

Next week the peoples of the EEC go to the polls. Many, at least in Britain, have forgotten the ideals which inspired the founders of the EEC.

Beyond the mystifying—and sometimes exasperating—economics, what does European unity mean today and in the future?

EUROPE BEYOND ECONOMICS

by Bernard Zamaron

of the Robert Schuman Centre for Europe

THERE IS STILL a big difference in British and French attitudes towards government. The British feel the state belongs to them and feel responsible for it. In France, on the other hand, though we have had no monarchy for over a century, the citizens still see them-

selves in opposition to the state, as if it belonged to some nameless despot and was his responsibility.

Does the same thing happen with regard to Europe? The people of the countries of the Community, especially those which joined later, often seem to see Europe as 'them', or at least as some despotic power against which they must hold their ground.

Could the approaching elections see a

NEW WORLD NEWS

Vol 27 No 28 2 June 1979 8p

rebirth of the original concept, shared by Churchill, Schuman, Adenauer, de Gasperi and Michel Debré? These men saw the Community as the instrument of peace and freedom for Europe and beyond.

Today we contrast the idealism of the founders with the reality required for co-operation between governments. European unity, however, entails more than constitutional theory. 'Europe will never be created by its constitutions alone,' said Pope John Paul II when he received the President and officers of the European parliament recently in Rome. 'It will be created by men.' For men to take creative action they need inspiration.

Jean Monnet, first honorary citizen of Europe, described the building of Europe as 'a moral concept'. 'Society's march forward will only be answered by the triumph of a moral idea,' stated Michel Debré, later Prime Minister to de Gaulle.

Churchill, speaking at Zurich in 1946, appealed for 'the blessed act of oblivion' which would make possible 'the rebuilding of the European family' on the pillars of 'a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany'.

The first post-war years were marked by a determination to replace revenge by forgiveness, domination by teamwork and the attitude of every man for himself by sharing. Will the new step forward towards the unity of Europe have the same character?

Our answer to this will be measured by the concern we show for others. Today there is vigorous debate over the powers of the European parliament: but there is one consideration which Robert Schuman, post-war Foreign Minister of France, put first from the beginning. 'Europe's great asset,' he said, 'is her ability to contribute, in an effective way and at once, to meeting the needs of mankind.'

The United Kingdom has always had a world perspective. Today the Commonwealth, the nations of the Lomé Convention, the peoples of Latin America and the East are looking to Europe. The co-operation they look for will be cultural as well as economic. They lay open to our work and to our hearts a vast field of constructive joint action.

'To serve mankind is a duty laid on us no less than the duty to serve our country,' wrote Schuman at the end of his last book.

That is what Europe must be, not a stronger power, but a greater service.

The first Vice-President of the European parliament, Pierre Deschamps, is among 750 people from 16 European nations who have signed a message 'to all Europeans' which is being launched to coincide with 7 June's elections.

Other signatories include international economist Jan Tinbergen, and C Pronk, General Secretary of the International Foundation of the European Left, both from Holland; Francois Guillaume, National Secretary of the French Farmers' Union, and Sir Henry Plumb, past President of the British National Farmers' Union; British Junior Energy Minister John Moore, and Labour MP and former European MP, Tom Ellis. Copies of the message are being presented to many of the candidates for the European parliament's 410 seats.

THE EUROPE OF THE PAST HAS TWO FACES.

One, of which we are all proud, inherited from such as Socrates, Francis of Assisi, Shakespeare, Copernicus, Bach, Henry Dunant, Pierre and Marie Curie....

The other, shameful, recalling the wars of religion, the slave trade, economic exploitation of man by man, imperialist and totalitarian ideologies and world wars, all of which make up the debit side of Europe's contribution to the story of humanity.

For all this she has earned both love and hate.

Europe today does proclaim faith, truth and respect for human dignity, but at the same time spreads permissiveness and corruption.

We claim to be a community based on brotherhood, but are beset with power struggles and divided by sectional interest.

We profess high ideals but make too little attempt to apply them in our homes, schools, factories, farms, parliaments and international institutions.

The faces of the past are still those of today.

Which face will Europe show to tomorrow's world? What will be our contribution at this anxious and critical hour?

It depends on a personal choice which each of us must make in the silence of his own conscience: to stand firm for honesty and moral integrity, selflessly to care and share, for therein lies our only hope of creating a more just society.

