

Europe

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**Ariane shoots
Europe into the
space business**



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Opportunity knocks on Britain's front door

On average, 32,000 people arrive in the UK every day. And the first part of Britain they see is usually South-East England. Not only does the region have the UK's two busiest airports: it also has ports and ferry terminals which provide vital links with other countries, particularly those in Europe.

The number of overseas visitors to the UK in 1982 is reported by the British Tourist Authority to be 11.7 million, of whom half came from EEC countries. The importance of those figures to the South East is that something like 84 per cent (9.8 million) enter the country through its sea and airports.

That, in turn, means business for a whole host of tourist and service industries. And commerce and industry have favoured the area because of the comparative ease with which they can export their goods from the region. In all these categories, Britain's membership of the EEC has increased the movement of people and products between here and the Continent, which has been of tremendous benefit to the region.

Which is, perhaps, just as well, since the South East has not been on the receiving end of many EEC grants. This is because the Government's policy is to direct European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) aid to areas with more serious problems.

Visitors to the UK are more than likely to arrive at Heathrow Airport, to the west of

Most routes from Europe lead to South-East England. It's a region well-off compared with other parts of the United Kingdom. But here, as elsewhere in Britain, EEC funds are helping the economy. ROY STEMMAN reports

London, which has the distinction of being the world's busiest international airport. It handled more than 25 million passengers in 1981-1982 and contractors are now on site building a fourth terminal which will boost its capacity to 38 million passengers in and out of the UK every year, by 1985.

Another point of air entry is Gatwick, in Sussex, which also likes to be known as a London airport. It surprises many people to learn that it is the world's fourth busiest international airport. It has had an average growth of 13 per cent in passenger throughput over the last five years, handling a total of 10.9 million in 1981.

In order to handle the increasing aircraft movements, in the air and on the ground, Gat-

wick has built the UK's first high-rise stalk-mounted control tower to give better visibility across the airfield. It also has plans to build a second terminal.

Similarly, Gatwick arrivals are well served by the close proximity of the M23 motorway, which takes them directly north in the direction of the capital. Or they can travel by one of British Rail's frequent trains into London's Victoria Station.

To visitors and residents of the South East alike, it seems that all roads lead to London—rightly so, because it is the region's focal point. But many people have other destinations in the busy South East and reaching them—particularly by road—can be a frustrating experience.

This is because the best road systems take you into the heart of the capital, from which the visitor or businessman has then to extricate himself and head toward his final destination. Trying to circumnavigate the capital can mean travelling on inferior roads. Even if you arrive at your destination without getting lost, you are not likely to have got there any quicker than someone ploughing through the heart of the city.

There is an answer—the much-needed M25 orbital motorway. When complete, it will make travelling between all the counties in the region—Kent, Sussex, Hampshire and Essex, as well as London—very much easier. Many sections are already open. But there are still

too many missing links in the system to make a circuitous route smooth and easy.

However, work continues to join up the various sections and the project has a priority rating from the Ministry of Transport. It has also received funding from the EEC. As part of the Budget refund received by the UK, money was allocated by the Government in the trunk roads investment programme, 1981, specifically for use on parts of the M25.

Of equal importance to the South East's road system has been a £7 million loan from the European Investment Bank (EIB) towards the cost of replacing the old two-way road tunnel beneath the Thames at Dartford with a dual carriage-way system. The EEC financing, at cheaper interest rates than other money sources, enabled the new Dartford Tunnel to open in May 1980. In the following year, its twin tunnels carried 11.5 million vehicles.

The importance of the Dartford Tunnel project is that it is an important link in the M25 orbital motorway, carrying traffic beneath the river between Essex and Kent. Motoring organisations, however, are unhappy about the inevitable delays which will be caused by the decision to levy tolls.

Most recently completed section of the M25, opened in April this year, was an 11-mile stretch linking the M11 Cambridge motorway and the A127 London to Southend trunk road. In June, a viaduct carrying the M25 over

'Part of Britain's budget refund went to the trunk roads programme – notably the M25'

the A12 near Brentwood, Essex, was also opened to traffic.

To the south of London, however, there is a 28-mile section of the M25 still to be built, from the Reigate area up towards Chertsey. When complete, this southern section will run from the Dartford Tunnel and provide links with the M2, M20, M23, M3 and M4 before looping round to the North of London. At all these junctions traffic heading for the South Coast ports (or the west in the case of the M4) can make an easy link with other motorways carrying them towards their destination. Unfortunately, these motorways also have missing links. In the case of the M20, running towards Folkestone and Dover, there is a 17-mile gap between Maidstone and Ashford which is not only a serious bottleneck at peak times but also a dangerous stretch of road.

There is also an 11-mile missing stretch of motorway around Winchester, which is essential to extend the M3 motorway to the M27 at Southampton. The importance of making these improvements in the South East

can be quickly gauged from looking at the activity of the region's ports.

Dover has become the world's busiest international passenger port. In 1982 it handled 13.8 million passengers and 1.7 million accompanied motor vehicles. A further 610,000 commercial vehicles also made sea crossings from Dover which, in the same year, saw a throughput of over 7.6 million tonnes. To carry all those people, vehicles and goods, 28,000 vessels entered the port.

During the first 10 years of Britain's EEC membership, Dover saw a 58 per cent increase in its non-fuel trade with the rest of the Community.

As a roll-on/roll-off port, Dover has benefited from various changes in the way goods are carried at sea. The number of road vehicles passing through its gates in 1981 was six times greater than the number recorded for 1970. Car and coach traffic in the same period increased by 90 per cent.

Figures issued earlier this year show that in the first three months of 1983 roll-on/roll-off traffic through the port increased by 11.2 per cent with 159,771 lorries. To cope with the dramatic growth in coach traffic – as many as 800 a day arrive at the port – Dover is building a £7.8 million coach/passenger terminal which is due to be completed in the summer of next year. At present it is handling over 100,000 coaches per annum.

'Since Britain joined the EEC, Dover's non-fuel trade with the Community has grown by 58 per cent'

To the north of Dover, EEC money, in the form of a £3 million EIB loan, has been used by the Municipality of Thanet to reclaim 20 acres of land at Ramsgate and build a new passenger and freight terminal. Sally Viking line ships sail from here, often with day-shoppers on board after duty-free bargains, and the journey time to Dunkirk is around 2½ hours. They carried 140,000 passengers in 1981.

Thanet's decision to build the port was influenced very much by the increase in freight passing between Britain and the Continent since Britain's entry into the Community. At Sheerness, the German-owned Olau Ferry line also reports a great increase in passenger and freight movements to Europe. It carries well over half a million passengers to Vlissingen (Netherlands) each year.

Portsmouth carries even more passengers to the Continent – over one million. It came about through a suggestion from Brittany Ferries who wanted to open a route between the port and St Malo, for people visiting



Aerial view of Dover's Eastern docks – doing big business since Britain joined the EEC. Opposite: the new grain terminal at Southampton.



southern France and Spain. The city councilors liked the proposal and a new terminal was built to give five metres of water at all stages of the tide. It was opened in 1976 and can take two vessels at a time.

Since then, Townsend Thoresen have begun operating out of Portsmouth as well as Southampton for journeys to Le Havre, in order to save time and fuel. A new Portsmouth-Cherbourg service has also come into operation which makes the harbour less dependent on seasonal traffic.

Southampton has good reason to be pleased with its own achievements and the benefits to be gained from EEC membership. Passenger traffic in 1981 was over two million and it has six roll-on/roll-off terminals for the ferry operators taking people, cars and freight vehicles to the Continent.

The Prince Charles Container Port at Southampton is also one of the UK's 'big three' terminals, serving Europe as well as the long-haul routes to the Middle and Far East, North America and Southern Africa.

Among the port's many advantages are, first, its ability to accommodate the world's largest container ships, and a favourable tidal system which gives unrestricted, lock-free access to shipping virtually around the clock. It is also on shipping lanes connecting Europe with the rest of the world. Its convenience for long-distance lorries bringing freight from Europe is also stressed, since the drivers' rest period, enforceable under the EEC tachograph laws, can be taken at sea without loss of driving time.

In 1982, well over 250,000 containers were handled by Southampton. But at the same time it was also increasing other forms of freight trade, notably vehicles. 1982 was a record year for car imports at the port.

Grain – traditionally associated with east coast ports – is also rapidly becoming an important part of Southampton's business. A new export terminal opened in September 1982 and this investment by a leading international grain company is expected to handle 250,000 tonnes a year. A second grain termin-

'Increasing traffic brings additional jobs, created by tourism'

al, financed by a European consortium, is just about to come into operation.

Despite this commercial development, it is still the UK's foremost passenger ship port: 'home' for the Queen Elizabeth II and such other ocean liners as the P&O's Canberra, which brought British servicemen back to England from the Falklands for family reunions at Southampton.

As well as the many jobs which this increasing traffic between the ports and Europe, in particular, has brought to the South East, there is also the additional benefit of jobs created by tourism. In east Kent, for example, one in ten of the working population has a job that is dependent on tourism. In west Kent the


figure is one in 20. Elsewhere, particularly along the South Coast, European visitors and other tourists contribute a considerable amount to the local communities' economies, while in Sussex, around Gatwick Airport, there is a concentration of new hotels, including the 600-room Hilton.

The South East has felt the impact, and reaped the rewards, of Britain's membership of the Community more by geographical accident than any concerted effort. It is fair to say, however, that many companies and local authorities have had the foresight to take advantage of the region's status as a reception area for visitors from abroad, whether they are coming for pleasure or on business.

Those able to see into the future with even greater clarity will doubtless be planning ahead for the time when a Channel link is established between the South East and the Continent.

In 1982 the European Parliament introduced a credit of £5.6 million into the budget for supporting infrastructure projects of Community interest.

In December last year, the Council of Transport Ministers agreed to three projects being undertaken, to be part-financed from the funds allocated, and one of these was a study on possible means of financing a fixed Channel Link.

If such a project is ever approved, and Britain and the Continent become permanently 'bonded', the South East can look forward to even greater EEC involvement and prosperity in the years ahead. 

The European Court of Justice shows its muscle



Han van Zonten, a Dutchman on holiday in Cannes, was furious. After a lengthy search, he had managed to find a second-hand sailing boat that suited him perfectly. An experienced forwarding agent was commissioned to deliver the boat to the Netherlands. And that's where things started to go wrong.

The Dutch Treasury claimed that the law required Han van Zonten to pay a tax on the transaction, to the tune of 18 per cent of the boat's value – 31,014 guilders. In vain he protested that 33 per cent VAT had already been paid on the boat in France. The Treasury remained entirely unmoved by his arguments that the purchase of second-hand items should be tax free in the Netherlands – and also that taxing a second-hand boat bought in

When individual members of the Community feel that the Rome treaty is being flouted, they have recourse to an appeal court that really gets things done – or undone. Report by MANFRED BESCHEL

another Community country was contrary to the spirit of the Common Market.

Han van Zonten decided that he would take his case to the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg.

But his lawyer told him that, for a case of this sort, he could not apply to the Court directly. However, the lawyer added, there was a chance of bringing it before a competent Dutch court under Article 95 of the EEC Treaty, which bans fiscal discrimination. The Court of Justice could then judge the case, and the Dutch court would be obliged to accept its interpretation of the Treaty, even if Dutch legal precedent opposed it.

If the Dutch court, in this specific case, decided that the ban on discrimination was unclear, it could, under Article 127 of the Treaty, ask the Court of Justice in Luxembourg to make a preliminary ruling on the case. So Han van Zonten took his case to the relevant Dutch court.

The rest of the story can be told in a few words. The Dutch judge applied to the Court of Justice. On 5 May 1982 it ruled that the tax paid on imported second-hand objects should be based on the amount that, at the time of import, could be regarded as the 'residual value' of the VAT paid initially.

Thanks to the European Court of Justice, Mr van Zonten won his case.

Now for another example. An Irishman, Mr O'Brien of Dublin, specialised in the import of craft objects from other Community member states. His business was flourishing. One day, the Irish Government decided to launch a programme aimed at promoting the sale of national products and reducing the market share of imported goods. It planned to do this by means of a massive publicity campaign and a system of special guarantees for Irish products – at a cost of 600,000 Irish punts.

When Mr O'Brien heard the news he was extremely worried. As if competition wasn't tough enough already, the state was now going to give his competitors free publicity and use taxpayers money to promote the sale of Irish products. He decided that the plan could only ruin his business. He had thought that the Common Market was all about providing equal opportunities for national and European products. Didn't the EEC Treaty guarantee the free circulation of goods between Community member states?

He wondered what to do. Finally he consulted a lawyer, who told him that a court case would be long and expensive: the court would probably require concrete proof that the government measures had damaged his business. 'But when my revenue starts to collapse, I'll go bust and it will be too late,' reasoned Mr O'Brien. His lawyer then told him that he could appeal to the European Commission in Brussels – which, under Article 155 of the EEC Treaty, is responsible for enforcing the Treaty and guaranteeing the free circulation of goods. Result: the Commission opened Treaty violation proceedings against Ireland under Article 169, and the Court of Justice found against the Irish government on 24 November 1982.

National instances obviously do not always have a European angle. Conversely, it is by no means always necessary to appeal to the Court

of Justice or the Commission to settle a point of Community law. But these two cases do illustrate the specific responsibilities of the Court of Justice and the Commission in the institutional structure of the Community. They show that these responsibilities do not lie with the Council of Ministers or the European Parliament.

'When the citizen needs to, he can use the law by resorting to the courts'

The legal order created by the European Community Treaties – the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and Euratom – includes concrete policy programmes in such areas as competition and trade. It is up to the Community institutions to develop the political programme enshrined in the Treaties, to create a body of European law that is directly applicable to Community citizens.

The four so-called 'basic freedoms' of the Treaties – the free movement of goods, people, services and capital – mean that a free international area has been created, which the citizen is entitled to use under certain conditions. When he needs to, he can use the law by resorting to the courts.

The business sector probably derives the most benefit from the system, in so far as it is the economic objectives of the EEC Treaty that cover the widest area. However, the continuous development of Community law has also had a major impact on the man in the street, even if he doesn't always realise it. For example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, it is now considered quite normal to pay 20 marks for LPs made by a well-known German record company. Ten years ago they cost at least 24 marks.

The price fell after an incident in 1969. A German firm started reimporting the firm's records from France, where they were being sold at a lower price than in the Federal Republic, and began to sell them for less than 24 marks on the German market. At the time the risk was considerable, because under German patent law the producer could have stopped the sale of his 'own' records.

It was only after the reimporter successfully appealed to the Court of Justice on the principle of free movement of goods in the Community, that the protectionist practice of fixing national prices was abolished.

So what role do the Court of Justice and the Commission really play in Community law, and what do they do to protect the legal rights of Europeans?

Under Article 155 of the EEC Treaty, the Commission 'must ensure that the provisions of this Treaty and the measures taken by the institutions pursuant thereto are applied'. This very broad definition illustrates the key

role played by the Commission in applying the Treaties to Community law. It is the reason why the Commission is often called 'The guardian of the Treaties'.

It is not always easy for the Commission to carry out this enormous task. As a central institution, it does not have an organisational infrastructure in the member states, nor any direct links with the citizens of the Community. As a general rule it is the administrative services of the member states which actually apply Community law. For example, it is the national social affairs ministries who deal with the application of Community social legislation.

As a result, the central institution of the European Commission is, in many people's eyes, rather distant. It is often a scapegoat for ills for which it was not responsible for in the first place. Most of its painstaking, un spectacular, day-to-day work to create a discrimination-free Common Market open to all Europeans, passes unnoticed.

