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AUGUST-SEPTEMBER NO. 168



## CONTENTS

### 3 Community News

#### 6 Lands Without Water *Colette Braeckman*

The Sahara Desert is moving slowly southward in the ninth drought in the past 150 years. Braeckman gives an eyewitness report on the human impact of drought in one of the world's poorest areas.

#### 9 Claude Cheysson "On Record"

Commissioner Claude Cheysson became responsible for the Community's development aid program after the retirement of Jean Francois Deniau. (See *European Community* No. 166, page 5.) In an interview with *European Community* Cheysson discusses the relation of Community aid to the international aid effort.

#### 11 Americans Turn Inward *Ronald Inglehart*

Inglehart, a public opinion specialist at the University of Michigan and the University of Geneva, finds that the Community's Gallup Poll reveals Americans to be less internationally oriented than a similar poll showed Europeans to be. (See *European Community* No. 167, page 8.)

#### 14 Banishing the Assembly Line Blues *Douglas Ramsey*

European automotive plants, like their US counterparts, are experimenting with ways of making assembly line work less monotonous and with ways of increasing workers' satisfaction with their jobs.

#### 18 Disorder or Democracy *Kees Bastianen*

Bastianen examines the political events that led to the formation of the new Dutch Cabinet.

### 19 Recent Books

### 20 Publications Available

**Cover:** *This ancestor figure from the Dogon people of Mali raises its arms to the skies in a plea for rain. The arid climate made life difficult for these farmers of millet three centuries ago when this figure was probably carved. The advancing Sahara has driven the Dogons from their homes; the few who remained are dying of famine. See page 6.*  
Photo: Delmar Lipp, Washington, DC. Courtesy of the Museum of African Art, Washington, DC

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# Community News

## EC Commission Vice President Simonet Ongoing Talks with Canada and Japan Talks Energy with US Officials

The energy crisis focused the discussions between US officials and EC Commission Vice President Henri Simonet during his May 30-June 5 visit to the United States. In Washington, Simonet met with Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs William J. Casey, Presidential Consultant for Energy Affairs Charles J. DiBona, Presidential Special Assistant Peter M. Flanigan, Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), Deputy Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, Council of Economic Advisors Chairman Herbert Stein, Assistant Interior Secretary for Energy and Minerals Stephen A. Wakefield, and Atomic Energy Commission officials.

At a New York news conference on June 4, prior to meetings with energy experts in the private sector, the Commission Vice President declared that the objective of his visit had been to explore the degree of cooperation that could be established between energy-consuming countries—in particular the United States, Japan, and the European Community. Such cooperation formed a large part of the EC Commission's April 19 proposals for a Community energy policy and received major attention at a May 22-23 Council of Ministers meeting devoted solely to energy.

Simonet emphasized that most US officials with whom he had talked had been eager to achieve some form of cooperation agree-



Commission Vice President Henri Simonet

ment among the consuming countries. He felt, however, that the United States was still at the preparatory stage of seeking practical formulas and had no detailed proposals to offer at this time for EC consideration.

On the other hand, Simonet stressed that it would be difficult for the Community to enter into a cooperation agreement unless it makes progress in organizing the EC's internal energy market. He noted that some American officials had expressed skepticism concerning the Community's ability to establish a common energy policy.

Simonet also called attention to the need for rules between each major consuming country and their respective oil companies. Besides energy, the Commission Vice President's special responsibilities include nuclear safeguards and harmonization of EC member countries' taxes, insurance, and banking laws. From Belgium, Simonet joined the Commission last January.

The world trade negotiations within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were among the topics discussed in Brussels during informal consultations between the European Community and, respectively, Canada and Japan.

Other subjects aired at the June 13-14 meeting between the Community and Canada were the energy crisis, industrial and environmental policies, bilateral trade, and current work within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

(OECD). The consultations were part of the continuing informal contacts between the EC Commission and the Canadian Government.

At the June 12-13 consultations between the Community and Japan, discussions covered nontariff barriers, agriculture, safeguards, and electronics. It was the first in a series of consultations which the Commission and the Japanese Government have decided to hold at regular intervals. The next meeting is scheduled for the fall in Tokyo.

## Ortoli Visits Africa



Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli Photo: © Jonathan Bayer, London

EC Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli traveled to Africa June 16-28 for a first hand

look at the drought stricken Sahel region (see page 6). In Niger, one of the most severely hit countries in the Sahel, Ortoli met with that country's President, Hamani Diori.

The Commission President also went to Yaoundé, capital of Cameroon, for talks with President Ahmadou Ahidjo. The Cameroon capital gave its name to the Yaoundé Conventions, which define EC relations with African Associated States and which are soon to be renegotiated (see page 00).

## Commission Announces Competition

Competition has begun for the Eighth European Communities Prize. It is to be awarded for university dissertations "making an important and original contribution to the knowledge of problems relating to European integration." A prize of 150,000 Belgian francs (approximately \$3,000) will go to the best candidate in each of three disciplinary groups: law; economics; political science, sociology, social psychology, and history.

Americans are eligible for the competition, along with nationals of EC member states or of any state maintaining diplomatic relations with the Community. The maximum age for candidates is 35-years-old. Dissertations may be

submitted for which doctorate or equivalent degrees have been obtained after 1971 from institutions in the EC member states or states with EC diplomatic relations. Americans are therefore eligible. Dissertations must be written in one of the EC official languages—English, French, German, Danish, Dutch, or Italian.

Four copies must be submitted not later than November 15 to: European Communities Prize, Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Press and Information, 200 rue de la Loi, 1040 Brussels, Belgium. An international panel of judges will announce its decision in December 1974.

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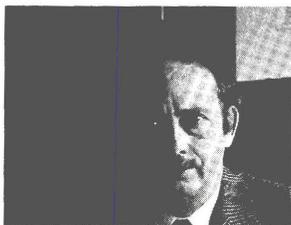
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## Dahrendorf Points to Common Interests Yaounde Up for Renewal

In his first such visit since becoming Commissioner responsible for the EC's science, education and research activities, Ralf Dahrendorf traveled to the United States June 6-8 for meetings with US officials, roundtable discussions, and appearances in Washington and New York.

Before an audience of 450 at the Rotary Club in New York City, Dahrendorf said: "The European-American partnership may be somewhat uneasy today, but as long as we face our differences in



Commissioner Ralf Dahrendorf  
Photo: © Jonathan Bayer, London  
the spirit of our common convictions, there is no need to worry about the eventual success of our endeavor."

A preparatory conference for negotiations to renew the Yaoundé Convention was scheduled for July 25-26 in Brussels. All Yaoundé Associates were invited to attend, along with all countries eligible to join—in particular, the so-called Commonwealth "associables." A formal letter of invitation was approved by the EC Council of Minis-

ters on June 4.

The Yaoundé Convention, due to expire January 31, 1975, links 19 African countries to the Community through preferential access to EC markets and technical and financial aid. Negotiations to renew the Convention were to begin as soon as possible after the preparatory conference.

## EC Extends Generalized Preferences

On January 1, Romania will become the first Soviet bloc country to benefit from the European Community's generalized preference system for developing countries. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) country may, however, still face EC restrictions on Romanian exports of some "sensitive" textile, steel, and chemical products.

Also included in the Council of Ministers June 4 decision to extend generalized preferences were Malta and Turkey. Already EC as-

sociates, Malta and Turkey will, beginning January 1, receive "no less favorable treatment" than that granted to other developing countries in the preference system.

The original six EC member states, in July 1971, were the first countries to introduce the United Nations' plan for generalized preferences. Under the plan, industrialized nations charge lower or no duties on specified quantities of "Third World" exports of manufactured and some processed farm goods.

## Commission Takes Antitrust Action Against Fertilizer Companies

A cooperation agreement between the two largest producers of potash fertilizer in the Common Market has been prohibited by the EC Commission, in a recent example of the Community's strengthened competition policy.

The agreement between the Société Commerciale des Potasses et de l'Azote SARL, of Paris, and Kali and Salz AG, of Kassel, Germany, had provided for the joint fixing of the quantities and qualities of potash salts exported by the two firms and for the joint coordination of deliveries and distribution. This coordination had been achieved by appointing joint distributors in the Netherlands and

Italy, resulting in standardized prices and sales conditions.

The Commission ruling, announced May 23, said the agreement prevented the free play of competition, since every producer must individually organize its own distribution independently of its competitors. The Commission also said that information exchanges concerning production and distribution could lead to production pattern agreements and shared export markets. The Commission's antitrust ruling was based on Article 85 of the Common Market Treaty, which prohibits any agreement deemed incompatible with the Common Market.

## Greek Association Remains At Standstill

In 1961, the Community concluded an association agreement with Greece. In 1967, after the Greek military coup, the Community brought the association to a standstill pending Greece's return to democracy. This year's events in Greece have done nothing to change the Community's mind.

EC Commission Vice President Christopher Soames told the European Parliament in Strasbourg on June 6: "I must make it abundantly clear on behalf of the Commission that there can be no question whatever, under present circumstances, of this association progressing any further along the road that had been mapped out in 1961 with so much hope. The Commission does not intend to swerve either way from the course which, after serious consideration of both the legal and political realities, it laid down for itself on this matter in 1967.