It is the choice to be made in our economic life: to put the needs of people first, especially those less fortunate than ourselves, for there is enough in the world for everyone's need but not for everyone's greed.

It is the choice our leaders must make: Europe's moral authority in the world can only be based on the character of those who speak in her name.

It is also the choice for whole nations, whatever their political system: together to serve mankind at this time of danger.

We who have signed this message undertake to test our personal decisions and public policies by these principles.

We are faced with an urgent challenge. It is up to each of us to respond.

TO MAKE THE CAP FIT

Agriculture is a test case for European economic co-operation. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is the EEC's primary attempt to deal with one industry on a European scale. On its success or failure will depend the EEC's approach to other industries, and even the survival of the belief that close international co-operation is possible.

Reforms will be needed if the CAP is to be effective. But its problems are not merely technical. They can be traced back to a conflict of interests—between European nations, producers and consumers, the EEC, USA and the Third World.

Here two British farmers, father and son, Edward and Chris Evans from Herefordshire, write of their hopes for European agriculture.

'Free and feed the world'

by Edward Evans



WE FARMERS are always being asked about the CAP, about its difficulties and about the surpluses—such as the 'butter mountain'—which it throws up.

The CAP was designed to ensure uninterrupted food supplies to the people of Europe, and at the same time protect European farmers. Because it is impossible to produce exactly the right amount of food each year, governments budget for a small surplus. The alternative would be to budget for a shortage. So the question is what to do with the surplus.

The EEC's answer is to buy surplus produce from the farmer at a price a little below the average market price. When the glut has receded and demand for the commodity has returned, the surplus is released back into the home market, or if the domestic glut persists, made available to the world market. However, owing to ever improving productivity, surpluses get bigger. To counteract this governments have to control farm prices with the result that the strongest farmers survive and some of the weaker ones are forced out of business.

In this world of hunger, can it be right to restrict our capacity to produce food? Perhaps the EEC could instead deliberately foster increased production for use as food aid to other parts of the world. If this happened, five or 10-year agreements with the recipient countries would be necessary, of the sort that would strengthen rather than undermine their economies.

These requirements are well fulfilled by the proposals of Stanley Barnes, the Australian dairy technologist, for recombined milk plants in countries where there is no processing of milk.

In a recent article in the Indian news magazine *Himmat*, he describes the EEC's

What creates trust?

by Chris Evans



RECENTLY I SAT in an audience of journalists and farmers listening to three eminent speakers. Towards the end a woman at the back rose with a question. Explaining that her work involved frequent visits to France and Italy, she said, 'I find that nobody believes what is said about the EEC's Agricultural Policy in any other country but their own. How can you get people to trust each other?'

There was silence. The Chairman looked in turn to each of the speakers hoping to find some flicker of inspiration. Suddenly they turned as one man towards him. 'You

must answer this question,' they said. Relief was writ large on their faces when he agreed to try.

I can't remember his reply, but the question had clearly reached to the heart of the CAP's difficulties, 'What does create trust?'

With a group of 10 British farmers, I visited France some time ago. We went at our own expense, by invitation and met many French farmers. We stayed in their homes, walked over their farms, listened to their preoccupations and explained ours. And we talked together of how we might work towards an agricultural policy that took the food needs of the whole world into account.

Sometimes we disagreed, even after full explanation of each other's point of view. But I came to trust those people and to like them. In solving the current EEC food surplus problems I would want to see their interests fully considered as well as my own, even when they conflict.

Multiplied, what happened to our small group would bring a solution within reach.

surplus of skim milk and skim milk powder in 1978 as more than large enough 'to provide every one of the 200 million children suffering from malnutrition with a glass of protein-rich milk every day'. About 10 per cent of this milk powder was used in aid to poor countries, while the rest was sold in Europe for animal feed at a price well below the cost of production. He calls for aid programmes based on long-term contracts, rather than occasional aid only at times of surplus.

Surpluses constitute a problem if we approach them in the rigid framework of protected Europe. In the framework of a hungry world they look rather different. Such programmes as Barnes advocates would not disrupt the structure of the CAP but simply increase the total amount of production required before the surpluses begin to pile up.