The Commission's 'organisational position' adds another problem. It lacks direct access to information on the extent to which Community law is being observed.

'The Commission lacks direct access to information on the extent to which Community law is being observed'

An important criterion for the efficient operation of Community law is the manner in which people and groups react to its application – whether they be businessmen trading in the Community, migrant workers, or the self-employed. Any citizen can appeal informally to the Commission in Brussels, which will rapidly – and impartially – examine his or her case. Often, these appeals reveal the gaps and imperfections of Community law. If the Commission discovers such a gap or imperfection, under Article 213 of the EEC Treaty it can collect any information and carry out any checks necessary. If it collects sufficient proofs, it can take the case to the Court of Justice, on the grounds of violation of the Treaty.

This is what happened, for example, when the Commission received a complaint that the Italian authorities were stopping imports of German fruit vinegar. The Commission investigated the complaint, and discovered that an Italian law existed banning the import and sale of vinegar made from anything other than wine. The Commission saw the law as a clear breach of the principle of the free movement of goods, and said that it was incompatible with the Common Market. Consequently, it opened the necessary violation proceedings, which eventually resulted in the case being heard in the Court of Justice. On 9 December

1981, the Court found against the Italian authorities.

But only a fraction of cases ever result in a hearing before the Court of Justice in Luxembourg. As a general rule, most of them tend to deal with extremely complicated questions of interpretation, which have never been previously clarified. Actions brought by the Commission are not always successful, but the number of cases rejected by the Court as unfounded, is very small.

When a Treaty violation occurs, a member state obviously does not always want to get involved in litigation. In such cases, the Commission's job is to reach agreement with the member state concerned on a permanent solution that is compatible with Community law.

When the Court of Justice decides that a violation of the Treaty has occurred, initially the judgement is just 'a piece of paper'. So who ensures that it will be put into effect? To take an example, in the case of the Court's ruling on fruit vinegar, did Italy immediately authorise imports on the day after the judgement? These questions involve the role played by the Court of Justice in the creation of the Common Market – a role which led a former French President of the institution, Robert Lecourt, to describe the Community as a 'Europe of judges'.

In the first place, Court of Justice rulings cannot be enforced. A Court judgement only proves the legal obligation of a member state to remedy the said violation. If the violation concerns laws directly related to the four basic freedoms, national authorities and courts are only allowed to apply Community law. They have to disregard any national laws which the Court of Justice has declared to be incompatible with the Treaty. In other words, the Italian importer of (say) German fruit vinegar is entitled to sell the product on the Italian market. The Italian authorities in the customs service, and the courts must, in principle, observe the Court of Justice ruling.

However, when one considers how difficult it usually is to change entrenched habits and administrative practices, it becomes clear that it is really up to national courts to monitor what the authorities do, and to make full use of Community law. Given that national courts only pronounce on Community law when they are asked to do so, it is equally clear that it will only be through the initiative of individuals involved that the Common Market will become a reality. The free area created by the Common Market for the European citizen will always be at least partially dependent on the personal commitment of the individual citizen.

But to what extent are Community freedoms really protected by the national courts? The fruit vinegar story is again a good example. The affair turned out like this. Getting around the Italian ban, the Italian vinegar importer continued to import German fruit vinegar into Italy. This prompted the customs and tax authorities to swoop on his warehouse. Under Italian law, a similar offence carries a fine of between 2 million and 20 million lira –

plus, in serious cases up to three years imprisonment. Up before the bench, the importer pleaded that the ban imposed by the Italian authorities was incompatible with the European principle of free movement of goods (Article 30 EEC), and that the ban was therefore null and void.

Consequently, he argued, he should not be punished. At this point Treaty violation proceedings had already opened against Italy; but the case had not yet been submitted to the Court of Justice.

The Italian judge did not know what to do. The Italian legal position was perfectly clear, but the 'pretore' had never been confronted with a similar problem of legal interpretation.

He decided to embark on a procedure prescribed for similar cases in the EEC Treaty, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated in terms of Community law. He asked the Court of Justice for a preliminary ruling. If a point of Community law has to be clarified during a case before a national court, the judge can put the question to the Court of Justice. If it arises before a final appeal court, then he must.

The Commission is entitled to participate throughout, presenting written and oral evidence. In all cases submitted to the Court, the Commission makes use of its right to participate, because it considers its opinions on the extent of Community law to be part and parcel of its obligation to supervise the application of Community law. The task is performed by the Commission's legal service.

In the fruit vinegar affair, for example, the Commission insisted that the Italian ban constituted a barrier to trade and was motivated (illegally) by agricultural policy considerations, in so far as the Italian authorities wanted to create an outlet for Italian wine surpluses. It went on to explain, in detail, why the ban could not be justified in any other way, for example for health reasons or to protect the consumer.

The Court of Justice pronounced judgement on 26 June 1980. It declared that the Italian ban on imports of fruit vinegar violated the principle of the free movement of goods. The importer was acquitted.

Another area to which the Court of Justice makes a major contribution through its opinions is in guaranteeing the free movement of workers and the self-employed in the Community. In doing so it tries to stamp out the traditional and entrenched scepticism – not to say outright hostility – towards foreigners, enshrined in national legal systems.

Community law is very clear on this point. Citizens of other Community member states should be treated in exactly the same way as nationals. But even in this well-defined area, theory and practice are two different things. For example, when the widow of an immigrant Italian worker living in France applied to the State Railway Company (SNCF) for a family Railcard, she was turned down on the grounds that they were only for French citizens.

The case was initially rejected by the courts.

But then the appeal court asked the Court of Justice whether existing Community law would permit this sort of discrimination based on nationality. The Court said that equal treatment clauses enshrined in Community law included advantages such as cheap fares. The immigrant worker's widow was therefore entitled to a Railcard.

The European Community certainly has a legal system. But it would be wrong to see it purely in legal terms – or, narrower still, in

terms simply of a judiciary. 'Europe' still has long way to go. It has yet to be organised at political level. In this respect the Court of Justice's margin for manoeuvre is limited to – even greater extent than that of the European Commission.

The Commission has a vital innovatory or organisational role to play in European affairs. That is why it is not only the guardian of the Treaties, but also the motor force behind the Community.

Which of the Ten are not obeying the law?

European public opinion should be alerted to the violations of Community law being committed by member states. The fact that Community law is not sufficiently observed is illustrated in two recent reports.

The first of these, which has just appeared, is entitled 'Overview of the activities of the Court of Justice of the European Communities in 1981'. The second is a report compiled by the Legal Affairs Committee of the European Parliament. (Siglerschmidt report, Doc 1-1052/82.)

In 1981 the Court of Justice judged 128 cases – four less than in 1980. In 1981, 323 new cases were accepted, compared with 279 in 1980. The number of cases pending before the Court rose from 319 in 1980 to 432 at the end of 1981.

Looking at the thirty new cases which the European Commission has brought before the Court for violation of the Treaties, one sees the same states at the top of the list as in the previous year. Italy is accused of 19 violations, Belgium of nine and France of six. What is new is that every member state, with one exception, has now had to justify itself before the Court. The exception is Greece – probably not because it respects the Treaties more, but because it only joined the Community on 1 January 1981 and the Commission only brings cases to court after a lengthy investigation.

The Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom have all been accused of violating the Treaties on two occasions each.

The total number of Treaty violation pro-

ceedings instigated against member states increased from 28 in 1980 to 50 in 1981. Since 1977 the European Commission has had to instigate more and more such proceedings, as one is forced to conclude that member states are observing Community law less and less.

This conclusion is supported by the report compiled by German Socialist MEP Hellmuth Siglerschmidt, which the European Parliament debated at the beginning of February 1983. According to the report, Court of Justice figures show that, between the beginning of 1973 and October 1982, the member states committed 72 violations of the Treaty. Under Article 171 of the EEC Treaty, 'If the Court of Justice finds that a member state has failed to fulfil an obligation under this Treaty, the state shall be required to take the necessary measures to comply with the judgement of the Court of Justice.' But in 40 of the 72 cases, no action was taken. For the most part, member states behaved as though the Court of Justice had never passed any judgement.

The worst offender in this respect is Italy, which has ignored 20 Court rulings at national level. Belgium has ignored 9 and the Netherlands 3. However, two countries have consistently complied with judgements of the Court: Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany. Up to now neither state has infringed the Treaty more than once or twice.

It could therefore be argued that Community law is not much observed by the member states, even when one takes into account the fact that, before 80 per cent of cases ever reach the Court of Justice, they are settled amicably.

Community law is more than just procedures for violation of the Treaty, to be used against member states: the Court of Justice also often acts as a court of appeal. In this instance, a national judge puts the questions to the Court and the reply will determine his decision. This guarantees a uniform application of Community law, divorced from the spectacular conflicts which occasionally rage between the member states and the Commission.

'It could be argued that Community law is not much observed by the member states'

Out of the abyss: a tract for the times

As one grows older, one begins to notice that events one takes for granted seem distinctly unfamiliar, sometimes indeed a complete blank for people otherwise apparently adult. For a lot of them, the years immediately preceding their own birth seem more obscure than any other bit of history.

This is curious and intriguing. Do they feel less need to explore a stretch that culminates in their own reassuring appearance on the scene? Does the recent past suffer from having neither the challenge of the day's news nor the order of predigested history?

Whatever the reason, the years just beyond one's own personal reach lack structure and authority until someone has sorted them out. The rubble lies around, discouraging attention. So, as one's own personal reach begins to stretch a little farther than that of others, one becomes oneself a slice of history, simply for having felt and reacted at the time.

Unfortunately, in most of us this instinctive awareness is dim, because we were none too observant in the first place. But if someone comes along who did notice a great deal, or manages cunningly to exploit memory to guide research, a real gap can be filled, and filled valuably, even if the performance is often necessarily a partial one.

Transmitting an experience of the recent past to people who did not know it at first hand seems to be Richard Mayne's principal aim in his latest book.* It says something about the passage of time that the title suggests another saga, of worlds beyond the Big Bang. But this is not so. In fact, the theme is another kind of parable: Western Europe's climb out of the earlier abyss where Hitler (and a host of bad habits) landed it in 1945. One of the widely praised features of the author's *Recovery of Europe* (1970) was the reconstruction of the new life stirring in those ruins. The present volume amplifies that into a substantial tome, bridging the dozen packed years from the end of the war to the cutting of the ribbon for the new, community Europe of the Treaties of Rome. The narrative does not say so explicitly, but there is a constant implied counterpoint between the choices made to ensure Europe's recovery after the war and the very different outlooks of today.

Dr Mayne's history does not aim to be academic. The lack of footnotes is so complete as to be a manifesto. What the volume seeks to convey instead is an impression of what it was like to be a citizen intensely aware of all aspects of living through a crucial period. It is valuable even for those who did live through it, because it tries to build up a total impression, political, economic, social and cultural, and refuses to be confined within arbitrary bounds. Dr Mayne seems to have noticed everything.

If this is an optical illusion, then the bibliography of twelve pages, in double columns,

FRANÇOIS DUCHÈNE
reviews Richard Mayne's
wide-ranging account of the
epoch which has seen the
building of Europe –
'a suspense drama and a
battle against time'



Author and historian Richard Mayne.

cramped into a space that seems almost apologetic and a type which would strain an electro-scope, suggests he has read everything instead (even after he tells us he has 'omitted much scholarly and background reading'). The range of reference is awe-inspiring.

This is especially the case for culture – high rather than low, films and novels more than scholarship or art. Dr Mayne's acquaintance with literature and the movies is quadrilingual and encyclopaedic. *Postwar* is invaluable for this alone. It is a store of references for the ill-read seeking knowledge. Typically enlightening is the praise for an outstanding novel written in prison by one of the most savage of the French collaborators, Lucien Rebatet's *Les Deux Etendards*, which has been under-rated, understandably enough, because of this.

The awareness is not confined to fine writing. Dr Mayne has not worked for years with the European Commission without learning a thing or two about flashing a statistic. Figures, like learning, are worn lightly, but are based in both cases on detailed knowledge, so that they can be very revealing.

Range of reference, however, is not everything. In many ways, the impressionistic approach adopted by the author is trickier to handle than the systematic argument of the self-proclaimed analyst. There is little discussion of issues dear to administrators, such as

macro-economic policy or the higher calculus of international organisation. This is history on the open stage, as the citizen is aware of it. The impact rests heavily on the truth and symbolic force of the instances selected to stand muster for the total process.

This, too, has been done rather well. The chapter headings – starting with the ambitions for renewal of the Resistance movements (which steer clear of cliché); passing on to the transition in West Germany from Nazism to democracy; via the postwar cultural restoration; then surprise at economic 'miracles', breeding the first heady intimations of mass affluence before the bloom wore off; through a good chapter on the various forms of unease beneath the surface of a period now remembered as more harmonious than it was; and finally to the simultaneous and balancing loss of empire and discovery of a new role through European integration, where Dr Mayne uses his direct knowledge to discreet but useful effect – the chapter headings speak for themselves, and for a coherent line of exposition.

This simple, solid frame carries a profusion of detail artfully woven in. 'Transitions are the hardest things', or whatever Wagner actually said. In this book, the last sentence of one chapter virtually ushers in the first sentence of the next. Widely diverse instances lock into each other in casual modulation. The illusion of spontaneity rarely fails, though the occasional cultural reference seems plastered on. Flourishes are usually telling: the clocks in East Berlin after the war were set on Moscow time, so that in midsummer it was still night at 7am and day at midnight; Verdi once forbade his farmworkers to smoke in fields where Mattei found oil after the war; and so on. This is a skilful and well-written book: the genre would mercilessly show up anything less.

Still, the genre remains exceedingly difficult. Since it must carry conviction by inspired selection, it raises all the difficulties familiar to anthologists. Every reader has seen and felt something which seems of special importance. Only half grateful for learning what he had failed to notice, he feels the lack of pet insights like a gaping tooth. What seems most lacking to this reviewer is a sense of just how revolutionary the immediate postwar period felt. This was as true of the post-liberation regimes (and political parties) on the Continent as of Labour's welfare state in Britain or the sense of Stalin's menace in occupied Germany and Austria.

Somehow, this seems to be missing. The Italian and French communist parties are integrated into the argument less in the initial scene setting than in the chapter on undercurrents of alienation two-thirds of the way through. They were far more than that. Similarly, the neutralist unease in Western Europe, so prominent at the birth of NATO,

Continued on page 23

Tuning in to EEC-TV

A call by the European Parliament for a discussion of prospects for a Community TV system could lead to a powerful new network, reports ERIC MEYER

Is 'Common Market Television' on the way? The European Commission has just declared itself in favour of encouraging the setting up of a broadcasting station, and a Community-oriented organisation of just such a kind. In an interim report, published on 25 May, it gives a positive response to the call made by the European Parliament on 12 March 1982, in favour of a televised EEC programme.

The Commission's report considers the foreseeable development of TV in the member states in all its aspects whether technical, commercial or legal. It is the technical developments which will be the most rapid. Fibre optics will make possible the general introduction of cable networks. Satellite broadcasting will enable national broadcasting stations to leap-frog across frontiers, creating multinational broadcasting stations from scratch.


Video cassette recorders will enable people to record their favourite programmes. The result, according to the experts, will be that, by 1990, any European seated in front of the television will be able to choose from among 30 cable TV channels and three TV channels direct by satellite (TDS) – not to mention the traditional choice of national TV stations, with 10 hours of broadcasting per station every day, giving more than one million hours of broadcasting available every year!

