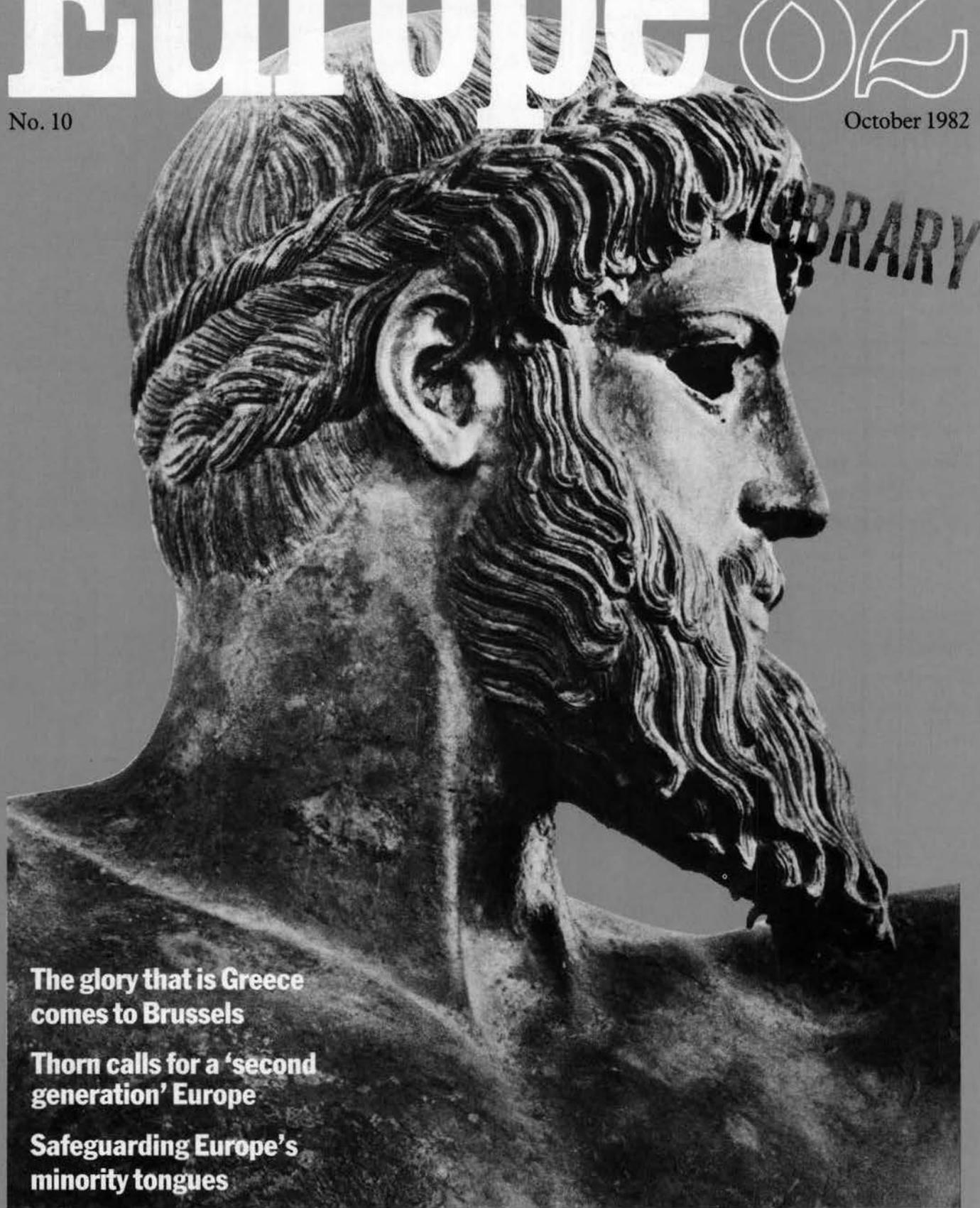


# Europe 82

No. 10

October 1982



**The glory that is Greece  
comes to Brussels**

**Thorn calls for a 'second  
generation' Europe**

**Safeguarding Europe's  
minority tongues**



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Published by the Commission of the European Communities, 20 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8 4QQ.  
Tel: 01-727 8090

Editor-in-Chief: George Scott  
Editor: John Greenwood  
Associate Editor: Denis Thomas  
Design: Lawrence Edwards  
Printed by Lawrence-Allen Ltd,  
Weston-super-Mare, Avon

*Europe 82* does not necessarily reflect, in all particulars, the opinions of the Community institutions. Unsigned material may be quoted or reprinted without payment, subject to suitable acknowledgement.

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# Re-making history in the North-East

The Industrial Revolution made the North-East of England great and for close on two centuries its heavy industries, such as coal-mining and shipbuilding, thrived. Glass-making and iron works also contributed to the area's prosperity, and the advent of steel created even greater opportunities for the rapidly increasing population.

**In the Sunderland area, a major casualty of the recession, grants and loans from Europe are helping in the fight against unemployment.**  
**ROY STEMMAN reports**

**W**ith a few notable exceptions, manufacturing industry in the North-East is struggling to stay alive. In its place, service industries and light engineering are appearing. But the recession has slowed their rate of growth. Sunderland, once the world's greatest shipbuilding centre, epitomises the North-East's problems. There are only two shipyards now, and their workforce has dwindled. The Littlewoods Organisation mail order company is now a bigger employer than the larger of the two yards, Austin & Pickersgill.

Sunderland has a population of about 300,000 and is one of five districts in Tyne and Wear county. It also has the highest male unemployment rate in the North-East: 25 per cent. On some of the town's housing estates which have a large number of unskilled people, that rate doubles and every other man is out of work.

The prospect for Sunderland's 7,000 school-leavers is bleak. 'There's not a job in sight,' Peter Kershaw, manager of Sunderland borough's programme planning department, told me.

It is for this reason that the borough has applied to the EEC for a grant to enable it to extend the scope of the present Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). It plans to set up a fund to encourage employers to take on youngsters, additional to their requirements, for three to four years. It hopes that the European Social Fund will agree to pay the same percentage as it does at present for YOP schemes, but over the extended period.

Apprentice schemes have been on the decline for a long time, and Sunderland sees its plan as an ideal solution to two problems:

Only two of Sunderland's shipyards are in operation, in a district with the highest unemployment rate in the North-East.

Now the traditional industries on which the North-East's wealth depends are in decline. The inhabitants of the area are drifting away. And the companies which have invested so much are either having to close, slim down, or search desperately for new orders in order to employ their workers. The industrial revolution has gone into reverse.



AUSTIN & PICKERSGILL LTD, SUNDERLAND

youth unemployment and the very real risk that when the recession ends industry will have no adequately trained youngsters to recruit.

For a long time the Silksworth Colliery stood as a gloomy reminder of Sunderland's changing fortunes. Coal-mining was once a vital industry and its port saw the export of vast amounts. The only legacy Sunderland received when Silksworth came to the end of its working life was a huge, unstable tip which was still burning, causing air and water pollution.

An enterprising scheme has now changed all that, and this depressing scar has been transformed into a recreational area complete with ski slope, fishing and wildlife lake, stadium, cricket ground and ten sports pitches.

One of Sunderland's more successful businesses is the Coles Cranes works which make truck-mounted cranes. It has received a £930,575 grant from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for expansion of its production facilities. Another ERDF grant recipient in Sunderland is Corning, famous as manufacturers of heat resistant glassware. It received £1,567,000 from Europe to help it modernise its Sunderland works, and former President Jimmy Carter is among the VIPs who have toured the works. But the recession has badly affected Corning's market – 500 of its workforce were made redundant this summer.

Carter's visit to the North-East is a reminder of America's links with the region, though with a town named Washington it would be difficult to forget it. From 1183 to 1613 the ancestors of George Washington lived at Washington, and the 17th-century Washington Old Hall has been restored with the help of American funds.

The village in which the Washington family lived is now part of Washington New Town, which is planned to have a population of 80,000. It is hoped that it will attract new industries to the area, and, like all new towns, it offers a variety of incentives to businesses. Electrical and electronic firms and a record company are among those who have set up there, though not all have been able to survive the recession.

One of Sunderland's problems is that it is overshadowed by Newcastle upon Tyne, 12 miles north, and Middlesbrough, 24 miles to the south. Newcastle has seen the largest single post-war investment in public transport, the Tyne & Wear Metro, which was opened last year. The final part of the system, due for completion next year, has received an ERDF grant and money from the Social Fund has also been given for the training of staff (see EUROPE 82 Jan/Feb 1982).

It is appropriate that the North-East should benefit from this imaginative and much-needed transport system – for it was a Newcastle man, George Stephenson, who built the first successful passenger steam railway, in 1825. It ran between Darlington and Stockton and led to a railway boom throughout the country. The opening of an extension of

## The Beamish open-air museum is now among Britain's top 20 tourist attractions

Stephenson's line – to Middlesbrough, in 1830, so that coal could be carried from the South Durham field to its docks – totally transformed it. Within 40 years Middlesbrough grew from a village of 40 people to a town with a population of 40,000. With the discovery of ore in the Cleveland hills it grew even bigger, becoming an important iron and steel centre.

This part of the North-East has received considerable aid from the European Community. Over £1 million has been paid by the

Sights from another age at the open-air museum: an old-time collier and (opposite) a classic locomotive.



ERDF to provide a link road to a trunk network carrying heavy vehicles at Middlesbrough. Teesside, too, has seen a lot of EEC support. Teesside Shipyard has received close on £½ million towards the building of two new quays, and over £1 million from the ERDF has gone towards the construction of two berths at Tees Dock.

Good news for Middlesbrough employees of the South Bank yard of Smith's Dock came in August this year, with the announcement that Brazil was placing a £40 million order for two drive-on ships. This will provide employment for the yard's 2,000 workers throughout 1983.

The town at the starting point of Stephenson's historic railway line was Darlington, which today depends heavily on engineering to maintain its population. Whessoe Heavy Engineering has borrowed £2½ million from the European Investment Bank to help it extend its manufacturing and assembly facilities for major nuclear plant components at Middlesbrough and Darlington.

British Industrial Plastics has also received £1.8 million from the ERDF for its Darlington factory producing vinyl resin powder, PVC compound and PVC pipes. And the well-known cigarette makers, Carreras Rothman, have received over £7 million from the

ERDF for the construction and equipping of a new factory at Spennymoor – an area in which the company has a number of other factories. It also received a £22,760 grant from the Social Fund for training 226 Darlington workers.

The biggest borrower from the European Investment Bank (EIB) for the area is the Central Electricity Generating Board, which has had loans in excess of £70 million for the building of a nuclear power station at Hartlepool.

A Darlington company, Cleveland Bridge and Engineering, has had two EIB loans, totalling £10 million, to build a new works which the Duke of Kent officially opened in July this year.

Cleveland Bridge and Engineering has been in business for 105 years. The Humber Bridge was one of its recent jobs. Another on a slightly smaller scale, was the new bridge which carries the Metro railway over the Tyne. It is part of the structural division of the Trafalgar House Group.

As a result of its new investment, the Darlington company now has what it claims are the world's most advanced fabrication facilities for steelwork. It has the capacity for 33,000 tonnes of heavy fabricated steelwork each year on single shift working and has a workforce of 500.

What is of interest from a national viewpoint is that currently 90 per cent of its work is for export. Contracts in hand include the Middle East, Hong Kong and Mexico. As well as producing the necessary steelwork the company provides a design and construction service, with bridges and power stations a speciality.

The North-East is changing more rapidly than many people realise. But important aspects of its past are being preserved – with the help of EEC money.

Beamish North of England Open Air Museum has been in existence for 10 years, and has succeeded to such an extent that it now attracts a quarter of a million visitors a year and is now listed as one of Britain's top 20 tourist attractions. The museum was the idea of Frank Atkinson, who was influenced by a famous Scandinavian folk museum and by concern at the way many reminders of the past were being allowed to decay and vanish. A case in point was Rowley Station, built in 1867 at a village in the hills near Consett. It never had gas or electricity, using oil for lighting.

The station was falling down when Atkinson came to its rescue. Like many other buildings preserved in the museum, it has been moved brick by brick and rebuilt at Beamish, together with a signal box, footbridge and other late 19th-century railway relics. It's more than just a museum piece, however: visitors can pull the levers in the signalbox and take a short ride on a steam-hauled train.

In another part of the 200-acre site you can hop on a 70-year-old double-deck open top tram, or on a No 10 tramcar which came into service in 1925 and was used on routes through Gateshead and Newcastle, over the Tyne Bridge, until 1951.



The importance of coal-mining to the region is represented at Beamish by a drift mine, colliery and pit cottages. Visitors can find out what life was like underground and in the homes of the pitmen. A row of stone-built houses has been brought from Francis Street, Hetton-le-Hole, Sunderland, and rebuilt. Erected between 1860 and 1865, they were occupied by coalminers and their families until 1976. The museum has furnished them to show how they would have changed internally over the years.

Of particular interest at the colliery is a working replica of George Stephenson's famous 1825 locomotive, 'Locomotion'. It was made in 1975 by local engineering firms to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. Beamish also has one of the oldest locomotives in the world, built by Stephenson in 1822 for Hetton Colliery. It was in use there until 1912.

Quite apart from these marvellous exhibits, Beamish is doing a considerable amount to preserve other aspects of the North-East's rich heritage. Its archives include over 50,000 negatives, a large collection of trade catalogues and a library of tape recordings of craftsmen, miners, housewives and folk singers.

The museum is administered by a consortium of four county councils – Cleveland, Durham, Northumberland and Tyne & Wear – and depends on their assistance as well as aid from the English Tourist Board and others. Its admission charges of £1.60 for adults and half-price for children are not sufficient to meet its £400,000-a-year running costs and invest in new projects. Its latest enterprise is the one which has attracted help from the ERDF. If an appeal fund can raise sufficient money, the EEC will give £200,000 towards the £600,000 required to recreate a North-Eastern market town.

Work on it has already begun. When finished, it will have cobbled streets, a public house (with drinks for paying customers), Victorian and Edwardian shops, factories and a foundry. There will be a Co-op tea room, a bus station and a bandstand.

### **Sunderland has asked the EEC for a grant to extend the Youth Opportunities Programme**

A splendid row of Georgian houses has been moved from Ravensworth Terrace, Bensham, Gateshead, to the site and are now under reconstruction. They were originally built between 1830 and 1840 for professional people and tradesmen. Landscape and marine painter John Wilson Carmichael lived at No 4 in 1833. When the houses are complete they will contain a solicitor's office and a dental surgery as well as residences.

The rebuilding of a bus station will incorporate some attractive cast ironwork from the former Durham City bus station of 1927.

Quite apart from the direct EEC assistance, Beamish Museum is also receiving indirect aid, since the European Social Fund makes an important contribution to the work of the Manpower Services Commission and, in particular, the YOP scheme.

Teams of unemployed youngsters under expert tuition have been learning skills while assisting in much of the reconstruction work at the museum. Over 80 YOPs have been involved, and their participation has included the refurbishment of railway carriages and the building of houses.

For them, the work at Beamish may be more than just re-building the past. It could be helping them to build a future. 



## A HELPING HAND FOR SCHOOL-LEAVERS

**In Sheffield, a pilot scheme, funded by the Community, is exploring ways to bring schools and employers closer together**

**D**o we do enough to prepare young people for work? The answer, undoubtedly, is 'No.' But, with EEC assistance, we are working on it. In August, a four-year pilot project came to an end in Sheffield which had involved local schools and industry in a search for ways to improve the schools' curriculum. It was one of six UK educational projects out of 28, spread over nine Community countries, all of which were designed to improve the employment prospects of young people.