Growing point

The farmers of the EEC often seem to see things from opposite angles. For instance, we British have supported the EEC Agricultural Commissioner's bid for a standstill in agricultural prices during the coming year, because we plan to secure a devaluation in the 'Green £'. This would bring us closer to the prices European farmers receive—whereas at present we get 70p for a product for which a German farmer receives £1, then we would receive 75p. We can go on for a year or two saying to the farmers in Germany, 'You stand still while we catch up with you', but it is hard to see them accepting this indefinitely.

At the Royal Show one year I had tea with a nephew and his French fiancée. 'You see,' she said earnestly and charmingly, 'we

French are an agricultural nation, whereas you British are industrial. Therefore you should buy our agricultural products.' The French want to use Britain as a market for their farm produce. We British want to produce our own, even if this squeezes French farmers out of business.

But public criticism of one another can be misleading. My wife and I once stayed with a farming family in Brittany at a time when the British press were loud in their criticism of the 'inefficiency' of French farmers, especially those in Brittany. We saw a degree of commitment, attention to detail, and enthusiasm in the farmer and in the other members of his agricultural co-operative which added up to a real success story. Since then I have not been impressed by talk of inefficient continental farmers, and we have been able to arrange and take part in several farmer to farmer visits in France and Britain.

The fact that Europe has a Common Agricultural Policy at all is something of a miracle. Who would have thought that the countries of Europe, with all their competitive and conflicting interests, could have united at the very point of their deepest difference—agricultural policy? Yet here we are with steady consultations and combined decisions on matters affecting the livelihood of everyone. The future of European unity depends partly at least on whether the CAP can be made to work—and, I believe, a united Europe could be a strong growing point of the free world.

I find it significant that two of the most important combined decisions in the free world, those about world commodity prices and those about the CAP, both affect farmers worldwide as much as anyone. Can farmers combine to fight for the world to stay free and to be adequately fed?

Euro-marriage



C. Gilles

'Are different backgrounds and national mentality a hindrance to European teamwork?' asks LINDE COOK, a German who is married to a Welshman. 'We have discovered that any bottleneck in our marriage has nothing to do with different nationality or mentality but simply with our human nature and pride,' she continues. 'The question often is who is the first to say sorry or let go of his or her pet idea.'

Linde's husband, SYDNEY, writes:

AS A SCHOOLBOY I once spent six weeks in France on a holiday course at the University of Tours with students from other European countries. At the first meal our hostess got a group of us to guess each other's nationalities before we spoke. I still remember my mixed feelings when the others concluded

that I had 'a European face', because they could not quite place me!

European face or not, I was as British in my attitudes as the Fleet Street sub-editor who wrote the headline, 'Fog in the Channel—Continent isolated'. A couple of years later I stayed as a student with a German family in Frankfurt. Within a day or two I had sparked off a heated row with the schoolgirl daughter by explaining condescendingly why Britain and her allies had won the 1914—18 war.

'We didn't lose it,' she shouted, stamping her foot. 'I know from our history lessons'—it was the first year of Hitler's rule—'that our army was betrayed by the civilians!' She burst into tears and rushed from the room.

I retained my British calm and sense of being correct but misunderstood. Neither of us changed our attitude.

I have often wondered since if Germany and Britain between 1918 and 1933 were like that girl and myself. Was hurt pride, anger and mounting frustration met by cold rectitude and non-involvement until the volcano of hate and fury burst?

Hitler came and went, and in 1948 I found myself back in Germany, one of an international group invited by the post-war German leaders to help reconstruct their shattered country on a basis of Moral Re-Armament. Soon afterwards Linde joined the group.

We were married in 1953. We had been in love for some time, neither of us knowing what the other felt. A German pastor and an English clergyman conducted our wedding.

We are very different. Linde has a truly German sense of duty. Mine could be stronger. She loves work. I like it—in moderation. She finds changes of plan difficult. I find it easier to adjust to the unforeseen. Her sense of humour is completely different.

Light-years away

Linde blurts out her thoughts and feelings. I like to express mine after a cagey process of sifting and consideration. She does not worry too much about tomorrow's problems, but tackles today's with gusto. I easily lose sleep over the 'what-might-happens' of life.

Yet we find that all our differences have become our united strength for—we believe—two reasons. The first is that from the day we were engaged we decided that Christ would be first in our lives, before each other and before anyone else. The second is that, with our daughter, we have pledged our lives to the task of remaking the world under God. This calling is light-years away from our human capabilities and equally far above national outlooks, prejudice and talent. But it is the real job that is meant to unite our countries as well as ourselves.