The Commission draws two conclusions from all this. First, technical standards,

equipment, and legal provisions for the production and exchange of audio-visual material, which have all been developed to suit national criteria, will have to be readapted quickly to take account of this blurring of national frontiers. Again, a degree of cooperation in the production of television programmes will be necessary, both to avoid non-European stations having a complete stranglehold on the new range of channels which will soon be available, and also to create an internal TV market capable of scoring successes abroad.

The Commission notes that the member states of the European Broadcasting Union (better known as Eurovision) are preparing to adopt a unique system of individual TV reception by satellite, using parabolic antennae and converter-decoders.

There is still the problem of the coexistence of two different colour broadcasting systems – PAL and SECAM – to be overcome. But the Commission is of the opinion that it will be possible to harmonise them. On the legal side, the Commission seeks a 'reference framework' which will include the economic and financial aspects of the situation created, including the question of advertising. More precisely, it is preparing to concentrate its effort on what it calls the 'transfrontier broadcasting of national and international programmes between member states', in the spirit of the Treaty of Rome.

In short, the Commission favours an EEC broadcasting station, which would be based on systems which are already being developed. One of these is the L-Sat satellite (to be launched in 1986 by the European Space Agency, using the Ariane rocket), on which one of the two transmitters has been offered to Eurovision for a period of three years, for carrying out test broadcasts over Europe. Another is the Eurikon experimental programme, carried out in 1982 under the aegis of Eurovision, in which five national TV stations each broadcast one week of special programmes via the OTS satellite to the 15 stations participating. 

Men who prey on the monarchs of the air

Some of Europe's most ruthless poachers are making fortunes at the expense of our noblest and rarest birds – the last surviving falcons and eagles. A report from Cologne by BERND FUHS

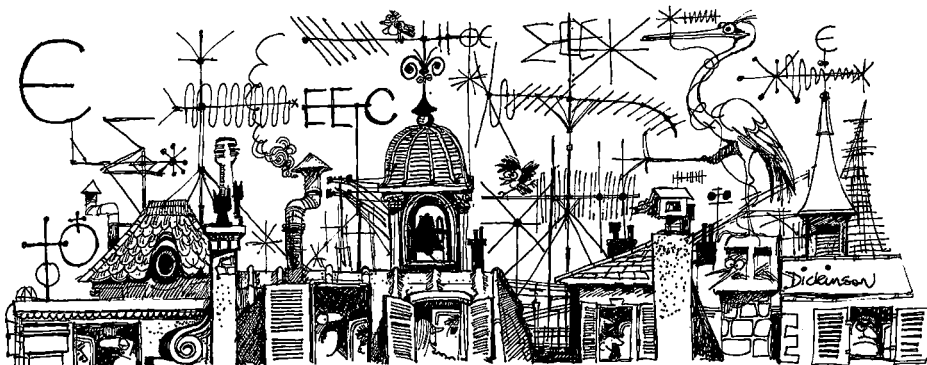
Every spring, specialised gangs of poachers from the Federal Republic of Germany plunder their way across Europe, from the Mediterranean countries northwards through the nature reserves to the cliffs of Scandinavia. Their prey: the eggs and fledglings of Europe's falcons and eagles. Their paymasters: the falconry and hawking fraternity, mostly in the Middle East.

Ten years after the signing of the Washington protection agreement, and four years after publication of the EEC Council's guidelines for the protection of wild birds, the authorities are still virtually powerless. Despite detailed knowledge of the membership and modus operandi of the gangs, all attempts to bring them to justice have failed, because of the authorities' unwillingness to act.

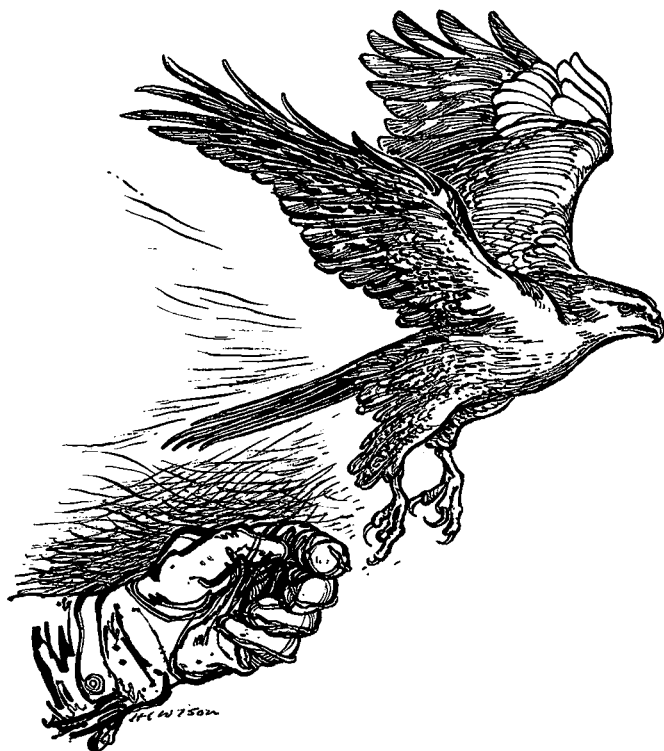
Can the EEC help?

Those who are aware of the situation know that, along with the stream of Easter Holiday makers, the first contingents of falcon and eagle eggs will have made their way across Europe, to end up in the incubators of West German 'breeders'. The robbers, with the highly-specialised equipment, follow the warmer spring weather as it moves northwards. In Italy, this means that the plundering of Sicily starts in early March, with the beginning of the falcons' laying season. As soon as Sicily has been raided, the plundering of the rocky breeding sites of the Appennine cliff begins.

In the words of Nuremberg customs officer Otto Schlegelmann: 'We have learned a thing or two about this timetable. If the eggs are moved from the nests before the hen begins to brood, then they can be transported for ten days without an incubator. Otherwise it is necessary to have a portable incubator available.'



'At the beginning of April the thieves can get both clutches at one go'



'Once the first eggs have safely been brought home and put in the incubator, then the thieves know that in another 14 days' time there will almost certainly be a second clutch, and so the second round of plundering starts at the beginning of April. If the thieves wait until the beginning of April to mount their expedition, then they can get both clutches in one go.'

Since the falcons' breeding season varies according to latitude, the nest-robbing in the north follows a week or two later. As a rule, the breeding season in central Italy is about eight days later than in the south. This means that a gang of nest robbers can clean out the whole of Italy in three expeditions between March and April. Even if only ten nests are robbed on each of these expeditions (the average clutch is two or three eggs or chicks), then the number of birds by which the countryside is poorer can be reckoned at between 60 and 90.

The pattern is repeated in Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Northern Europe. It is known that, in two years, a third of all falcon nests are emptied.

The rarer eagles and large falcons become, the more sought-after they are. A few years ago, a good Scandinavian gyrfalcon would have brought DM 50,000; since then the price has risen to DM 100,000, and in one case a black marketeer is said to have been paid DM 200,000. A fertile gyrfalcon egg will fetch DM 25,000. (There are about 4 DM to the £.)

Customs investigator Schlegelmann also knows how prestige is determined among oil-millionaires. 'A first-class sheik has to have gyrfalcons and peregrines; a second-rate sheik will have saker falcons and lanners; and the rest have to make do with Eleonora's falcons or luggers.' In Western countries these

are all protected birds, and may not be bought or sold.

Expeditions mounted by the German nest robbers are technically very well prepared. The tools of their trade are ropes and pitons, egg warmers, and incubators. They use boats and aeroplanes as well as motor vehicles. Some of them have now chosen to live abroad—their catches are smuggled out by middlemen, since West Germany is now too hot for them.

'The tools of their trade are ropes and pitons, egg warmers and incubators'

One of these exiles, a bird smuggler named Bartsch, explained to a German holidaymaker at a camp site near Istanbul how he catches birds of prey in Turkey. He described how he would take a kite (a carrion-eating bird of prey), sew its eyelids together, and to its talons tie a tennis ball to which fine loops of thread were attached. Whenever a falcon appeared, he would throw the blind kite into the air. Because it is afraid of bumping into an obstacle, the kite tries to gain height. The falcon swoops on the kite to take what it thinks is the kite's prey — the tennis ball — away from it. In doing so, the falcon gets tangled up in the loops of thread and falls to the ground with the kite.

Members of nature protection groups are seldom able to catch bird thieves in the act, but they have succeeded in reducing their scope of action. Such groups are the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wanderfalkenschutz (peregrine falcon protection action group) in Baden Württem-

berg; the Aktion Wanderfalken- und Uhu-schutz (peregrine and eagle owl protection) in Hesse; and the Rhineland-Palatinate and the Sea Eagle Protection Groups in Schleswig-Holstein.

In the Federal Republic only a few remnants of the once-numerous populations of large birds of prey now remain. Of eighteen species, four have completely disappeared — the osprey, the lesser spotted eagle, the short-toed eagle and the griffon vulture. There are only a few individuals left of four other species — the sea eagle, the golden eagle, the peregrine falcon, and the hen harrier. The 'red list' of species threatened with disappearance also includes the marsh harrier, Montagu's harrier, the sparrow hawk, and the hobby.

There are now only four pairs of sea eagles in the Federal Republic living in the wild. But in Baden-Württemberg alone there are twenty of these birds in captivity. Where have they come from? Nobody knows. All that is known is that thieves have left traces of their handiwork at all nesting places in the wild — here a climbing rope, there a piton.

In order to prevent this nest-robbing, the eyries of eagles in the wild are watched day and night from the time when the eggs are first laid until the young are fledged. The nests are surrounded by NATO barbed wire. Microphones, fixed high up in the nesting trees, betray the slightest sound of scraping or breathing made by any would-be robber trying to climb up.

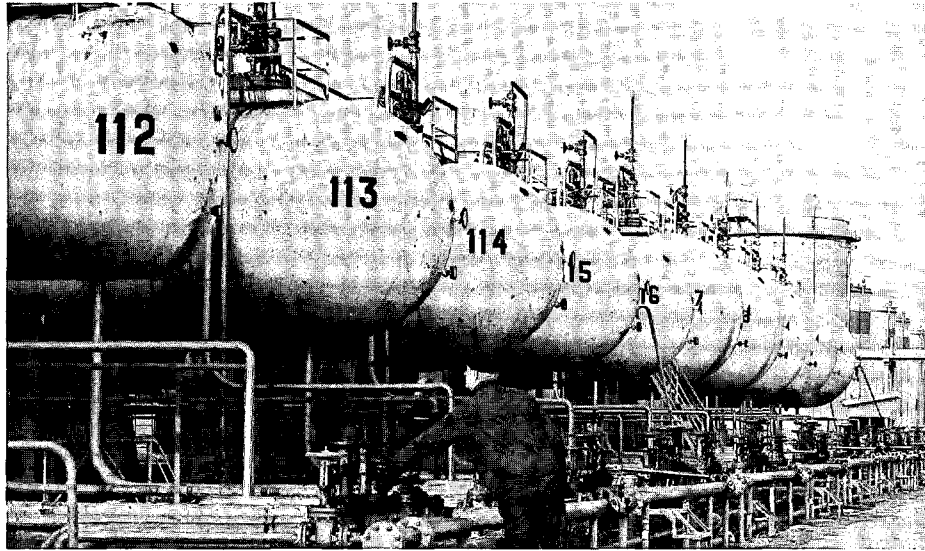
The authorities, while not totally inactive, are handicapped by loopholes in national and regional regulations. If the money was available, work could be found for a whole army of specialists in uncovering the thousands of tricks and dodges used by the robber bands. The authorities would have to deal with tax evasion, breaking of seals, forging of certificates, perjury, and even suspected capital crime.

At the last annual meeting of the Baden-Württemberg peregrine protection group, held in Schwetzingen, a call was made for the 6,000 or so falconers and people who keep birds of prey to be forbidden to indulge their 'anachronistic fad' any longer. However, Dr Peter Wegener pointed out at the meeting that there were loopholes in the law, big enough to drive a horse and cart through, not to mention the gaps in the border, with 34 crossing points for importing animals in the Federal Republic alone.

The present number of 20,000 birds of prey in captivity in Germany alone would require 2,000 new additions every year to remain at that level — which can only come from the wild population, against the law. ☐

Europe is producing too much oil

Economic recession and falling demand for oil products will mean more cutbacks in the Community's refining industry, reports CHRIS LOM



'The real solution lies in conversion of existing plant'.

European petrochemical companies will have to cut capacity by another 125 million tonnes a year, to 550 million tonnes by 1990, in response to falling demand and rising imports, according to a report just published by the European Commission.

Overcapacity in the industry has been a serious problem since the oil price increases of 1974 and 1979 brought a slowing of economic activity and a drastic fall in oil consumption. Increased refining capacity abroad and changing patterns of demand have compounded the problem and since 1977, eighteen European refineries have been forced to close.

Last year, European companies voluntarily reduced their capacity by 13 per cent or 100 million tonnes, to bring total capacity at the end of the year down to about 675 million tonnes. Additional closures planned should reduce capacity by another 45 million tonnes.

But according to the Commission, which has monitored developments in the industry since 1981, further cuts will have to be made. Based on six-monthly consultations with the petrochemical companies, aimed at establishing existing capacity, planned investments, closures and the amount of oil actually being refined, the Commission's report to the Council of Ministers paints a gloomy picture.

Capacity utilisation in Europe currently stands at about 58 per cent compared to 81 per cent in 1973, because of lower consumption, higher net imports of refined products and plentiful stocks. Last year the amount of oil processed in the Community fell to 422 million tonnes, two thirds of the 1973 level.

A decade ago, Europe was a net exporter of refined products, to the tune of 25 million tonnes a year. Last year net imports reached 24 million tonnes. By 1990 imports could rise to anything between 30 and 70 million tonnes, according to the Commission.

Rising net imports, which have meant an 8 per cent drop in demand for European products, are partially due to reduced exports and

the contraction of international trade. But mostly they have been the result of increased imports from, among others, the Soviet Union, the United States, Spain and Algeria. Soviet exports to Europe are currently three times those of any other supplier.

Imports rose sharply from 15 million tonnes in 1981 to 24 million tonnes in 1982, largely because of price cutting by producers, in order to increase sales in a weak market. However, future import levels will be determined by a new factor, according to the Commission report – the refining capacity of the OPEC countries of the Middle East. OPEC's capacity increased from 2.2 million barrels a day in 1980 to 2.675 million last year. By 1986 the Middle East could be refining 3.76 million barrels a day, 2 million of them in Saudi Arabia.

If the new refineries operate at 85 per cent capacity, refined products for export could rise from a 1980 level of 30 million tonnes to 120 million tonnes in 1986. If, as in the case of crude oil exports, one third came to Europe, net Community imports could rise to 30 million tonnes in three years, says the Commission.

European petrochemical firms have responded to falling demand by drastically cutting capacity from a 1977 peak of 830 million tonnes to 675 million tonnes last year. Over the period, eighteen refineries were closed, fourteen of them over the past two years. Others were reduced in size and five more closures are planned to reduce capacity by an additional 45 million tonnes.

Belgium and the Netherlands, whose industries have both been heavily export-

oriented in the past, will have both closed over 30 per cent of their capacity by 1986. Most other Community member states, with the exception of Ireland and Greece, will have closed over 20 per cent. About a thousand workers will be left jobless by the closures, out of a total workforce of 7,000. With the exception of one refinery, which was taken over by the government in Ireland and reopened, almost all the other sites have remained in operation as terminals.

Further closures may have been averted, however, by the sale of refining and marketing assets by major European and US operators to OPEC interests with access to cheaper crude oil. The Kuwait Petroleum Corporation's acquisition of Gulf's European operation, the Saudi-backed takeover of Standard Oil of Indiana's interests in Italy and a joint venture mounted by the Venezuelan company Veba and Petroven, may be a foretaste of a growing future trend, according to the Commission.