Up to 50 per cent of the costs of these European Community Action Programme activities is financed by the EEC. The Department of Education and Science and the Sheffield Education Department were the other sponsors of the Sheffield project, whose title was 'Transition from school to working life'.

The scheme, aimed at the lowest ability band in the last two years of secondary school, involved three local schools – Herries, Hurl-

## 'The success of the project depended on teachers' willingness to collaborate'

field and Park House – which agreed, when the project was launched in 1978, to total commitment. They received an extra teacher, extra funding and extra secretarial assistance.

A fourth Sheffield school, Earl Marshal, was not prepared to accept the project's philosophy in total but was already doing interesting work along similar lines, so it joined the scheme and received additional secretarial help in return.

What the participants were looking for were ways of integrating schools and industry in a working relationship which would make the move from one to the other easier to cope with and more beneficial to both parties.

The appointment of an additional teacher at the three schools was to enable other members of staff to be released to do curriculum development, including industrial secondment. The success of the project was dependent on teachers' creativity and their willingness to collaborate with others working on the same problems.

They were supported by a small central team – Mike Smith, project director; a project secretary; two research workers; an education social worker; and a careers officer. These last two were seconded from their jobs and spent most of their time in the schools.

Every Sheffield school-leaver soon reaped the rewards of the project, in the form of a diary and guide called 'Going Places', which gave assistance and advice to those looking for their first jobs. It was designed to complement the help already given in the classroom.

Total cost of the Sheffield project has been just over £400,000. 'This shows,' says Mike Smith, 'that with very little extra resource you can really mobilise teacher creativity to a good end.' He believes the project has shown that by getting teachers to work together with bodies outside the school – such as industry, the careers service and youth workers – it is possible to produce a better kind of teaching methodology. He adds:

'I think we have also demonstrated that once you stimulate people to work together and identify problems you can change what happens in schools pretty quickly.'

However, just as the project was getting off the ground the employment situation worsened. In 1969 Sheffield was able to offer the choice of 8,027 vacancies to its 6,600 school-leavers. Ten years later there were 2,100 more school-leavers (a total of 8,700) but vacancies were down to 3,401. By 1981, when the 'Transition from school to working life' project should have been having its greatest impact, 9,000 youngsters left Sheffield schools with only 845 jobs available.

Because of this change, the project has



'Mobilising teacher creativity to a good end' – Sheffield youngsters on the EEC-funded course.

moved away from an emphasis on jobs and the work ethic and expanded the themes of leisure and life-skills activities.

But it has certainly not failed. Those involved have been responsible for producing 29 research papers, organising conferences, and generally disseminating information about the work and its results. Among the sponsored work it has also financed was the production of a tape/slide presentation (by a school outside the scheme) for a paper manufacturer as a teaching aid. It has also helped the making of two other slide presentations – 'What are interviews like?' and 'First day at work'.

The Sheffield project has also benefited from the 'twinning' of companies and schools, at senior level, so that head teachers and top executives work together on a personal basis, in the hope that school and industry will both get something out of the relationship. This has been a particularly successful aspect of the project.

Despite the *raison d'être* of the project having virtually vanished from under their noses as it progressed, the team is sure that the EEC-backed venture has been of help to many youngsters, and to those who teach them and those who try to offer them employment.

The project is over, but the work of dissemination will continue for another year. Mike Smith, who says the schools involved will never be the same again, returns to his job as a senior advisor with Sheffield Education Department. The experience gained as project director, he reckons, is bound to influence him in the future, as well as other schools for which he is responsible.

ROY STEMMAN

# President calls for a 'second generation' Europe

Europe has changed radically since the Community was formed 25 years ago. The time has come for rethinking its very foundation, declares Gaston Thorn. A report by LILLIAM PURDOM

The question 'Can we—and should we—change the Community?' has been asked for several years now and the time has come to answer it seriously. Gaston Thorn, President of the European Commission, took the bull by the horns at a symposium held in the summer by the Institut Français des Relations Internationales, when he put forward the idea of holding a new Messina Conference in 1983. It was the Messina Conference in June 1955 which paved the way for the Treaty of Rome setting up the Common Market.

Gaston Thorn's idea is to produce a new 'European contract' which would reflect all the changes which have occurred in the Community since the Treaty was signed twenty-five years ago. There have been many; and Thorn believes we are no longer attuned to the original plan. A new phase of unification must therefore begin, otherwise there will be no Europe of the second generation. Of course, the overall assessment of Europe over the last 25 years is positive, for the Community has made considerable progress in the economic and political fields. But a host of problems still remain. In Gaston Thorn's view, therefore, we must take full advantage of the experience acquired over the last two decades and redesign the institutional set-up so as to meet today's difficulties, now that we are fully aware what they are.

What, then, is the Commission President's diagnosis? Why does he think Europe is no longer getting anywhere? As he sees it, Europe is in trouble because the Treaties have been ignored time after time, the spirit of solidarity has evaporated when it was most needed, and the European ideal has faded away. It is common ground that Europe forged ahead in the euphoria of the Sixties, but problems began to accumulate after the first oil crisis, and member states have felt obliged to protect their own interests first and foremost.

This has been a severe blow to solidarity. What is more, Europe has aged: its population has aged, and so has its industry. Steel, textiles, shipbuilding – there are so many industries where restructuring is becoming more and more of a necessity. Besides, European scientific and technological potential is ageing as well: there is a need for more innovation and more investment.

Gaston Thorn's final cry concerns Europe's dependence on others for its security. He says: 'It is schizophrenic to want to set up a European economic area and at the same time to refuse to consider ways of guaranteeing its security.' And then there is Europe's dependence in monetary and energy matters.

**'The lack of a solution to the British budgetary problem prevents other policies from being reinforced'**



**'The Treaties have been ignored, the spirit of solidarity has evaporated'**

So what is to be done? There are three approaches to reviving Europe and giving the old continent a new political future. First, the 'intellectual' approach – 'restoring the original and true meaning to the concept of solidarity', as Gaston Thorn puts it. Then the 'political' approach – facing the challenges to the Community together by strengthening and developing common policies in matters such as unemployment, the reinforcing of investment and monetary policy. But it goes without saying that these policies will get nowhere unless there is greater convergence of national economic policies.

Lastly, there is the 'institutional' approach, 'making short shrift of the hurdles,' as the President says. What will that entail? There are hurdles, indeed; but the worst thing about them is that they all seem to be interlinked. For example, the lack of a solution to the British budgetary problem prevents other policies from being reinforced and new policies from being launched.

Hopes that the budget problem might be settled by a radical revision of the common agricultural policy have dimmed somewhat. When the Community is paralysed and the member states have so many problems to tackle, they will inevitably be tempted to look for solutions that it is difficult or even impossible to reconcile with Community rules. Something needs to be done, then, and soon.

One vital factor – which is to be found in all Gaston Thorn's three 'approaches' – is reviving the idea of solidarity. The Community has to find its second wind: it must not miss the chance of a 'second-generation Europe'. A new institutional balance is required, and that means rethinking the very foundations of the Community. If the European Commission – the guardian of the Treaties – concludes that a decisive step is needed, can we be sure that the Ten will have the political will to renew their original pact?

Gaston Thorn's initiative has already found some response in the European Parliament: a draft resolution supporting his proposal for a new Messina Conference was passed on 9 July. ☐

# How can we safeguard Europe's minority tongues?

Throughout the Community, ethnic and regional languages are still widely spoken, regardless of national pressures.

**CHARLES FOSTER** and **GUY HERAUD** outline the scale of the problem, and suggest ways in which the Community could help

**T**here is a growing interest in safeguarding the rights of the 35-odd linguistic minorities who live in the European Community – an interest highlighted in the new draft convention on the rights of regional minorities, which was debated in the European Parliament on 7 July.

The public at large may be unaware of the number, and variety, of ethnic dialects that are still spoken in the countries of the Ten.

Italy, with twelve, and France, with seven, contain the greatest number of ethnic dialects within their borders. The UK has five, Greece four, the Federal Republic of Germany two, Denmark, Ireland, and the Netherlands have one each. Belgium and Luxembourg are in a special category, as they recognize three official languages. What follows is a run-down of these and of their status in the member countries, and an examination of the relationship between the EEC and the minority regions.

Due to major territorial losses after the Second World War, Federal Germany today

contains only two linguistic minorities: the Danes of Schleswig-Holstein and the two groups of Frisians in Schleswig and Lower Saxony. The three groups together comprise

**'Progress has been made in the EEC countries, but many of the provisions leave much to be desired'**

only 53,000 persons, or less than one-thousandth of the West German population.

Belgium's linguistic problem is not a 'microphenomenon', since it concerns the lives of its entire 10 million inhabitants. There are the 5.5 million Flemish in the north, the 4 million francophone Walloons in the south, and a germanophone community of 66,000 along the German border. Denmark also contains a

German-speaking minority of 15,000 in the south Jutland.

The only linguistic minority in the Netherlands are the 400,000 Frisians in the west. Ireland has two official languages; but aside from the 55,000 speakers of Irish Gaelic on the west coast, English is preponderant. The three nations of Britain all contain linguistic minorities. Scots Gaelic is still used by about 89,000 people in the northwest Highlands. In Wales, about 20 per cent of the population speaks Welsh. In England, Cornish has been resurrected. In addition, a form of Gaelic is spoken on the Isle of Man, and a form of Norman French is spoken on the Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

Greece has a number of linguistic minorities near its borders: 50,000 Albanians, 150,000 Macedonians, 50,000 Romanians, and 140,000 Turks in Thrace. Italy contains more linguistic minorities than any other country in Europe except the Soviet Union. These are the Valdostaines in the northern Aosta Valley, who speak a burgundian dialect; the German-speaking South Tyrolians near the Austrian border; the Ladins in the Badra and Gardena Valleys, who speak a rheto-romance dialect; the Friulians in the northwest; the Piedmontese; the Slovenes in the provinces of Gouzia and Trieste; Occitanians on the French border; the Croats, Albanians and Greeks of the Mezzogiorno; the

## LONDON LOCKS OUT THE NORTH SEA

Dutch sea defence expertise and British civil engineering skills have come together to save London from drowning. Mid-November marks the opening of the Thames Barrage, centrepiece for an eleven year, £800 million scheme to protect London from freak tidal surges.

Some 45 square miles of Central London have been in danger of flooding if North Sea storms met spring or autumn tides in the narrow seas between Britain's south-east coast and the Continent. London's planners have long feared that weather conditions like that would create a tidal surge along the Thames, causing at least £3 to £4 billion property damage alone. To meet that risk contractors Tarmac and Costain, along with the Dutch group Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij, HBM, have raised the Thames's tidal bank defences for 30 miles from London to the sea, and created the unique Thames Barrage tidal gates.

Early plans ranged from giant parachutes that would inflate against freak tides, to a Thames dam. The Greater London Council finally chose consulting engineers' Rendel Palmer and Tritton's scheme for giant, semi circular steel gates that lie beneath the surface and rise up two hours before weather computer information identifies a risk of a tidal surge. The widest gates, spanning 61 metres, weigh 3,200 tonnes each. The whole barrier absorbed 51,000 tonnes of steel and 214,000 cubic tonnes of concrete. The Greater London Council hopes to open a viewing platform for visitors to the Barrier.



Sardinians; and the Sicilians.

Finally, France contains seven major linguistic minorities: the 250,000 Flemish of Westhoek, the 2 million Breton-speakers in Brittany; the Germanic dialect spoken by 2 million people in Alsace and Lorraine; the 'Langue d'oc' in Provence; the 230,000 speakers of Basque in the southwest; the several thousand speakers of Catalan on the Spanish border; and 281,000 Corsicans, who speak an Italian dialect.

The current status of these minorities is still determined largely by national policy, and the rights of each vary a great deal from country to country, as does the degree of assimilation. The Germans of Denmark and the Danes of Germany share a reciprocal arrangement under which both enjoy the same rights in their respective countries. Each has its own cultural institutions, including schools, which are subsidised by the local government. Each has its own electoral union and is represented by a deputy in the local parliament.

The Frisians of Schleswig are divided into two groups – the 'Nationale Frashe', which considers itself a national minority and votes with the Danish minority's Südschleswiger Wählerverband, and the Nordfriesischer Verein, whose members consider themselves German nationals, but who wish to preserve their own language and traditions.

Denmark also had sovereignty over the Faroe Islands and Greenland, both of which are autonomous provinces. (The Faroe Islands, however, are not part of the EEC.) The bi-lingual province of Greenland, which received autonomy in 1979, will negotiate its own statute with the EEC in 1982.

Laws passed in 1963 and 1964, the constitutional revision of 1970, and laws passed in 1980, have formed the present image of a communal and regionalised Belgium. The three cultural communities – the Flemish, the French, and the Germans – have their own Community councils. The Flemish and the French councils are charged with cultural and personal affairs, while the German council has only consultative powers. The regional divisions include Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.

A further distinction is made among the four linguistic regions: the Flemish, the French, the German, and the bi-lingual region of Brussels. Although representing a majority of the Belgian population, the Flemish dominate only one of the three regions, and the francophones dominate the other two. On the other hand Brussels, whose population is 85 per cent francophone, would accept nothing less than full autonomy.

The province of Friesland in the Netherlands is bilingual. Communal authorities ensure the use of Frisian for official purposes, and supervise the teaching of the language in schools, which is becoming more widespread.

A three-language situation exists in Luxembourg. Luxembourgish is generally spoken in the streets, whereas public signs and the press are either in French or German. French is the language of government and interna-

tional relations, while German is generally used in the Church.

The territory of Gaeltacht, on the west coast of Ireland, is currently assigned a minister for the purpose of protecting and propagating the Gaelic tongue. A Gaelic Council is in the planning stages, for the purpose of extending economic aid to depressed areas and of instituting cultural developments (such as television programmes) in order to prevent the local population from dispersing. Gaelic is taught in state school throughout Ireland.

In Greece, the Albanian, Macedonian, and Romanian minorities are not recognised and seem to be destined for assimilation. However, the Turks of Thrace, because of a reciprocal agreement with Turkey regarding the Greek minority in that country, have the benefit of scholastic and religious rights.

Although article 6 of the Italian Constitution states that 'the Republic shall protect its linguistic minorities by appropriate means,' only four groups are officially recognized.

## 'The Free European Association rallies the minority parties in the Parliament'

These are the Valdostaines, the South Tyrolians, the Ladins, and the Slovenes. The regional statutes adopted in 1970-71 attempted to make up for the deficiencies of the state; but government authorities have been thwarting local plans, so that the majority of the country's minorities do not draw any public funds. Still, the existence of certain international agreements has prompted a more careful execution of the regional statutes.

In Britain the largest linguistic minority is in Wales, where Welsh is taught in many schools and serves as a teaching language in others. Local radio and television programmes are broadcast in Welsh. To the north, Scots Gaelic, although taught in school, is threatened by urbanisation. In Northern Ireland most people have lost the use of Gaelic.

Of all the countries in the EEC, France has been the most reluctant to extend regional statutes to its minorities and encourages a tendency towards assimilation. The establishment of public regional authorities in 1972, as well as the granting of regional cultural charters in the latter part of the decade, have not been effective. Perhaps the most positive development has been the Deixonne law of 1951, which permits the teaching of Breton, Basque, Catalan, and Occitanian (and later extended to include Corsican) in primary and secondary schools – but only on a voluntary basis. No measures for enforcement exist. But special statutes are now planned for Corsica and the Basque country.