Commission Vice President Christopher Soames  
Photo: © Jonathan Bayer, London

"But I must say with regret," Soames continued, "that today we stand perhaps further removed than ever from the situation for which we continue to hope: the day when Greece becomes again what once she was, and when we can develop to the full our relationship with her as a European democracy among European democracies, a country we can eventually in happier circumstances welcome into our Community itself."

## EIB Helps Regional Development

Ireland has become the first of the new EC member countries to benefit from a European Investment Bank (EIB) loan. The loan, announced June 14 at the EIB headquarters in Luxembourg, will contribute to the modernization of the Irish Sugar Company Limited factories in Carlow and Mallow Counties. The loan of 5.7 million units of account (one UA is equivalent to one 1970 dollar) will not only help the Irish sugar beet industry to compete in the Common Market but will also promote regional development by boosting the industrial potential of predominantly

agricultural Carlow and Mallow Counties.

Other EIB loans, announced June 4, will go to four regional development projects in Italy and Germany. A loan of UA 28.8 million will help improve Sardinia's telephone system, and a loan of UA 4.3 million will help enlarge a Naples firm that produces tinplate and galvanized iron sheeting. A UA 20 million loan will help the re-conversion of small and medium-sized German industries, and a loan of UA 4.3 million will help finance a construction equipment factory in Schleswig-Holstein.

## Ride in Style: Hail a London Cab

If you are looking for comfort in a taxi, go to London. If it is inexpensive taxis you want, visit Rome. In Paris, where taxis are most plentiful, you can hail a taxi and theoretically expect a quick response.

These are a few of the facts Michael Lazar, chairman of New York City's Taxi and Limousine Commission, brought home to Mayor John V. Lindsay after a three-week study of taxis in three European cities last year.

Lazar was particularly impressed with the London taxi: "With the partition, the jump seat, the flat floor, high roof, and wide door opening, [it] is indeed the classic taxi to be used anywhere in the world." In London, drivers consider their jobs a craft. They take pride in themselves and their vehicles which undergo an annual inspection and mandatory engine overhaul, Lazar reported. Londoners seem to appreciate the drivers' professional attitude; only a few hundred complaints are filed annually against London cabbies by either policemen or passengers.

In Paris, it is a different story. Paris police reported about 3,300 complaints last year, still relatively few compared to the 12,000 received by Lazar's own New York Commission. Parisians do have it better than other city dwellers in one respect, availability of taxis.

## "Associable" Associates

The Indian Ocean island of Mauritius has become the first Commonwealth "associable" to join the Yaoundé Convention. The treaty, signed May 12, 1972, acceding Mauritius to the Convention, came into force June 1.

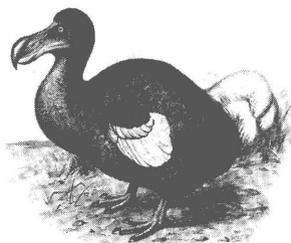
As a Yaoundé Associate, Mauritius joins 18 other African countries in benefiting from EC financial and technical aid. In addition, most exports from Mauritius now enter the Common Market duty-free. In return, Mauritius lowers barriers to



Taxis are most plentiful in London of all Community capitals. Photo: Courtesy Central Office of Information, London

With 2.4 cabs per 1,000 population, they have twice as good a chance of finding a cab as Romans do. London has 1.4 licensed cabs, and New York has 1.5 per 1,000 inhabitants, Lazar reported.

For most distances, Rome fares are the cheapest at 60 cents for the first mile and 28 cents a mile after the first. In London the comparable figures are 70 cents and 35 cents; the Paris equivalents are 86 cents and 21 cents. New Yorkers pay the most: \$1.00 for the first mile and 50 cents for each additional mile.



Dodo bird. Photo: Courtesy American Museum of Natural History, New York, NY imports from the Community.

Mauritius, home of the extinct dodo bird, has a population of 830,000. The island's chief export is sugar.

## EC Allocates Farm Modernization Aid

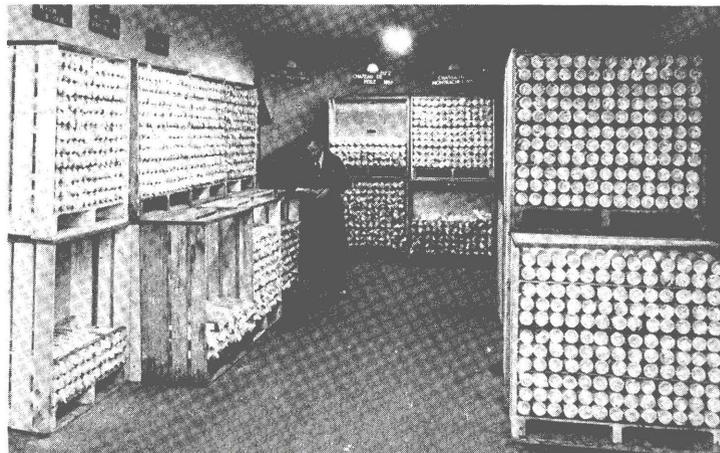
Retroactive grants to modernize Europe's backward agricultural industry were announced by the EC Commission in Brussels on June 12. This allocation, the first of two for calendar year 1972, amounted to 72,757,269 units of account (one UA equals one 1970 dollar).

These grants finance projects such as building new barns and farm storage facilities, construct-

ing fishing vessels, and improving wine cellars. Other grants pay for improvements in marketing agricultural produce, for example, through building freezing plants for meat and fish or cooperatives for collecting the rice harvest.

For the second half of the year, UA 77,242,731 remain in the farm fund's modernization budget.

Part of the Community's most recent allocation of farm aid was spent on the modernization of wine cellars, such as this one in France.



## Month in Brief

### JUNE 1973

**1-5** Commission Vice President Henri Simonet continues discussion of energy problems with US officials in Washington and New York (see page 3).

**1** Mauritius joins Yaoundé Convention (see page 5).

**4-7** The European Parliament meets in Strasbourg, France. Commission Vice President Christopher Soames answers Parliamentary question on Greece (see page 4).

**4-5** The Council of Ministers, meeting in Luxembourg, approves a letter of invitation for a preparatory conference for a new Yaoundé Convention (see page 4), and extends generalized preferences to Romania (see page

**6-8** Commissioner Ralf Dahrendorf visits the United States (see page 4).

**9-13** Alfons Lappas, Chairman of the Economic and Social Committee, visits the United States.

**12-13** The Community and Japan hold discussions in Brussels (see page 4).

**13-14** The Community and Canada hold discussions in Brussels (see page 00).

**16-28** Commission President Francois-Xavier Ortoli visits Niger and Cameroon (see page 3).

**18-19** The Council of Ministers meets in Luxembourg to discuss agriculture.

**25-26** The Council of Ministers meets in Luxembourg to discuss external relations.



# Lands Without Water

## *An Eyewitness Report* *An Appeal for Aid*

**COLETTE BRAECKMAN**

*Drought, the ninth during the past 150 years, has struck Africa's Sahel region. In this area between the desert and the savannah, five years of drought have brought famine to Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and the Voltaic Republic, all associated with the European Community by the Yaoundé Convention. Colette Braeckman, a reporter for the Brussels daily newspaper Le Soir here describes the human impact of drought on one of the world's poorest areas.*

Children, competing against swarms of goats, seek something to eat among the dead bodies and the rocks. . . . In the streets of Niger's Agadès, women offer their last silver jewelry, and men whose blue veils hide their starved leanness wander empty-handed, their faces bearing the distress of the perennial refugee. Thousands of nomads come to desert cities for help where once they made only brief halts at the market places to barter their herds' milk products for millet, sugar, and salt.

In Agadès, Timbuktu in Mali, and other savannah towns, the populations have doubled in only a few weeks. Beyond the earth dwellings at the towns' outskirts, straw suburbs have sprung up, rows of huts where the sand constantly encroaches. Wells are empty, fields and pastures dried up. Dryness everywhere. . . .

In Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, the Voltaic Republic, Chad—countries which United Nations statistics have established as the poorest in the world—the balance between population and natural resources has rarely exceeded survival level. But now, years of drought have brought these countries to the verge of catastrophe. Farmers have harvested little to speak of. Their "surpluses" are long since exhausted, and they are forced to eat grain set aside for next year's sowing. Even the cotton seed and wheat bran normally used as fodder is food for the hungry. The water table sinks lower and lower, and the dried up wells make field irrigation and livestock feeding impossible.