The real solution to industry's problems, however, lies in conversion of existing plant to meet changing patterns of demand for refined products, namely greater demand for gasoline and less demand for heavy fuel oil.

The traditional post-war market of fuel oil for electricity generation has been practically decimated by the rise in oil prices, cheap coal and the development of nuclear power and is expected to decline still further. From being a staple fuel, oil has become a liability, filling valuable tank space and forcing companies to invest in expensive 'cracking' to upgrade it into more saleable lighter gas oils and gasoline.

Restructuring rests entirely with the companies themselves. But European Commission monitoring to forecast future capacity requirements is clearly providing the industry with an exceptionally clear view, which is helping companies to plan ahead.

It also checks that cooperation between them does not breach Community competition policy.

'The report to the Council of Ministers paints a gloomy picture'

EURO FORUM

Research and innovation: how Europe can get on top

PAOLO FASELLA, Director-General for science, research and development, at the European Commission, answers questions from Adeline Baumann

A meeting of 16 senior representatives of the EEC was held recently in Paris. At the conclusion of the meeting, Commissioner Davignon emphasised that, to meet the challenge of the Americans and the Japanese, Europeans must extend and develop their cooperation in order to be able to carry out research on a scale comparable with that of their competitors. In what ways is research a crucial factor in meeting the major challenges of our times?

The relationship between science and technology on the one hand and economic competitiveness on the other is becoming closer and closer. The future competitiveness of the European economy depends upon research. But in addition to this, research can also help to bring about changes in traditional industries, and give new life to industries that are now in a bad way, such as the steel industry, textiles and shipbuilding.

In general terms, research lies at the base of economic progress and thus of social progress. By creating new technologies and new products, it helps our society to adapt to the technological changes which are occurring. In addition, and this applies particularly to Community research, research and development contributes directly towards improving the quality of life, in particular by providing the scientific basis for EEC standards of health and safety at

'Europe has no choice but to innovate and stay in the race'

work or for uniform statutory regulations for the protection of the environment, and so on.

It is obvious that in the present situation, with the continuing recession, the emergence of new competitors and the sharpening of international competition, Europe has no choice but to innovate to stay in the race.

What is the state of health of science and research in the EEC? In which fields have research efforts borne fruit, and for what reasons?

I think it is necessary to distinguish between scientific and technical activity carried out within the Community and between Community research and development carried out for the Community. To oversimplify, we can get a precise idea by referring to an assessment made recently by a number of eminent American scientists. From this it emerges clearly that European researchers overall stand up to comparison with their foreign colleagues: the talent is there. The Europeans are ahead in physics, in particular in certain areas of high ener-

gy physics. Although the Americans are still ahead of the Europeans in chemistry and molecular biology, the lead should be narrowed in future.

We could consider other examples, all of which lead to the conclusion that the Community has great scientific and technical potential of world-class quality. However, the capacity is held back by certain constraints which are both structural and economic in nature.

If we turn now to Community research and development, the first thing to be emphasised is that, although begun only recently, it has now become a reality, and its quality and ability to produce results are universally acknowledged. Community research activity, with a budget of 567 million ECUs in 1982 and nearly 3,000 researchers in the Joint Research Centre and in joint projects, based on a vast network of laboratories working on contracts or combined projects for the Commission, has achieved significant results in the majority of cases and in certain areas has achieved results of major importance.

ON THE LINE

The Commission has asked Ministers to approve an additional 14 million ECUs in emergency aid for Poland, to be distributed between June and December 1983.

Since 1981 nearly a thousand lorries carrying 18,000 tonnes of emergency food and medical supplies worth 27 million ECUs have been sent to Poland under the Community aid programme. However, despite a slight easing of the food situation, conditions for the Poles remain grim.

Prices have risen dramatically. Meat, fats, cheese, poultry, coffee, fruit and soap are practically unobtainable, according to aid officials. The situation is worst in the health sector, where hospitals are now 50 per cent to 80 per cent dependent on Western deliveries for their medical supplies.

People hardest hit by the deteriorating situation are the old, the sick, and the families of people under arrest and children, according to the Commission.

Backing for continued humanitarian aid to Poland has already come from a meeting of Community Foreign Ministers in March, and from the European Parliament. Like previous consignments, the new aid will be channelled through non-governmental charitable organisations and the Church in Poland.

'The JET project is keeping the Community abreast of the USA, the USSR and Japan'

In the field of energy, Community research into renewable energy sources and new sources of energy has acted as a catalyst and stimulated national research. Community research activity has contributed greatly to collaboration between industrial firms, particularly in the field of solar energy. In many fields it has encouraged fruitful cooperation between European laboratories, thus enabling the member states to acquire in less time the scientific and technical capability which it would have taken them longer to acquire if they had been limited to their own isolated or dispersed initiatives.

The same catalysing and promoting effect is found in the field of the environment, where Community R&D activity has directly stimulated national activity in this field, as is seen by looking at the priorities chosen for this area, for example the elimination of pollutants such as lead in petrol. It has been possible to achieve coordination covering directly or indirectly nearly 20 per cent of national research activity.

As for *raw materials*, it was the experts themselves who proposed a significant increase in Community research activity, both as regards metals and mineral substances (location of deposits, extraction and processing methods) and as regards recycling material such as paper and cardboard.

As regards *steel*, Community research activity has in particular contributed to reducing production costs and improving product quality. Again, the Community's fusion research programme is a good example of the pooling of efforts in pursuit of a long-term goal; the JET project is keeping the Community abreast of the USA, the USSR and Japan. Nuclear fission programmes such as those concerning reactor safety, management and storage of radioactive waste and control of fissile material or radioprotection represent a common response to shared problems. The size of these programmes, the level of quality required and the need for large test installations all favour international cooperation, as is shown by agreements signed with the IAEA, the USA and Canada.

Certain programmes have demonstrated their usefulness despite difficulties due in part to their modest scale. The



Professor Fasella: 'Research can bring new life'.

first medical research programme has shown the effectiveness of concerted action in areas such as extracorporeal oxygenation and 'cellular ageing'. Similarly, the agricultural research programme has brought valuable results for animal health and soil fertilisation.

There are two other fields of Community activity which should be mentioned, namely those programmes dealing with scientific and technical documentation, particularly those concerned with EURONET/DIANE, a Community telecommunications network specially designed for distributing scientific and technical information and which gives more than 2,000 subscribers direct access to 120 data bases and data banks.

Each member state pursues its own research and development policy. What are the arguments in favour of a unified, European policy?

It should be understood that the Community research policy was never intended to take the place of national policies. Instead, its aim is to complement and reinforce national policies through cooperation and coordination. In other words, the member states should in fu-

'National solutions are insufficient to deal with problems of pollution, which ignore frontiers'

ture continue their research work in those sectors which correspond to their national priorities. The cooperation introduced at the European level will be mainly concerned with the large, trans-national projects, filling the gaps, avoiding waste and duplication of effort by taking advantage of a research system organised on a vast scale.

In this context, there are certain criteria for the selection of objectives for Community research. Thus, the member states will join their efforts together when the objective to be reached requires human or financial resources on a scale which exceeds their own, national resources, as is the case for fusion research. Further, seeking common solutions to shared problems, since the member states are often faced with similar problems, certain objectives correspond to collective needs of member states and thus lend themselves to joint efforts to achieve a result that will be of use to all.

Other projects are chosen because they are directly concerned with EEC policies or contribute to the implementation of these policies, e.g. the environment, energy, agriculture, cooperation with developing countries, etc. Finally, it may happen that the very nature of the aims set requires a wider scope of action; the protection of nature comes into this category. National solutions are insufficient to deal with certain problems of pollution, which ignore frontiers. It is therefore necessary to consider the problem at a Community level, and sometimes at an international level.

EUROPEAN REVIEW

Juicy treats for children

Free apple juice is being distributed to schoolchildren in a number of EEC countries, in a bid to reduce Community fruit stockpiles. France is the most recent member state to introduce the scheme, which has been applied in previous years in Belgium and Greece.

The equivalent of 2000 tonnes of surplus French apples are to be distributed in schools in the form of free juice this year, according to European Agriculture Commissioner Poul Dalsager.

In a written reply to Socialist MEP Raymonde Dury, he said that similar schemes in Belgium in 1979/80 and 1980/81 had both processed about 500 tonnes. This year Belgium is planning to process 1000 tonnes.

In the last marketing year, Greece withdrew 17,210 tonnes of apples from the market, mostly for distribution in the form of free juice for schoolchildren.

If the Commission has its way schoolchildren in the Community may also be entitled to cheap fruit-flavoured yoghurt, and even cheese. The existing school milk programme, whereby children can benefit from cut-price milk and milk products is due for renewal. Now the Commission wants to update it and extend the range of products.

It is recommending that each child receive up a quarter of a litre of milk (or its equivalent) each day.

Coal and steel spending at new low

Capital expenditure in Europe's coalmining industry rose by only 6 per cent in 1981, marking a sharp fall in the growth of investment witnessed in previous years.

But investment in coking plants in the Community increased by 31 per cent, reversing the industry's recent decline, according to the European Coal and Steel Community's 1982 Report on Investment.

Capital expenditure in iron-ore mines fell by 23 per cent and expenditure forecasts for 1982 showed an additional fall of 28 per cent.

Fair deal for street traders

A French MEP has called for the introduction of a European trading licence, and a better deal for mobile tradespeople working in Europe's street markets and fairgrounds.

Gustave Delau, a Progressive Democrat, says that itinerant tradespeople play an important role in the economic and cultural life of Europe, but are often subject to discrimination.

European trading licences, harmonised access to fairs and markets, improved training and educational facilities for their children, lower VAT, the preservation of town markets, improved access to finance and better representation on Community bodies, are some ways of giving them a better deal, he says.

Out of 600,000 traders in France, 100,000 are reported to be itinerant. Between 27 per cent and 30 per cent of housewives in towns and 60 per cent of housewives in the country shop at markets.

Fuel from the forests of Africa

African forests which cover 215 million hectares are contracting at a rate of 3 million hectares a year, according to Development Commissioner Edgard Pisani. The annual average planting rate is less than 100,000 hectares.

In a written reply to European Democrat MEP Tom Normanton, he said that Community aid programmes are currently helping to control desertification and promote reforestation and more economic use of fuels.

The Commission is also examining ways of producing biomass energies such as methanol and ethanol from tropical vegetation in the ACP states.

Research institutes specializing in 'energy forests' include the Commonwealth Forestry Institute in Oxford, the Irish Agricultural Institute in Dublin, the Centre Technique Forestier Tropical in Paris and centres in Munich and Hamburg.

Figuring out the 1984 budget

The Commission has published a preliminary draft budget for 1984 calling for increased Social and Regional Fund spending to fight unemployment. The 25.5 billion ECU budget would be just inside the estimated 26.2 billion of the Community's own resources for 1984.

Agricultural spending would rise by 17.44 per cent to 16.5 billion ECUs in the new budget, which Commissioner Christopher Tugendhat has already presented to the European Parliament.

Social Fund spending would also rise from 1.35 billion ECUs to 1.55 billion ECUs in payments and from 1.7 billion ECUs to 2.4 billion ECUs in commitments, reflecting the Community's growing concern with unemployment.

The first step towards doubling regional spending over the next five years would mean an increase in regional spending to 1.5 billion ECUs in payments and 2.5 billion ECUs in commitments. Energy and research spending would also increase significantly in line with long term plans for both sectors, as would spending on transport.

From the lab to the market

Commercial demonstration of the storage of solar heat may increase as a result of progress being made in the Community's energy research programme, according to Energy Commissioner Etienne Davignon.

Research projects currently enjoying Community finance include hot water storage tanks for heating homes at the University of Calabria in Italy, and a test plant for the geothermal storage of solar heat, at the Ecole des Mines in France.

Other prototypes are being tested at TNO in the Netherlands, the University of Lyngby in Denmark, and the Community's joint research centre at Ispra in Italy.

Four-day vote for Euro-elections

Community voters will go to the polls between 14 and 17 June next year, to elect their 434 representatives to the European Parliament.

The four-day voting period is designed to take account of different electoral traditions in the ten countries. Voters in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and the Netherlands are expected to make their choice on Thursday, 14 June. The rest of the Community's 180 million electorate will cast their votes on Sunday, 17 June.

The election dates were chosen by the European Parliament and later endorsed by Community Governments. Earlier, the Community's Foreign Ministers had fixed on dates in May. But these proved unacceptable to the MEPs.

The present Parliament was elected in June 1979 – the first time Europe's citizens had had an opportunity to decide on their representatives to the institution. Previously, MEPs were nominated from their national parliaments.

Show us the label

Before opening your next bottle of wine, put your specs on. The Commission is toughening up on the descriptive labels. All the details you need to know are to be found in Commission Regulation (EEC) No. 1224/83 of 6 May 1983.

What the 17 pages of paper boil down to is that the Commission is making sure the public gets correct information on the origin, alcoholic content and quality of wine, in print big enough for it to be read, but not too big to mislead.

The regulation lays down minimum and maximum sizes for lettering of such phrases as 'blend of wines from various countries of the European Communities', to avoid confusion between certain types of table wines and quality wines.

Certain terms have been added to the allowable list denoting the origins of wines. To prevent this from being misleading by claims of superior quality on the labels of imported wines, certain terms will be prohibited on their labels. The alcoholic strength stated on wine labels will have to be determined by analysis, but the figure quoted can be rounded within specific limits.

To ensure control and protection of table wines qualifying for description as 'Landwein', 'vin de pays', 'vino tipico', 'onomasia kata paradosi' or 'oinos topikos'. Member states will give the Commission all relevant information on the designation of such wines and it will publish lists of the stated table wines.

Drugs: 'explosion' in Ireland

Last year, the number of drug addicts cared for by one of the main centres in Dublin rose by 246 per cent. The average age of the addicts was 21, which means they probably started using drugs in their teens.

A report published by the Medico-Social Research Board on Drug Abuse says that one out of every ten young people in Dublin's northern quarter uses heroin. According to this report 57 per cent of the addicts are unemployed, and 45 per cent left school before the age of 16.

An Irish MEP, Mr. Lalor, says Ireland's drug problem is shared by almost all the Community states. He wants the Commission to examine all possible means of bringing drug abuse under control.

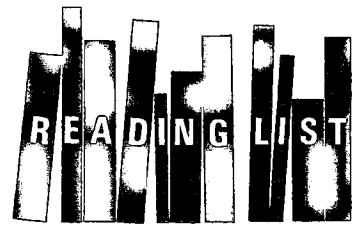
A social deal for the disabled

Social Affairs Commissioner Ivor Richard has welcomed representatives of local and national governments to a Commission Workshop on District Projects on Disability.

The workshop was the single most important event since the new action programme began in 1981, he said, because it marked the commitment of local authorities, national governments, and the Commission to work together to establish model projects that effectively integrate disabled people into the real fabric of daily life.

The three-day meeting, held at the Catholic University of Leuven, was an opportunity for the representatives to exchange ideas and become aware of the European character of the project, Mr Richard said.

Under a Council Resolution of December 1981, a network of locally-based projects is being set up to promote social and economic integration of the disabled.



Britons in Brussels: officials in the Commission and Council Secretariat of the EEC. By Virginia Willis. Policy Studies Institute, 1/2 Castle Lane, London SW1E 6DR. £3.30.