Progress has been made in the EEC countries on a national level, but – for those who would like to see ethnic dialects preserved – many of the provisions leave much to be desired. Can help come from the European

Community?

The Community decided back in 1952 that there would be four official languages: French, German, Italian and Dutch – all the major languages of the original Six. The three new members added two more languages. The Council had decided in favour of adopting the official languages of all the member states, but Ireland did not insist on imposing Irish Gaelic. Greek was added in 1981. Admission of Spain and Portugal will add two more. Due to the confusion and inconvenience, and to the time and cost involved in translation and interpreting, the Community has been forced to face the language problem squarely.

Within the European Parliament has been formed the Group for Technical Coordination and the Defence of Independent Parliamentarians, whose members have been known to take ethnic positions. Within this group, there is the Free European Association, which rallies the various minority parties throughout the Community. However, these 22 deputies represent only a small minority.

Two tendencies are visible in Europe today – one towards greater European unity, and the other towards greater ethnic awareness. With this prospect, how can the Community be reorganised in such a way as to protect ethnic groups and guarantee their equality?

As for legal equality – the right of each minority group to define for itself the linguistic and cultural rights that it requires – such a right has both a substantive and a formal aspect. The first principle is that the statute satisfy the wishes of the interested parties. Unilingualism would be possible only where the indigenous population constitutes an overwhelming majority, as in the eastern cantons of Belgium, where the francophone population is only 5 per cent. Otherwise, a bilingual system would be preferable. The statute must also make provisions in the following important areas: education, administration, the mass media.

In education, two systems are possible – single schools for minorities and immigrants, in which half the instruction would be conducted in the minority language and the other half in the official language, or separate schools, one for minorities and the other for immigrants. In this system, the language which is not the one of the group could be taught as a second language. The first system would help create a mixed society, whereas the second would foster the development of the cultural characteristics of each group.

The administration would need to be perfectly bilingual, at least in its dealings with the public. Each citizen would have the right to his own language.

Finally, provisions should be made for the special case of cross-boundary minorities, not only free access to each other, but also common economic and cultural institutions.

□ Charles Foster is the editor of *Nations Without a State* (Praeger, New York, 1980). Guy Heraud is professor of political science at the University of Pau.

# Eyeball to eyeball with Uncle Sam

**T**rade relations between Europe and the United States have deteriorated, according to EEC Industry Commissioner Etienne Davignon, summing up relations with the White House in a recent statement.

'Low blows', 'personal antagonisms' and 'declarations of war', are how the European press described the situation. The controversy raging between the United States and the European Community has perhaps never been so serious, despite the promises and expressions of good faith made at the recent summit meeting of the leaders of the industrialised nations at Versailles.

Disagreements have multiplied and escalated between EEC member states and the US, and now cover subjects as varied as monetary policy, textiles, steel, agriculture and East-West relations.

Europeans have been complaining for months about the uncontrolled fluctuations of the US dollar, and with some justification. The recent rise in the exchange rate of the dollar, due to high US interest rates, has succeeded in wiping out the effects of the current easing of oil prices, and has meant a significant increase in the EEC's energy bill.

US policy aimed at reducing inflation has hindered attempts to stimulate a European economic recovery. European banks are more or less obliged to align their interest rates with those of the United States, which has led to a slowing down of investment.

In the agricultural field, on the other hand, the Europeans are under fire from the United States. For nearly a year and a half, the Reagan Administration has criticized the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy, blaming it for many of the difficulties which American agriculture is currently undergoing. \* The Community is specifically accused of paying out unfair subsidies to promote exports of its farm products. The Europeans have countered with a series of arguments pointing out that all industrialised countries, including the United States, subsidise their farm exports in one way or another.

In addition, the United States is the world's leading farm exporter and the Community is its leading client. In 1980, the EEC experienced a trade deficit of some 30 billion dollars in agricultural trade with the rest of the world. The European Commission acknowledges that European exports of grain, milk, meat, beet sugar and wine have been on the increase in recent years; but it says that the share of European products on the world market has decreased.

Codes adopted in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) explicitly authorise subsidies when they are not aimed at materially altering the market share of an exporter, so the EEC feels that Community subsidies, aimed at aligning European prices with those on the world market, are valid. By

\*Reported in EUROPE '82, August issue.

attacking them, the United States is turning its back on painstakingly negotiated international agreements, they say.

The controversy concerning steel is based on similar claims. The major US steel companies say that European steelmakers benefited from subsidies from the Community in order to 'dump' or sell their products below production costs, on the American market. In June, Washington decided to levy a surcharge, amounting to as much as 40 per cent in some cases, on a large portion of the steel exported by the EEC to the United States. The European Commission denounced this decision and claimed that financial aid granted by the Community was destined solely to help the European steel industry to modernise and cut back its productive capacity. Recent talks between EEC negotiators and the State Department have resulted in a modification of the Americans' stand.

In the meantime the American administration has been pressing Europe to stiffen its attitude toward Eastern Europe, and has imposed a ban on the exporting of American technology licensed to European firms to assist in the construction of a major pipeline to provide Western Europe with Siberian natural gas. A number of such firms have already been threatened for refusing to submit.

EEC Foreign Ministers have announced their intention of defending the Community's legitimate interests in the appropriate international organisations, and especially in the subsidy committee of the GATT and the steel group of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

They have also confirmed their willingness to counter-attack on all fronts. ◻

## BOOK SHELF

**European Regional Incentives 1981**  
Edited by Douglas Yuill and Kevin Allen,  
Centre for the Study of Public Policy,  
University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

A comprehensive survey of regional incentives in the countries of the European Community, plus Portugal and Sweden. Part I is an overview of regional change in the countries concerned. Part II provides highly structured descriptions of each of the main regional incentives on offer in each Community country.

Each incentive description follows a common format and is divided into six parts: basic details; administration coverage; factors affecting award values; award statistics; and source of further information. Part III goes on to survey the situation in Greece, Sweden and Portugal.

**The Division of Europe after World War II.** By W. W. Rostow. Gower, £10.50.

Second in a series examining the process by which ideas are turned into action, in this case the shattering of Europe's image of itself and the post-war tensions between allies, which led to the Cold War. There is a wise quotation from Jean Monnet: 'People only accept change when they are faced with necessity, and only recognise necessity when a crisis is upon them'.

**Member States and the Community Budget.** By J. Orstøm Møller. Samfundslitteraturskabeligt Forlag, Copenhagen.

The presentation of this book should not deter the reader from plunging in. Once the eye gets used to the type and the numerous tables the mind can concentrate on the complex content - the Community

budget. Chapter X touches on the British contribution. The book is logically presented, starting with the size and the role of the budget and examining the finance and the relative shares of member states.

**Europe against poverty - The European Poverty Programme 1975-80.** By Jane Dennett, Edward James, Graham Room, Philippa Watson. National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 26 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HU, £10.95.

The European Poverty Programme, or the 'European Community Human Face', comprised two main elements: cross-national studies of specific aspects of European poverty and locally-undertaken action projects.

The book is a condensed version of the original ESPOIR (European Social Policy Observation, Information Research) report. It analyses the different social, economic and political contexts within which these studies and projects were undertaken, assesses the value of the programme and brings home the necessity for more vigorous anti-poverty policies.

# Commissioner hits back at anti-Market MPs

**B**ritain's European Commissioner, Christopher Tugendhat, has challenged the Labour Party's spokesman on agriculture to say whether he secretly envisages a marked reduction of agricultural output from Britain's farmers under Labour's plans for withdrawal from Europe.

Speaking at the Scottish National Farmer's Union conference in Edinburgh, Mr Tugendhat, a vice-president of the European Commission, called on Labour spokesman Norman Buchan to admit that getting out of the common agricultural policy (CAP) and returning to deficiency payments, at a cost Mr Buchan had estimated



at about £1,000 million per year, involved a big cut-back in British farm production.

Mr Tugendhat questioned the Labour claim of significantly lower consumer prices if Britain gets out of the CAP. This was inconsistent with Mr Buchan's suggestion that world prices would rise if Britain left CAP, he said. Mr Tugendhat stood by the statement he made earlier this year at the Oxford farming conference, that the cost to the Exchequer of maintaining United Kingdom agricultural output and return at present levels and to provide support at CAP rates would in fact come to about £2,000 million per year.

He told the Scottish Farmers' Union:

'I do not believe anyone in this room seriously believes that, if their businesses were to operate under a national support system, they would be better off than they are now. How much would Mr Walker be able to obtain from the Treasury to finance the deficiency payment scheme? The estimate I made at the Oxford farming conference was that around £2,000 million per year would be needed. Taking into full account even his persuasive powers, I think he would find it difficult to obtain the necessary resources.'

This figure, he added, had been criticised, notably by leading figures in the Labour Party. Mr Norman Buchan, Member of Parliament for Renfrewshire West, and Opposition spokesman on agriculture, told the Food Manufacturers' Federation a few weeks ago that Mr Tugendhat's figure was based on the sole assumption that the cost to the Exchequer was in some way related to the current level of consumer prices.

'The figure I have,' said Mr Tugendhat, 'is the cost to the Exchequer and nothing else. As far as the calculation is concerned,

Mr Buchan should have no problems, for it happens that my calculation uses the same methodology and gives rise to a figure very close to one of those worked out by the Labour Party's research department and referred to in the Labour document on withdrawal from the EEC. This figure was £1,743 million.

'Thus, using the same assumptions, we come to essentially the same figure – the £1,743 million being based on the 1979/1980 marketing year.' He went on:

'Mr Buchan assumed that, were the United Kingdom to withdraw, world prices would move up and close about half the gap between

**'Personally, I do not believe in these substantially lower food prices. But I do fear that British agriculture could suffer enormous damage...'**

world and British prices. For prices to move so significantly, supply and demand would need to change markedly. Does Mr Buchan envisage a marked contraction in British agricultural output? If so, he should let the industry know. He should also make his position clear to consumers who have been told by his party that food prices would be substantially lower were the CAP not applied in the United Kingdom. He simply cannot have it both ways.

'Personally, I do not believe in these "substantially lower food prices". But I do fear that British agriculture could suffer enormous damage were the British public led to believe that they were attainable. This damage must be avoided in the national interest.'

## ALTERNATIVES TO EEC 'NOT CREDIBLE' – BRUSSELS LABOUR GROUP

An attack on the Labour Party's statement on British withdrawal from the European Community has been published by the Labour Group in Brussels. The Group are members of the party, and include those working for European Community institutions or the international trade union organisations.

First they expose numerous misconceptions and errors in the facts and arguments set out in the National Executive Committee statement. Then they point out that the process of withdrawal would be much longer, more complex and more prejudicial to British interests than the Labour Party believes.

Finally, they reject the claim that substantial benefits would accrue to Britain from leaving the Community. The alternatives to membership put forward by the party are 'simply not credible'.

The pamphlet can be obtained from Michael Cendrowicz, 36 av. Albert-Elisabeth, 1200 Bruxelles, at £1.00 per copy.

# Banking on a better environment

**I**rish forestry, French coastal installations to deal with oil spills, heating Danish homes by burning garbage and an industrial exodus from a small town in Tuscany – at first glance these may not appear to have much in common. But they all represent the recent, little-publicised emergence of environmental issues as a significant factor in the operations of the European Investment Bank – the European Community institution responsible for long-term loan finance.

Although the protection of the environment was not in the original Treaty of Rome remit of the Luxembourg-based bank, a variety of projects aimed at combating industrial pollution, treating sewage, recycling waste and generally improving the quality of life have enjoyed the Bank's support. Environmental conditions attached to EIB loans are also becoming more frequent.

Environmental interests are something of a refinement of the Bank's original (1958) purpose, which was simply to promote 'balanced and steady development' in the Community and associated countries. This consisted of making low-interest loans aimed at developing poorer regions, ideally serving the interests of several Community member states or the Community as a whole, and assisting industrial modernisation and conversion.

It was only in 1972 that the environment emerged as a serious factor, following the Stockholm conference of the United Nations, the sudden realisation of the threat to the planet posed by pollution, and the ensuing international campaign to clean up the world.

## 'European Community leaders declared that economic expansion is not an end in itself'

In October of that year, European Community leaders met in Paris to declare that economic expansion 'was not an end in itself and should result in an improvement in the quality of life as well as in standards of living.'

The first Community environmental action plan was adopted by the Council of Ministers in 1973, outlining air, water and other environmental quality objectives. A second programme followed in 1977 and a third, continuing through 1986, is currently under ministerial scrutiny.

Against the political background of 'environmental consciousness', EIB loan appraisal soon included an evaluation of the potential environmental consequences of

## The European Community's own bank looks kindly on development schemes that help to improve the quality of life, reports CHRIS LOM

proposed projects. Contractual obligations to borrowers to take steps to protect the environment were also introduced and bank funding of anti-pollution and environmental protection projects was stepped up.

The task of assessing the environmental impact of proposed projects falls squarely on the EIB's technical advisory service, who, as engineers for the most part, base their decisions on strictly scientific criteria. Quality and quantity of water, quality of soil and air, aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems, undesirable or irreversible changes in the environment, vulnerability to natural hazards, aesthetic aspects, microclimate and noise – these are just some of the factors they take into account.

Bank officials admit, however, that they often do not see eye to eye with environmental pressure groups like the European Environmental Bureau (EEB). 'They really don't have the same priorities as most people,' said one official, defending the bank's remit to create jobs and economic development, and pointing out just how difficult it is to do that without changing the environment in some way.

Waste disposal and recycling projects have proved to be among the most successful and least controversial of recent EIB loans. For example, in Emilia Romagna in Northern Italy the bank helped finance a plant to concentrate a factory's pollutant effluent waste into sludge, which was then dehydrated and burnt in special furnaces to meet part of the factory's own energy needs. An incineration plant at Videback, in Central Jutland, also received a loan to burn domestic, industrial and agricultural refuse, which would otherwise have been dumped at sea or in pits on land.

Steam heat, generated by the project, is fed into the district heating system to save fuel bills and reduce energy imports. In Grimsby, in the North of England, the EIB funded another plant designed to reprocess domestic and industrial waste into fuel for use by industry.

Recycling projects have included finance for two schemes aimed at combating pollution caused by oil tankers cleaning out their ballast tanks at sea. Installations for 'rinsing' tankers and storing, separating and recovering 'waste' oil from the contaminated effluent that they discharge, have been funded in France – at Brest in Brittany, and at Fos-sur-Mer, near Marseilles.

Other EIB projects aimed specifically at environmental protection have included facilities to treat chemical industry effluent before it is discharged into the Rhine; sewerage and water purification schemes in Denmark, Greece, Italy, the United Kingdom and Ireland; and plant to counter atmospheric pollution from German steelworks.

Environmental considerations have also become a factor in agricultural projects, in loans for tree planting, pasture improvement and water-course regulation to control erosion, in drainage and irrigation, and in measures to protect wildlife – for example, through constructing fishways for salmon. All such schemes are eligible for EIB finance, provided they enhance productivity in some way.

Banking principles – the financial soundness of a project, its contribution to the Community, and its environmental impact – provide no clear picture of how significant a role the environment plays in EIB decision-making. Between 1973 and 1982 the bank spent about 55 million ECU on specific environmental protection projects. Another 1380 million ECU was spent on environmentally-linked projects like sewerage and purification of water supplies, and 370 million ECU on rationalising and reducing energy consumption.

But the overall effect of the growing EIB awareness of environmental issues has probably been far greater in the long run, filtering through into dozens of other, apparently unrelated, projects.