### **THE DESERT MOVES SOUTH**

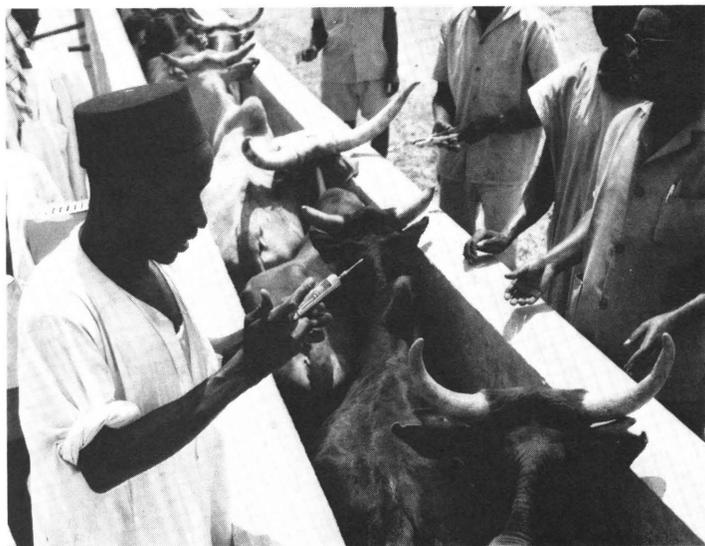
Aware of the situation's seriousness since last winter, experts in the area—in particular European Development Fund (EDF) supervisors—tried to awaken world opinion to the danger awaiting six million people in a land as big as half of Western Europe. But in vain, for most of the African states would wait until the last minute to alert even themselves. Why? Lack of organization? Vanity? Little concern for the forlorn and powerless rural masses and indifference toward the nomads of the north? No one will ever know.

Nowadays appeals for aid are always emergencies. Even

though not precise, the statistics are eloquent: In Mauritania, 75 per cent of the population lack food. There is also a food shortage, of more than 100,000 tons, in Niger and the Voltaic Republic and of more than 300,000 tons in Mali. In Senegal, out of a rural population estimated at three million, there are 1.3 million victims.

The nomadic herdsman are even worse off. An estimated 70 per cent of the livestock in the Sahel region are dead or almost dead from hunger, thirst, and disease. Deprived of their herds, their only resource and livelihood, the nomads, who traditionally refuse to farm, are no more than stray human beings. Meanwhile, they struggle as the desert moves constantly southward, consuming pastures and water.

In some areas around the Niger River last year, the rainy season was shortened to two half-hour downpours. The renewable vegetation did not grow back. The green tops of the few living trees were cut by the shepherds to feed their flocks. Each time a tree dies, the desert advances.



*Cattle vaccination station financed by the Community near Tillabery, Niger. Despite efforts to save the remaining cattle from sleeping sickness, many of them, already infected by the tsetse fly, will die.*

As early as last November, authorities advised the nomads to go to the better pasture land in the South. Some of them did, but after the more than 600-mile journey, other problems awaited the nomads. The local populace, fearing the exhaustion of their overgrazed lands and last water sources, were hostile. Too, the herdsman from the desert regions were not prepared against the endemic diseases of the South, in particular trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) carried by the tsetse fly. Even the surviving herds may be infected.

Other nomads, aware of the risks to their livestock and the black population's hostility, refused to leave their lands. They clung to the last minute to the treacherous desert.



*A well near Niamey, Niger, financed by the Community. In parched Niger, the effectiveness of aid cannot be measured by the cost. Neither man nor goats could live without this relatively inexpensive well.*

### HALLUCINATORY WATERHOLES

Betrayal can be seen in the heavy flight of vultures over dried up waterholes, where the sun bleaches abandoned carcasses. Animals still alive must travel increasingly longer distances between supposed pasture lands and subsistent waterholes, around which within a 20-mile radius there is not a twig to gnaw on. Hungry, thirsty, and exhausted, the weaker animals die.

On the roads to some waterholes the spectacle is sometimes hallucinatory. To Koukagana, less than 125 miles from Niger's capital city of Niamey, thousands of Malian refugees have flocked, and every well but one has run dry. More than 7,000 heads of cattle throng to that one water source each day. Cadavers dot its banks; the surviving cattle hardly have strength to move on. A steam from sweaty bodies, trodden mud, and fly-covered bones obscures the burning sky. Mixed together with the herds, men, women, and children crowd toward the same black mud to bathe and drink.

From time to time, a gaunt and stomach-swollen cow or zebu lies down in the mud. In vain, emaciated men grab its horns to save the beast that has been so hard to lead to water. But the



*As part of its special aid program for the drought-stricken area, the Community has sent cottonseed, an essential cash crop in Niger.*

dreamed-for water is powerless in the face of hunger and disease.

In Koukagana, children who have not had milk for months fight with animals over tree roots. Adults try to grind camel dung into food. At this writing, no help had yet reached this cursed place, where men and beast wait in the mud for death, resigned and silent. . . .

Farther to the north, this type of scene is already in the past tense. Now, the herds have practically all disappeared, and their nomadic owners have taken flight. The nomads, some of whom have lost everything, camp at the gates of towns and wait.

An old Tuareg sits near an aid distribution center. He used to own 600 cattle and 200 camels. Today he is fatalistic. He has all but given up. "I have nothing left but my children," he says. There are hundreds like him. Once lords of the desert, today they must beg.

### THE TRAGIC IRONY OF FATE

In Agadès, European planes have brought help daily since mid-May. The food aid is transported within the hour to some 20 distribution centers in a 220-mile radius. Each day the women line up at the centers and show their ration cards, which determine the supplies to which each family is entitled (usually some sorghum and enough powder to make a little over one quart of milk per person). Each day the men search the sky in anxiety over whether the plane will come.

Their anxiety is well founded, for the extent of the need prevents any stocking of reserves. At the Agadès region's Anzell School, for example, former students carefully update the distribution registers and despairingly point to two bags of powdered milk as the reserve stock for 3,000 people.

Nobody knows if the food aid truck will return tomorrow. Everybody knows that when the rains begin, the roads will become impassable, the tragic irony of fate. The rain, long awaited to revive plants, beasts, and people, will have as its first effect the severing of these regions from the rest of the world.

## International Famine Relief Effort

To alleviate the famine, the Community has allocated 13,000 metric tons of powdered milk as emergency aid. Claude Cheysson, the EC Commissioner responsible for development aid (see page 9), expects the Community effort to amount to 52 million units of account (one UA equals one 1970 dollar) in emergency aid and UA 75 million from the European Development Fund (EDF). In addition, the United Nations (UN) Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has earmarked for the Sahel countries 450,000 metric tons of grain, 170,000 metric tons of which the Community has promised to contribute. Technicians from the EDF are also drilling wells in Niger.

Fellow African countries, Ghana and Zaire, have lent equipment, and Algeria has organized truck transportation. Along with 156,000 metric tons of grain, the United States has sent more than \$2.7 million in non-food aid, including three C-130 airplanes.

Individual Community members have also given aid. France has donated two military transport planes to each Sahel country, and Ireland, Germany, and Belgium have sent respectively one, four, and seven C-130 Hercules aircraft to the Sahel.

Nevertheless, this aid is insufficient. The Director General of the FAO has emphasized that, while the international community has promised \$4.3 million in aid, the necessary amount is estimated at \$15 million. Furthermore, too large a part of these credits must be diverted to transportation costs.

In addition to its efforts through its institutions and by individual member countries, the European Community has created a relief fund. Readers wishing to contribute to this fund may send contributions to: Association Europe-Tiers Monde, Banque de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium, Account 310-0240244-61 (Sahel).

# Claude Cheysson "On Record"

*In the French Government reshuffle following last March's legislative elections Jean-François Deniau, the EC Commissioner responsible for the Community's relations with developing countries, left Brussels to become State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Paris. His place in the 13-member Commission was filled by Claude Cheysson, scholar, business leader, and former diplomat, who has spent 15 years working in the "Third World." Here Commissioner Cheysson answers questions from Douglas Ramsey, a staff member of European Report.*

**The present association agreement linking the Community with 19 African countries, Yaoundé II, expires January 31, 1975. What kind of new Yaoundé Convention do you envisage?**

*Cheysson:* Eleven years of my service in the Third World were spent in the employ of the countries themselves—first in Indochina, then in sub-Saharan Africa, and later in Algeria, so I think I speak as an African as much as a European. I would like all 38 of the Associates and "associables" to join in a new Yaoundé agreement, because it is in their interest. They need markets, resource guarantees, and aid, in varying order. I think that Europe can help fulfill these needs which are essential to their development efforts.

**At what cost to them? More specifically, a number of Commonwealth associables and non-member countries have attacked the Yaoundé Convention as imposing too much on the countries which Europe is purportedly trying to help.**

*Cheysson:* Much of the criticism against the current association is steeped in misunderstanding. This is as much the case for association institutions as reverse preferences. I am not saying that there is no room for change. On the contrary, the new Commission memorandum (see *European Community* No. 167, pages 20-22) points out several areas where changes should be made and new factors brought in.

**Reverse preferences have by far been the most controversial aspect of European-African relations, especially as seen from the United States. Where does the misunderstanding you speak of lie?**

*Cheysson:* There are simply no reverse preferences. We are asking for free access to the Associates' markets, and this treatment can be extended to any other country outside the association. We must have reciprocity in the association, but reciprocity which entails minimal costs for our Associates. The rules are designed so that it need not cost the Associates anything at all to dismantle their customs tariffs, because whatever they lose through the abolition of customs duties may be recovered through excise duties. Zaire does so right now as do the Arusha Associates (Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania), and the system seems to work well. This should answer the worries of critics among the associables.

