many years.

That the Commission should persist, despite its good resolutions of June, in encouraging overproduction of dairy produce, for example by proposing a price increase of 9 per cent, is inconceivable.

— BEUC News, Brussels

Britain's Home Office is fighting a lone battle against legislation that could mean less protection for animals in laboratories.

The Council of Europe's draft convention on animal welfare includes a clause, supported by all participants except Britain, that would open the way to experiments not permitted under our present 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act.

Home Office negotiators reserved Britain's position at the last meeting of the parties, and the subject will come up again at the next meeting of the council.

— New Scientist



## From Paris to the New Barbican—art in post-war France

London's new Barbican Art Centre is bidding for a leading place in the capital's art scene. It has chosen for its opening art exhibition a major retrospective of post-war painting and sculpture in France, from the Liberation to 1954, under the title 'Aftermath'. The exhibition has been specially created for the Barbican by the Association Française d'Action Artistique, in conjunction with the Pompidou Centre, Paris, and is based on the highly successful 'Paris-Paris' exhibition held there last year.

'Aftermath' is being hailed as an imaginative attempt to catch the post-war mood in France, as expressed in the work of artists who tried to reactivate the School of Paris after the disruptions of World War 2. The shocks of war—defeat, demoralisation, betrayal—had a profound effect. France in 1945 was in a state of trauma. The momentum of the modern movement, which had continued without interruption since the death of Cézanne in 1906, did not survive the experience.

The persecution, or flight to America, of artists and writers regarded as 'decadent', and the decimation of the Jews, left enemy-occupied Europe with only the husk of its

### 'Art that sprang from feelings of derangement or alarm...'

pre-war artistic establishment. From 1940 to 1945, virtually no indigenous art managed to surface. The coteries of artists who had made up the loose-knit movements of the Thirties were dispersed. Communication between intellectuals became dangerous or impossible.

The first artist to find the liberators at his door was Picasso. He had remained in Paris throughout the war, obstinately working, provided with materials and support by courageous friends. His first post-war exhibition in Paris was a sensation—an affirmation of unbroken faith, darkened by the experience of the occupation. Significantly, it also provoked right-wing gangs into trying to break it up. Paris art students appointed themselves vigilantes at the gallery. One of them was Françoise Gilot, whom Picasso took into his ménage—a union that was to have fruitful consequences.

The triumphant survival of Picasso, who had been associated with—though he was

never a signed-up member of—the principle groupings of artists in the Twenties and Thirties, was not an isolated example. Several of his best-known contemporaries also emerged from the war with their powers apparently intact, among them Braque, Matisse, Arp, Léger, Miro, Bonnard.

These were all survivors, not just of the war but of cultural explosions and violent swings of taste. The new generation of painters sought to express subjective themes, alternative images, that sprang from their feelings of derangement and alarm. The New Barbican exhibition brings their work together for the first time in London—existentialism in Francis Gruber, social realism in André Fougeron, death and dismemberment in Jean Fautrier's 'Heritage' series.

In some of these, surfaces are tortured as if they were human flesh. The materials used go beyond conventional canvas and paper to include rubble, scrap iron, human waste. Often, passion is tempered by irony, or painful questioning by passages of hectic colour.

A variety of art 'isms' signal for attention. Primitivism, Art Brut, Surrealism, Kinetic Art are represented, along with the group known as 'Cobra' after the cities they came from—Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam—who believed art should be about the liberation of repressed desires through revolutionary struggle and experiment.

This was more like the Paris of pre-1940, a melting pot of intellectual ideas. But it lasted only ten years. Across the Atlantic, those bare-back riders of modern art, the Abstract Expressionists—dubbed Action Painters—were putting on a show of a more compulsive kind. New York took over from Paris as the dynamic centre of modern art. The aftermath of the New York School would make another, very different, exhibition.