As EIB technical officials point out, attaching environmental conditions to loans may add relatively little to a project in terms of total cost. But it can often make life a good deal more pleasant for a lot of people. □

## A tougher line with terrorists?

'What kind of a Community is it where terrorists can find sanctuary by crossing internal frontiers?' demanded British MEP Alan Tyrrell when he tabled a resolution during the Parliament's July session, calling for an end to political asylum and the automatic extradition of those suspected of politically motivated crimes.

Mr Tyrrell's resolution was carried by 81 votes to 54 with 10 abstentions. Many left-wing members voted against the measure, insisting that political asylum is an integral part of democracy.

Mme Simone Veil criticised some Community governments for only paying lip-service to the idea.

# EUROFORUM

## Will the GATT 'summit' ease Europe's economic tensions?

The international meeting which will bring together ministers and high-ranking officials dealing with economics, trade and industrial affairs at the GATT headquarters in Geneva from 24 to 26 November is expected – according to the official announcement – 'to allow for improvements in international cooperation aimed at resolving complex and potentially disruptive problems which reflect the intensification of protectionist trends'.

In fact, progress in preparing for the ministerial meeting by the preparatory committee has been impeded by the constant deterioration in economic relations between the main trading partners. At one stage, in the middle of this summer, experts were asking themselves if it would not be more appropriate to cancel, or more diplomatically, to postpone the meeting. Trade conflicts which pit Europe against the United States, Japan against both Europe and the USA and the North (which includes Australia and South Africa) against the South, had reached such proportions that no-one could see the point of holding such a high-level multilateral meeting. This was particularly so because any solutions found or sought for the problems under study seemed to be within a bilateral framework that is outside GATT and sometimes even against GATT rules.

It is a reassuring sign, therefore, that the ministerial meeting is going ahead according to schedule. It will be attended by about 800 delegates from 90 countries which are members of GATT and another 60 countries which have observer status. Even if these countries

are still far from seeing eye to eye on the problems under review, they realise that a show of force leading to an international trade crisis is against everybody's interest. GATT, therefore, serves a useful forum where the international community is reminded of certain basic principles founded on solidarity and far-sightedness.

The recent annual report drawn up by the GATT secretariat emphasises the seriousness of the problems facing us today. The study stresses, for instance, that subsidies are not just an important cause for the delay in industrial restructuring in a number of industrialised countries but also on the point of becoming the reason for political frictions between countries. The study concedes that as far as statistics are concerned 1981 and 1982 were among the worst years yet since the Second World War.

The report does not limit its criticism to governments alone. It points out that industrial cartels can become very effective obstacles, even if they are temporary, against the adjustment process: as their main objective is to raise prices – which can only be achieved by reducing production – the cartels serve to in-

crease surplus production capacities. And finally, the report warns that protectionism can cause liquidity crises which are serious enough to cause a number of countries to default.

No member of GATT can truthfully claim to apply all its tenets. This is especially true of the larger countries who continue to draw up exceptions to prove the rule. Let us look at one example – the latest catalogue of non-tariff barriers concerning industrial products drawn up recently by the GATT secretariat. It covers 800 pages and pinpoints more than 600 measures. Bringing the document up to date for the meeting in November has proved to be a momentous task. The secretariat has decided not to bind the papers but to leave them in loose form, so that they can be replaced more rapidly.

In addition to ad hoc measures and the increasing protectionist trends which accompany economic crisis in all countries, three recent developments can be held responsible for the deterioration over the past 10 years of the multilateral trading system which was set up in place after the Second World War.

Firstly, the new form of 'bilateralism' introduced by the United States in its negotiations with Japan on 'voluntary export restrictions'. During these negotiations, the United States did not hesi-

### ON THE LINE

The European Commission has proposed New Zealand be allowed to export 89,000 tonnes of butter to the United Kingdom next year – a scheme which the member states are due to examine this autumn.

This quantity will be the last stage of a 3-year arrangement under which New Zealand exported 94,000 tonnes in 1981 and 92,000 tonnes this year to the British market.

The proposal on the table is 1,000 tonnes lower than New Zealand would like to send. Although changes to the import levy that has to be paid would ensure that the financial return on the 89,000 tonnes would be almost the same as on the higher quantity, New Zealand has reservations about the proposal. It fears this would establish a lower initial threshold for future negotiations.

Europe's farming bodies argue that the share of the British market taken by New Zealand butter has climbed from 25 per cent to 33 per cent, and are demanding imports be cut to 65,000 tonnes.

tate to apply political-military pressure on Japan. The facilities for international trade negotiations provided by GATT were completely ignored. If all the stronger countries negotiate in such a way, operating outside established frameworks, only the weak will remain inside international regulations. Disorder is inevitable.

The second handicap has been the increasing trend among member states of GATT to follow trading practices based on the barter system. Introduced by the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries who hope to save foreign exchange, and largely practised by Japanese trading houses who can resell what they buy, the barter system is also becoming popular in the United States. Import-export firms dealing with a wide range of products are being set up with government assistance to undertake barter deals. And it is in this context that the recent Congress demands for 'reciprocity' in trade relations must be seen.

A number of Congressmen are in fact asking Washington to only allow imports into the USA from countries (particularly Japan) who take in American exports. While publicly deploring such a trend, America appears to be adapting to this trend. Europe, on the other hand, seems unprepared for this both from the point of view of its inadequate trading structures, and because of the positions, often changing and ambiguous, adopted by its governments.

The third element which must be highlighted is the increasing trend in international trading circles to mix political and military considerations in international economic life. The American Government is largely responsible for this new development, as proved by the recent uproar over the Siberian natural gas pipeline. The statements made by the American Administration could not be clearer: Vice President George Bush said recently that the United States was 'the leader' of the free world, and that under the Reagan Administration it intended to behave as such. There was no reference to 'liberalism' or contractual obligations.

Even if it is hard to separate economic and political considerations, one must draw the line somewhere. Otherwise, these rather limited conflicts could degenerate into a full-scale war. People are asking themselves if the rather limited trade advantages that the United States hopes to obtain from the embargo on the pipeline are worth the political strains that have now emerged in the Atlantic Alliance. 1982 has seen a barrage of criticism against American poli-

cies, including its stance on export credits, steel imports from the EEC, or even agriculture policies, although the EEC feels ill at ease in this particular sector.

Japan was even forced to threaten (a threat it has not carried out) that it would build up its trade with the East and develop its sales of arms. Europe is also on the defensive. Developing countries, who are the first to pay for badly managed international monetary policies – after having borne the brunt of high oil prices – are certainly not in a particularly conciliatory mood. The European delegation is therefore expected to play the 'intermediate' role. The EEC delegation is also best placed to ensure that the GATT meeting does not turn into a kind of 'super Versailles', an ambiguous super production.

Given the number of people who will be attending the ministerial meeting, it is the preparatory work being done by groups of high-ranking national and international experts which will determine the success or failure of the meeting. Experts are faced with the following choice: they can either decide to deal with a certain number of specific subjects, and prepare for some conflicts, or only deal with principles and allow ministers to renew their commitment to the principles of free trade and GATT rules at a time when protectionism has reached alarming proportions. This will undoubtedly be followed by the creation of a number of specialised committees; ministers will vote for 'supplementary studies' which will mean that no one will

change their positions until the next round of negotiations. The 'Kennedy Round', followed by the 'Tokyo Round', will invariably be followed by the 'Geneva Round'. But time is running out. Can the 'contracting parties', that is the major Western powers, afford such a diplomatic strategy at a time when each day brings more threats against the international trading system?

Experts currently preparing for the ministerial meeting appear to have opted for another approach. They stress that a normal session of GATT contracting parties should be held at the same time as the ministerial session. Several subjects (rules on fisheries, fraud, double pricing, etc) which should be treated but which would only mean an unnecessary burden on ministers would be tackled by high-ranking officials. Ministers will therefore be able to discuss more political questions which will allow them to reach agreement on a joint statement.

After initial doubts, ministers from all countries concerned have agreed to attend a meeting which should not force them to make any major concessions. The appeal for an international – and Community-wide truce – seems to have found an echo in different parts of the world. The German ministers who have always been in favour of the encounter will be meeting their French counterparts, who have been less committed to the session. The results of the meeting, and what will follow, are still little more than subjects of conjecture.



'The only Community institution to be chosen by the public': see article opposite.

# 30 years of growth for the European Parliament

The European Parliament celebrated its 30th birthday in September, amid a fanfare of festivities and in the presence of many of the leading political figures who, over the years, have enhanced its reputation and powers.

The inaugural session of the Common Assembly (as it was then known) was held in Strasbourg from 10 to 13 September 1952, only five months after the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community had been signed in Paris.

It brought together 78 members representing the six founding countries – Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands.

The Assembly elected as its first President one of Belgium's leading politicians, Paul-Henri Spaak. The importance of the occasion was recognised by the then Federal Chancellor, Dr Konrad Adenauer, who told the members: 'You are the first sovereign Parliament in Europe to be established on a supranational basis.'

The creation of the European Economic Community in 1958, the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark in 1973, the first direct elections in 1979 and the arrival of Greece – all have swelled numbers to the present 434.

The growth in size, experience and competence of the Community has enlarged the Parliament's functions. There is now hardly any issue of European or international importance that is not examined by the MEPs.

The Parliament was the first in Europe to condemn the Soviet Union's armed invasion of Afghanistan. Its status as a political platform was shown when the late President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, addressed the members in Luxembourg in February last year.

The European Commission now holds its normal weekly meetings in Strasbourg whenever the Parliament has its plenary sessions there. Commissioners are present to defend their policies and records, as is the Foreign Minister of the country currently chairing Community ministerial meetings.

The most significant parliamentary landmark in recent years was the European elections in 1979. Just over 60 per

cent of the electorate turned out to vote for their European representatives for the first time. Up till then, members had been appointed by their national parliaments and had to carry out a dual mandate. Some still do, but their number is decreasing. The majority now treat their role as an MEP as a full time occupation.

The increased legitimacy which the elections conferred on the Parliament – it is the only Community institution to be chosen by the general public – has given the institution extra confidence in its search for additional powers.

Less than six months after the elections, the Parliament showed its displeasure at the sums of money going to the Common Agricultural Policy, to the detriment of other policies, by rejecting, for the first time ever, the Community budget for the following year.

It shares powers over the Community's purse strings with member state

Governments in the Council of Ministers and by astute manoeuvring has managed to increase its say in the formulation of future policies.

The Parliament has the power to dismiss the Commission *en bloc*, although this has never yet been seriously threatened. Its use was first mooted in November 1973, and the possibility has since been raised on a number of occasions.

As EUROFORUM went to press, the Parliament was preparing to open legal proceedings for the first time against another Community institution – in this instance the Council of Ministers, for failing to introduce a common transport policy.

The breadth of experience and political colours represented in the Parliament is considerable. In March 1982, there were 57 parties organised into 7 different political groups.

The next 30 years will surely see the Parliament continue its fight for a greater say in Community affairs and efforts to develop greater contact with its electorate. It has started to streamline its internal organisation, but is hampered by the refusal of governments to agree that it should have one permanent meeting place.

At the moment the secretariat is in Luxembourg, committee meetings are held in Brussels, and plenary sessions take place in Strasbourg. This involves frequent travelling, and is a drain on time and money. The staff has calculated that 15 per cent of parliamentary costs are due to this situation.



The Parliament in session. For most MEPs the job is a full-time occupation.

# EUROPEAN REVIEW

## Where the boats come in

Scottish MEP Winifred Ewing would probably agree with the observation that 'ports are necessities, like postage stamps or soap, but they seldom seem to care what impressions they make'. In response to a written question by Mrs Ewing, the Commission revealed that more than £40 million has been granted for both port and ferry service improvements throughout the Community since 1975 by the European Investment Bank and the European Regional Development Fund.

Most of the money was given to Britain and Ireland, although Denmark, France and West Germany have also benefited.

## Helping small businessmen

Company failures in the Community have reached an alarming level, and the rate of failure is accelerating all the time. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, traditionally the Community's industrial stronghold, some 16,000 firms are reportedly expected either to go bust this year or at least be in need of a drastic overhaul. In 1981, 80 per cent of the 11,500 firms which folded up in the Federal Republic of Germany employed fewer than 50 workers.

Although considerable in themselves, the consequences are much more than jobs and money lost. The confidence of both businessmen and bankers is severely shaken with the result that banks are more reluctant to lend and businessmen have less incentives to invest. The economy is then sent down the road to stagnation.

Small and medium-sized companies (SMEs) are hardest hit. Surveys have shown, however, that SMEs are not only more innovative than large companies but they also create a greater number of new jobs. Both the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee (ESC)

are advocating that SMEs be given more protection so that they can better weather the recession.

Both urge that more money should be made available to them through the Community's lending institutions.

## Alcohol in the tank

The European Commission is anxious to increase the level of alcohol consumption in the Community. Its intention, however, is honourable – the liquor is to fire your car engine rather than blow your mind.

With Community road transport greatly dependent on fuel derived from oil (80 per cent of which is imported) the Commission engaged a team of experts to look at substitute fuels such as methanol, ethanol and alcohols in order to cut the Community's reliance on imported oil.

Tests have shown that cars perform just as well when petrol is tempered by these substitutes as they do on the real thing. There are other advantages too. Engines will not require any major modifications, and health risks will be lowered – the substitutes will reduce petrol's lead content but not its octane rating.

## Counting the new poor

The last time there was a head-count of the number of people in the Community living below the poverty line the final tally came to more than thirty million. That was in 1975. With the drastic turn economies have taken since, today's figure must be well above that.

The official figure, however, is still 30 million. That means more than 1.1 per cent of the Community is living in poverty. In addition, studies indicate that some five million people live off social security benefits while seven to eight million more are eligible for them but do not apply. More than two million families are obliged to share their homes with others.

The European Parliament, through its Social Affairs committee is now insisting that the fight against poverty be given political priority. The Commission has said the responsibility lies largely with national governments, although some policies can be co-ordinated at Community level.

Indeed, through its five-year action programme (1975-80) the Commission has already given financial support to projects throughout Europe which sought to develop new ways to help those beset by poverty.

In addition to the traditional poor – the elderly, disabled and single-parent-families – the Report of the Social Affairs Committee prepared by Roland Boyes MEP points out that the recession has given rise to the 'new poor' in the form of the long-term unemployed. Such widespread poverty, it says, is likely to increase political instability.

## Meet Ada, Stella and Oscar

In 1979 the Commission launched its multiannual programme in the field of data-processing. It was the first time action of this scope has been taken by Brussels in this area.

The co-ordinated programme follows the system of Commission funding for individual 'priority projects' during the Seventies. These included studies in software portability where emphasis was placed on devising a European, and indeed universal computer language to help bring greater uniformity to the international market as well as improve the Community's competitiveness. The system could be based on the ADA language now being developed in Europe for the US defence department.

In the field of informatics, support was given to research into data security, measures to guarantee confidentiality and protect individual freedom.

High-speed data transmission projects included STELLA (satellite transmission experiment

linking laboratories), a four-year programme begun in 1977 by the European Space Agency (ESA) and the European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN). Under the present multiannual programme, improvements and refinements are being added.

Data-transmission projects, aimed at improving the workings of the Common Agricultural Policy and the Customs Union, were also funded.

## Keeping TB at bay

In response to a written question by Italian MEP and member of the Parliament's public health committee Signora Squarçialupi, Social Affairs Commissioner Ivor Richard has revealed that tuberculosis afflicts one in every 10,000 people in the Community.

It is most frequent among foreign workers and their families coming from outside the Community, where social conditions are less favourable. However, the incidence of the disease is declining at a rate of five per cent per annum.