However, there are attacks on reverse preferences, notably from across the Atlantic, which irritate me somewhat . . . because the Americans are not really distressed by reverse preferences as such, but preferences plain and simple. This is because they are in most cases not in a position to extend such treatment.

**Some people say that reciprocity should not be obligatory in trade relations with developing countries and that GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] rules should be revised to acknowledge this. Would Europe go along with such a thesis?**

*Cheysson:* "Unilateral free access" is a very attractive alternative to the present GATT rules on free trade areas, but since it was not written into the Commission's memorandum on the forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations, the idea is unlikely to be put on the GATT bargaining table. Given these facts, reciprocity in Europe-Africa relations is of crucial importance as the EC enters negotiations with the United States and others. Obviously Europe is going to stick like glue to GATT, especially to its principles of reciprocity. GATT principles will characterize our basic stance in bargaining with the United States, and we cannot risk losing our footing simply by saying that reciprocity does not apply to the Third World.

**You said that new factors may be brought into the Yaoundé Association. To take an instance, can the Commission proposal for stabilizing the Associates' export earnings really work?**

*Cheysson:* For 20 years such organizations as the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have talked about guaranteeing the developing countries' income, but it has remained essentially talk. The Commission is now suggesting that the Community take this step, even though the other industrialized countries are not ready to do so. It will guarantee not only prices but the quantity of certain crucial resources such as sugar, bananas, peanuts, and copper. It will serve to assure countries which depend on these products a minimum yearly income, although of course I hope a higher income than that. The plan could work if Europe is willing to take this important step without waiting for other industrialized countries to arrive at the same position.

**In the negotiations for a new Yaoundé Convention, just how committed will the associables be to the current form of association?**

*Cheysson:* Not at all. We are committed to our present Associates to offer a renewed association along the lines of the Yaoundé II Convention. Therefore, we will start negotiations using Yaoundé as a platform. All African and other associate countries have been invited to free and open discussions (see page 5). Then, if a country wants something other than the most complete form of association, it may ask the EC to engage in a second round of negotiations to conclude an agreement which may respond better to its particular needs.



Commissioner Claude Cheysson has special responsibility for the Community's development aid program.

**Several Commonwealth associates have stated that they would like some sort of association, but without the unwieldy and often ambiguous institutions such as the joint parliamentary committees, or even without free trade access to the Common Market. Is the Community willing to negotiate association agreements with associates which only want financial and technical cooperation?**

*Cheysson:* I am categorical on this point, and I think that I can commit the Commission. . . . If the Africans want to discuss a different system, of course we are ready to do so. I am not saying that we can go very far. It seems above all apparent that if the Community engages in negotiations solely on financial cooperation, it is unlikely to go as far as it would if the negotiations for aid were part of a coherent whole. But there certainly can be agreements in which certain aspects of the Yaoundé Association are dropped, just as a wide variety of agreements is being worked out for countries in the Mediterranean area.

The so-called "second alternative"—between full association and a trade agreement—was deliberately left vague to accommodate specific situations. Any country may suggest its own model if it so wishes.

**The bulk of the developing world has been left out in the cold as far as European development aid is concerned. Isn't it time, while the EC is rethinking its ties with Africa, to try extending Community level aid to other parts of the world?**

*Cheysson:* This question is very difficult, because while it is valid on the level of policy, it is insufficient on the level of ideas. Of course, if the "Nine" were joined by the other industrialized

countries, all developing countries could enjoy the benefits which are at present reserved for the EC Associates. To be frank, we cannot make the same effort at the world level without the Americans. The facts speak for themselves: European development aid is helping in its modest way to stimulate development for the relatively few millions of people in Africa. Add to that population the hundreds of millions in other developing continents, and the task becomes too big for the Community alone.

This does not mean that we cannot increase the volume and diversify our aid program. The Council of Ministers is seriously studying the possibility of extending economic and technical cooperation to non-associated countries. However, given our limited resources, proximity will undeniably continue to play an important role in who gets the lion's share of Community aid. We must not let our aid be spread so thinly that public interest in development wears thin. The day when development aid takes only the form of writing a check to an anonymous recipient in a country we do not know, we are on the eve of the abandonment of aid in the world. Unless the human, cultural link is there, the national parliaments will be clamoring for much less spending.

*A Community financed watering station near Bulela, Somalia. "European development aid is helping in its modest way to stimulate development for the relatively few millions of people in Africa . . . if the 'Nine' were joined by the other industrialized countries, all developing countries could enjoy the benefits which are at present reserved for the EC Associates."*



# Americans Turn Inward

## Speculations on the ECIS Gallup Poll

**RONALD INGLEHART**, public opinion specialist at the University of Michigan and the University of Geneva

*Early this year, the European Community Information Service (ECIS) commissioned a Gallup poll to determine the American public's knowledge of and attitudes toward the European Community (see European Community No. 167). Copies of the poll can be borrowed from the ECIS offices in Washington and New York. Ronald Inglehart collaborated with the ECIS and Gallup staffs in designing the questionnaire. Here he analyzes some of the survey data.*

In this "Year of Europe," an isolationist mood seems to have captured the American public to a degree unprecedented since before World War II. It is ironic that the American public shows signs of turning their backs on Europe during the very year when the European Community has made a great leap outward, taking in three new members and making English an official language; when the Community has moved ahead of the United States in population, and when for the first time in recent history there is a net flow of investment from Europe to the United States.

Will this isolationist mood shape American relations with Europe to an increasing extent—or is it a more or less transient mood? The following speculations are raised in the hope that the Atlantic community's current problems will not be taken too lightly.

The American public's outlook has changed, and it has changed drastically. From World War II until this year, public opinion surveys have shown that the majority of Americans by and large believed that the United States, with the world's most advanced economy and technology, should play a major role in world affairs. The American public supported this role in such forms as the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and various programs of economic aid to developing countries.

In 1973, however, when asked whether the United States should play a leading role in world affairs or should stop getting involved, the majority of a national sample of American adults said "stop getting involved"; 38 per cent said "play a leading role," and 7 per cent had no opinion. This response could be construed as reflecting a reaction against US involvement in Southeast Asia, but the mood seems to encompass Europe as well. Lopsided majorities of the American public felt that the American contribution to the defense of Europe was too great (58 per cent) and the European contribution too small (55 per cent). When asked if the United States should go to war, if necessary, to help defend Western Europe, 43 per cent said "no," and 41 per cent said "yes."

This mood of withdrawal extended to economic matters as well. In the Sixties, the American public had given broad support to the Kennedy Round aimed at reducing trade restrictions between Europe and the United States. As of 1973, although opinion had not reverted to the protectionism of the Thirties, Americans seemed to have undergone a significant shift in that direction:

The respondents were about evenly divided on whether the United States and Europe should gradually eliminate tariffs on imported goods. Forty-three per cent were in favor of eliminating tariffs, 42 per cent opposed, and 15 per cent undecided.

### ENDURING TREND OR PASSING MOOD?

If this state of American opinion represents an enduring trend rather than a passing mood, the implications are serious indeed. The experience of the last several years suggests that US decision-makers may be a good deal more constrained by public opinion now than a decade or two ago. If the American commitment to the defense of Europe were withdrawn, NATO would be dead.

Admittedly, a Soviet invasion of Western Europe seems unthinkable today. But one of the reasons *why* it has become unthinkable is the existence of NATO. The United States was clearly committed to fight if necessary; therefore it was not necessary. What was once a paradox of international politics has now become an almost unconscious part of everyone's calculations. But with American withdrawal, the basic assumptions of European security would have to be re-examined.

The apparent decline of public support for freer international trade has somewhat similar implications. The Kennedy Round seemed to foreshadow an era of Atlantic economic cooperation, perhaps leading to joint programs to encourage trade with developing countries. An increasingly defensive, inward-looking American public could end such possibilities and might encourage a renaissance of trade wars in all their former ruthlessness.

### AGE AND EDUCATION

American attitudes manifest in 1973 may merely reflect a transient reaction to severe but exceptional shocks, in particular US involvement in Indochina. However, the American public (or at least the better informed American public) seems to differentiate between the United States' responsibilities toward Europe and the US role played in Vietnam. One indication is that, while protest against involvement in Indochina tended to come from the younger and better educated, the new isolationism seems to center in other groups.

In response to the question about reduction of tariffs, for example, among those with no more than a grade school education, only 37 per cent favored eliminating import taxes; among the college educated, 49 per cent favored eliminating them (with only 40 per cent opposed). The difference across age groups was even larger: Only 36 per cent of those aged 50 years and older were in favor of eliminating tariffs; the figure rises to 44 per cent among those aged 30 to 49, and to 53 per cent among those 18- to 29-years-old.

On the question of whether "the United States should go to war, if necessary, to help defend Western Europe," the public as

a whole was almost evenly divided. But among those with a grade school education, only 30 per cent said "yes"; among those with a high school education, it was 41 per cent (exactly the overall average); and among the college-educated, 52 per cent said "yes" with only 36 per cent opposed. The relationship with age was more complex. The impulse to withdraw was strongest among those over 50-years-old, only a third of whom said "yes." Here, as in regard to economic ties, the generation which had grown up during the isolationist era before World War II seemed most eager to withdraw from foreign entanglements. But the youngest age group was not at the opposite end of the scale in response to this question; they were less favorable to the American guarantee than those aged 30 to 49.