Few studies have been published on the staffing of the Community institutions. Yet they derive much of their character from the people who work in them. This book, the first in a series planned to cover other member states, focuses on British officials in Brussels. It looks at the contribution made by the United Kingdom to the staffing of these institutions, analyses the background of those who went to Brussels from Britain, describes their experience there, and relates it all to perspectives and procedures in Whitehall.

Public supply contracts in the EC. Freedom of movement of persons in the EC.

An education policy for Europe. The European Community's industrial strategy. All published by the European Commission (Office for Official Publications of the EC). European Documentation Series. Available free from the European Commission, 8 Storey's Gate, London SW1P 3AT.

Four recent titles in the popular European Documentation Series. The first gives practical guidance to manufacturers wishing to participate in tenders for public contracts awarded by the countries in the EC and elsewhere. Each of the others give a condensed but detailed account of an important policy area.

Development of the Regional Policy of the EC (£2.90). By P.S. Tristan McGee, Oxford Polytechnic, Headington, Oxford OX3 0BP.

This publication provides a broad understanding of how Community Regional Policy works by focussing on its basic principles and providing a historical perspective.

What it means to have a healthy circulation

Europe's newspapers, like their readers, are both diverse and dynamic. But after more than 25 years of the Common Market, there is still no sign of a 'European' press, writes **EDOUARD RENCKER**



In terms of circulation, number of titles, and copies read per head of population, each of the ten member states has a press which reflects its individual characteristics and culture.

The first important statistic is circulation. Excluding the giant 'Bild Zeitung' (5 million), British dailies have the biggest circulation – far higher than that of their counterparts across the Channel. Amongst the biggest sellers are the 'Sun' (3.9 million), the 'Daily Express' (2.35 million) and the 'Daily Mail' (1.9 million). At the other end of the scale, the Greek dailies have the lowest circulation, even though Greece is by no means the least populated of the Ten.

The other Community countries, in terms of circulation, are spread out fairly evenly. France has relatively few big national dailies, but has powerful regional dailies, such as 'Ouest France' (700,000). In Italy the 'Corriere della Sera' runs to about 700,000 copies, and in the Netherlands the 'Telegraaf' has a circulation of about 580,000.

A second significant factor is the total number of titles. The rating of countries in this respect is very different from that of the circulation figures, indeed almost the opposite. The German press tops the titles list with over 400, compared to the United Kingdom, where there are only about 100. The difference reflects both the Federal Republic's political structure, and the considerable weight of Britain's national dailies. Among the other EEC countries, France has about 100 titles, Italy 85, the Netherlands 67, and Belgium 27.

No less interesting is the number of copies sold per head of population. Luxembourg heads the field in this respect, with 477 copies sold per thousand people, rating third in the world. Then comes the United Kingdom (388), followed by Denmark (341) and the Federal Republic (289). France, Italy and Greece bring up the rear. Currently the Swedes buy more daily papers than anyone else – 572 per thousand people.

But amid this variety there is a trend which is shared by almost all the dailies in the Com-

munity – a general recession, both in circulation and in the number of readers. The recent travails of the London 'Times' and the financial difficulties of the 'Quotidien de Paris' spotlight the problem. For example, in 1973 Belgium had 42 dailies; today the number has dropped by nearly 40 per cent. In Italy, the dailies saw their sales slump by 26 per cent between 1970 and 1980. In Britain, the total number of readers dropped by up to 10 million over the same period.

'The basic facts are known to the public before the papers have time to print them'

One factor, in addition to the economic one, has been the extensive development of radio and TV. This explanation, however, is strongly contested in some circles: the countries where TV is most highly developed are not necessarily those in which print journalism has suffered the most. If there is a link between the rise of TV and the decline of newspapers it is probably in terms of a new division of roles. Daily papers have a problem, in that they have lost identity. Conceived as a source of immediate information – reporting news – they are facing increasing competition from TV and radio, and being forced to reconsider their role.

The main growth area is in specialised magazines. They are born – and either die or succeed – in response to interests such as hifi, tennis, music, CB radio, ecology, the 'Green' movement, and so on. Men's magazines form an important part of the flood of new publications. As new interests emerge, periodicals follow, covering anything from dress to recipes to after-shave and offering answers to cholesterol, stomach problems – and divorce.

Over the past ten to fifteen years another phenomenon has assumed major significance – the 'free-sheet', which basically consists of

advertisements. In Belgium, free-sheets can be traced back to the 19th century with 'La Petite Poste de Bruxelles' and the famous 'Le Soir', which was free until 1914. But it was after 1945 that free newspapers really emerged in Belgium. In 1975 there were between 300 and 600 titles, with combined circulation of more than 18 million.

By 1982 free-sheet circulation had reached an estimated 25 million. Among the big names are 'Actuel' (500,000), 'Belgique No 1' (368,000) and 'Vlan' (362,000). An estimated 11 per cent of total spending on advertising in Belgium now goes to the free-sheets, which occupy fourth place in the list of the country's leading advertising media. They are a clear leader in the field of small ads. In France, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic the phenomenon has been more recent but equally spectacular. There are currently more than 400 free-sheet titles in France alone.

Though the press has had difficulty in acquiring a truly European dimension, according to an EEC study, press exchanges inside the Community have more than doubled in six years. Various other initiatives have also emerged. During the Seventies the economic monthly, 'Vision', appeared in four languages throughout Europe. Four big dailies – 'Le Monde', the 'Times', 'Die Welt' and 'La Stampa' – also published a shared European supplement. Both these experiments have since been abandoned.

Since 1979 the Financial Times has published a European edition in Frankfurt. Paradoxically, the Americans publish 'European' editions of the 'Wall Street Journal', 'Time' and 'Newsweek'. The 'International Herald Tribune' is also almost the only 'real' European daily.

Compared to the hard-pressed national dailies, the regional press is doing relatively well. This is one of the most prominent characteristics of today's press in Europe. Specialisation towards local news has become a necessity. In the Federal Republic only three

Continued on page 23

Europe's lift-off speeds up the space race

DAVID DICKSON reports on the implications of the successful launch of Europe's Ariane – a major challenge to US dominance of operations in space

Europe's space officials are suddenly looking more cheerful. On 3 June the European space launcher, Ariane, made a successful lift-off from its launching-pad in Kourou, French Guyana, placing into orbit two operational satellites.

The previous launch of Ariane last September, the fifth overall and the first of what are listed as six 'operational' flights after the initial testing period, was an embarrassing failure. Three minutes after lift-off the engines to the third stage of the rocket stopped in mid-flight, sending both the rocket and the two satellites that it was carrying to the bottom of the Atlantic ocean.

Success of the 3 June launch, which had been postponed from last December, was therefore vital if Ariane was to fulfil its promise as a major competitor to the American space shuttle and as an effective launcher for space vehicles ranging from telecommunications satellites to interplanetary probes.

Space engineers at France's National Centre for Space Studies (CNES) worked overtime to ensure that a similar failure, thought to have been due to a lack of adequate safety margins in the design of the lubrication system to the rocket's turbopumps, did not occur again.

Ariane's launch schedule for commercial payloads – including several American companies which have taken advantage of the generous financing terms they have been offered – was already full to 1985. The successful flight will do much to make up for the damage.

It will also do much to reinforce ESA's reputation as one of the most successful examples of European cooperation in scientific research and development. ESA's success does not rest on Ariane alone: over the past decade it has launched more than a dozen satellites from American launchers, and has also been

responsible for the construction of the Space-lab, due to be launched by the NASA space shuttle later this year.

Ariane, however, more than any of the other completed or planned projects, is the biggest public symbol of Europe's challenge to what has up to now been US dominance of space activities among Western nations. This will have been done despite a considerably lower level of funding: in aggregate, European nations spend about 0.05 per cent of their gross national product on space activities, compared to 0.3 per cent in the United States.

ESA's successful development of a launcher will also stand in direct contrast to the history of one of its predecessor organisations, the European Launcher Development Organisation (ELDO). This was formed in 1962 at the same time as the European Space Research Organisation (ESRO); both were intended to stimulate the space activities of European nations through shared support of joint activities and the coordination of national programmes. Yet the two organisations were virtually independent of each other, and their fortunes were very different. ESRO concentrated almost entirely on the development of research satellites, and met with considerable success. The first, IRIS, was dedicated to the study of X-rays, and a succession of further satellites clearly demonstrated the advantages of astronomical readings taken from outside the earth's atmosphere.

In contrast, ELDO's attempt to produce a European launcher was a dismal failure. Each member country took responsibility for a separate part of the project. The rocket itself, known as Europa, was based on Britain's Blue Streak – which had recently been abandoned as a military project – for its first stage, with a French second stage and a German third stage. The Dutch provided the tracking equipment, Australia (not a member of the organisation) the launch facilities, and so on. With no strong, central coordination, the project turned into an administrative and political nightmare.

The climax came on 5 November, 1971, when the rocket blew up shortly after take-off from the Kourou launch site on its crucial test flight. The whole project was abandoned a short time later.

The European Space Agency was founded out of the successes of ESRO – and the ashes of ELDO – at a meeting of the European Space Conference held in Brussels in 1973. ESRO's responsibilities had already been enlarged two years previously to include telecommunications and weather satellites; ESA was given the job of integrating responsibility both for launchers and satellites, as well as other orbital systems. ESA's founding members were the ten countries which had previously formed ESRO – namely Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom – each of whom signed a new convention which came into force in May 1975. Since then, membership has been joined by Ireland

and, in 1982, by Norway; in addition, Austria and Canada each have special agreements with the agency.

The agency currently employs about 1,400 people. Its administrative headquarters are in Paris, partly reflecting the fact that France has been one of the keenest promoters of European collaboration in space. The centre of space flight operations is at Darmstadt in the Federal Republic of Germany, its technical centre (ESTEC) at Noordwijk in the Netherlands, and research is divided between ESA's research laboratories at Frascati in Italy and ESA teams based with the CNES at Toulouse in southern France and at the Spacelab Payload Integration and Coordination Centre at Porz-Wahn in Germany.

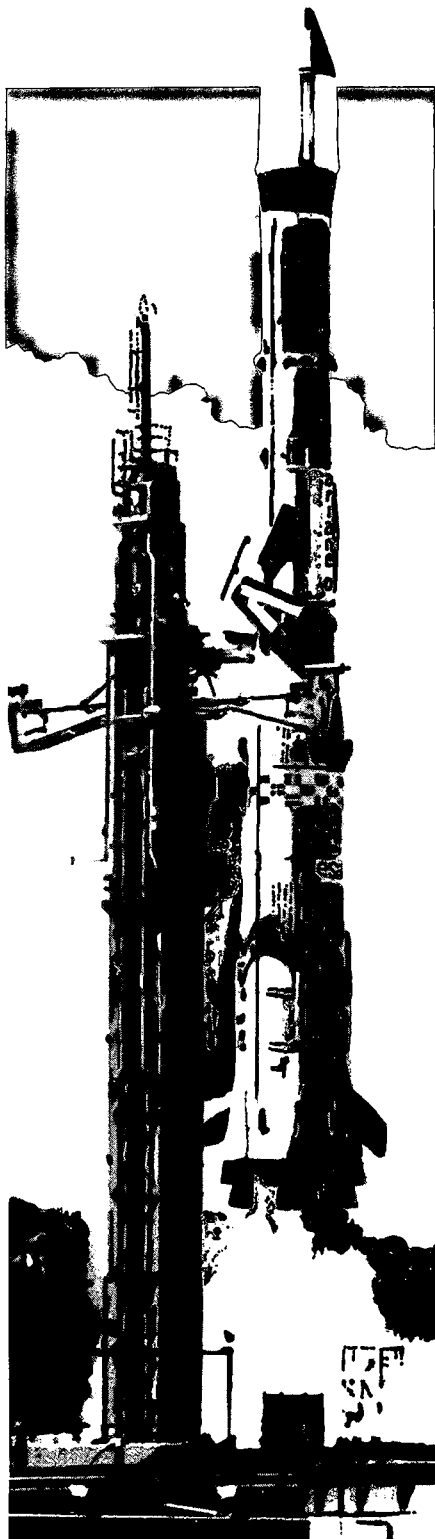
The 1973 meeting was not only crucial from an organisational point of view. It also agreed to add three major projects to the satellites already under development by ESRO. One was the construction of a completely new launcher, Ariane. The second was the Space-lab, designed as the major European contribution to NASA's space shuttle programme. The third was the development of a series of maritime communications satellites, known as MARECS (the first of which was successfully launched in 1981, the second lost with the unsuccessful Ariane launch last September).

'In 1986 there is to be an encounter with Halley's Comet'

Learning from the mistakes made by ELDO, ESA adopted a new system for financing its projects. These are now divided into two categories. The agency has a core budget for its science programmes, to which all member countries are required to contribute according to a pre-agreed ratio. Out of this are funded the agency's major scientific experiments, such as a star-locating satellite, Hipparcos, due for launch in 1986, and a planned encounter with the comet Halley (Project Giotto) when it returns to the solar system in 1986.

Giotto is one of a number of planned observations of the comet; others are being launched by Japan and the Soviet Union (NASA dropped its own plans two years ago as a result of budgetary pressures). However, it is by far the most ambitious, since it is intended to fly the spacecraft inside the comet's coma and within 500 kilometres of the surface. Both of the others will be much further away, the Russians passing at 10,000 kilometres and the Japanese at 100,000 kilometres.

Giotto will carry more than 10 experiments including a camera which will send back colour photographs of both the coma and the nucleus of the comet. Other instruments include three spectrometers for measuring the composition of gas and dust in the comet's atmosphere. Such data is expected to provide



Ariane blasts off at Guyana.

clues not only about the composition of the comet itself, but also about the solar system, which is thought to have originated at roughly the same time.

Giotto will also have an important symbolic value. It will be the first planetary mission carried out by a European spacecraft launched – if all goes according to plan – from a European rocket, a truly independent entrance into the

space age which American scientists, some of whom will be collaborating in experiments (though not as principal investigators), are already watching with mixed feelings.

The same ambivalence seems to exist in US attitudes to Ariane. On the one hand, the commercial competition for launch capabilities has been welcomed, particularly by potential customers who have an obvious interest in reducing costs as far as possible. On the other, if Ariane does prove to be a viable commercial enterprise – at present, heavy government subsidies make it unclear what will happen when the support is removed – then it will raise questions about NASA's decision virtually to abandon expendable launchers in favour of the space shuttle.

Bigger versions of Ariane are currently on the drawing board, designed to take into orbit some of the large telecommunications satellites anticipated in the late 1980s and 1990s. In addition, plans are being studied for a small, reusable space vehicle called Hermes – a bit like a miniature version of the shuttle – which could be launched from Ariane and subsequently floated back to earth.

Other plans are being worked on to decide on a follow-up to Spacelab, the orbiting laboratory being launched by the space shuttle later in the year. These cover essentially the development of a European retrievable carrier known as EURECA, whose main purpose will be to provide docking facilities for experiments which can be left in space for a considerable period of time.

Although the member countries of ESA remain committed to the continued development of an independent launch capability which will free them from dependence on American launchers (and launch schedules), collaboration with NASA is already being explored in several areas. One of the most important of these currently being studied through several contracts awarded in 1982 is Europe's potential involvement in American plans for an orbiting space station.

The possibility of such collaboration is one of the main topics of a new programme initiated at the beginning of 1983 known as the Space Transportation Systems Long Term Preparatory Programme, whose purpose is to look at the different options beyond Ariane and EURECA sufficiently closely to allow a long-term space transportation policy to be decided by the end of 1985.