The Commission suggests that Community co-operation agreements involving the training of medical staff and supply of equipment could complement the World Health Organisation's immunisation campaigns.

## More help for immigrants

Non-governmental organisations offering social help to immigrants in the European Community may be eligible for support from the Commission.

Aid is aimed at part-financing of projects but is not awarded on a continuous basis. Applications for support, together with a financial statement of the organisation, should be sent to Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Education, DG V/B/4, 200, rue de la Loi, 1049 Brussels, Belgium.

## STRASBOURG NOTEBOOK

CHRISTOPHER JACKSON,  
MEP for Kent East

**G**overnance of the European Community is certainly not under adequate democratic control. The Brussels Commission, the Community 'government in embryo', has lost power to the Council of Ministers, which, by a combination of good sense and bureaucratic nationalism, usually takes decisions unanimously, even where this is not required by the treaties.

The result is that far too many items are blocked by one member state or other, for reasons that could not, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, be called of 'vital national interest' but which have the effect of slowing the progress and response of the Community to a snail's pace.

A united Europe is in the interests of its citizens but not in the interests of state bureaucrats. Thus, while it is possible to list formidable achievements of the Community in the last 25 years, the fact remains that our citizens are being denied the economic and foreign policies that only the scale and strength of the EEC can bring.

Internal reforms are long overdue. The problems are well recognised, but last year's Commission mandate from the Council of Ministers failed to achieve desired reform of the Community, while the Genscher/Colombo plan for faster progress towards European Union is on ice.

The European Community has 270 million people, an annual income greater than that of the United States and enormous human, intellectual and commercial riches. It is, by any standards, a giant in world affairs. Yet it is a giant so restricted, so shackled by nationalism, that it cannot give its citizens and the world the benefits it should bring. This is the feeling which has led the European Parliament to take a new initiative towards European union.

The Parliament wants to revise the 25-year-old treaties which form the backbone of the Community. Important aspects, such as foreign policy, are outside the current treaties, while on the other hand the current treaties have not proved strong enough to secure progress on some important items they contain.

For example, it took over twenty years to get the European Parliament elected, and virtually no progress has been made on certain policies, such as transport, which were clearly envisaged way back in 1957. What, indeed, has happened to the proposed single seat of the institutions? Luxembourg is even going to the European Court over the Parliament's decision to hold its sessions in Strasbourg only.

In July, the European Parliament adopted, by a massive majority and with support from all major parties, a resolution setting in motion detailed work towards revision of the Community treaties, with the aim of clearing the path towards European union. Mention of these two words may send a shudder down the spines of some people in Britain. But their fears should be allayed by the 'principle of subsidiarity' which I formulated for the resolution carried in July. It is a frightful phrase, but it means that the Community should not take over tasks unless they are best

performed at Community level – better than either at member state or local level.

The great importance of this 'principle of subsidiarity' is that it provides a logical basis for widespread discussion of the Community's functions, to argue over and to assess which functions the Community can really carry out better than the member states individually. I personally want decisions and decision-making to be kept as close to the people as possible, only raising them to a more remote level – county, state or European – if there is advantage to the people in doing this.

It is no contradiction to want to build a Community of real powers – more than at present, but with functions limited to those matters which the European Community can perform better than the member states. Parliament's most prudent course will be to propose extremely limited amendments to the existing Treaty of Rome. But equally we must produce the structure of a new draft treaty for use in future years. We must be realistic; but we must seek a new framework that can last the Community for at least the next fifty years.

The European Parliament adopted my recommendation to encourage informed debate in the member states and to take evidence. The Institutional Affairs Committee of the European Parliament now aims to take evidence from experts throughout the Community, in much the same way as the European Communities Committee of the House of Lords does. Their system, and their reports, are widely upheld as near-ideal models throughout the Community.

## 'There should be a great debate among the peoples of the European Community'

The European Parliament's timetable is that, by the early summer of 1983, after consultations in the member states involving taking evidence from the widest variety of people possible – pro and anti, of course – the main rapporteur, Signor Altiero Spinelli of Italy, a former EEC Commissioner, and six sub-rapporteurs will come forward with detailed proposals. Then, late in 1983, the Institutional Affairs Committee will bring its proposals to the European Parliament. If it accepts them, they will be sent to the Parliaments of the member states, the Council of Ministers and the Commission for their reaction.

The key to the process is that there should be a great debate among the people of the Community. If it works it will be the most important thing the Parliament has ever done. Perhaps it has the dice stacked against it, because many member states are in a nationalistic frame of mind at the moment – a condition linked to the world recession from which we are all suffering. But public opinion, if well informed, will, I am convinced, support the minimalist approach to European union which I and others advocate. The European Parliament, the only democratically-elected Community institution, is best suited to initiate the necessary modifications to the treaties.

Like Britain, the European Community has its unwritten constitution, involving foreign policy cooperation, inter-institutional agreements, agreements between member states. Where these have proved successful we can include them in treaty amendments. Above all, we can search out the tasks which can be more efficiently done on a joint basis, and perhaps in the process change the mould of European politics.

The grants are not paid to the companies concerned in addition to assistance they receive from Government.



of interest in Europe's richly diverse traditions.

North Wales MEP Beata Brookes supported the Arfè Report, and has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Centre, which is located in her constituency. She is particularly delighted that what was once a Victorian primary school should re-emerge as an international place of learning, with folklorists from seven countries in the first batch of students.

## Grant for UK under Regional Fund

The Commission has announced grants of nearly £80 million for 128 projects in the United Kingdom, under the European Regional Development Fund. This allocation brings Regional Fund grants in Britain to £860 million since the Fund began operations in 1975.

This allocation includes a £28.5 million grant to British Nuclear Fuel's Magnox project at Windscale. This will enable ageing plant (some of which is nearly 20 years old) to be replaced by systems designed particularly to satisfy the more stringent environmental conditions and high safety standards compatible with present day requirements. Such replacement assures the approval of the Health and Safety Executive and thus the continuing functioning of the Electricity Board's Magnox station with the 2800 associated jobs. An additional 1200 new jobs will be created by this investment.

In Scotland, aid (£2.7 million) has been granted for the construction of an electricity cable between the island of Orkney, where generation transmission and distribution of electricity present severe practical and cost problems, and the mainland. This will replace the existing diesel-powered station in Kirkwall (Orkney) and at the same time assist first-time supply of electricity to some of the most remote communities in the country.

About two-thirds of ERDF grants are towards infrastructure projects. This finance is passed on in full to the local and other public authorities concerned, thus reducing the amount they have to borrow to finance the investment in question. As far as industrial projects are concerned, the Community grant now announced represent a Fund contribution of up to half the cost of the assistance given to individual projects by the UK Government.



## Aid for human rights research

**The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a collection of self-evident truths that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, has probably been abused to a greater extent than any other single resolution approved by the UN. Torture, imprisonment without trial, discrimination and sometimes death still await people who express opinions that differ from those of the authorities in the vast majority of countries that signed the Declaration thirty-four years ago.**

The European Human Rights Foundation is a new body aimed at the promotion and protection of human rights throughout the world. Founded in the Netherlands in 1980, and part-founded by the European Commission, it provides limited finance for individuals and non-governmental organisations for research across the whole spectrum of human rights issues. Around 40 EHRF grants, rarely exceeding £3,000, have already been made available for projects dealing with Eastern and Western Europe, South and Central America, Asia and Africa.

Application forms for awards in 1982 are available from: Peter Ashman, European Human Rights Foundation, 95a Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1DT. Closing date is 30 October.

## Folk centre for Europe

A new focus of interest at this year's Musical Eisteddfod at Llangollen was a former schoolhouse on the banks of the River Dee, now converted into the European Research Centre for Folk Studies.

Comprising an exhibition hall, lecture rooms and a cafeteria, the Centre was born from an idea floated by the North East Wales Institute and Clwyd County Council two years ago. It hopes to attract folklorists from all over the world to attend courses on European folklore given by visiting lecturers.

The project has already won the support of the British Council, the National Museum of Wales, the Wales Tourist Board and the Manpower Services Commission, which provided labour to complete the £20,000 conversion free of charge. The organisers also hope for an EEC grant to expand the range of lectures on offer in coming years.

Says Clwyd County Council's Steve Nott: 'Folklorists often tend to specialise in a particular area, and become introspective. Hopefully, the Centre will broaden their views by introducing a European dimension.'

Thirty students arriving for the Centre's first £200 two-week course in 'comparative folk study' were greeted by an exhibition put together by local schoolchildren, entitled 'The Dragon in Europe', showing the part played by the Welsh national emblem in European folklore.

Interest in folklore at a European level recently received a boost with the European Parliament's adoption of Italian Socialist MEP Gaetano Arfè's report calling for a bill of rights for minority regional cultures in Europe. The report included calls for the teaching of local languages, history and literature in schools, to bring about a resurgence

## Another Euro-loan for Scotland

The European Investment Bank (EIB), the European Community's bank for long-term finance, has lent the equivalent of £2.5 million for various infrastructure improvements in the Dumfries and Galloway region, S W Scotland.

The loan (term 15 years, interest rate 13.25 per cent) has been granted to Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council. It will go towards various road improvements and water supply schemes to serve industrial and tourism development, plus 12 industrial site and advance factory developments in the region, which are expected to generate some 1,650 jobs.

Due for completion by end-1983, the works are costed in total at about £9 million. The EIB made a first loan of £2 million in 1980.

Since the United Kingdom joined the European Community in 1973, the European Investment Bank has channelled close to £800 million to industrial and infrastructure investment in and/or directly benefiting Scotland. Most of the funds were provided for projects assisting regional development.

## Update on biomass

**The abrupt rise in oil prices in 1973 encouraged a number of European Community member states to step up research into alternative energy sources. Biomass is now seen as one of the most promising areas of research into new forms of energy.**

Biomass covers energy produced by organic wastes (wood, industrial and household waste, used rubber,

harvest waste, etc) which is released through combustion, fermentation, electrolysis or gasification. It also covers the cultivation of plants for the production of energy, including sugar cane, manioc, and fast-growing forests. French government estimates suggest that biomass should cover 7 per cent of its national energy requirements by 1990.

The European Commission is playing an active part in promoting biomass, and is financing four pilot projects for the production of methanol from wood. The projects should be complete by 1983. The Commission is also financing 15 demonstration projects dealing with different aspects of biomass energy. Its financial contribution to the two programmes is put at £1.53 million and £5.85 million, respectively.

Following the first conference on biomass energy held in Brighton in 1980, the Commission organised a second meeting in Berlin in September. More than 700 scientists, engineers, agronomic experts and agricultural technicians took part. The first European exhibition of biomass technologies was held at the same time as the conference, aimed at interested professional circles and potential biomass users in the Community.

use of CFCs in aerosols fell by 34.4 per cent during the period 1976-1981.

The European Commission is in the process of drawing up codes of conduct for industrialists, encouraging them to reduce voluntarily the production and use of CFCs in the refrigeration sector. It is also financing research into the possibility of recuperating CFC emitted during the manufacture of rigid and flexible synthetic foams.

The destruction of the ozone would wreak changes in ground temperature, climate and general atmospheric conditions, and would also affect human health.



## Soccer sans frontières?

**The European Commission has launched an enquiry into the free movement of footballers between EEC member states.**

The enquiry – in the form of a letter sent by Commissioner Ivor Richard to the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and to national football associations in the Community – aims to elicit information on progress towards the elimination of nationality clauses limiting the numbers of Community players in each playing division.

An undertaking to eliminate such nationality clauses was made by the national football associations in a meeting with the European Commission and UEFA in February 1978.

Says Mr Richard: 'Nearly four years have passed since then, and I feel it is time to ask the national associations what progress has been made to implement Community legislation. In the event that this enquiry reveals that nationality clauses are still being maintained, the Commission will consider what steps need to be taken to ensure that any remaining discrimination based on nationality is eliminated.'

## QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

**Mario Pedini and Renzo Filippi, Italy:**

'The danger of isolation among the elderly in modern society, as recently pointed out by the European Parliament, is the subject of much dispute. Are there any pilot projects in the European Economic Community for the reinsertion of the elderly in society through employment, perhaps on a voluntary basis, in the social services, particularly those of a civic nature?'

**Answer by Ivor Richard on behalf of the Commission:**

'Various pilot schemes and many permanent and structured measures to integrate the elderly into society are under way in the Member States. The Commission has supported some pilot schemes directed to this end in the context of the European Programme of Pilot Schemes and Studies to combat Poverty. In 1982 the Commission is supporting a number of projects concerning the elderly. In addition a study has been commissioned describing and analysing any significant actions implemented in the Community to promote the independence of old people and their participation in the life of the community.'

**Mr Luc Beyer de Ryke, Belgium:**

'The Siberian gas supplies contract signed in January by France, and before that by Germany and Italy, has more than strictly economic implications for Western Europe. In a recent resolution the European Parliament deplored the lack of agreement between the member states of the Community on this matter. Can the Commission state what concrete measures it intends to take in the light of Parliament's resolution?'

**Answer by Etienne Davignon on behalf of the Commission:**

'In the plenary session debate which preceded Parliament's adoption of the draft Resolution, I said that, as the Commission had no power to coordinate gas purchases, the Community's strategic objective must remain to keep gas prices at a level that would encourage the shift from petroleum products to natural gas needed in order to bring about the wider diversification of supply sought by the member states.'

As for the requisite security against major interruptions in supply, the Commission proposed a series of measures in its communication concerning measures to en-

hance the security of natural gas supplies to the Community, which it put to the Council on 16 March 1982. At the close of its debate on that paper, the Council noted that the Commission was to carry out studies which would serve as a basis for appropriate proposals on the measures to be taken to strengthen the security of the Community's supplies of natural gas.'

**Mrs Winifred Ewing, United Kingdom:**

'What evidence does the Commission have of an increase in cattle smuggling over the Belgian-Dutch border since the recent devaluation of the Belgian franc?'

**Answer by Poul Dalsager on behalf of the Commission:**

'Following press reports, the Commission organized a meeting with the Belgian and Netherlands customs to ask them to cooperate closely together on inquiries into speculative movements of cattle and to report on the results.'

So far the Commission has been informed of only one speculative operation concerning about ten animals.'

**W. F. Newton Dunn, United Kingdom:**

'The Commission in their document COM(82) dated 26 February 1982 wrote of 'considerable changes in the pattern of trade between the United Kingdom and the other Member States', presumably in 1981. What were these considerable changes?'

**Answer by Poul Dalsager on behalf of the Commission:**

'The appropriations covering monetary compensatory amounts depend on the performances of the currencies and the volume of trade. Trade in agricultural products between the United Kingdom and the other Community countries increased sharply after the accession of the United Kingdom in 1973, but this trend did not continue.'

The value of agricultural products attracting monetary compensatory amounts has declined for deliveries from the other Member States and has remained stationary for deliveries from the United Kingdom to the other Member States.'

The decline in deliveries from the other Member States to the United Kingdom was mainly accounted for by cereals from 1978 to 1981 and by milk products from 1978 to 1980.'



## Codes to protect the ozone

**The atmosphere's ozone, which protects the earth from harmful ultraviolet rays, is threatened by the effects of chlorofluorocarbons (CFC), a product used in aerosols, refrigeration, synthetic foams and detergents.**

The European Community has been trying since 1978 to reduce the use of CFCs and to encourage the use of substitutes. To date, most progress has been made in the aerosol sector. Recent figures show that

# COTMAN IN NORMANDY: AN ENGLISHMAN'S DISCOVERY OF FRANCE

**O**ne of the greatest of English artists, John Sell Cotman, spent a critical period of his life drawing and painting in Normandy. He made three tours there between 1817 and 1820, at a time when he was working under the patronage of the Norfolk banker and antiquarian, Dawson Turner. This autumn, two bicentennial exhibitions bring Cotman's work into fresh relief. And the Normandy experience emerges as one of the high points in an up-and-down career.