### OSTRICH-LIKE ATTITUDES

The survey data give little support to the hypothesis that the American public's unwillingness to help defend Europe is due to an awareness of the EC's growing strength. Instead, there is an ostrich-like aspect to the American public's present attitude: The desire to turn away is linked with an almost incredible ignorance of contemporary European developments. Fifty-five per cent of the American public said they had never even heard of the Common Market—the second largest economic unit on earth. Sixty per cent could not name even one of the nine Common Market countries; only 15 per cent could name four or more.

Is such a lack of information more or less inevitable in the general public? Hardly. In response to similar questions in 1969 and 1970 (see European Community No. 139, pp. 16-17), virtually the entire literate population of Britain, France, Germany, and the Benelux countries indicated they had read or heard about the Common Market; and at least two-thirds of the public in each of these countries could name four or more members (82 per cent of the Dutch public could do so). Although not surprising that Americans are less informed about the European Community than Europeans, the spectacularly low American level of information implies that either the public or the mass media, or both, have given practically no attention to a set of events which may be changing the course of world history. This ignorance seems linked with the tendency to retreat, for people who have never heard of the EC are markedly less favorable to American ties with Europe than those who are well informed about the EC.

### TRUST REMAINS

Underlying this mood of confusion and withdrawal, however, remains a surprisingly large reservoir of mutual trust between the people of Western Europe and the United States. The outlook for cooperation between America and Europe may thus be less bleak than a first glance at the survey data might indicate.

In the 1973 survey, American attitudes toward West European peoples were overwhelmingly positive in both an absolute and

relative sense. Sixty-three per cent of the sample indicated that they had a general feeling of trust toward the Germans, while only 25 per cent indicated feelings of distrust. The ratio of trust to distrust, in other words, was well above 2:1. The pattern of feelings toward the French was similar. The ratio of trust to distrust toward the Italians and British was even higher; in the latter case there was a 5:1 predominance of trust over distrust.

These levels of trust are high by almost any standard of comparison. All of the West European peoples mentioned in the survey were trusted by ratios of better than 2:1. None of the other peoples mentioned in the survey had equally favorable images. Feelings of trust toward the Japanese, Africans, and Latin Americans predominated over distrust by substantial margins, but the ratios were less than 2:1. Attitudes toward the Russians, Chinese, and Arabs were predominately distrustful.

On the other side of the Atlantic, West European publics also show high absolute and relative levels of trust for the Americans. Regular reading of the elite press in Western Europe during recent years would probably have conveyed the impression that the United States was an immensely unpopular country. A reaction against racial conflict in the United States, the US role in Indochina, and American economic penetration of Europe combined to produce a climate of overwhelming disapproval of the US Government. But feelings of trust toward the American people seem to be deep-rooted and resistant to change.

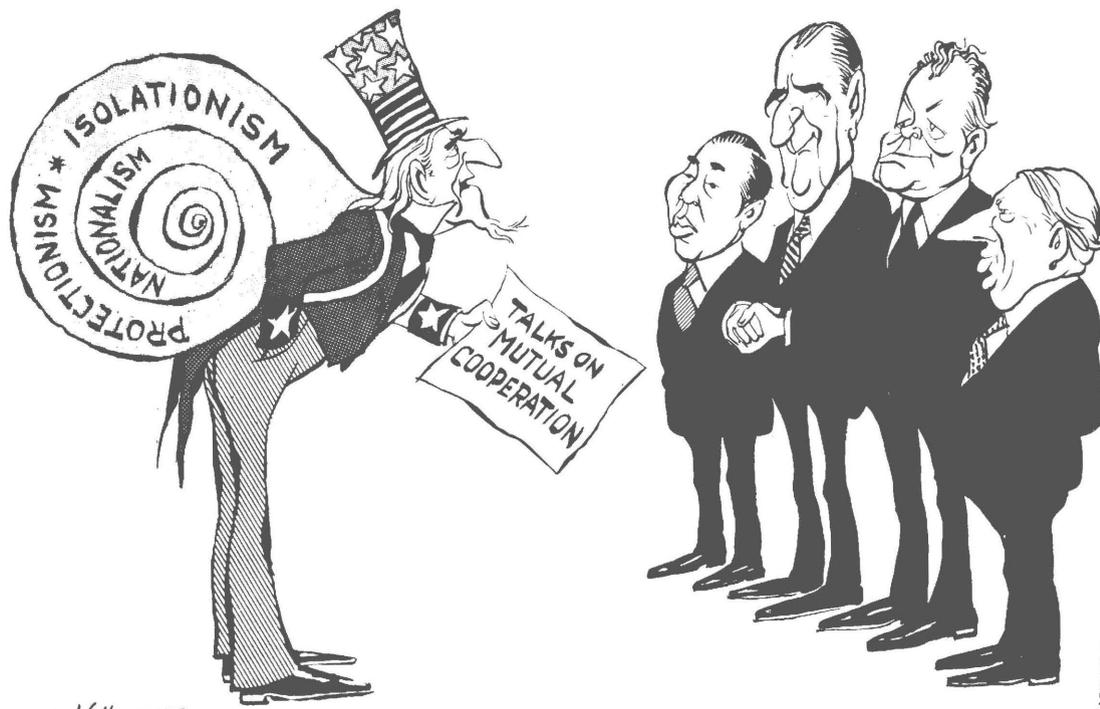
A 1970 survey of public opinion in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands showed that trusting attitudes toward the American people outweighed distrust by a 3:1 ratio in the five nations as a whole (see Jacques-René Rabier, *Les Européens et l'unification de l'Europe*, European Community, Brussels, 1972). In each of the European countries, attitudes toward the Americans were more favorable than toward any other major nation, with a single exception—the Belgians ranked the British slightly above the Americans.

Among themselves, West Europeans exhibited mutual feelings of friendship and trust markedly improved since World War II—the most striking example being the Franco-German *rapprochement*. By and large, however, West Europeans still trusted the Americans a good deal more than their fellow Europeans and incomparably more than the Russians or Chinese.

In age groups, younger Europeans were more trusting than their older compatriots in regard to most foreign nationalities. For example, Frenchmen over 44-years-old still showed predominantly distrustful attitudes toward Germans, but there was virtually no relationship between age and trust toward the Americans.

### CHANGING VALUES

In the long run, this mutual trust constitutes an invisible asset for Atlantic cooperation. A recent study (Inglehart, "The Silent Rev-



Ed Valtman '73 The Hartford Times

*'Whether we emerge into new partnership or withdraw depends on your response'*

olution in Europe: Political Change in Post-Industrial Societies," *American Political Science Review*, Menasha, Wisconsin, December 1971) seems to support the view that the basic reservoir of positive feelings between the United States and Europe will outlast the current isolationist mood of Americans.

The study, which explored the possibility that younger age groups of Western countries may have fundamentally different values from those of older age groups, led to the hypothesis that a gradual and deep-rooted process of change is taking place among Western publics. The process derives from changes in the formative experiences of given generations and becomes manifest only as one generation replaces another. Thus, younger age groups in Western countries would seem less likely to have "materialist" values (that is, an emphasis on economic and physical security) and more likely to have "post-materialist" values (a relative emphasis on needs for belonging and for intellectual and esthetic satisfaction).

Survey data from six West European countries tended to confirm the hypothesis. Among the oldest group (aged 65 and over), people with "materialist" values were roughly 10 times as numerous as those with "post-materialist" values. There was a regular increase in the proportion of post-materialists in successively younger age groups. Among those born after World War II, the post-materialists were almost as numerous as the materialists.

Post-materialist types tend to have a cosmopolitan, rather than parochial, sense of identity. The various European publics were asked to name the geographical unit to which they felt they most belonged—their city, province, region, nation, or Europe. Only a minority named Europe. But the post-materialists were far more likely to do so than the materialists (37 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively).

The recent American poll also included a series of questions designed to measure values. Broadly speaking, the American

public showed a pattern resembling the one found in Europe: Younger respondents were markedly more likely to have post-materialist values than were older respondents.

These differences in value priorities help explain a number of findings in the American data. For example, if the current mood of withdrawal from Europe were a simple projection of attitudes toward Vietnam, the young might have been expected to be more isolationist than the old. They were not. American respondents in the 18-29-year-old group were hesitant about specifically military commitments to Europe but were generally more favorable than any of the older groups to other ties with Europe.

The American respondents were also asked which geographical area they felt they belonged to most strongly; the range of choices included their town, state, region, the United States, the Western world, and the world as a whole. The Western world or the world as a whole were named as first choice by only 6 per cent of those aged 50 and over, by 9 per cent of those 30-49-years-old, and by 20 per cent of the 18-29-year-old group. Although Americans may be more inward-looking than at any time in the past 20 years, a supranational sense of identity seems to be emerging in American, as in European, youth.

The long-term outlook for Atlantic cooperation may thus be relatively favorable. On one hand, a process of intergenerational change may contribute a gradual but powerful pressure against isolationism. On the other hand, an underlying reservoir of positive feelings toward European peoples has persisted.