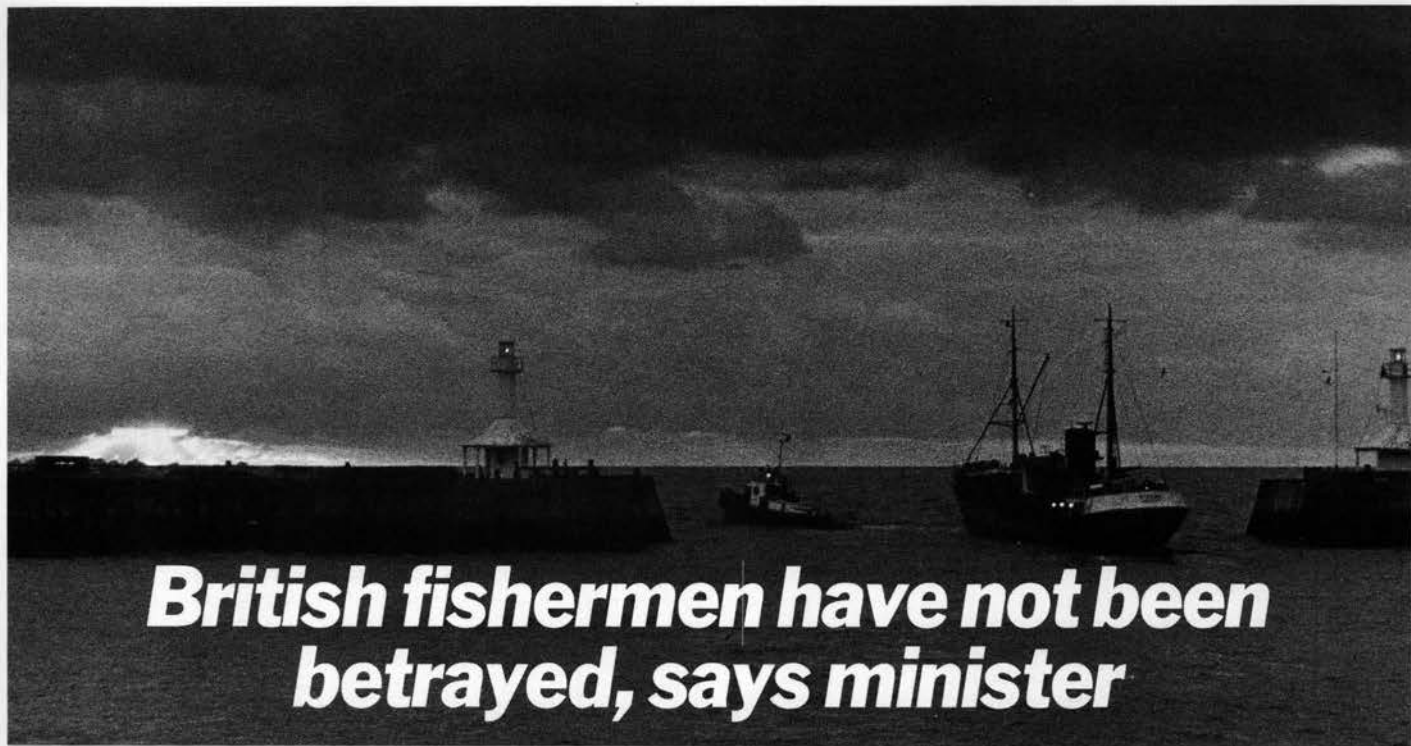
DENIS THOMAS

□ The exhibition 'Aftermath: France 1945-54' at the New Barbican Gallery, Silk Street, London EC2, continues until 13 June.



'Jazz Band (Dirty Style Blues)' by Jean Dubuffet and (right) Fernand Léger's 'Homage to Louis David': 'an attempt to catch the post-war mood in France'.





## British fishermen have not been betrayed, says minister

**'The number of smaller fishing vessels in Britain's coastal waters now stands at nearly 7,000'**

**A**n accusation that the government has 'betrayed' the British fishing industry by handing over the country's fishing resources to European Community partners has been strongly refuted by fisheries minister Alick Buchanan-Smith.

Replying to an article published in the *Sunday Telegraph* on 24 January accusing the government of 'destroying' the industry, Mr Buchanan-Smith blames the decline in Britain's deep-sea fleet (only 1 per cent of the full fishing fleet) on the extension of north Atlantic fishing limits to 200 miles.

By concentrating solely on the deep-sea sector, the minister says, the article gives a 'wholly distorted and one-sided picture,' and is a 'travesty' both of the true situation and the present government's record.

Throughout discussions in Brussels Britain's ministers have been accompanied by the fishermen's leaders including those representing the deep-sea fleet, Mr Buchanan-Smith explains. 'They have not only been fully consulted but have constantly supported the government's negotiating line.'

The article, entitled 'Better harvest for England's fishermen,' failed to point out that the present government has provided four times as much money for the fishing industry as the previous government and has made the

first real progress on agreeing a common fisheries policy with community partners since Britain joined the community in 1973, Mr Buchanan-Smith says.

'I know there is anxiety over the time it is taking to achieve a common fisheries policy,' he continues; but 'the fact that it is taking time proves that government is not prepared to accept just any settlement. Vital national issues are at stake and we are negotiating for a settlement that is satisfactory to our industry.' Two crucial issues remain to be resolved, he explains - the division of catch quotas and the question of access to Britain's coastal waters, on which the government is determined to achieve a fair result.

The article, labelling the minister as a 'donkey in the Derby' which tries but does not get anywhere, concedes that Britain's fishermen have been squeezed by major developments in international fishing including the extension of foreign fishing limits and the increasing size of foreign fishing fleets.