Cotman was among the first English artists to visit France after Waterloo. Others who made the trip included such fellow Norwich artists as John Berney Crome (son of 'Old' Crome, acknowledged founder of the Norwich School), George Vincent, and Joseph Clover. Another contemporary, Henry Edridge, remarked at the time on the 'extraordinary things that France produces for an artist - magnificence and filth, the formal and the picturesque'.

Turner crossed the Channel in 1821, the same year in which Bonington and Samuel Prout made sketching tours of Normandy. Normandy scenes became something of a craze as other artists hurried off in search of new and attractive material, and publishers commissioned picture books with etched illustrations.

Cotman wrote enthusiastic letters home, recounting his pleasure and excitement at the scenes that met his eye. Of Cherbourg he reported: 'You look down upon it as upon a

fine quarry of dead silver, with here and there a ring of gold, the light and shadowed sides both coming off from the deep azure of the bay as one pure mass of pearl colour.' Between Domfront and Mortain he found himself on 'an artist's day, with fine clouds, the shadows of which give life and spirit to everything.' At the sight of Dieppe harbour he exclaimed: 'Oh, had I fortune and time beyond the limit of mortal man, what might be done! Nothing, even as to colour, can be achieved in England like it.'

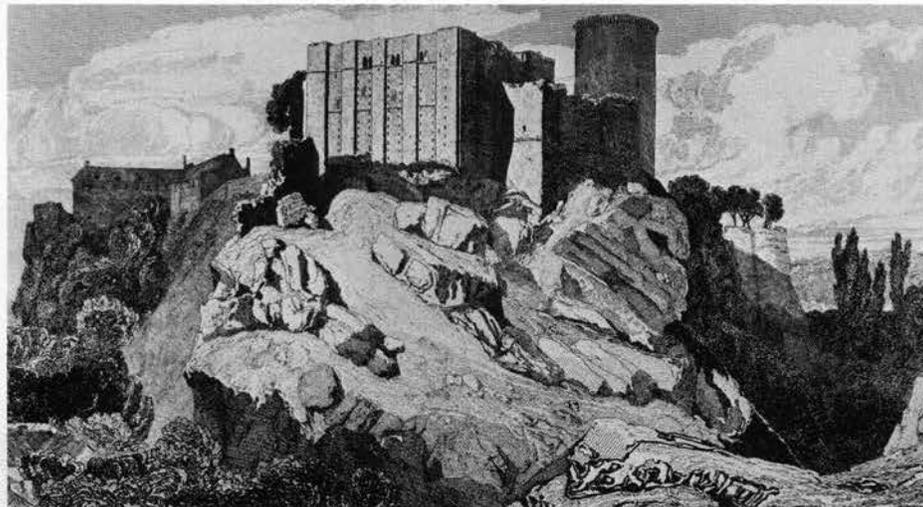
He brought back hundreds of pencil and sepia drawings, a quantity of oils and water-colours, and studies for an ambitious series of etchings. He had high hopes of financial success with this venture, which he intended to follow up with another work, 'Picturesque Normandy'. The *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* was published in 1822, with a text by Dawson Turner. Sadly, it was an almost total failure in the art-book market. It came just too late, in the wake of half-a-dozen similar publications, one of which - called *Voyages Pittoresques et Romantiques dans l'Ancienne France* - included no less than two hundred plates by British artists.

For Cotman, anxiously resettled in Norwich, it was back to the drudgery of life as a drawing master. He sank into recurring fits of depression, which darkened the rest of his life. From his twenty-nine weeks in Normandy we are left with the *Antiquities* - which has outlived all its rivals - and the sunny, sensitive paintings of a land he was quick to love.

JOYCE BETTS

□ *John Sell Cotman, 1782-1842*, a touring exhibition arranged by the Arts Council, is at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, until 24 October. It will be at the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, from 6 November to 11 December; and at the City Museum & Art Gallery, Bristol, from 18 December to 29 January 1983. A special commemorative exhibition is showing at the Castle Museum & Art Gallery, Norwich, until 29 November.

The Castle of Falaise, one of Cotman's etchings for his Normandy series.



## The 1982 Europalia, devoted to the ancient and modern arts of Greece, offers a chance to admire one of the most vigorous cultures in Europe

**T**his year's 'Europalia' in Brussels - briefly noted in the September issue - is one of the most ambitious exhibitions of its kind in recent years, covering not only ancient and classic examples but also Greek art of our own times.

Some of the most important exhibits, such as bronze and marble sculptures representing the gods, are shown alongside portraits of writers, philosophers, politicians and kings. Equally interesting are the vases, terracotta statuettes and other small objects, which give us insights into people's everyday lives and the part that the gods and mythology played in them.

Far older than these works, and of a significance which may never be completely understood, are the marble idols of almost abstract simplicity and great beauty found in tombs in the Cyclades islands. Dating from 3,200 to 2,000BC, they are all that remains of a civilisation that flourished at the heart of the Aegean during the Bronze Age.

Some experts think they are figures of gods or ancestors; others, substitutes for human sacrifice or toys for the dead. The exhibition 'Art from the Cyclades' includes about 200 of these extraordinary pieces, mostly from a private collection.

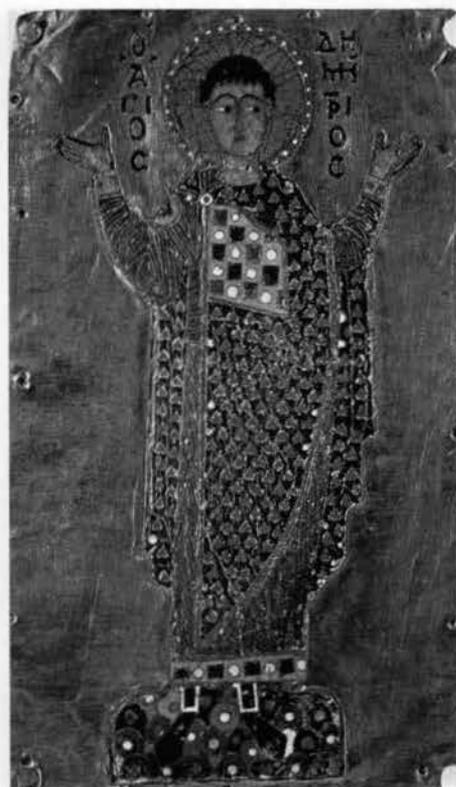
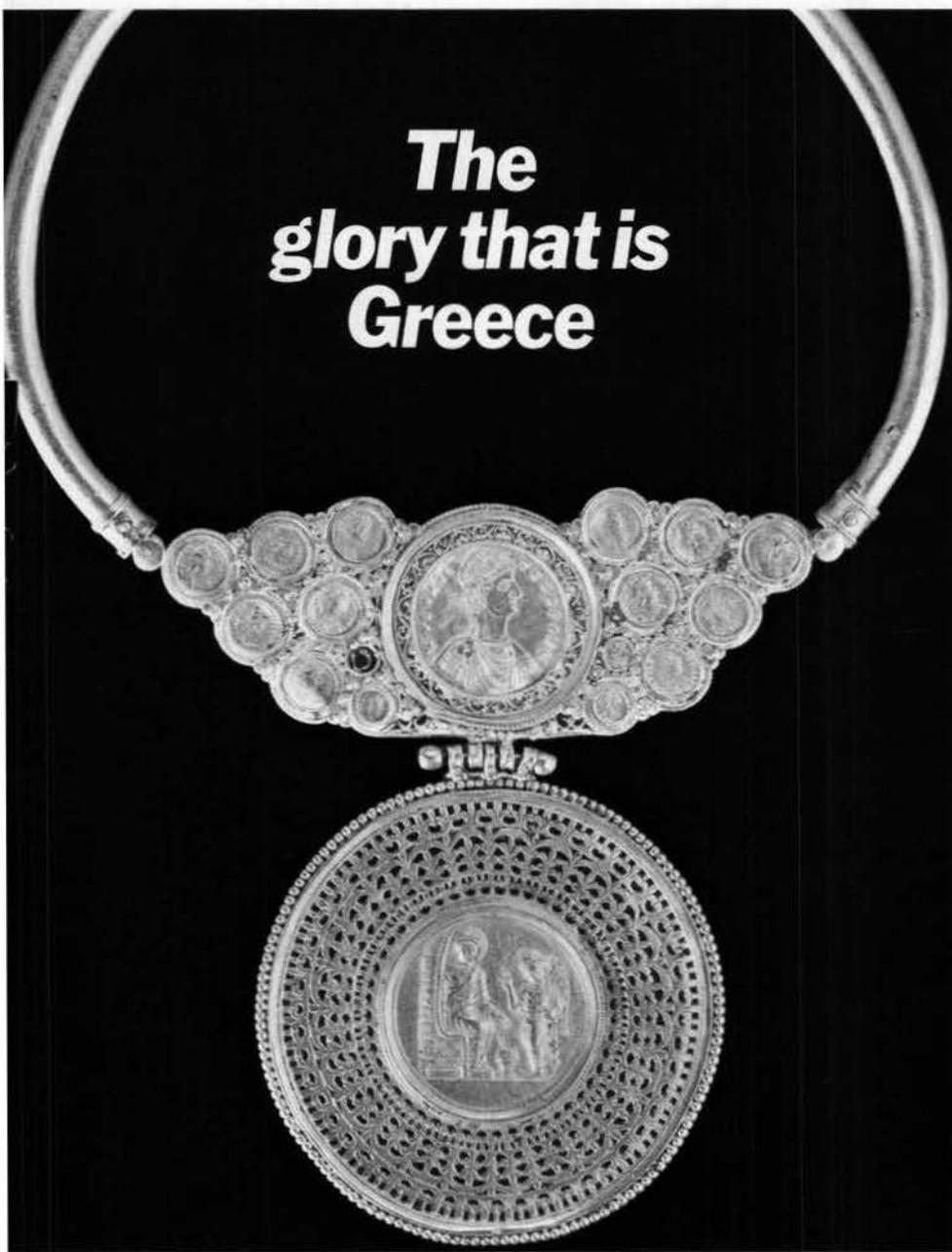
The exhibition 'Splendour of Byzantium', - the most important for nearly twenty years - illustrates the evolution of Byzantine art from the late 4th Century to the 15th Century. The Byzantines, who excelled in their technical mastery and the richness of their materials, the variety of their interpretations and the harmony of their colours, are represented by superb icons and illuminated manuscripts, as well as by work in gold and precious stones and metals, enamel, ivories and silks. A parallel exhibition on the art and architecture of Mount Athos includes previously unpublished material on this famous monastic retreat.

The other major exhibitions are deliberately modern. One of them, 'Art and Dictatorship', is devoted to those artists who used their work to oppose the military regime.

There are some 30 thematic exhibitions, including 16th and 17th-century icons from Crete and the work of 25 young photographers - working in a field where, for once, there is no Greek tradition.

Europalia's theatrical programme is also impressive: four major Greek companies, with their best directors and performers, are bringing their versions - in Greek - of that

## The glory that is Greece



traditional preoccupation of Greek theatre, the tragic confrontation of man and destiny. The National Theatre of Athens presents 'Oedipus Rex', the National Theatre of Salonika brings Euripides' 'Helen', the Art Theatre presents Aeschylus' 'Oresteia'.

Some 20 Belgian companies are working with Greek collaborators on translations of traditional plays, modern works and plays inspired by the traditional myths such as Sartre's adaptation of Euripides' 'Trojan Women' and Fabien's 'Jocasta'. Belgium's National Theatre director, Henri Ronse, is also directing a series of performances of the works of some of Greece's great modern poets, such as Nobel Prize winners George Seferis and Odysseus Elytis.

Literary debates are planned on such subjects as 'Contemporary Poetry in Greece', with an international panel of writers. The Europalia Literary Prize, worth 500,000 Bel-

gian francs, will be awarded to a contemporary Greek author by a panel of judges drawn from all the other countries of the Community.

The works of two of Greece's most famous modern composers, Mikis Theodorakis and Iannis Xenakis, figure prominently in the concerts of classical music in Europalia's music programme. Theodorakis will be conducting a concert of his own works with the Orchestra of Radio Television Luxembourg. Other European orchestras and ensembles are giving concerts of mainly Greek music, with Greek conductors like Dimitri Chorafas and Spyros Argiris.

A series of concerts is also being given by Greek artists virtually unknown outside Greece: Georges Dalaras, who presents the best songs of the past 60 years, and Sotiria Bellou, the first lady of 'rebetiko', which could be described as the Greek version of the Blues.

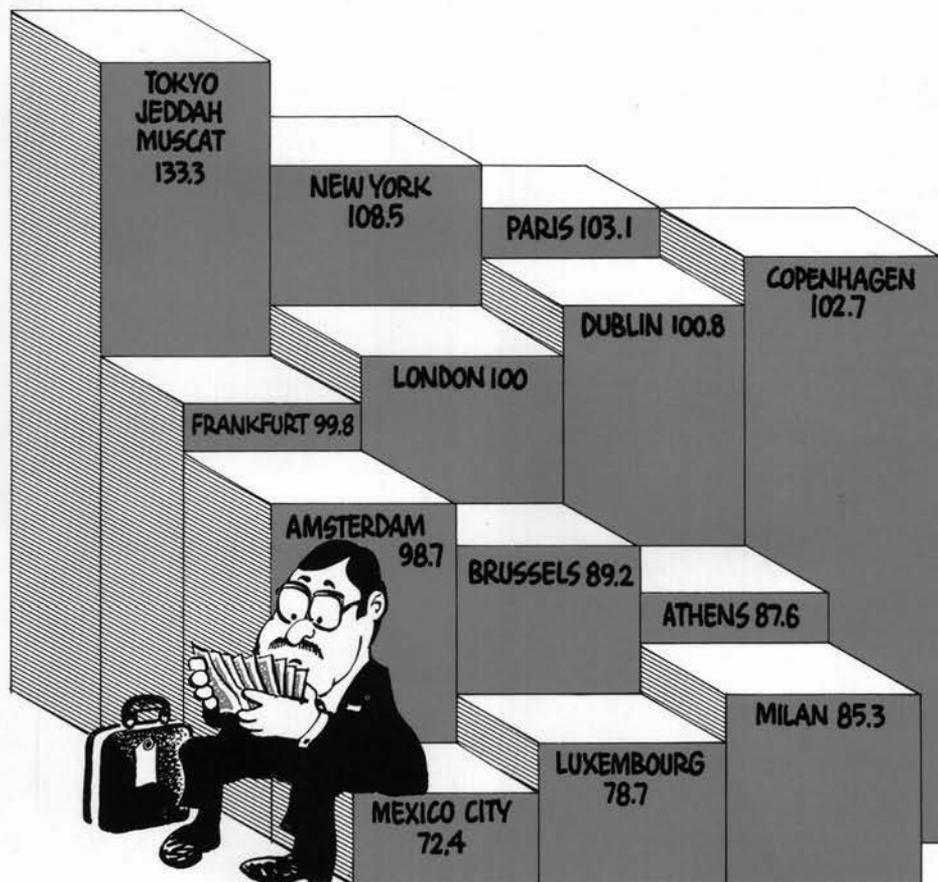
Byzantine treasures on loan in Brussels: necklet with gold coins (left) and St Demetrios, enamel (top), both from Berlin; and a bronze coin, age of Justinian, from the Pottier Collection, Waterloo.