Three main themes, covering all the possible options, are being looked at. First, maintaining an independent launch capability in Europe that is competitive with other existing or planned space transportation systems – in particular, the space shuttle. Second, providing Europe with the capability of carrying out orbital operations by means of in-orbit infrastructures developed either independently or in cooperation with NASA. And third, maintaining Europe's access to manned systems, opened up by Spacelab, both by participating in US space-station activities and by studying the possible evolution of a European in-orbit infrastructure toward manned capability.

'Plans include a follow-up to the American Spacelab'

The extent of NASA's collaboration in future European experiments is uncertain. In principle, space science is accepted by the scientific community as one area in which the costs of individual experiments are so high that there is much to be gained from as broad an international collaboration as possible. In practice, however, ESA has recently had its fingers burnt when NASA dropped out of various collaborative projects as a result of internal budget pressures.

The most publicised case was the International Solar Polar Mission. This was to have involved two spacecraft, one funded by ESA and the other by NASA, which were to have been sent in complementary orbits around the sun in 1986. At the beginning of 1981, NASA announced that it was cancelling its half of the experiment, because of the need to make cuts in the agency's space-science programmes.

Relations between the two agencies became frosty – a situation not helped by the additional costs to the Spacelab programme caused by delays with the first space shuttle flights. They are now warming up slightly, but ESA remains cautious. One of the potential alternatives to ISO, a large satellite to orbit the moon, was dropped from consideration by ESA when it was realised that American support would be needed to fund the project and that, following the ISPM debacle, this could no longer be guaranteed, even if NASA itself was enthusiastic.

Just as with NASA, however, the relative emphasis that ESA should be giving to space-science projects, as compared to those with a more immediate commercial objective – such as telecommunications satellites or industrial processing in space – remains controversial. Some of the larger members of the organisation, in particular the United Kingdom and France, are keen that the agency should maintain its strong emphasis on programmes that promise pragmatic results, hence the United Kingdom's principal interest in satellites and France's in the future rockets needed to launch them. One of ESA's next substantial projects, for example, is a large telecommunications satellite (L-SAT) for which the major proportion of the funding is being provided by Britain and Italy.

Others, however, feel that greater emphasis should be given to space science, which currently receives less than 15 per cent of ESA's annual budget. They point out that at present there is only enough funding committed to the agency to permit one new space science project every other year. The demand is strong: 20 well-documented proposals are already being studied as possible successors to ISO.

□ David Dickson is the European correspondent of *Science* magazine.

Why the Belgians watch their language

Belgium's age-old divide between its Flemish- and French-speaking citizens is at the heart of its current troubles, reports GUIDO FONTEYN

It was Karl Marx who described Belgium as 'a little capitalist paradise'. Today, alas, there is something very wrong with it. Like other free market economies, Belgium is suffering from the multiple blows of competition from the newly developing countries of the Third World, the energy crisis and the technological revolution.

In this tiny territory, Flemings, Walloons, Bruxellois and German-speaking Belgians are apt to quarrel – usually verbally, but sometimes resorting to demonstrations and violence. Generally one does not hear a great deal about these arguments abroad. But the problems of the commune of Fourons are rapidly becoming a world issue, thanks to daily TV coverage. Even as far away as Australia, viewers see Belgians coming to blows.

In Belgium, people are fighting on two fronts: against a world economic crisis, and against old economic infrastructures. The seriousness of the world crisis has shown up the fragility of Belgium's political system more than ever before. The country risks breaking up into a confederation of quasi-autonomous ethnic groups. The issue is being seriously debated in Belgium itself; but time could be running out. Equally, the Belgian experience could prove to be a lesson for other countries with similar problems.

Anyone wanting to study the subject seriously will have to dig deeper than the TV reports. The subject is multi-dimensional. In time, one has to go back to Julius Caesar. In space, one can compare it to numerous analogous situations around the world.

Exaggerating slightly, one could say that it was Julius Caesar who was first responsible for the permanent divide between the Flemings and the Walloons in Belgium. Historically, it was he who decided to introduce Roman civilisation to the region south of a line of defence against the barbarians, which ran from Cologne, in what is now the Federal Republic of

Germany, to Bavay in France. To the north of the line were the 'Germans' and to the South were the 'Latins'. Obviously, there was a lot of interchange across the frontier; but after a few centuries the line seemed to become increasingly fixed.

Today it still constitutes the linguistic frontier, and continues to separate the 'Germans' from the 'Latins'. In Belgium the Germans are called 'Flemings' and the Latins are called 'Walloons'. The Flemings speak Dutch and the Walloons speak French. North and South of the linguistic frontier the development of the two races was quite different. It was only much later, in 1830 in fact, that the *political* idea of Belgium was born.

Suffice it to say that the linguistic frontier is much older than the Belgian state, and that the Flemings and the Walloons go back much further in history than the 'Belgians'. But the linguistic frontier does not only split Belgium: the line created by the Romans and the Germans after centuries of conflict also divides western Europe. Starting from Bavay in Northern France, it separates French Flemings from the rest of France. In Belgium the Flemings live to the north of the line and the Walloons to the south. There are also German-speaking Belgians in the Eupen-Malmedy-St-Vith region. The linguistic frontier crosses bilingual Luxembourg, Alsace-Lorraine and Switzerland. Some Swiss cantons are not linguistically homogeneous, and face problems similar to those of Belgium.

In 1978 violent clashes led to the separation of the French-speaking canton of Jura (capital: Delémont) from the German-speaking canton of Berne. Currently, discussions are underway between the two cantons over the creation of a mixed Franco-German zone. So the linguistic frontier does not just affect Belgium. It was there before the creation of modern states, and anybody who ignores it is in trouble. In 1830 the founders of the Belgian state did ignore it.

There is practically no country in the world with only one language, and language differences remain politically sensitive. The French-speaking Quebecois in Canada want to break away from their English-speaking neighbours in Montreal. In the Soviet Union, regional languages now play a major role, following failed attempts to extend the use of Russian. In the United Kingdom, the Welsh have been allowed to retain much of their language and culture.

In almost every young African state, tribal links, based on a common language and culture, have proven stronger than the geographical borders mapped out by the colonial powers. The Dutch do not understand their compatriots in Friesland. In France and Spain there are Basque separatists. The list is endless. In every case, examples can be found of bad relations between 'state' and 'race'. In some, the conflicting groups embark on difficult negotiations. This is what the Flemings have done in Belgium, often with a degree of bitterness and violence. For a long time the Flemings have regarded themselves as an

oppressed majority.

Historically, Belgium has been under France's thumb. Some Belgians, even in parliament, openly supported a union between the two countries. So the Flemish movement in Belgium was really a renaissance of the civilisation that had produced Rubens and Breughel, against the French and French speaking ruling class. For 130 years – from 1830 to 1960 – the Flemings fought for recognition of Dutch as an official language in the administration, the courts, the army, the diplomatic service, schools, business and public authorities.

Recognition of Dutch as an accepted language, however, was clearly linked to the growth of democracy. The advance of the Dutch tongue went hand in hand with the advance of the people. Gradually, the 40,000 entitled to vote became millions. But it is still difficult for non-Belgians to understand the intensity with which the linguistic battle was fought as a democratic issue.

Until the 1950s there was no properly structured Dutch educational system in Flanders, although French-speaking schools existed everywhere, to which the ruling classes sent new generations of potential leaders to be taught how to 'be' French. In this way Flanders was denied generation after generation of university graduates and technicians. There are other examples of 'Frenchification'. During the First World War, on the Yser Front in Belgium, there were no Flemish officers. There were only Flemings commanded in French. The famous phrase 'et pour les Flamands, c'est la même chose' dates from this period. It illustrates how the officers refused to translate their orders into the language of the rank and file. Likewise in the courts, French was long considered to be the only language with the force of law. (Only in 1978 did Parliament hastily, and with a certain amount of embarrassment, approve the Dutch version of the 1830 Forestry Code.) Every piece of linguistic legislation has been won through political action; the French-speaking ruling classes gave away nothing.

'The country risks breaking up into a confederation of ethnic groups'

In 1963 a law was introduced to divide Belgium into the linguistic regions of Flanders, Wallonia, bilingual Brussels and the German-speaking region. This meant that the linguistic frontier was re-established and revived. Since then, the dividing line on the map of Belgium has become ever thicker and is increasingly coming to resemble a national frontier between states.

To complete the picture, in 1963 special dispensation was granted to a number of communes located near the linguistic frontier and around Brussels, inhabited by both Dutch

'The linguistic frontier has been re-established and revived'

and French-speakers. In practice this meant that the commune in question had to belong to one or other linguistic region, but the citizens who spoke the other language had the right to deal with the authorities in their own language.

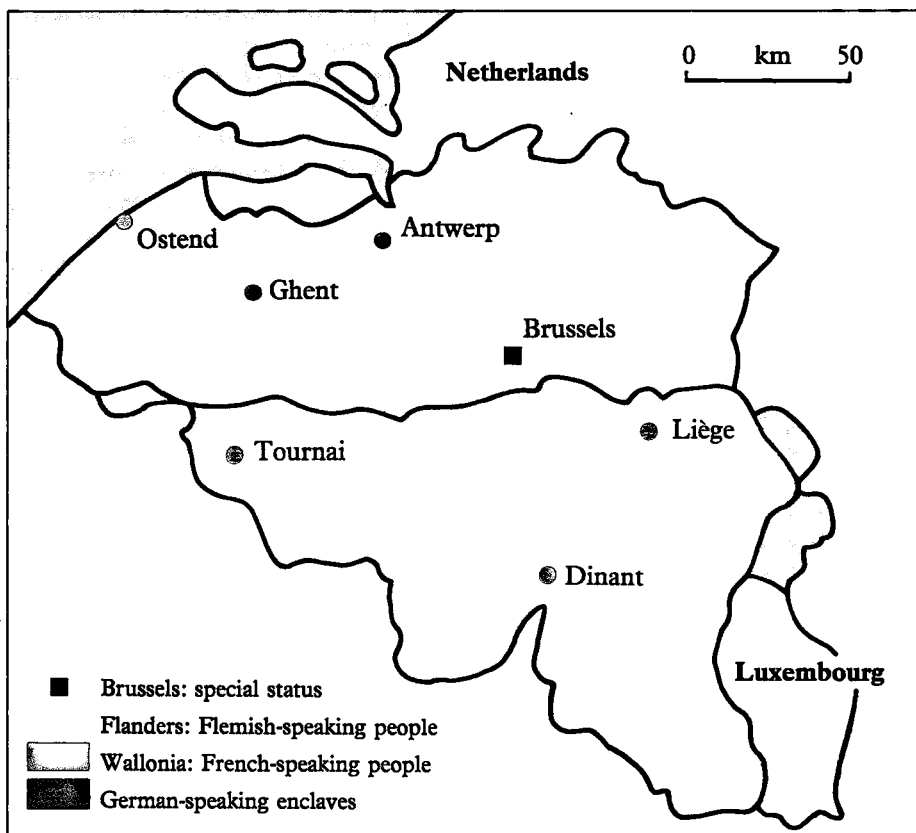
In almost all the communes concerned, the system worked satisfactorily. But in Fourons, a tiny commune in Eastern Belgium, the Flemings and the Walloons detested each other so much that the dispensation was not enough to cool tempers. Since then, 'Les Fourons' have become a symbol of the split between the Flemings and the francophone population – a sort of permanent battlefield, where the needs of the local population carry far less weight than the significance of the affair in terms of national politics.

The whole movement towards a national split in Belgium has been a process of democratisation; but no-one could deny that Fouron has become a forum for fanatical radical and nationalist groups, and for rowdies who like to demonstrate and fight in the streets. These sort of groups have repeatedly chosen Fouron as a place for attracting national attention.

But the linguistic divide is becoming ever stronger, and a growing number of institutions are being forced to observe it. In the short space of time since the Sixties, numerous unitary Belgian infrastructures have been split by language – including the political parties, the universities, and ultimately the unions and the employers organisations, who have been obliged to adapt their structure to the realities of the situation.

In foreign affairs, the linguistic split was clearly illustrated in 1978 with the first direct elections to the European parliament. Belgium was divided into two electoral districts, one Flemish and one Walloon: and the Bruxellois were allowed to choose between them.

The debate did not end with the fixing of the linguistic frontier in 1963. More and more responsibilities have been transferred from the Belgian to the regional level. In 1970 the idea of 'cultural autonomy' was introduced into the Constitution, implying that, henceforth, each group would regulate its own linguistic and cultural questions (with a few exceptions). To introduce 'cultural autonomy', 'cultural parliaments' had to be created. In 1980 their responsibilities were enlarged to include a number of economic matters, some aspects of health care, juvenile crime, and even some development and foreign trade issues. This year, for example, two separate trade missions, one Flemish and one Walloon, left Belgium in search of foreign investment. The Walloon mission visited Japan and the



Flemish mission visited Quebec. The participants were presumably prepared to do anything to attract investment to their region, whilst at the same time being equally prepared to do anything to stop it from going to the other part of Belgium.

In the Sixties, political power was basically in the hands of the Walloons. Interestingly, that is no longer the case. The Flemings have gradually gained political power – not so much through their dynamism, but because there are more of them than there are Walloons. When this numerical superiority is reflected in Parliament, the Flemings attempts to 'catch up' with the Walloons will have succeeded.

The Flemish movement fought for the autonomy of Flanders for a long time, but a number of eminent people now claim, with some satisfaction, that the whole system has

fallen into their hands. If one thinks of the Belgian Prime Ministers of the past twenty years – Martens, Tindemans, Eyskens and so on – one notices that they all have Flemish names. This has exacerbated the Walloons' desire for autonomy; and more calls for autonomy now come from Wallonia than from Flanders.

A Wallonia movement exists. Since the beginning of the century, men like Jules Destrée have written that, because of their superior numbers, the Flemings would one day assume power in Belgium, and that from then on the Walloons would be on their own. So a new chapter of Belgian history is being written.

And this time it is the Walloons who are responsible.

□ The author, who is Flemish, is on the staff of 'De Standaard', Brussels.

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Europe's 270 million consumers

Today the voice of the single consumer has little chance of being heard. Consumers have to get together – a fact readily understood by European consumers. However, there is a host organisation which looks after consumer interests throughout the Community: the Consumers' Consultative Committee (CCC), designed to represent consumer interests at the Commission and to give opinions.

It currently consists of 33 members, representing European and national consumer protection bodies, including the Bureau of European Consumer Unions (BECU), the Committee of Family Organisations in the European Community (COFACE), the European Community of Consumer Cooperatives (EUROCOOP), and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), together with nine experts.

By June of last year the Committee had adopted 59 opinions and 31 declarations, relating to the Common Agricultural Policy, the harmonisation of legislation on food products, prices, competition and product safety.

At its April 1983 meeting, the CCC elected Benedicte Federspiel from Denmark to be its president. It also adopted an opinion on proposed agricultural price increases for 1983/84. 'Concerned by the excessive increase in farm prices, the CCC believes that farmers' interests will again prevail over the interests of the consumer, taxpayers and the economy in general,' it said.

It has also published an opinion on relative noise levels emitted by machinery in the home. It says that Community-wide norms should be adopted and maximum levels should no longer be left to the discretion of individual member states.

Drive to protect the children

Every year, thousands of children in Europe die or are seriously injured after swallowing dangerous substances, mainly medicines or poisonous household products found around the home.

The reasons behind this sort of accident are essentially twofold: parental carelessness and a lack of proper safety lids, according to a draft report of the European Parliament's Environment, Public Health and Consumer Protection Committee.

Every day anti-poison centres receive hundreds of calls for help. At least half of the victims are children. An investigation of the problem in France showed that most of the time the kinds of things ingested were sleeping pills left on a bedside table, or 'ordinary' medicines, such as aspirin or cough syrup. The main cause of accidents: a lack of child-proof safety wrapping and 'attractive' coloured medication.