Although it is true that the deep-sea fleet has declined because of these pressures, Mr Buchanan-Smith says, the *Sunday Telegraph* article ignores the other side of the picture. The number of smaller fishing vessels (under 80 ft in length) in the British fleet working in the country's coastal waters has increased by more than 1200 in the 10 years from 1970 to 1980 and the total number of such vessels now stands at nearly 7000.

This increase, says Mr Buchanan-Smith, is also reflected in the value of fish landed. In 1972, the year before Britain joined the European Community, 44 per cent of the total catch was landed by vessels under 80 ft long. By 1980 the figure had risen to 74 per cent.

This increase in value has been reflected 'dramatically' in the ports themselves, the

minister explains. The size of fleets has grown in many ports, particularly in Peterhead which has seen an increase in the annual catch of almost 30 000 tonnes in five years from 1975 to 1980. With a catch worth £33m a year, Peterhead has become one of the 'foremost fishing ports in Europe,' the minister says.

It was wrong to say that the government had overlooked the difficulties for the deep-sea fleet, Mr Buchanan-Smith complains. 'In our management of mackerel and herring fisheries the freezer trawlers have been allowed special arrangements which are not available to other vessels, to enable them to catch their quota in the most effective and economic way.'

In addition, £2m of the £7.5m given in special aid schemes in the last two years has gone to the freezer trawlers. 'No one could fairly say that the needs of these trawlers have been ignored,' Mr Buchanan-Smith says.

Giving solid reassurance to the industry, which he believes deserves the country's support and still plays an important part in the economy, the minister points out that the present government has been putting its money where its mouth is with the provision of public funds averaging £58m a year. The money covers grants for building and improving boats, harbour improvement, research and fisheries protection.

Mr Buchanan-Smith strongly asserts in his reply that the government has stood by its fishermen in negotiations in Europe. Other European fishing fleets have also been experiencing set-backs, but Britain's fishermen can rely on the 'wholehearted support' of the present government, he promises.

□ British Business report.



# BOOK SHELF

**Industrial Policies in the European Community.** By Victoria Curzon Price. Macmillan, £15.00

This contribution to the Trade Research Centre's publications on world economic issues owes its origin, the author says, to growing concern over increasing governmental 'steering' of economies through measures which have come to be called 'industrial policies'. She points out that Western Europe is no longer one of two major centres of industrial growth, but only one of five or six. The need for competitive efficiency is a major theme of the book.

**Living in Two Cultures:** the socio-cultural situation of migrant workers and their families. Gower/UNESCO Press, £12.50.

Studies on migrant workers and their problems by contributors to a symposium held at the University of Heidelberg in the summer of 1978, along with a study conducted in 1979-80 on the sociological situation of migrants in the United States.

**The Collaboration of Nations:** a study of European Economic Policy. Edited by Douglas Dosser, David Gowland and Keith Hartley. Martin Robertson, £8.50 (paper).

A collaboration between a group of York University economists with similar research and teaching interests and a common intellectual approach to policy issues.

**New Firm Formation and Regional Development.** By Michael Cross. Gower, £15.00.

The author, who works at the Small Business Centre, Durham University Business School, uses data provided by public authorities in an investigation of the process by which new firms are started and the effects such firms can have on a regional economy.

**The Countries of Community Europe:** a geographical survey of contemporary issues. By Geoffrey Parker. Macmillan, £4.95 (paper).

Issues dealt with include energy provision, agricultural and industrial modernisation, balanced regional development, and problems of the environment, making use of recent EEC and national statistical material.

**Ethnic and Political Nations in Europe.** Jaroslav Krejci and Vitezslav Velimsky. Croom Helm, £14.95.

An analysis of the ethnic structure of modern Europe, undertaken in the belief that divergence between 'polities' and 'ethnies' are among the main causes of strife, both internal and external, between nations.

**Regional Policy in the Economic Community.** Edited by Douglas Yuill, Kevin Allen and Chris Hull. Croom Helm, £12.95.

Four main policy elements can be isolated in EEC countries, say the publishers: infrastructure investment; the use of state-owned firms to help develop 'problem' regions; the use of disincentives in regions under pressure; and regional incentive spending, which since 1960 has grown over 20-fold in Britain.

**The European Community:** a practical guide for business and government. By

Brian Morris, Peggy Crane, Klaus Boehm. Macmillan Reference Books, £19.50. Paper £8.50.

A clear, accurate and handy dictionary-cum-encyclopedia covering all aspects of the Community, its organisations, systems, components, and the vocabulary of its manifold operations.