'Stella', by Michalis Cacoyannis, the first film made by Melina Mercouri, now Greece's Minister for Culture, will be among the films shown during Europalia's two-month festival of Greek Cinema, which includes some 150 feature films.

The main venues include the Palais des Beaux Arts; the Royal Museum of Art and History; the Academy of Fine Arts, Ghent; the Caisse Général d'Epargne et de Retraite; the Palais des Congrès; the Town Hall; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Most of the exhibitions are open until the end of November. One, 'Art from the Cyclades', continues until 9 January 1983. **E**

## TALKING BUSINESS

# What price the monthly pay cheque?



**C**omparing international salaries and cost of living makes compulsive reading. But such information is essential to, for example, corporate accountants, who need them to make sense of expatriate staffs' expenses, or to make sure they don't try bidding for an overseas executive at a salary that would put him at an embarrassing disadvantage.

The problem is that by the time you have dealt with varying currency exchange rates, different local taxes, country-by-country differences in the way living costs are measured, job descriptions – and valued the perks, bonuses, commissions and all the other local elements of overall pay – you end up with a confusing number of indices of comparison.

A firm of international management consultants, Inbucon, have a reputation for slicing through this confusion. In their latest review of world taxation and living costs they have constructed an 'Index of Indexes', by bringing together their own statistics on international employees' salaries and costs with,

they say, 'all the other available international indexes'.

The three major additional sources of material for this 'super-index' are surveys by the Statistisches Bundesamt in Wiesbaden, the United Nations' index, and the Washington index. The Wiesbaden figures are used by the German Government and industry to show living costs for German expatriates on long-term appointments abroad. The UN's survey, produced twice a year, looks at local costs for international personnel in the main cities of the world. And the Washington index, compiled by the US State Department, is computed for both privately employed Americans, and for US Government employees working away from home.

Having poured all the figures into its computers and tapped in further information from national and multi-national companies' research departments, Inbucon believes it has got the clearest view of world pay and costs that is available.

The citizens of Kinshasa in Zaire will not be

too pleased with Inbucon's findings. Out of 124 of the world's major cities, Kinshasa emerges as the world's most expensive place to work, rating 210 on a scale which is set at 100 for London. Mexico City comes out at the other end of the scale, rating 72.4 to London's 100, to make it the cheapest of the cities for expatriates.

Within Europe, Luxembourg appears to be one of the least expensive places to operate from, rating 78.7 on the same costs scale. Italy, with prices based on living in Milan, rates 85.3, just cheaper than Athens, Greece, at 87.6. The Netherlands, with prices based on Amsterdam, remains cheaper than London at 98.7. Brussels, representing Belgium, is cheaper still – 89.2.

Frankfurt prices keep Federal Germany only a fraction cheaper than London, at 99.8. But the rest of the Community's major business cities would be expensive for a London visitor. Dublin, for Ireland, rates 100.8; Copenhagen 102.7; Paris 103.1.

New York has long since ceased to be an horrendously expensive overseas posting for Europeans, standing now at 108.5 on Inbucon's costs index. Tokyo would be a greater shock to the wallet, costing one third more than London. That is roughly the same as Jeddah, in Saudi Arabia, or Muscat on the Gulf.

Of course, costs are only relative. It is local purchasing power that really matters. To make realistic comparisons Inbucon brought

	£
Switzerland	19,500
Federal Republic of Germany	18,500
France	17,800
USA (New York)	16,600
Spain	16,500
Belgium	16,200
Italy	13,900
Netherlands	13,100
Japan	12,900
United Kingdom	11,100
Ireland	10,400
Greece	10,100
Denmark	9,700

□ Source: Inbucon International Taxation and Living Costs, 1982. Available from 197 Knightsbridge, London SW7, price £95.00.

together all the tax, pay and cost indexes currently available, to produce a picture of real, after-tax purchasing power internationally. Picking, as an example, comparative salaries for a senior executive (though not on the board of directors) in a manufacturing or marketing company with around £20 million turnover – an executive who could expect to earn about £15,600 in Britain, or DM120,000 in Germany – the table on page 18 shows Switzerland at the top and Denmark at the bottom, four places below the United Kingdom. The figures show net disposable income after tax, adjusted for local cost of living. They are in sterling.

JOHN BRENNAN

## STEPPING UP TRADE WITH FRANCE

**B**ritain's ambassador in Paris, Sir John Fretwell, maintains that Britain can realistically aim to increase its share of trade with France – and that to some extent it helps that the British and French markets are similar in sophistication and size, because this means that sectors that are growing in Britain tend to be growth areas in France.

But there are complications. The French, like the British, prefer to do business in their native tongue and are unresponsive to approaches in other languages, while the majority of British businessmen are reluctant to speak anything other than English.

In May 1981 French politics suddenly changed course when, after 23 years of Gaullist government, a socialist president, François Mitterrand, and a socialist government were elected. So far the new administration has nationalised the principal French banks (but not those with foreign ownership) as well as a number of major industrial companies.

In a bid to stimulate domestic consumption it has raised the wages of the lowest paid. It has also reduced the working week by one hour to 39 hours, and increased annual holidays by one week to five weeks. To tackle unemployment – which was running at more than 2 million in February – the government has promised a major programme of public works and the creation of over 200,000 jobs in the public sector.

For would-be exporters, one of the Mitterrand Government's most controversial announced intentions has been the 'reconquest of the domestic market', a phrase which seems to imply favourable treatment for home industry – and which would go against the intentions of the Treaty of Rome. Politicians and government officials have stressed,

however, that the policy will not discriminate against EEC trading partners.

French private industry almost froze in its tracks when the Mitterrand government came to power, ceasing much of its economic activity and postponing investment decisions. But the gloom did not last.

Midhat Gazalé, managing director of ICL France, remembers the first five months of the new government as a time when business slackened. 'But in October last year it began to pick up again, and currently the market is buoyant. Whether this is the result of "taking up the slack", I don't know, but not all prospects are the result of delayed decisions,' he said.

ICL believes the new measures may actually help its business as private companies strive to become more efficient. At the moment, Mr Gazalé says, the computer market in France is growing at the rate of 14 to 15 per cent per year, and demand for ICL's new products is increasing. Within two months of the announcement of the company's DRS small multi-micro intelligent terminal, ICL France had sold 470 systems worth £1½ million to the Crédit Agricole bank. And a private technical company has ordered 130 of ICL's new PERQ design computers at £25,000 each.

At another British-owned company, Rowntree Mackintosh, the biggest chocolate manufacturer in France, they are also optimistic about the future. 'There is some evidence that when times are hard, people may avoid going out for a slap-up meal, but will take home a box of chocolates instead as a consolation,' RM's marketing director, Gordon Neal, said.

But if there are patches of optimism, the feeling at present seems to be that, in general, business is likely to get worse before it gets better. Economists, at the Paris offices of the Ministère du Plan et de l'Aménagement du Territoire – the organisation which tries to plot the future of the economy – freely admit that world events since the change of government have had a detrimental effect on projected growth figures. A projected economic growth of 3 per cent this year has already been trimmed to 2 per cent.

At times like these it is important that a newcomer appreciates the sensitivity of certain sectors of the French market, and takes expert guidance beforehand. Newspaper headlines about disputes on the import of Italian wine or British lamb into France underline the fact that exporting can have unexpected complications.

Although there are well-worn tales of problems in getting goods through French customs, most of these are brought on by exporters who have not adhered to regulations, or who have got their documentation wrong – although, as the wine and lamb disputes show, there are exceptions.

France can react more quickly than most to what it regards as unwanted imports, because of its centralised administration system, based on Paris. So if an unfavourable wind blows from Paris, all sorts of people – customs

officers and onwards – have to reflect its direction, and that can make life difficult for exports.

There are other discreet ways that the French administration can use to favour the domestic producer over the foreign exporter – for instance, by restricting the availability of credit to distributors on certain goods which they import.

But, for all the difficulties, this is still a market of considerable opportunity for a wide range of British products. The Department of Trade, and the British embassy and consulates in France, have identified a number of sectors where demand is growing and where there are further opportunities for British exports and investments. These include energy conservation, electronic components, automobile parts, machinery and machine tools, agricultural inputs, medical equipment – and consumer goods. Any British-made consumer item can and will sell in France, given the correct quality, style, distribution, promotion and pricing policy.

□ British Business

## SOFT WORDS FROM TOKYO

**T**he Japanese have announced a reduction in customs duties – in some cases their elimination – on certain industrial and agricultural products, to come into effect next April. On the basis of 1981 trade, these reductions would apply to 8 per cent of Japanese imports from the Community.

The Tokyo government has also announced new action to eliminate non-tariff barriers, such as measures which restrict the distribution of Community goods within Japan and fiscal and banking problems.

The Prime Minister, Mr Suzuki, has issued an appeal to Japanese businessmen and traders to help create a new climate in their dealings with the Community. While welcoming this as a useful political gesture, the Commission has declared that, as with the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers it is far too early yet to judge their concrete effects.

The Community's trade deficit with Japan was a whopping \$14 billion last year, compared with a mere \$8 million two decades ago. At the same time, Community business has found it difficult to penetrate the Japanese market because of Japanese restrictions, while witnessing increased Japanese exports to the Community, especially in highly sensitive areas like automobiles, colour TVs and machine tools.

The Community has threatened to bring the matter for adjudication to GATT if the situation does not improve.



PICTURES BY PHILIP LANE

## Keep it moving – the message for Community transport

**W**hy should a consignment of fresh meat be stopped and checked several times between Munich and Bolzano, when a similar consignment, carried from Milan to Palermo, is not subject to checks at all? In a Community dedicated to free movement of goods, why should lorry drivers and rail wagons be held up for hours or even days for the checking and counterchecking of documents and vehicles?

These are some of the questions studied by a committee of experts from the Community countries whose report focuses attention on the difficulties now being encountered in the international transport industry.

The report\* lists a series of practical mea-

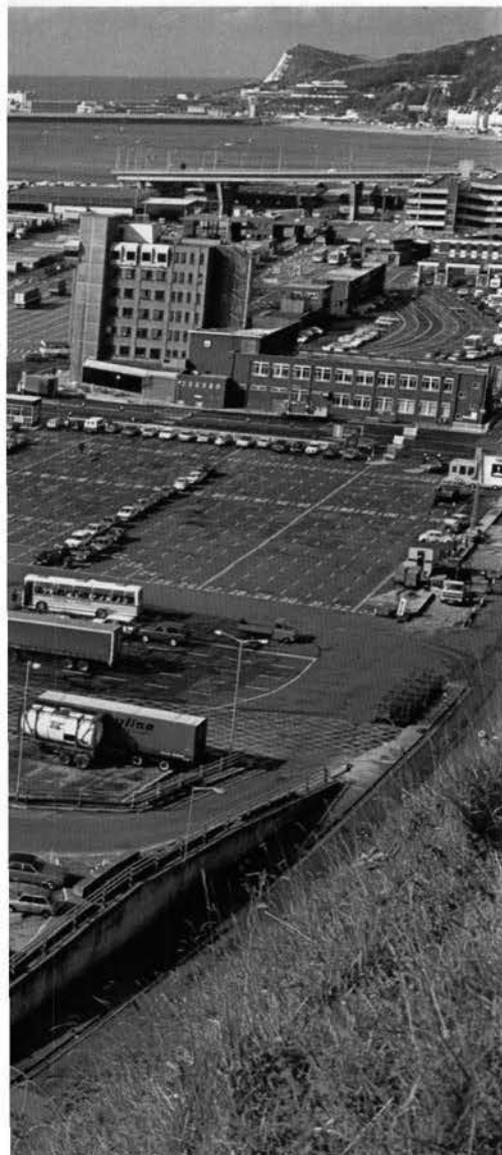
**Not all goods traffic between the Ten is moving smoothly. A report by a specialist committee highlights what needs to be done**

asures of reform. Though there have been improvements in recent years, the committee notes that there is still a remarkable lack of trust and co-operation between Community authorities when it comes to the movement of goods. Unnecessary frontier barriers not only waste time and vast sums of money, but also

hinder growth of the Community spirit. It therefore welcomes proposals to ease the situation put forward by the Commission last July, some of which were approved by the Council of Ministers at their meeting on 10 June 1982.

Examining progress towards full Customs Union in 1977, the Commission concluded that there were still difficulties impeding international traffic between Community countries and third country neighbours. This lack of economic integration runs counter to the Rome Treaty, and the Commission sees the removal of barriers and difficulties arising at frontiers as an urgent priority.

As the matter is complex and politically sensitive, it invited the Advisory Committee



Cross-Channel traffic in and out of Dover makes the dock area, left, one of the busiest in Europe. Above: lorry drivers wait for clearance of documents before continuing their journeys.

through introduction of measures which should be extended to railways and international waterways as well.

Apparently there is no general pattern of border barriers in the Community. The Benelux countries operate almost free passage in movement of each others' goods. Elsewhere there may be long hold-ups. The situation is aggravated by the failure of the Council of Ministers to agree on a wider harmonisation programme relating to vehicle type approval and consistent documentation. In addition, veterinary and health checks on the transit of such cargoes as fresh foodstuffs, animal food and plants add immeasurably to time wasted at frontier posts.

Quality control tests were often even more time consuming. The committee noted that, in a not unusual example, a consignment of fresh meat taking the Brenner route from Munich to Verona took 26½ hours to reach its destination, including customs clearance in West Germany, Austria and Italy. A consignment of scrap using the same route and passing through the same customs posts took 4½ hours.

Part of the problem here is that customs and veterinary officers usually do not work the same hours, are rarely in the same building, and seldom offer a 24-hour service. It is quite usual, therefore, to find drivers waiting in long queues at frontier posts, wasting their time and throwing out their schedules. A study of an Austro-German border point found that, where it normally took a vehicle 82 minutes to cross the frontier, no less than 48 minutes – mainly of walking time from vehicle to offices – could be cut out by quite simple

rearrangements. These have since been put in hand.

European railways were built with national rather than international traffic in mind. But, considering the century or so that trains have been trundling across and around the continent, the Committee notes with some surprise the continuing lack of trust in each others' documentation that still exists between countries, and a general lack of co-ordination about routes and transit exists for freight.

Wagons may stay in marshalling yards for days because their arrival does not coincide with onward railway schedules to their final destination. In 1981 it was found that almost half of international wagons were held up for more than 12 hours at frontiers, and two-

## 80 per cent in volume of Community waterway traffic is carried by the Rhine

thirds for more than six on transit routes. Here hold-ups are mainly operational, in the exchange or inspection of wagons, labelling of consignments, issue of brake records, and inspection of freight documents. There are also problems of infra-structure, particularly in Italy, with inadequate stations and yards or lack of access and relief lines. And there are particular problems affecting transit across the Channel between the UK and the continent.

While admitting that railway authorities have made, and intend to make, improvements in the transit of goods, the committee believes that rather more trust in initial documentation and fewer inspections en route would contribute to faster service.

Some 80 per cent in volume of Community waterway traffic is carried by the Rhine, where, as a result of several agreements, fron-

to make a detailed study of ways and means of removing frontier barriers, including the development of a Community common transport policy.