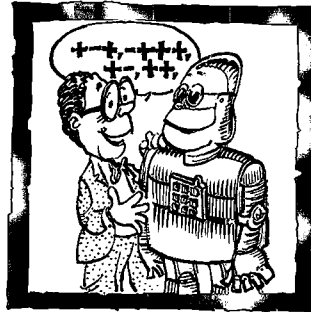
Among household products, lavatory cleaners, deodorants, bleach and paint top the list of things that children swallow. Other products include shampoos and conditioners that look like toys, or which have a misleading appearance – for example, imitation apples or oranges.

Currently, legislation on safety lids for children varies from one country to another. Some member states do not have any precise laws relating to the subject, notably France and Belgium. Conversely, in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom rulings on the wrapping of dangerous products already apply, and new ones are continually being introduced.

For example, in the United Kingdom, dark-coloured child resistant containers are used and 'blister' and 'strip'-type packaging of medicines. A law relating to the packaging of

domestic products is currently being studied by the British Parliament.

The draft report says that the introduction of common legislation at European level would reduce the burden on the welfare state and only mean a small increase in price to the consumer. The effect of similar legislation passed in the United States was to reduce the number of child poisonings by some 80 per cent.



Anybody here speak robot?

Computers may soon be able to break down age-old language barriers, with the introduction of 'machine translation', according to Commissioner Narjes.

In a written reply to French Socialist MEP Yvonne Théobald-Paoli, he said that recent developments have included approval by the Council of a £16.67 million research programme into an advanced machine translation system code-named EUROTRA.

The system, which will cover all seven European Community languages, is being jointly funded by the Community and the member states. It follows interest in machine translation generated at the Versailles summit of industrialised nations in June of last year.

Machine translation is also likely to be of particular importance to Europe's future relations with Japan. It already plays a key role in the Japanese 'fifth generation computer' project and further investment in the sector is expected, according to Mr Narjes.

Additional research is also underway at the World Translation Centre of La Jolla, California, which is currently developing SYSTRAN, a machine translation system designed to cover the Japanese-English and English-Japanese language pairs, he said.

How to help 'nomadic' families

The specific problems of children from travelling families and their education has been raised in the European Parliament.

Replying to a question from Belgian Socialist MEP Raymonde Dury, European Social Affairs and Education Commissioner Ivor Richard has listed Social Fund measures aimed at helping 'nomadic' families.

Three pilot projects have received Community funds: the first at St Kierans in Ireland, the second at Oldenzaal in the Netherlands, and the third at Bremen in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Commission has also called for a study on the problems of illiteracy, access to training and education for the children of transients.

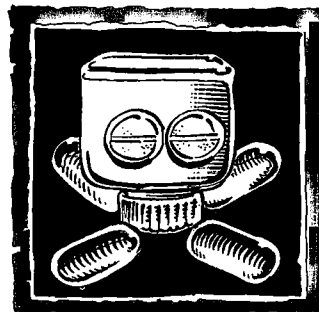
The Community's second 'Transition to work' programme, although it does not make any specific reference to groups like gypsies, could also benefit them, if a transient family happened to be in an area where a pilot project was in operation, according to Mr Richard.

Costs of animal health

Everyone knows that health is priceless, but in 1981 Europeans notched up a bill for veterinary medicines worth nearly a billion ECUs. European sales were nearly double those in the United States.

Replying to a written question from British European Democrat MEP John Purvis, he said that vets bills represented on average 1 per cent to 1½ per cent of the cost of raising livestock in the member states. According to the drug companies, sales of veterinary medicines reached about £567 million in 1981. Figures for Greece, Luxembourg and Ireland were not available for inclusion in the breakdown.

Sales in France accounted for nearly a quarter of the total, followed by the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium.



Oh dear — we're getting older

By the year 2000, over 20 per cent of Europe's population will be over sixty, according to European Commissioner Richard Burke.

In a written reply to British European Democrat MEP Robert Jackson, he said that the percentage of women over sixty would rise to 22.9 per cent and the percentage of men to 17.3 per cent.

But between 1973 and 1980 the percentage of men over sixty actually fell from 15.6 per cent to 15.2 per cent, while the percentage of women increased from 21 per cent to 21.2 per cent, he said.

the European Association for the Promotion of Poetry.

The aims of the association were to administer a European Poetry Library and Centre for research, documentation and translation in Louvain, to organise European poetry festivals, to publish poetry and studies on poetry in Europe, and to administer a European chair of poetry.

The Louvain library currently holds about 2,700 volumes of poetry, anthologies and magazines, in 35 languages from 40 countries, while the documentation centre keeps files on the work of about a thousand contemporary European poets.

Since 1979, four European poetry festivals have been held. Every year an internationally known poet is invited to take up the European Chair of Poetry for a period of ten days.

One of the main functions of the Centre has been to free poets from the relatively narrow confines of national audiences, and so make their work better known internationally. Translations published by the association include works in French, Dutch and Italian. MEPs are hoping that works translated from some of Europe's less well-known regional languages may also eventually be produced.

Most jobs in services sector, says Eurostat

In 1981, 56 per cent of Europeans were employed in the services sector. About 36.8 per cent were working in industry and 7.2 per cent in agriculture.

The figures are based on national estimates submitted to Eurostat, the European Community Statistical Office. They cover the whole working population, including wage-earners, the military, employers, the self-employed and domestics.

The importance of the tertiary sector is steadily growing in the Community. It includes trade, catering, hotels, repairs, transport, communications, credit institutions, insurance, business services, rentals, administration and so on.

In future the tertiary sector is expected to expand even further. In the United States services account for a large share of GNP, employing more than 70 per cent of American workers.

EEC Youth Orchestra at the Proms

When Claudio Abbado climbs on to the rostrum on 16 August at this year's Sir Henry Wood Promenade Concerts in London's Royal Albert Hall, it will mark the Proms debut of a group of young musicians whom he has described as 'one of the great orchestras'.

Since he is their music director, no one could accuse him of impartiality; but few would deny the acclaim with which audiences have greeted the European Community Youth Orchestra (ECYO) over the past five years in major concert halls throughout Europe.

Last year the orchestra's five-country, eight-concert summer tour included performances at the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam and the Musikverein in Vienna, as well as a special performance under the baton of guest conductor Sir Georg Solti to mark the 30th anniversary of the European Parliament.

1983 promises to be equally successful, with nine concerts planned for July and August in Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Switzerland. Venues will include



the Philharmonic in Berlin, the Royal Albert Hall and the superb Amphitheatre at Taormina in Sicily.

The programme is to be very different from that of previous years. It will include works by Shostakovich, Wagner, Richard Strauss, Webern, Schumann and Mozart. Mahler, Verdi and Beethoven, who featured in the programme that the ECYO took to the International Cervantino Festival in Mexico last year, have all been dropped from the repertoire.

The 140-strong orchestra, who are all aged between 14 and 23, are selected annually from about 4,000 young musicians who apply from all the European Community member states. Members of the orchestra have to re-audition against new applicants every year and there is an annual turnover of 40 to 50 per cent.



Poetry buffs call for EEC culture programme

The European poetry festival should become a permanent fixture on Europe's cultural calendar, according to Belgian MEP Jaak Vandemeulebroucke.

In a draft report on the Festival for the European Parliament's Culture Committee, he says that the European Community should sponsor the event, which brings together poets from all over Europe and is hosted by the European Poetry Centre in the Belgian university town of Louvain.

Plans for the first Festival were launched in 1979 by the editors of the Luxembourg-based multi-lingual cultural magazine, 'New Europe', when, together with a group of critics and poets from Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Spain, they founded



Face to face at the ACP conference in Brussels

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Mrs Ursula Schleicher, Federal Republic of Germany:
'Which European Community countries have not yet, or not yet fully, implemented the EEC Directive on bird conservation (79/409)?'

Answer by Karl-Heinz Narjes on behalf of the Commission:
'The Commission has now received communication of national measures to implement Directive 79/409 from all member states except Greece. Its services have virtually concluded their examination of this national legislation, and will shortly be in a position to start proceedings under Article 169 of the EEC Treaty against those member states whose legislation does not comply with the Directive.'

The Commission is aware that the red-legged partridge has been extinct in the wild state in the Federal Republic of Germany since approximately the 16th century, but it figures on both the German national and Community lists of species which may be hunted since attempts are regularly made to re-introduce it for hunting purposes in the Federal Republic of Germany. No member state is obliged to authorise the hunting of Annex II species, and member states must ensure that the hunting of these species does not jeopardise conservation efforts in their distribution area.

The preliminary work necessary amending Annexes of Directive 79/409/EC as referred to in Article 15 thereof will be completed, and the Commission hopes to be able to make appropriate proposals during the year.'

Hemmo Muntingh, Netherlands:
'On what advice does the Commission base its opinion that the Western Islands Development Programme is not likely to pose a threat to the sites to be protected under Article IV of Directive 79/409, and what consultations took place with bird conservation experts before this conclusion was reached?'

Answer by Poul Dalsager on behalf of the Commission:
'In its preparation for applying Directive 79/409 on the conservation of wild birds, the Commission instituted a study by the International Council for Bird Preservation compiling a list of important bird areas in the Community. The authors of this study which followed an earlier study (A Preliminary Inventory of Wetlands of International

Importance for Waterfowl in West Europe and Northwest African, published by the International Waterfowl Research Bureau) consulted a number of eminent bird experts in its preparation. The purpose of the study was to provide a first inventory of sites which should be protected under Article 4 of the Directive.'

A number of sites in the Western Isles have been included in this inventory as areas requiring protection under Article 4 of the Directive. An examination of these sites shows that they already enjoy a certain protection under United Kingdom legislation. In addition it can be seen that most of the sites are on uninhabited or sparsely populated small islands and that they are not of great interest for development.

In these circumstances, and taking into account the various protection procedures described in the Integrated Development Programme, including the role of the Nature Conservancy Council in advising and monitoring the effects of the programme, the Commission concluded that the programme is not likely to pose threats to the sites to be protected. The Nature Conservancy Council not only helped to prepare the programme, but were also the authors of the chapter dealing with the protection of the environment.'

Rudolf Wedekind, Federal Republic of Germany:
'In which sectors of the common market have sharper distortions of competition arisen in recent years as a result of unilateral national subsidies; and what are the possibilities, in the Commission's view, of taking action to attain the goals envisaged by the Rome Treaties in this respect somewhat more rapidly than hitherto or at least of attempting to prevent national subsidisation from spreading?'

Answer by Frans Andriessen on behalf of the Commission:
'Every member state is subject to growing pressures for the grant of public aid. Generally speaking, the number of proposed aid schemes on which the Commission is required to pronounce, like the volume of public aid, has considerably increased over the last few years. When scrutinising proposed aid schemes, the Commission makes sure that the conditions of trade will not be altered to an extent contrary to the common interest.'

Summit scenes from Stuttgart...



Top: Commission President Thorn with Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Fitzgerald and President Mitterrand. Above: 'Greens' demo, with unidentified bystander.

EEC GRANT HELPS FLOAT A BRIGHT IDEA

Richard Davies, David Smith and John Lambert, three fourth form boys from Maltby Comprehensive School who made it to the final of the Department of Energy National School's Competition for Energy Conservation, organised by Conoco, think we should go back to canal transport in order to save energy supplies.

As part of their entry for the competition the boys worked closely with Beatson Clark Ltd, local glass manufacturers. The company has forty lorry-loads of sand delivered each week, and the boys calculated that the same tonnage could be delivered by two canal barges. This would save oil, petrol, tyres, road space, drivers' time and energy. Using a fleet of four lorries, it could save a staggering £26,000 per annum.

The idea for this research was prompted by a grant by the EEC to the South Yorks Navigation Canal. In order to communicate their findings to other companies, the three boys have produced a video film showing how effective canal transportation can be.

The team were one of ten national finalists who presented their entries at the Institution of Electrical Engineers in London on 25 May. Although the team did not win the competition, the judges were most impressed by their entry. They described it as an 'excellent, original presentation which stood out because it dealt with an industrial subject'.

The team (pictured right) won £5 each and £100 for their school.



Commission backs employees' rights

Social Affairs Commissioner Ivor Richard has outlined the main points of the finalised proposal for a directive on employee information and consultation rights particularly in multinational companies.

The proposal – often referred to as the Uredeling Directive – was first put forward in October 1980. It has now been amended after extensive consultations with both sides of industry to take account particularly of the opinion voted by the European Parliament on 14 December 1982.

Mr Richard situated the newly-amended proposal firmly in the context of the developing body of Community labour law. The Directive, he said, should be seen as a step for-

ward in the essential process of developing Europe's labour protection legislation. The Commission's purpose in approving this draft directive, said Mr Richard, was to see how best to protect the rights of the workforce to information and consultation in an industrial climate where, if possible, the process of decision-taking is being centralised and internationalised at a faster rate than when the Commission first made its proposal.

The twin purposes of the draft directive, which would break new ground by being the first piece of labour legislation specifically geared to respond to the problem of ensuring worker rights in multinational companies, is to guarantee that workforce representatives are regularly informed on company activities and prospects; and secondly, that they are consulted on an obligatory basis on management decisions directly affecting them, ahead of such company decisions being taken.

For Mr Richard, employee information and consultation in companies was 'an idea whose time has come'. The method of applying it was the issue to which the proposal addressed itself – the procedures for informa-

tion and consultation, not the idea itself, which, he indicated, was now widely accepted. He personally believed – as did the Commission – that this idea needed to be enshrined as a right, with the full force of the law.

The starting point of the proposal, and its major rationale, is that information and consultation rights of workers are, by and large, limited to the local level, and thus no longer correspond to the reality of corporate decision-making, which now often takes place at a higher or group level.

On information, the proposal provides that management of the parent company should transmit to the management of its subsidiaries in the Community information both of a general and specific nature on such matters as company structure, the economic and financial situation, the probable development of the business, production and sales, the employment situation and probable trends, and investment prospects.

This should be provided at least once a year, and any updates of this information supplied to the shareholders or creditors should also be supplied to workers' representatives.

The man who was 'the miracle of Holland'

GUNTHER VIETEN gives an account of the life and achievements of **Hugo Grotius**, the Dutch 'mastermind' who was born 400 years ago this year

When Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Chancellor of the Republic of the Hague, went to Paris in 1598 to discuss his country's security with King Henry IV of France, he took with him a fifteen-year-old diplomatic adviser. His name was Huig de Groot.

A son of the mayor of Delft, he already bore the name of a Latin scholar – Hugo Grotius. Future generations would honour him with the title 'Father of Public International Law'. But at the time, his most famous work on the laws of war and peace, 'De jure, belli, ac pacis', had not yet been written. The French king – who, like everybody else, was tremendously impressed by the young man's knowledge – dubbed him 'The Miracle of Holland'.

At the end of the 16th Century, diplomacy required a considerable knowledge of the arts and classics. Educated men were expected to have a perfect mastery of Latin. By 1598, Huig de Groot had acquired a vast knowledge of the literature of classical antiquity. When he was only eight years old he wrote an 'Oratorio' to the glory of navigation. In 1594, aged eleven, he knew so much that his father sent him to the University of Leyden. There he astonished the great scholar Joseph Julius Scaliger by composing poems in Greek.

The celebrated philologist discovered that his pupil was not only capable of versifying to perfection, but also of formulating brilliant, logical sequences in the classical manner. Scaliger predicted a dazzling career for the young Grotius. He wrote that Hugo promised to become 'a prudent statesman, an eminent jurist, and a distinguished man'.