**Political Parties in the European Community.** Edited by Stanley Henig. George Allen & Unwin, £10.50.

A factual survey of the political and electoral systems, party structures, finance, philosophy and membership of all the main political parties in the Community, with a couple of chapters on the emergence of transnational groups.

**Policy Formation in the European Communities:** a bibliographical guide to Community documentation, 1958-1978. Mansell, £24.50.

This, the first comprehensive guide to Community documents, describes over 600 important reports, communications and memoranda prepared by the Commission over the twenty years up to 1978. As such it will be of considerable interest and use both to the academic researcher and to anyone doing business in the EEC.

**European Monetary System and International Monetary Reform.** University of Brussels Editions, Parc Leopold, B 1040, Brussels. 1,000 BF.

A comprehensive account based on papers presented at a conference organised jointly by the Institute of European studies of the Free University of Brussels and the European College of Europe, Bruges, in June 1981. The book clarifies technical, economic and political aspects of the subject and contains the latest statistical information. A concluding section summarises and evaluates the contributions of the various specialist contributors.

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the EEC—in short, a 'European Bookshop'.

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## Publications for teachers

The European Association of Teachers has produced two reports of interest to teachers and educationists involved with European studies. They are: **European Studies:** past, present and future (£2.00, postage 75p); and **School/Industry Relations in a European Context** (£1.00, postage 50p). Write to the Hon Secretary, European Association of Teachers, 20 Brookfield, Highgate West Hill, London N6 6AS.



# THORN PAYS TRIBUTE TO WALTER HALLSTEIN

News of the death of Walter Hallstein, first president of the Commission from 1958 to 1967, was announced at the European Council summit meeting at the end of March.

Gaston Thorn, current president of the Commission, said of Professor Hallstein that he was 'one of the first politicians of the post-war generation in Europe to leave his mark on the history of the Community.' Mr Thorn added:

'In the words of Jean Monnet, his nomination as president was "a victory for good sense". History has proved he was right: for nearly ten years he presided over the destiny of the Commission, and through its early years he guided the construction of Europe with courage and breadth of vision.

'Throughout this period, it was Walter Hallstein who was largely responsible for drawing up the blueprints for European reconstruction and for laying solid foundations for the Community.

'At this moment, when the Community is confronted with one of the most serious crises in its existence, Walter Hallstein serves as an example for us, and as a source of inspiration.'



Hallstein: 'courage and depth of vision'.



Leaders of the Ten at the Brussels summit, 28 and 29 March. Hopes that a solution to the Budget problem was in sight were again disappointed.

*A colleague writes:* Between 1971 and 1973 I had the occasion to be the European director of a committee established by the North Atlantic Assembly to draft a report on European-American relations. The committee, which had been established by the efforts of Senator Jacob Javits, included a number of distinguished figures from both sides of the Atlantic. Among them was Walter Hallstein.

I had not seen him in action before; and the first thing that I noticed was his courtesy and helpfulness to those who, like myself, were servants of the committee. Not for him the kicking up hell over hotel accommodation, or the wording of an unimportant draft through which some great men endeavour to make their greatness felt.

As time went on, and I watched him in the committee discussions, I realised two things. First, that, under a diffident exterior expressed through a crouching stance, he was exceptionally adroit at getting his own way. Secondly that, beneath an agreeable ability to compromise, he was a man of iron principles. He had the considerable gift of fighting his corner without appearing to fight.

Among the beliefs for which he fought, belief in European culture, in the common future of Western Europe, in the European Community, stood out. Here, above all, there was little room for compromise. Yet those who might have been his opponents, found themselves conceding to him and to Europe, so persuasive was his manner, so urbane his style.

I felt sympathy for him then. I feel regret now. Europe is the poorer for his death. He did not win all its battles, but probably he won those that could be won.

A.H.

## SOCIAL FUND IS A SUCCESS SAYS MINISTER

Strong support for the European Community's efforts to help the young unemployed was expressed by Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment, at a 'Ways to Work' conference in London on 29 March. Mr Tebbit said:

'Unemployment amongst young people is particularly disturbing. There are over four million unemployed young people under the age of twenty-five in the Community, and in many of our member states young people make up over 40 per cent of the total of those out of work.

'We agree that the European Social Fund has a very important role to play in the fight against unemployment. The Fund in its present form has responded to a wide range of Community problems - regions of high unemployment, economic sectors with particular difficulties, and groups of people with special employment problems, such as the young and handicapped.

'There can be no doubting the substantial assistance which the Fund has provided to employment and training schemes in this country, in particular the very significant level of support it has provided in recent years for our programmes for young people. Likely Social Fund support was a factor which the Government took into account when we decided last year to expand the Youth Opportunities Programme. It is a signal achievement of the Community that so many people have found jobs and learnt new skills with the help of the Fund.'