Moreover, the new American isolationism does not exist in any stable or coherent form. The "isolationist" response to the Gallup questions had no consistent structure: Those who opposed a leading US role in world affairs or a US military guarantee of Western Europe were not especially likely to oppose the elimination of trade barriers. The present American mood might be best described as one of uneasy confusion.

# Banishing the Assembly Line Blues

**DOUGLAS RAMSEY**, a staff member of European Report

Last March 1,400 migrant workers suddenly walked off their jobs pressing auto bodies at the Renault factory in Paris and brought the assembly lines for two models to a standstill. The workers were not simply striking for higher pay. They were protesting the noise and monotony of their work.

Not only workers but employers, sociologists, and national government and EC officials are increasingly aware of the need to improve job conditions in Europe. The question is how. Unless an answer is found wildcat strikes, walkouts, rapid turnover of manpower, and absenteeism may become the rule.

"Job enrichment" is the phrase on the lips of avant-garde industrialists from Oslo to the Mezzogiorno. More and more industrialists are building or converting factories with the worker in mind. Job enrichment means doing away with the conventional assembly line and thus the monotony and repetition that have characterized the lot of so many workers since the "Industrial Revolution."

## "HERZBERGISM" VERSUS "TAYLORISM"

"Within a generation, assembly line work will seem as inconceivable as slavery does today." These prophetic words by France's former Social Affairs Minister Edgar Faure (now President of the French National Assembly) run directly counter to three principles which have come to be synonymous with working conditions in today's industrialized world: maximum repetition, maximum

specialization, and minimum necessary training period. These principles were set forth more than a century ago by American industrialist Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1916) in his book *Scientific Management*. The book, published in 1911, swept the industrialized world.

Today, however, "Taylorism" is gradually being replaced by the ideas of Frederick Herzberg, professor at Utah University in Salt Lake City and the spiritual founder of job enrichment. While Taylorism presumes a low intelligence level for most workers, Herzberg and the European proponents of job enrichment (particularly London's Tavistock Institute) stress the worker's potential for a variety of jobs. The motivation for workers to fulfill their potential, according to Herzberg, comes from:

- the possibility of doing a useful and personalized job
- recognition by others of a job well done
- expanded responsibility as a reward for better performance
- clear and obtainable opportunities for promotion.

Job enrichment could therefore be called "participatory production." Workers are integrated into the production process by participating in its supervision and preparation, two mental exercises that the purely mechanical assembly line excludes.

## TEAMS REPLACE DEPERSONALIZED SPECIALIZATION

In the factory, job enrichment is still in the experimental stage, but initial results suggest that it is here to stay. One of Europe's

*Fiat plant, Cassino, Italy. Fiat, like many other automotive manufacturers, is experimenting with ways of relieving the monotony of assembly work. Photo: Courtesy Fiat S.p.A., Englewood Cliffs, NJ*



largest electrical goods producers, Philips of Eindhoven, Holland, in 1969 experimented with charging groups of seven workers with assembling an entire black-and-white television set. (On the assembly line, over 30 workers had participated in this task). French sociologist Yves Delamotte considers the Philips experiment a model for industrial relations in the future: "Seeing these young men and women busy assembling an entire unit and then checking it, apparently without hurry, and dressed just as they will, an outsider gets the impression that industry is promoting a new image."

Some of the most far-reaching changes in job organization have come in response to workers' reactions against too much supervision and too little consultation. Take the case of Norsk-Hydro, the Norwegian conglomerate. In fertilizer factories, workers are divided into autonomous teams and organize among themselves the tasks to be done. Rotation of jobs within the team is encouraged, and the groups have gradually taken over functions that used to belong to separate, more "qualified" employees: machinery supervision, planning, and quality control. The teams also have a say in overall company planning, through extensive representation on managerial boards.

The Norsk-Hydro changes began four years ago, and French sociologist Henri Drouard considers the results nothing less than spectacular: "The group displays a constant dynamism, manifested mainly through continuous training. The workers

expect to learn more and more and try to widen their autonomy. . . . The enterprise seems to be turning into a more decentralized structure in favor of the production teams, with the front office becoming something of a clearinghouse, while the factory workers remain free to develop their own organization of work."

The Italian business machine manufacturer, Olivetti, is another example. In 1962, because of technical problems and a lack of factory space, the management decided to let team captains supervise work schedules and production quality, and the plant's former supervisory service was transformed into a research and advisory unit. The experiment proved so successful that in 1971 Olivetti adopted the system for all its plants.

#### **ALTERNATIVES TO THE AUTO ASSEMBLY LINE**

It is a gamble to scrap the classic car assembly line in favor of a more expensive and more elaborate automobile production system, but it is a gamble Swedish car manufacturers expect to win. In 1972, Saab-Scania set up a new factory in Södertälje for assembling car engines. The shop floor was divided into work units, usually of four persons, and the assembly line was replaced by an overhead cable from which the engine is suspended. Within the team, workers can divide the tasks as they see fit and work at their own speed. When an engine is ready, it is delivered to a check point, and the overhead cable delivers another unfinished engine to the four-man team. The



average time to finish one engine has been put at between seven minutes and nine minutes, not far below the speed on the strictly regimented assembly line production.

Volvo has experimented with the "assembly team" concept at its Göteborg plant. The results have been encouraging enough to convince Volvo to do away completely with the assembly line at its new Kalmar factory, scheduled to open this fall. Instead of the traditional assembly line, teams of 15 to 25 men will be given responsibility for a special section of the car, for example, electrical system or steering. Work can be done in a short, modified assembly line or in team workshops.

The Volvo group estimates that production at the Kalmar plant will cost about 10 per cent more than at a classical assembly line factory. Management justified this expense as "another stage in the company's general attempt to create greater satisfaction at work."

Other car manufacturers try half-way solutions to lessen the monotony of the assembly line. For example, in its new factory in southern Italy, Fiat has lengthened by four minutes the average time a worker spends on any one car on the assembly line. Management hopes for an increase in productivity, but according to Carlo Mangianino, director of Fiat's mechanical department, the work, although somewhat less monotonous, is still repetitive.

### CONSTRAINTS OF TECHNOLOGY

Time and again experiments in job enrichment run into the same brick wall—the constraints of technology. A textbook example is provided in a study of a British synthetic fiber plant's reorganization:

Since abolishing the "clocking-in" system at a Gloucester factory in early 1967, Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) has never been the same. The following year, the whole production set-up was converted, in the hope of making the working environment more amenable to the needs of the workers. The new system:

- enlarged the scope of the individual worker's responsibility to include supervision and maintenance of machinery
- gave the workers joint power to organize their own activity, decide on breaks, and participate in the programming of machines and supplies
- transformed the supervisory personnel into advisory staff for the workers (part of the staff is responsible for continuous training)
- provided for large salary increases.

The Bath study group's report, entitled "*The Nylon Spinners*" found that roughly 80 per cent of the ICI workers questioned felt their jobs were more interesting and their time better spent. The workers also generally felt they were more often allowed to make more decisions, given less supervision, and permitted greater individual responsibility.

The report concluded that most of the nylon spinners never-

theless found the work monotonous and without much meaning, except for breadwinning. Again, according to sociologist Delamotte: "The worker is still dependent on machines which, with an inexorable regularity, demand that the spools be detached, then replaced. The level of required qualifications is still quite low. The operator just cannot identify with his job. . . ." The French sociologist concludes that despite the positive effects of job enriching changes, "the scope of these changes is nonetheless limited by the constraints of technology."

### JOB ENRICHMENT FOR A LIFETIME

The enrichment of the worker's lot does not end at the factory gate. More and more proposals are being put forward to give workers greater opportunities outside the factory.

Experts maintain that the worker should choose when he wants to retire, when he wants to study, and in general how he wants to juggle his working and non-working hours. One forum for new ideas on "working life flexibility" is the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The director of its manpower and social affairs department, Gösta Rehn, claims there are powerful reasons for more flexible working conditions, in factories as well as in service sectors. These reasons include:

- the higher average educational levels of workers
- the increasing demand for part time jobs, in particular from women who combine family chores with outside work
- the expansion of the service sector which offers more scope for irregular working hours and more demand for shops that are open in the evening and weekends
- the need to use machinery to full capacity, which increases the demand for shift-work labor
- the need to match supply and demand in the labor market.

Rehn thinks workers should be paid to study when they become temporarily redundant, rather than put on relief. Such study would allow jobless workers to train for a better position in their sector or retrain to go into an up-and-coming industry. Rehn says the burden of change lies with national social security administrations and with the European Community, which are charting the future course of job and living conditions for Europe's workers.

### TO ENRICH TOTAL ENVIRONMENT

Throughout the enlarged Community there is a heightened awareness that expansion and integration must be accompanied by effective action to aid workers and protect the environment. At last year's Paris "Summit" of the Nine, France called for the creation of a European foundation to study working conditions and eventually to coordinate a Community program to promote job enrichment.