The rebellious Low Countries were very concerned about their image in international relations, and could make good use of such a prodigy as the young de Groot. At the time, a classical education was a valuable entrée to the highest political and social circles. Scaliger also brought the attention of the chancellor and the government to the exceptional talents of his pupil, and from then on Hugo Grotius' career was assured. His appointment as diplomatic adviser in Paris marked the beginning of a successful political career.

At 16, Grotius – who had meanwhile acquired a doctorate from Orleans – returned



home to establish himself as a lawyer. At 18 he was commissioned by the government to write a political history of the Low Countries. The work caused a sensation. Until then he had been known as an intellectual prodigy. Now he showed himself to be a first-class foreign policy theorist, and silenced critical foreign powers by writing the first apologia for the young Republic.

It was entitled 'De antiquitate rei publicae Batavae', and it provided, according to the scholarly criteria of the period, irrefutable proof that the sovereignty of the Low Countries was legally justifiable, because it was based on historical evidence. Later, Grotius was again to use his powers of classical persuasion, this time on behalf of Sweden, to justify the expulsion of the Danes from Scania.

In his legal works, Grotius drew examples from every kind of classical source of literature and historiography, but he never cited the work of contemporaries. His interest in literature began with the Bible and ended with works which were at least fifty years old.

The historian Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) said of his compatriot that he associated each of his ideas with images, words and motifs derived from antiquity to support new facts in the manner of ancient truths. 'The capacity and extent of his memory are something incomprehensible to us, who are accustomed to consulting reference works.'

Huizinga consoled himself by adding: 'It is only because we know that the area in which Grotius worked was rather limited, that we can have any confidence in our own powers of retention'.

Although Grotius devoted his intellectual talents for half of his life to serving his country, he later became a free spirit, linking his ideas to a doctrine. With his powerful intelli-

gence and a faith to move mountains, he set out to find rational ways of controlling the martial ardour of nations and uniting Christians. He was a moralist, an optimist and a pacifist – a man who believed in the power of reason and the spirit of compromise.

Huig de Groot served the Republic until 1618. In 1607, at the age of 25, he was appointed advocate-general of the province of Holland. At 31 he became a councillor of Rotterdam and a member of Parliament. He defended the interests of the Low Countries abroad; but, as the chief executive of Rotterdam, became increasingly involved in the conflict between the strict Calvinists and the more liberal Arminianists.

Grotius, like Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, supported the more aristocratic group, followers of the Leiden theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609). When, for political reasons, the ruler, Maurice of Orange, sided with the Calvinists, the internal political struggle turned against the tolerant faction. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was beheaded in front of the Knight's Hall in the Hague and Hugo Grotius was condemned to life imprisonment in the Loevestein fortress, for high treason. Grotius wrote: 'Now my love for my ungrateful country only hinders my happiness.'

In the obscurity and silence of his prison cell, Grotius wrote a book, which Leibniz later described as 'incomparable': the 'Bewijs van den ware godsdiens'. It was primarily intended for Dutch sailors crossing the seven seas and bringing their knowledge to other races. However, when the work was published in Latin, under the title 'De veritate religionis christianae' it became a theological best-seller. It appeared in 150 editions in eleven languages.

Grotius only rarely wrote in his mother tongue. But he did write nearly 35,000 poems in Latin. Today, relatively few scholars are familiar with this aspect of his work. The Netherlands Academy of Science now intends to publish the collected poetic works of 'The Oracle of Delft'. The project should be completed by 1990. The Academy has already published no less than eleven volumes of Grotius' international correspondence.

His incarceration in the Loevestein fortress marked an important turning point in Grotius' thinking. It was there that, for the first time, he wrote a book 'from the heart'. Because of it he acquired a great number of admirers in Europe who until then had been entirely ignorant of his work. In all he wrote 80 books and treatises, which were published in 936 editions and translations, bringing him considerable acclaim – but very little money. He also wrote a mass of poems, maxims and meditations. But, in modern eyes, he gained immortality thanks to a few books on law and diplomacy.

In 1604, at the age of 21, Grotius wrote his first book on public international law – 'De jure praedae' (On the law of spoils). The most famous chapter deals with the freedom of the seas, 'Mare Liberum', in which Grotius jus-

'I have attempted much...and achieved nothing'

ifies the capture of the Portuguese ship 'San Catharina' by Jacob van Heemskerck, an Amsterdam sea-captain in the East Indies. The incident took place in 1603 between Macao and Malacca, and caused an international outcry. The value of the cargo, which consisted of silk, Chinese laquer, porcelain and gold, was enormous, and its auction in Amsterdam raised some six million florins.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI had divided the world's seas between the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. Now a young Dutchman had arrived on the scene to prove, by means of scholarly arguments drawn from both natural right and classical philosophy, that the seas belong to all nations and that everyone should have free access to them. The opinion supported the view of the United East India Company, which had a monopoly on trade beyond

the Cape of Good Hope and served the interests of the Low Countries.

Grotius dedicated his masterpiece to another benefactor, King Louis XIII of France. After two years in the fortress he had managed to escape, with the help of his wife and a servant, concealed in a box of books. Disguised as a mason, he fled to Paris; and it was there, in exile in 1625, that he published his three-volume work on law, war and peace.

In the preface of the work Grotius observed: 'A good number of authors have treated Roman and civil law, but few have dealt with international public law so exhaustively.' He was actually the first to comment on aristotelian, stoic and scholastic philosophies in relation to international law, in addition to examining the ideas of the sixteenth-century Spanish school.

Grotius believed that war is only justifiable for reasons of defence, or to punish a nation that has broken the peace. He defined the borders of states, as well as the laws governing them. But it was the third volume that con-

tained the most important message. In it Grotius attacked the barbarism of war. To support his thesis he turned to the most noble examples. He drew from western sources of logic and moral philosophy to reach the conclusion that, in our innermost being, a latent 'appetitus socialis', or desire to be sociable, exists. Today we might think of it in terms of the desire to build international institutions like the European Communities or the United Nations.

At the same time he attributed to the western mind a 'novum organum', a new instrument to allow us to make a distinction between that which is just and that which is unjust.

Grotius finished his career as a secret adviser to the Queen of Sweden. In 1645 his ship ran aground near Danzig. He managed to reach Rostock, but there he died. Paster Quistorpius, who was with him when he died, took down the last words of the man described in Delft as 'a gift from heaven to his mother Holland.' Huig de Groot himself said: 'I have attempted much and achieved nothing.' ◻

Continued from page 9

seems underplayed. Nor would everyone agree that a cultural world coloured by (for example) Sartre was 'business as usual'.

Dr Mayne, who has seen so many things, seems to slur over this simple one, whose abrasions mattered not merely in his period but also beyond it, in such diverse phenomena as de Gaulle, or 1968, or END today. They are mentioned, of course, but what does not come through is their force. This seems a more serious drawback than treating Eastern Europe openly as a 'lost horizon', to be noted only on its withdrawing western face, in the Prague coup, or in Pasternak's Nobel Prize; lines must be drawn somewhere.

These reservations do not drain the main theme of its pungency. Dr Mayne is too much the artist to spoil his colour gradations by painting in outlines. But the message is clear. The great achievements of the postwar years,

the Marshall and Schuman plans, as their names suggest, were not attained by fine tuning. Their authors knew that to change old outlooks one had to change the old frameworks shaping them. Such ambitions seemed suspect and even sinister to opponents at the time. But Schuman was proud to be attacked for his 'saut dans l'inconnu'. And now the structures they built still give Western Europe much of what certainties and cohesion it can claim.

Surely, there is a moral here. Moreover, 'contrary to general belief, there had never been a golden age. The building of Europe had always been a suspense drama and a battle against time.' Dr Mayne's book prompts plenty of thought about what constitutes long-term realism. And so, however obliquely, it is a tract for the times.

**Postwar: the Dawn of Today's Europe.*
Thames & Hudson, £10.50

Continued from page 13

dailies are distributed at national level – the rest are essentially regional.

Even the Bild Zeitung, which appears nationally, prints its 5 million copies in 8 different regional editions. In France more than 70 per cent of total circulation can be attributed to regional dailies. Similar trends can be found in Italy, although Rome and Milan between them account for a large part of national circulation.

The fact is that readership of the daily press has been overtaken by that of the periodicals. In the Federal Republic in 1969, the ratio of dailies to periodicals sold was 1 to 4. In 1982 it was 1 to 6 or 7.

Parallel with the decline of the big dailies, the periodical press in Europe has made major

advances. In the UK in 1981, for example, periodicals represented over 60 per cent of the market.

Throughout the Community, TV and radio magazines, and women's magazines, are immensely popular. In the Federal Republic, the two leading periodicals are Das Haus, a women's magazine with a 6 million strong readership, and Hor zu (TV and radio), which has 4.3 million readers. In Britain, Radio Times has a circulation of 3.6 million.

In the Netherlands, Belgium and Greece the 'romantic' press tops the popularity poll. But in France it is again TV magazines that sell best, such as Tele 7 Jours (2.9 million) and TelePoche (1.9 million). Women's magazines are also highly popular in France; Modes et Travaux sells 1.4 million copies, and Marie-Claire 550,000.

letters

As a temporary expatriate, I am always very interested in your magazine, which is very well set out and packed with information.

Some years ago, you produced an excellent map of the EEC which my children found very useful – it gave them an idea of what Europe was all about – do you still have such things? It went up on the wall of their bedroom and was a constant reminder of the European ideal, flags, languages and all . . .

John Orpen
Yvelines, France

The map is available from Ordnance Survey agents and stockists throughout the UK, price £1.80.

Dangerous precedent?

As a British citizen, whose Government is faced with an Opposition party threatening withdrawal from the Community, I am at a loss to understand the line adopted in the article 'Why quitting Europe may not be too hard on Greenland' in the May edition of EUROPE 83.

Concessions of this nature on the part of the Community could well be interpreted in certain quarters as a sign of weakness, and set a dangerous precedent for anti-European parties or lobbies in member states, giving them a powerful argument for withdrawal with impunity.

Laurie C. Baillie
Schoenfels, Luxembourg

Our article did point out that the special status requested by Denmark in respect of Greenland excludes any territories inside Europe.

Britain has a strong hand to play in the negotiations, not only on the short-term issue of the budget rebate, but in determining the long-term shape of the Community's finances before Spain and Portugal are absorbed as new members. The EEC cannot continue much longer in its present stagnation: it must develop or decay.

— Observer

Special aid worth £63m to help to improve the environment in Belfast was agreed by EEC foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg yesterday.

The aid will provide 70 per cent of the cost of a series of projects including recreation and cultural centres. The request for the money had been made by politicians from across the Northern Irish political spectrum.

The first payment will be about £19m this year and is already reflected in existing public expenditure plans. The rest of the money will be spent over the next four years.

— The Times

Labour's campaigning strategy was to concentrate on unemployment and social issues and to stay off defence, the Falklands and the Common Market. If that strategy could have been sustained, it might have been effective. Nobody could have imagined how decisively and suicidally it was to be ignored by Labour leaders themselves.

— The Times

British fishermen are demanding an urgent inquiry into alleged illegal overfishing by the Dutch after new evidence has emerged that the Dutch are plundering newly-opened North Sea herring stocks.

The evidence came in an offer by the Dutch to a European fish-processing company associated with a leading Humberside trawler firm to sell to the processors 10,000 tons of frozen herring from this season's North Sea catch.

The North Sea herring fishery reopened only at the beginning of this month after a six-year ban to conserve endangered herring stocks.

— Daily Telegraph

A £14,500,000 EEC scheme to attract tourists to the troubled border areas of Ireland has proved an almost complete flop, according to a European Parliament report.

The cash was set aside in 1980 to improve tourist facilities, such as hotels, picnic sites, and craft workshops on both sides of the border.

Only a handful of projects were submitted to Brussels. Of the £14,500,000 available over five years only £2,200,000 has been used. No project has been submitted since 1981.

— Daily Telegraph

We must not go on being played for suckers for ever and ever.

The Community has an army of bureaucrats, a veritable plague of economists.

Is it really beyond them to devise a financial system based on one simple, obvious principle — the ability to pay?

— Sun

The Western Europeans are themselves far from united on the measures needed to reduce acid rain. Britain, France and Italy are seen as only grudging supporters of the tough control measures being urged by West Germany and the Scandinavians. Bonn, backed by Switzerland and the Nordic countries, is expected to table a set of demands that go well beyond the recent Swedish proposal that by 1993 there should be a 30 per cent reduction in all industries' sulphur dioxide emissions.

In the face of such expensive demands, the Eastern Europeans may find themselves in unholy alliance with the capitalists of the West.

— Sunday Times

Europe's TV broadcasters have come up with a plan for 'Eurovision' breakfast TV. It is one of the highlights of a package of programmes that could be exchanged by satellite between the main broadcasting networks from next year.

— New Scientist

This week, Community environment ministers had on their agenda a Dutch proposal that the export of dangerous chemicals from the EEC should be controlled in a way similar to that practised in the United States. The proposed regulation would compel exporters of pesticides to show that the importing country had given explicit and informed consent to the deal.

Exports from Europe account for around 60 per cent of third-world countries' imports of pesticides. Among them are substances classified by the world Health Organisation as highly hazardous, and by British health and safety regulations as 'poisons'.

— Economist

An EEC-aided retraining of white collar staff in the water industry has begun following a three-year new technology study by management and unions.

The unions have accepted that change is inevitable and want to take their share of improved efficiency in the form of shorter hours, longer holidays, job security and career prospects. The authorities hope to minimise water charges and reduce the need for capital expenditure.

The biggest and fastest changes are expected in administrative services, between 880 and 3,540 jobs would disappear over five years. Natural wastage and retraining is expected to keep redundancies to a minimum.

— Daily Telegraph

The European Commission yesterday told Britain and West Germany that over-restrictive monetary policies could jeopardise the prospects for growth in the Community.

A report sent to finance ministers of the EEC, ahead of next Monday's council meeting, says that cuts in the budget deficits in Britain and West Germany must be managed with caution, 'to avoid adverse effects on growth.'

Economic growth in the EEC will be just 0.5 per cent this year according to estimates from the commission. By 1984 growth is expected to reach 1.5 per cent but the Commission predicts that a wide gap will emerge in the growth rates of individual member states. Britain, Germany and Italy should grow at more than 2 per cent per annum but France and the Netherlands will lag behind by 0.5 per cent or less, the Commission warns.

— Guardian

WHAT'S IN THE PAPERS

The Labour Party should drop its present policy on the Common Market, which is now not so much a policy as an irritable mental gesture. The idea that a country the size of the United Kingdom can or should try to play a major independent world role is a dangerous and potentially expensive anachronism.

Of course the existing machinery of the EEC is in need of massive reform. But the United Kingdom is now part of Europe, politically and industrially. The residual Little Englanderism of the current anti-European policy does not fit a party that proclaims its internationalism, its links with European socialist parties and its concern about a world currently and dangerously dominated by the two super-powers.

— New Statesman

Rape has colonised Europe like a brilliant yellow virus. In Britain it now covers 650,000 acres, up from only 135,000 in 1977. By next year oil seed rape, which the EEC prefers to call colza, will probably occupy more land in Britain than sugar beet or potatoes.

Brussels encouraged the golden crop with golden subsidies. The idea was to provide protein for animal feedstuffs, replacing imports from the US (soya) and Brazil and Argentina (oil cakes). Now officials are beginning to take a more jaundiced view.

The EEC has therefore set a limit to production this year. As production will probably exceed this limit, the European Commission has introduced a penalty in the form of a 1 per cent cut in price to the farmer.

— Observer