

changing, individual members of NATO have been showing an increasing resentment against military integration. The whole enterprise appearing unusually difficult, requiring not only a joint army but at the same time a war doctrine shared in common and based on the pursuit of the same political ends, this attitude has become all the more eager. The question in itself of establishing a united army including nuclear weapons has amounted to a problem not to be solved. The only country which has remained eager expectant of great assets from a military pact is the German Federal Republic. So far integration has provided this country in a brief span of years with everything necessary for putting up a modern army. At the present moment Western Germany is hoping to gain access to nuclear weapons and to be able to influence the entire war potential of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Thus the further proceedings of a military union within these frames are being faced with a momentous impediment.

JANUSZ RACHOCKI

THEORETICAL PREMISES OF THE SOCIAL PROGRAMME IN THE POLICY OF INTEGRATION PURSUED BY THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY.

Authors of reference works frequently emphasize that genuine social advancement should be one of the most important goals of West European integration. The latter is expected to create in Western Europe an antithesis of socialism thus broadening the footing of capitalism. These conjectures however are hardly incorporated in the schemes of the European Economic Community.

The theory of integration includes two different methods which approach the social problems from a divergent angle. The functional system, expressing theoretical grounds of neo-liberalism, has no definite social programme. Its adherents presuppose that social development is a purely mechanical consequence of a general economic advancement expected as a result of abolishing customs barriers and organizing a free international market. The institutional system, too, assumes the existence of a liberalized international market; yet its foundation is associated with the idea of international organizations competent to issue legal documents imposing on the members adequate rules. In respect to social policies this system implies a social harmony common to nations and based on an international programme.

An estimate of the presupposed social development needs to consider economic premises of integration. This in turn is associated with the so-called "competition argument" according to which any improvement of the financial standing of the working class increases the costs of production by the same rendering competition in the international market more unyielding. This argument is forwarded in conjunction with the founding of EEC, in spite of the scientifically verified principle of a beneficial effect of improved conditions of life on the output of labour — the latter favouring international competition.

The unequal social standards within EEC and the expected negative civil

effects of international economic planning have been the incentive for working out a social programme issued at the Roman Treaty in 1957. Nevertheless it is not an effective scheme of social development, its theory being limited to intervening measures of an *ad hoc* character, issued on the spur of the moment. The Roman Treaty is based on the assumption that social problems constitute either premises or the natural consequence of economic integration processes. Yet there are no grounds for believing that EEC is aimed at achieving a permanent and genuine social advancement.

Literature on these problems gives the so-called principles of social policies pursued within the European Economic Community and set forth in the Roman Treaty.

These are: The principle of coordination of the social systems of the associate countries; the principle of social compensation; and finally the principle of liberalization of the labour market. An analysis of these precepts clearly indicates that apart from some negligible, immediate effects supporting the basic economic axioms of the EEC they are of no greater significance as institutions of a social policy.

Despite the fact that the social policy of the EEC has so far not been of much avail, there exist several premises for establishing the differences between an international social policy (framed by the International Labour Organization) and that pursued on a level common to nations by some of the organizations for integration, chiefly by EEC. The latter is characterized by a potency of moulding certain criteria on an international scale, this being a consequence of a state's resigning of part of its sovereign prerogatives on behalf of the EEC authorities.

ZBIGNIEW KLEPACKI

#### INTERPARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES (so-called European Parliament)

Following two determining elements have had a decisive bearing on the calling into existence of the Interparliamentary Assembly of European Communities:

1. the intention to put a restriction on a presumable misfeasance on the part of the executive powers of Communities entrusted by member countries with part of their sovereign rights;
2. attempts to create a legal body which would clear a way for a future parliament of countries belonging to European Communities.

In selecting members of the European Parliament both leftist and extreme rightist parties are left beyond choice; for this reason it is not fully representative; its members stand for part only of the community — however great it may be — which supports and approves of the policies of ruling parties. An estimation of the structure of the European Parliament indicates a tendency of establishing new bodies as well as of expanding the existing ones to the effect that political fractions of the Parliament are a produce of an international trend of integration.

An appraisalment of the activities of the European Parliament on the back-