Patrick J. Hillery, EC Commissioner for Social Affairs, wants to

see work in this area pursued at several levels. He explained: "It has been argued that a foundation should be set up to examine how the problems of industrial society can be tackled. A similar organization has been proposed for the environment generally. Man's working environment is only part of the overall environmental problem of overcrowding, noise, and pollution. I think there should be only one such foundation."

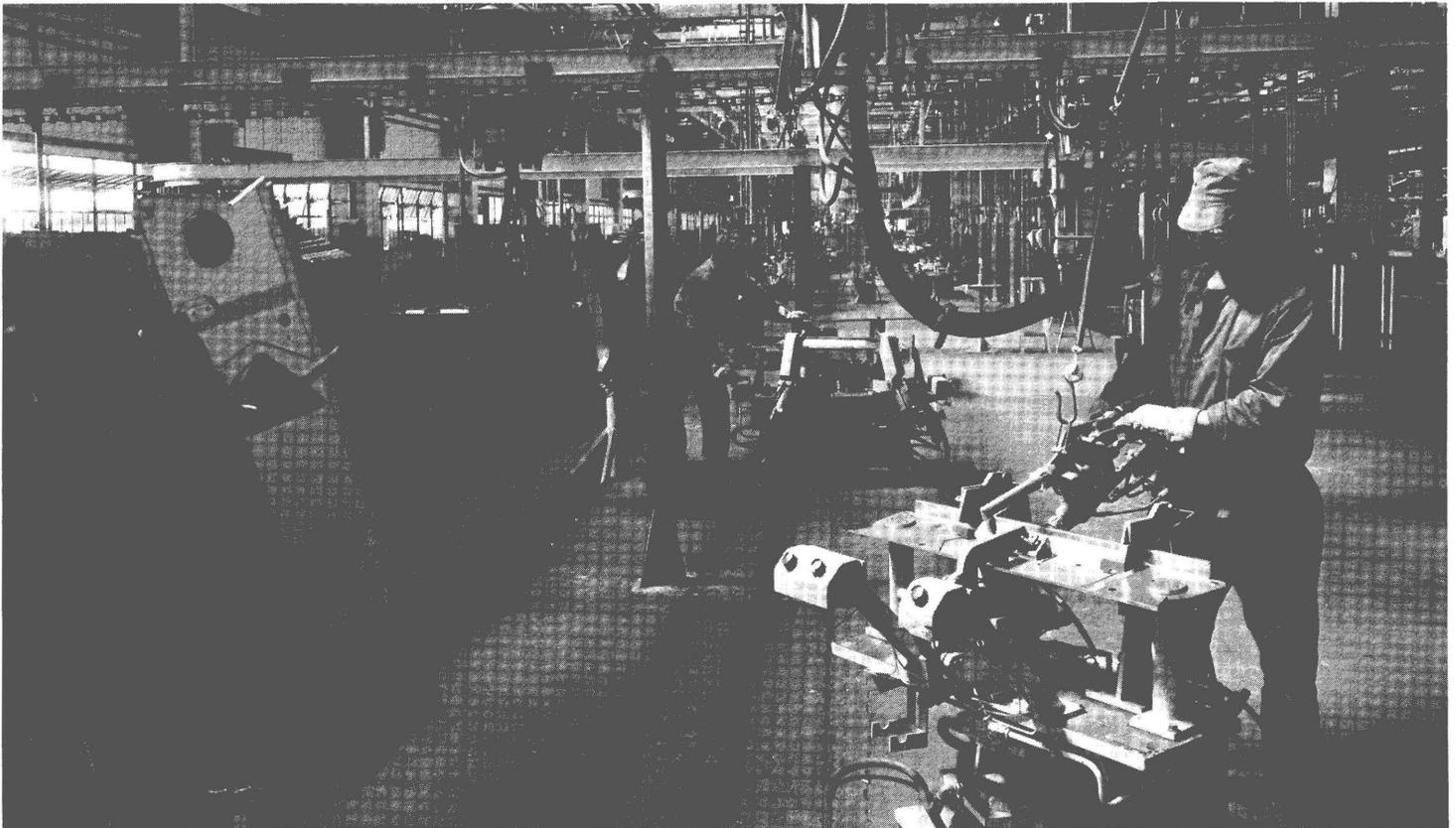
Hillery's approach extends to the other areas covered by the Commission's social action program. On education, for instance, he said: "School must increasingly prepare pupils for flexibility and adaptability—to use their brains as much as their hands. We must accept that today's educational methods are often inadequate. Young people learn skills at school that may be obsolete after a few years of work or they may leave school without realizing that they may have to switch careers three or four times."

Hillery perceives a Commission role in tackling the "urgent" problems of job enrichment, but he underlines the need for cooperation between industry and labor to obtain concrete results. For this reason, the Commission has stressed in the past and will continue to stress the need for a permanent dialogue between

labor and management at the factory level. "Participation and job enrichment go hand in hand. Participation at the company level means recognizing that labor is more than just another factor of production, and taking steps to enrich the job environment. Conversely, better job conditions are worthless without a say in the company's future," says Hillery.

Society is increasingly aware that the worker's happiness *does* matter. But Community and national authorities cannot introduce laws to dismantle the classical methods of industrial production without the backing of industry and labor. For its part, the European Commission is tackling the problem of job enrichment on its periphery—in education, worker participation, and the environment. The heart of the problem, though, is the shop. Industry must throw its weight behind job enrichment changes wholeheartedly. It will require concerted action by all major European firms, as France's employers' federation has pointed out. Few firms can afford to run up the extra bills for job enrichment, while their competitors sit back and undercut them. Without such resolve and joint action, the future of worker-management relations and the prospect of industrial expansion in Europe could be gloomy.

*Fiat plant, Cassino, Italy. Fiat has lengthened assembly time by four minutes in the hopes of increasing productivity, but the work is still repetitive. Photo: Courtesy Fiat S.p.A., Englewood Cliffs, NJ*



# Disorder or Democracy?

## A Primer on Dutch Politics

**KEES BASTIANEN**, Political Correspondent for the Amsterdam *Volkskrant* daily newspaper

The new Dutch cabinet. First row (left to right): Minister of Foreign Affairs Max van der Stoep; Minister of Housing and Physical Planning Johannes P. A. Gruijters; Minister of Home Affairs Willem F. de Gaay Fortman; Prime Minister Joop M. den Uyl; Queen Juliana; Minister of Justice Andreas A. M. van Agt; Minister of Cultural Affairs, Recreation, and Social Work Henri W. van Doorn; Minister of Health and Environment Irene Vorrink; Minister of Education Jos A. van Kemenade. Second row: Jan P. Pronk, Minister Without Portfolio in charge of Development Cooperation; Minister of Social Affairs Jaap Boersma; Minister of Transportation Water Control, and Public Works Tjerk E. Westerterp; Minister of Defense Hendrikus Vredeling; Minister of Finance Wim F. Duisenberg; Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries Tiemen Brouwer; Minister of Economic Affairs Rudd F. M. Lubbers, and Minister of Scientific Planning Ferdinand H. P. Trip. Photo: Courtesy Netherlands Embassy.



Europeans tend to look to the Dutch, Danish, and British, with their long democratic traditions, for leadership in strengthening the European Parliament. Recent events have shown the Netherlands, with its 16 parliamentary parties, to be indeed determinedly democratic.

After the Dutch general elections last November no party or combination of parties had a majority of the 150 seats in the Parliament's Second Chamber (comparable to Britain's House of Commons). A coalition therefore had to be formed. It took no less than six months.

The new coalition consists of five parties. The so-called "Progressive Combination" of the Labor, Radical, and "Democrat '66" Parties hold 56 seats in the Second Chamber. Two sectarian Center Parties—the major protestant party, called the Anti-Revolutionaries, and the Roman Catholic Party—hold 41 seats. Heading this coalition is Joop den Uyl, a socialist and the new Prime Minister.

The 53-year-old den Uyl formed his cabinet without any applause, not even from his own party, which had been in opposition almost uninterruptedly since 1958. The left wing parties' lack of enthusiasm was understandable, for their main aim during the past few years had been the destruction of the sectarian Center. But now the Left needed the Center.

### THREE PILLARS SUPPORT DUTCH SOCIETY

Nevertheless, the decline of the sectarian Center remains perhaps the major phenomenon in Dutch politics. The Roman Catholics, for example, controlled 50 seats in the Second Chamber in 1966 but now have only 27. The big political losses for the Roman Catholics indicate significant changes in Holland's traditional and rigid social, economic, and political patterns.

Traditionally, three pillars have carried the roof of Dutch society: the Roman Catholic, the protestant, and the "general" or "neutral" pillars. These three pillars (in Dutch, *Zuilen*) are found in all areas of life. Trade unions, employers' associations,

schools, sport clubs, and even radio and television corporations are oriented mainly along religious lines.

The first signs of radical changes showed in 1966. That year saw the so-called "Provo's" launching such provocative ideas as bicycles, painted white, parked strategically throughout the streets of Amsterdam for anyone to use free-of-charge. The white bikes were to counter pollution and urban congestion. Also in 1966, a whole new political party was formed—the Democrats '66, at first very successful.

Since then, "reform of the party system," "more clarity in political life," "progressive concentration," "election agreements," and "direct election of the Prime Minister" have become the catch phrases in Dutch political life.