The Committee chose as its basic point of reference the time spent at the border by vehicles – whether road, rail or inland waterways – crossing the frontier. This provided a basis for estimating the economic costs of delay. Calculating one hour's border delay as about £13, the Committee considered that it was 'not unrealistic' to estimate that unnecessary frontier transit costs incurred in intra-Community road haulage alone amounted to 370 million ECU (£210 million), excluding administrative costs, customs clearance, auditing agencies and so on. In its opinion, such costs could be reduced by 30 to 50 per cent

## Veterinary and health checks add immeasurably to time wasted at frontier posts

# SIGNALLING SAFETY ON TOMORROW'S MOTORWAYS

**A**n ambitious research scheme, aimed at increased road safety, and involving most of the countries of Western Europe, has come up with some interim proposals.

It began in 1969, when the subject of electronic aids for traffic on major roads was suggested by a technical committee of the EEC. Work started in 1970 with 11 countries—Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Finland, Switzerland and Yugoslavia — ultimately being involved.

After early discussions it became clear that a common European code of practice for the control of busy, high-speed roads would be a desirable objective, because the development of substantial motorway networks had given rise to new driving hazards which required prompt, efficient reactions from both drivers and control authorities.

International traffic was growing at a time when road building programmes were being reduced, and motorways were experiencing more accidents per mile of road than other parts of the network. After considering the factors involved in controlling a network of highspeed roads, it was recognised that each

country would adopt its own policy towards traffic control. However, when means of influencing drivers' behaviour in order to implement those policies were considered, it was evident that advice or instructions should always be given in a manner which could be understood by all.

Consequently it was agreed that a standard interface between the driver and the control system was an important requirement. Various aspects were identified, such as codes, variable signs, automatic detection of bad weather and specialised electronic equipment. These were then shared out among the participating countries.

It emerges that the most suitable means of communicating with drivers on high-speed roads would be by external visual signs and signals, forming part of a system which included rapid detection of traffic incidents and/or bad weather. Radio broadcasting of traffic messages is not sufficiently fast to prevent accidents, other than a few caused by bad weather. But it has an important role as the only means of communicating long-range information to drivers on the greater part of the road network.

Recommendations which call for action by governments include seven new symbols to

warn of hazards encountered, particularly on motorways, to be added to the Vienna Convention. The new symbols would represent recommended maximum speed, congestion, accident or breakdown, fog, danger caused by falling rain or snow, aquaplaning and skid risk from ice or snow. A symbol for fog is still being developed.

There are differing views on the urgency and importance of recommending a uniform system of traffic broadcasting for Europe, but most of the participating countries favour a uniform solution. A number of considerations indicate that, in the near future, the adoption of a system which identifies traffic messages on normal entertainment channels would be appropriate in those countries where VHF receivers are used in most vehicles. Most countries favour the adoption of such a system.

Perhaps the most interesting of the future research projects now envisaged is the development of systems based on vehicle-borne microprocessors, which are already being considered for engine control and monitoring purposes. For example, if automatic route guidance should become economically justifiable, it would be valuable to use the same system throughout Europe.

tier hindrances have been removed. But barriers, mainly in the shape of fuel inspections and taxes, still exist on the inland waterways between Belgium and France, and Belgium and the Netherlands.

What should be done?

While not attempting to set priorities, the committee has marked a number of proposals as urgent and others less urgent. It notes that, since it began its investigations in 1977, some things have changed for the better, particularly on the railways. The accession of Greece to the Community in January 1981 has also brought with it certain problems: as Greece has no border with other Community countries, special transit arrangements have had to be negotiated with Yugoslavia.

Inevitably, tackling such situations touches on political sensibilities, particularly where tax or health barriers are concerned. The recommendations, therefore, were not always unanimous.

However, the Committee's proposals cover a wide range of action. On road haulage, they include removal of duty on fuel brought in or taken out by ordinary vehicle tanks; harmonisation of motor vehicle tax; mutual recognition of licensing procedures; harmonisation of noise abatement regulations; technical checks at frontiers to be reduced; business and working hours of customs authorities on both sides of frontiers to be co-ordinated, with more

adequate staffing of customs posts; plant-health departments and inspections of perishable goods at the frontier to be abolished, with checks at inland customs offices where appropriate; special lanes to be marked out at borders for specific types of traffic, such as for perishable goods.

As for the railways, the Committee urges simplification of technical formalities and inspection of wagons by the transferor railway with an extension of the existing 'trust' system. Other proposals include improved arrangements for routing and marshalling of freight wagons; standardised customs clearance procedures; and harmonised provisions for veterinary inspections of livestock and meat, with a consequent relaxation of border inspections.

The Committee believes that measures like these would help to transform the passage of goods and passenger traffic within the Community, to benefit all concerned. It would also like to see a new administrative framework set up within the Commission to handle cross-frontier problems.

\*Commission of the European Communities: Expert report on difficulties encountered in international road, rail and inland waterway transport. April 1982.

## Haulage permits will be 'more flexible' in 1983

International road haulage permits for journeys to mainland Europe are to be allocated on a more flexible basis from the beginning of next year, says the Department of Transport.

At the moment permits are allocated on a permanent basis whether or not firms are able to use their full quota. Better use of the overall quota will be made if permits are not wasted, the department says, and firms with increasing trade can be given a bigger allocation.

The new scheme will affect bilateral international road haulage permits for France, Germany, Italy and Portugal. European Community and European Council of Transport Ministers (ECMT) permits will also be included.

The new scheme will reduce the possibility of full allocations not being used, but individual allocations will be removed only if they fall to an unrealistic level, the department says.

□ British Business

# Letters

## Joyce the Messiah

Having just read the article, 'The Man who Remembered Dublin' (August issue), I am sure that, if he could, James Joyce would be turning in his grave when viewing some of the groups and societies in Ireland which today acclaim him as their Messiah.

Established circles in Ireland now acclaim Joyce, not because they have understood or learnt anything from his works, but because he has become 'fashionable'. This coronation is, I believe, the ultimate in hypocrisy – certainly for James Joyce, artist and visionary.

Patrick Emek,  
London SW6

## Time off

Ron Barry's article on the future contribution of tourism to EEC economies (July issue) omits two factors which have had, and will continue to have, an effect.

Firstly, the annual holiday is a national institution in all member states and is often paid for by a spouse's part-time earnings or similar source, which partly explains the resilience of tourism in a time of recession. Also, the increase in leisure due to the shorter working week and – regrettably – unemployment will continue the demand for less expensive holidays such as self-catering accommodation and short breaks.

For the benefit of the Community as a whole, the EEC working group, with the assistance of governments, could take positive steps to promote Europe as a whole as a tourist destination for visitors from countries such as Japan, the United States and Australia, by 'pairing' complementary areas in different EEC countries for promotional and marketing purposes. Tourism needs planning, or potential earnings will be lost by default.

Brian D, Eaton  
High Peak College of Further  
Education, Buxton, Derbyshire

## A wider choice for voters

In your report on the European Parliament's common electoral system, you state that under the proposed system 'the seats would be allocated on the basis of the order of names on the list, rather than on the basis of the number of votes secured by each of the candidates on the list.'

The European Parliament's proposal leaves it up to national parliaments to decide

either a fixed list system as you describe or a personal voting system, whereby seats are won by the candidates with most personal votes and the fixed order only comes into play to resolve a tie.

If the British Parliament decides on the former, it will of course be perpetuating the present British political practice whereby the party has complete control over nominations. But if it opts for the personal voting element in the common system, the European Parliamentary elections will offer voters a much richer choice than Westminster ones do: the right to choose between candidates of one's party as well as the right to choose between parties.

Michael Steed,  
Dept of Government,  
University of Manchester.

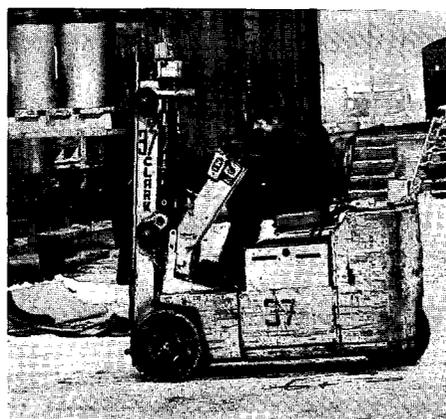
## Lifeline to Poland

It was with interest that I read Chris Lom's report on providing help for the people of Poland (July issue). You might be interested in some information about our organisation, which was in receipt of a grant from the EEC in April and May.

We sent over fifteen 32-ton trucks of medical supplies, worth around half a million pounds, by the end of June. Three of these trucks have been possible due to money from the EEC Aid to Poland programme, while the others were made possible by pharmaceutical firms which donated goods or offered them at greatly reduced prices.

Apart from large consignments direct from firms, doctors and pharmacists prepare boxes of drugs and equipment which are suitable

Flashback to our July issue: relief consignments arrive in Poland.



for use by GPs and out-patient departments. Goods for these are obtained free from local doctors, pharmacists and dentists, and are then sorted and packed.

Each of our trucks is accompanied by an escort. Four doctors have also been to Poland, which has enabled us to build up a picture of the medical situation there. It is very bleak. Emergency aid, delivered direct to known hospitals, is going to be required for several years.

Joanna Zakrzewska MB,  
Medical Aid for Poland,  
107 Beaufort Street, SW3 6BA

## Fair view?

I feel that a more balanced view of the Community's role in the economy of East Anglia is required to counteract that presented in Roy Stemman's article (April issue).

Agriculture in the region is clearly a major employer, though the number employed in the industry has declined continuously over a long period, and continues to do. The regional figures used by Mr Stemman gave little indication of the many unemployment blackspots, like the Fens, which exist in East Anglia.

The benefits of increased production in particular crops are also not always clear. Over-production is one danger, while a further problem exists where the final product can be produced more cheaply by other means. Also, some of the crops have been subject to a production quota including, for example, sugar beet. The expansion programme of the British Sugar Corporation has not been without serious local costs. At Ely, a BSC plant recently closed and there were substantial redundancies. At the moment, there are over 20 unemployed people for every advertised job vacancy in the Ely area.

East Anglia has received no more than its average share of Community assistance from the Agricultural Guidance Fund, and other major types of Community aid are not available to the region. For example, Regional Development Fund grants are not provided to the region, despite continued pressure from the County Councils on both Brussels and the UK Government. The Community has also done nothing to assist with the rapid development of the region's ports, which have become an increasingly important link between mainland Europe and the UK.

R. Brown,  
Director of Planning & Research,  
Cambridgeshire County Council.

□ We invite readers' letters for this page, while reserving the right to shorten them, if necessary, for reasons of space.

When Greece first asked to join the EEC, the then commissioner for external affairs, Sir Christopher Soames, intelligently suggested that Greece should join only after a 'pre-membership period' - to give its economy time to adjust to the blast of European competition. That idea was turned down. But Greece is now discovering how uncomfortable too-rapid integration can be, despite its fat profits from the EEC budget.

In Greece's first year inside the EEC, the value of its imports from the community shot up by 38 per cent, but that of its exports to the community rose by only 2 per cent. Spain, and even more so Portugal, might find it less painful if their industries were assimilated into the EEC at a gentler pace, perhaps over 10 years.

- Economist

Hundreds of young farmers who cannot find a farm to rent in Britain are planning to set themselves up in France.

They hope to benefit from generous loans from the French Government aimed at revitalising rural areas of central France.

The move highlights the plight of many young farmers, often the sons and daughters of long established farming families, who find it increasingly difficult to get on to the first rung of the farming ladder.

This results largely from a shortage of farms to let in Britain in the wake of farm amalgamations into larger units, many of which are run by managers.

Favourable currency exchange rates coupled with incentives offered by the French have encouraged a new trend.

- Sunday Telegraph

Lives have been at risk in Burry Port because of the constant threat of flooding, the Welsh Water Authority admitted yesterday.

But all that is a thing of the past, following the inauguration of a £5m drainage project - the most complex scheme of its kind undertaken in Wales.

The borough council contributed £2m, with cash from the Welsh Office and the European Regional Development Fund to provide the flood prevention scheme.

- Western Mail

Following the recent French motorway crash that claimed more than 50 lives, a British Euro-MP is campaigning for measures to lessen the dangers of driving on Europe's major highways.

Richard Simmons wants more multi-lingual road signs and leaflets handed to motorists at frontiers and ports.

- Daily Express

Tiddles' favourite tin of vitamin-enriched, beef-flavoured Kittymeat will in future have to state clearly on the label that it is made of Horse, Gristle, Hair, Cereal padding and Water.

The Feeding Stuffs Regulations (1982), which may as a result bring about momentous changes in the diet of Britain's cats and dogs, are the result of a series of EEC directives, going back to 1970.

- Guardian

# WHAT'S IN THE PAPERS

The outlook for the world economy is even gloomier than last year and there is grave concern for the poorest countries, the World Bank said on Sunday.

Last year the bank predicted only modest global economic growth of between 2.2 and 3.2 per cent for the 1980s.

The bank chose not to change its forecast in this year's report, but officials said it now appeared growth would be at the lower end of the range.

The report said the outlook for developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, was a matter of grave concern. It said India and China may not be able to sustain the progress they made in the 1970s without continued external assistance.

- Reuter

The failure of the Ariane rocket after its launch in French Guiana last week was caused by a straightforward mechanical breakdown, the makers said yesterday.

The principal sufferer over the loss of Ariane is undoubtedly France which has provided the lion's share of its £500 million development and looks on the rocket as an object of national pride.

For the British, who have spent far less on space, the loss of Marecs is a blow but not a lethal one. It has deprived British Aerospace of a chance to demonstrate its reliability with one of its first commercial satellites.

- Observer

The poorest countries in the developing world are in greater need than ever of increased concessional aid and more access to international capital markets, the World Bank warns today.

It says the most poverty-stricken countries have suffered "direct detrimental effects" in the past two years because the growth in official development assistance (ODA) from industrialised nations has been weak.

While aid flows increased sharply in the past decade from \$4.1bn in 1970 to \$22.8bn in 1980, the growth in net ODA is now slackening and is predicted in the bank's annual world development report to reach only \$25.8bn this year.

The low-income countries' position is made more difficult by the paradoxical fact that most of the aid tends to go to middle-income economies - 63 per cent last year.

- Financial Times

The West German Defence Ministry, alarmed at the adverse effect of a sharply declining birthrate on military manpower, is considering a controversial proposal to allow up to 30,000 women to serve as volunteers in the armed forces, starting in the mid-1980s.

Yet, the legal experts rather than the military planners will probably have the final word, because the West German Constitution seemingly forbids military service by women.

An article in the constitution states that women between the ages of 18 and 55, may, during an emergency, be assigned to "stationary" - not field - military hospitals if the needs cannot be met by volunteers.

But, it adds, women 'may on no account render service involving the use of arms'.

- New York Herald Tribune

The European Commission in Brussels is planning a Community-wide research programme in information technology. The goal of the 10-year project, which would cost £900 million, is to combat the threat that US and Japanese firms will dominate the development of new types of computers, factory automation equipment and methods of linking up electronic equipment in offices.

Officials at the Commission hope to work out a plan by October, and in the autumn the European parliament and the EEC's council of ministers should reach agreement on the first year of the programme. In this, the community's 10 nations would pool resources in a series of pilot programmes that would cost £7 million. The decision on the full 10-year-programme would come by the middle of next year.

- New Scientist

Mr Donald Regan, the United States Treasury Secretary, said in Washington last night that American relations with Europe had deteriorated badly in the first year of the Reagan Administration and must be repaired, even if it meant taking steps to change certain controversial policies.

Mr Regan, who is to head a new Cabinet-level committee which will conduct a thorough review of relations between the United States and the EEC, said the resolution of these problems was being given 'high priority'.

- The Times