Euro-secretary

by Lotty Wolvekamp
Netherlands

THE IMPORTANT THING about anyone's life, Henry Drummond once said, is not the circumstances but the thread that strings them together. The way in which I became a European secretary proves this to me.

I had always wanted to study history, a seven-year process in Holland, and then to get a well paid job. But I had decided to try and find out what God wanted me to do in life. I began to realise that studying history was not what He wanted for me, but that I should use the gift for languages He had given me. I had glamorous visions of myself as an interpreter, standing beside famous people on a platform, but God asked me to serve, as a secretary.

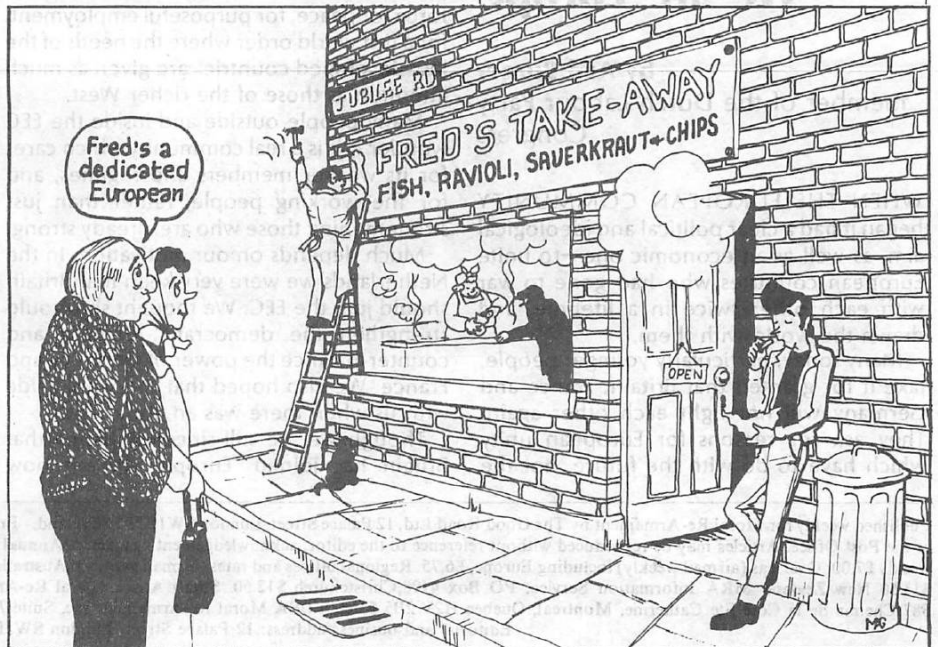
Unexpectedly, my studies to become a European secretary were fascinating. They included subjects like the history of Europe, the growth towards the European Community, economics and the International Monetary Fund, international relationships, as well as secretarial skills and etiquette.

After qualifying, I spent three years in Canada (outside Europe!), a country which is searching for its identity. Many of the Indians, and of the French and English-speaking Canadians as well as more recent immigrants, are trying to see how to live in one country without each group only thinking of their own rights. To work with them was tremendously satisfying.

It was a hard decision to leave this new home country to return to Europe. I was invited to work in Britain, helping with the preparations for two weeks of this summer's Moral Re-Armament assembly at Caux, Switzerland, which will be hosted by people from the British Isles. The theme is 'Everyone's fight for a just and unselfish world'. Could this be a time when we share the best we have: the English their ability to face and survive any disaster, the French their warm-heartedness, the Dutch their pioneering spirit, the Germans their thoroughness?

'A solicitude for the developing countries is part of a commitment to Europe. A Europe selfishly pursuing its own short-term interests would be a betrayal of the higher ideals which were often acknowledged—if not always implemented—by the Europe of history.'

From the joint letter on the European elections published by the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam.



THE DIPLOMACY OF THE OPEN MIND

by Allan Griffith
special adviser to
the Prime Minister
of Australia



E. Peters

WE AUSTRALIANS have participated in the suffering of Europe in two world wars. So we share Europe's aspirations for unity and peace.

We have continued to support Britain's entry into Europe, although through it we lost important traditional markets in Britain and now, as the result of European surpluses, in Asia. Australia has not asked for the abolition of the Common Agricultural Policy, but she has raised questions about the principle of protectionism on which it is based. If absolute protectionism in agriculture is accepted, and is not challenged by the creation of fresh policies, it could, when extended to manufactures, provided the basis for a trade war. The principles that govern the EEC should encourage sound international trading arrangements.