### VANGUARD OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Radical changes are not limited to politics. What once could have been called a closed Calvinistic system is evolving into a permissive open society. The Netherlands is in the vanguard of social change in Europe.

Although their reputation for pragmatism and hard work remains untarnished, the Dutch have created a welfare state with social security for everyone from the cradle to the grave. While the crime rate in most industrialized countries rises at quickening speed, Holland's crime rate increases no faster than its population, perhaps because of its legal principle of rehabilitation that allows few criminals to be imprisoned for long. Students, workers, Catholics, and protestants are no longer willing to follow their leaders blindly. Symptomatic are the strikes of industrial workers early this year, the biggest since World War II. At issue was not a selfish struggle for wage increases but a more equitable distribution of income in favor of those who earn least.

The new Dutch Government promises "a better spreading of income, knowledge, and power." But the Government's future is clouded by continued strong inflation and its "small margin of democracy," as Prime Minister den Uyl himself put it.

## Recent Books

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

**The Fortunes of the West: The Future of the Atlantic Nations.** By Theodore Geiger. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London, 1973. 304 pages with annotated footnotes and index. \$10.00.

An examination of the new realities shaping the relationships among the Atlantic nations and a projection into the future.

The author uses a systems-model approach that integrates economic, political, social-institutional, and psycho-cultural factors. He incorporates into his analysis not only US-EC relations but Soviet and Japanese policies as well. Separately and in turn, he analyzes the forces shaping Western societies, the sources of Soviet and US foreign policies, the prospects for peace and war, the European Community, and the so-called "new nationalism." He carefully charts the probable ways in which the economic and political problems among Atlantic nations could be resolved over the foreseeable future.

In the concluding chapter, the author rejects the currently fashionable futurist predictions either of disaster or utopia. Instead, he believes "Western society could well be on the verge of commencing a third millennium even more creative and challenging than that now ending." Dr. Geiger is Director of International Studies at the National Planning Association in Washington.

**Detente in Europe: Real or Imaginary?** By Josef Korbel. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1972. 302 pages with tables, bibliography, and index. \$10.00.

An examination of the evolution and implications of postwar policies of Western and Eastern Europe toward one another.

The text focuses on the ideological differences, the political power confrontation, and the economic developments between Eastern and Western Europe since World War II. Extensive coverage is given to the problem of Germany. Although the question of US-Soviet relations is excluded from the scope of the material because of its complexity and magnitude, it is inextricably woven into the tapestry of East-West European relations. Professor Korbel concludes that until the elements of suspicion and mistrust are replaced by trust and mutual goodwill, detente will remain tentative and halting.

**Lawfulness and Legal Force of Community Decisions.** By R. H. Lauwaars. A. W. Sijthoff, Leiden, the Netherlands, 1973. 355 pages with bibliography and index.

A survey of the legal aspects of institutional decision-making within the European Communities, especially the European Economic Community.

Throughout the years, various European Treaties have invested EC institutions with extensive powers to make decisions. Professor Lauwaars sets out to examine the requirements these decisions must meet to conform to the law. He describes in detail the powers of the institutions and of the decision-making process, of both the Council of Ministers and the Commission. Failure of decisions to meet these requirements and the reversal of such decisions by the Court of Justice and by the institutions themselves are considered under the concept of legal force. The legal force of decisions is "equivalent to the extent of their resistance to impeachment." In conclusion the author examines the withdrawal and amendment of such decisions.

**New Techniques in Public Administration: A Reader, Volume I.** Edited by R. Martin Lees. College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium, 1971. 464 pages.

This book, the first of a planned two volume study on the subject, originated in the proceedings of two seminars for senior adminis-

trators from the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization held at the College of Europe in 1969 and 1970.

Topics covered in this volume range from program budgeting and project evaluation to solid waste disposal, transportation planning, and futures analysis. There are detailed explanations both of analytical techniques and their applications, using a case study approach.

The second volume will treat in depth urban development problems and systems concepts and the environment, and will make a futures analysis of urbanization between 1970 and 1985.

**The Educational Implications of United Kingdom Membership of the European Economic Community.** By Fred Jarvis. National Union of Teachers, London, 1972. 51 pages with appendices.

An examination of the implications of British membership in the European Community on British education.

The author, the Deputy General Secretary of the British National Union of Teachers, reports on the Community's efforts to make education in the member countries "less nationalistic." He comments on what this means for British education. He gives special emphasis to the mutual recognition of diplomas, vocational training, teachers' organization, education of migrant children, university entrance requirements, and the 1971 EC Council meeting of the Education Ministers. The appendices include documents relating to the establishment of the European University Institute and replies to pertinent European Parliament questions.

**Great Britain and Europe 1940-1970.** Compiled by Winfried Böttcher, Jürgen Jansen, and Friedrich Welsch. Foreword by Klaus Mehnert. Droste Verlag, Düsseldorf, Germany, 1971. 164 pages.

A comprehensive bibliography of publications from 1940 through 1970 concerned with Britain and Europe.

Working under a grant from the Aachen Prize for European unity,

students and faculty at the Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen have compiled this bibliography that should prove useful to any student of British entry into the Community. The bibliography is arranged by year of publication, author, and subject. The text is in English, German, and French.

**National Governments and the European Communities.** By Helen Wallace. Chatham House, London, 1973. 104 pages with appendix.

A study of the national administrative inputs of EC member states into the running of the Community, and the effect of this involvement on the national governments.

The author outlines the basic organizational structure of the EC institutions and points out that "the work of the Communities depends on the active collaboration of national politicians and officials, and they, in their turn, are judged on their performance in Brussels as well as on their record at home." The study proceeds with a description of the formation of national policies, of the domestic administrative environment in each country, and of the communications between the national governments and Brussels. The study concludes with an assessment of the experience of the six original member states and the implications of this experience for Britain.

**Summary of Plenary Sessions.**

Third European Management Symposium. European Management Forum, Geneva, Switzerland, 1973. 132 pages.

A summary of all the addresses in the plenary sessions at the Third European Management Symposium on February 1-9, 1973, in Davos, Switzerland.

The addresses by experts in their respective fields cover four broad topics: The European Community and Changing Society; Restructuring of European Industry; Social Relationships in the European Community; The European Community and the World.

## Publications Available

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

**REPORT CONCERNING THE TRANSITION TO THE SECOND STAGE OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION.** Information Memo No. P-17, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, April 1973, 4 pages . . . free  
*Summary of the Commission's memorandum on the progress achieved in the first stage and proposals for action in the second stage.*

**MEMORANDUM ON A COMMUNITY POLICY ON DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION.** Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1973, 304 pages . . . \$4.00

*Texts of the communications submitted by the Commission on July 27, 1971, and February 2, 1972, plus an annex of supporting statistical and analytical studies. Traces the development of the Community's relations with the developing countries. Outlines an action program including commodity agreements, abolition of*

*fiscal duties on tropical produce, guarantee of origin, public aid, and technical assistance.*

**REPORT ON THE PROPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES TO THE COUNCIL FOR A DECISION ON THE FIRST MEASURES OF A COMMON APPROACH TO AIR TRANSPORT.** Working Documents No. 195/72. European Parliament, Luxembourg, January 10, 1973, 45 pages . . . \$1.00  
*By L. Noé. Outlines the past attempts at European cooperation and the present structure of the European airlines and air transport system. Comments on the Commission's proposals concerning landing rights, technical and commercial airline cooperation, border formalities, rates and fares, charter regulation, and air traffic control.*

**THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.** Economic and Social Committee, Brussels, December 1972, 21 pages . . . free  
*Discusses the role of the Economic and Social Committee in the Communities' decision-making process, its internal organization, and its working procedures.*

**GIVING WORKERS A SAY IN RUNNING THE FIRM.** European Community Information Service, London, March 1973, 4 pages . . . free

*Articles by John Robinson and Brian Childs reprinted from the March 1973 London edition of European Community. The first article presents the existing situation in the member states on worker participation in company management. The second outlines the differences between management and labor groups over the Commission's proposal on worker-participation in the European Company.*

**TREATIES ESTABLISHING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.** Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1973, 1502 pages . \$7.00  
*Contains the official English texts, with amendments as of January 1, 1973, of the Treaties establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community. The Treaties on the merger of the executive institutions, financing by own resources, and the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark are also included.*

## Teaching Aids

**NEW TOWNS IN WESTERN EUROPE.** European Community Information Service, London, 1973, 4 pages . . . free  
*Brief summary of the philosophy and development of new towns in the member states as a solution to urban and regional problems.*

**POLLUTION IN EUROPE.** European Community Information Service, London, 1973, 4 pages . . free  
*Brief outline of water, air, and land pollution problems in Europe and cooperative efforts to deal with them.*

**BRETTON WOODS AND AFTER.** European Community Information Service, London, 1973, 4 pages . . . free  
*Analysis of the international monetary system set up by the conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944.*

**MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS: PROBLEMS CONFRONTING EUROPE.** European Community Information Service, London, 1973, 4 pages . . . free  
*Discussion of the role of the multinational corporation in European economies and its impact.*

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