Utopian cynicism

Australia wants to be a stable source of energy for Europe. Over the last few years our Government has been engaged in a frank dialogue with Europe on the question of economic relationships. But the underlying interest of Australians is in a united Europe which is outward looking; which contributes to world security in the widest sense and to the improvement of living standards in countries which are less fortunate than Europe or Australia.

Europe, of course, has a duty to herself to collaborate for her physical security. She is a free and an open society. It is not in the interest of other free societies, no matter where they are, for Europe to be weak or indifferent to the need to secure the future of the democratic state.

In this, economic health is important. Europe has the capacity to give leadership in improving world economic conditions.

In her culture, there is an important ingredient of enlightenment and concern for human welfare. This can be a dynamic for the development of policies for the rebuilding of human society.

Europe can fulfil these tasks if she avoids cynicism. Cynicism stems from the unrealism which expects the world to be without problems. It comes when utopianism is disappointed.

There are bound to be many disappointments, but if the main objective is morally right, the obligation of all free men is to work towards it whether success is apparent or not. And while Europe has problems, these are less important than the ones she would have if the EEC did not exist and its members were not challenged to work together. But cynicism and despair could destroy the soul of Europe.

This is the one reason why I believe the MRA assemblies in Caux are important. They can be a force in creating the spirit Europe needs to face the challenges of the next century—just as they were an important force in the development of the European Economic Community, through the reconciliation between French and Germans that took place there.

One of the qualities most needed in international relations is an open mind. In the North-South dialogue, for instance,

there are the Third World countries on the one hand and the developed countries on the other. Each tends to work out their separate position and then come together with set attitudes which can lead to deadlock. The inspiration of Michael Manley of Jamaica, during the discussions on the Common Fund, to call a conference of selected leaders from each side, without any preconceptions about what positions they should take, was an important innovation in world diplomacy. It illustrates the potential of men motivated by concern and open-mindedness to reach across the barriers of political association and philosophy.

In public life

This was born in on me at the time when Australia was developing the Bougainville Mining Enterprise in Papua New Guinea and there was a lot of tension in the country as a result. This enterprise has become one of the financial pillars of the country's economy. It is true to say that if a number of us had not opened our minds to what the local people felt and taken steps to satisfy them, the goodwill which was so necessary to success would have been destroyed. Anybody in public life faces this challenge as the daily ingredient of his work.

In my political life, I have learned that people do not trust me unless they feel I have moral standards. Nor do I think you can sustain the spirit of concern for others unless you have standards which make you less concerned about yourself. Every human being, I believe, has the capacity to listen to the inner voice of conscience and integrity on the deepest issues confronting them. It has been my experience that when someone does this they can make a creative contribution, wherever they are.

We are Europe

by Aad Burger
member of the Dutch Labour Party
Congress

WHEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY began it had a clear political and ideological aim, as well as an economic one—to unite European countries who had gone to war with each other twice in a lifetime, and drawn the world with them.

Many today, particularly younger people, take it for granted that Britain, France and Germany will not fight each other again. They ask for reasons for European unity which have to do with the future, not the

past. They ask if a united Europe can be a force for peace, for purposeful employment, for a just world order where the needs of the less developed countries are given as much attention as those of the richer West.

Many people outside and inside the EEC wonder if it is a real community which cares for its weaker members and regimes, and for the working people, rather than just strengthening those who are already strong.

Much depends on our motivation. In the Netherlands we were very keen that Britain should join the EEC. We thought she would strengthen the democratic element and counter-balance the power of Germany and France. We also hoped that she would side with us when there was an argument.

Though we are still sincerely happy that Britain has joined 'Europe' we are now

critical of her attitude to matters like agricultural prices and fishing rights. We feel that some British blame the Common Market for certain problems in Britain which we think have other causes.

Our reaction shows that our reasons for wanting Britain to join were not altogether unselfish. We were not realistic about our own motives—or about British ones.

We cannot discuss Europe from our armchairs or political platforms as if we are talking about another planet. We, individuals, are Europe. If Europe has its good and bad points in the past and present, its failures and its victories, it is because of us. What would happen if all of us—those who like the EEC, those who oppose it, those who are not really interested in it—were to take this seriously?