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contents

Report from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the European						
Council on European Union	,5					
Commission Report on European Union						
COM (79) 684, 21 November 1979						

S. 9/79

Report on European Union from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the European Council

This report by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the third of its kind, will be on the same lines as its predecessors, that is to say that in this report the Ministers for Foreign Affairs do not wish to take stock of Community activity as a whole, but much rather to highlight the decisions and significant achievements regarding the aims pursued, which are to result in European Union. What are these aims? The European Council of 29 and 30 November 1976 outlined them itself:²

- the strengthening of the practical solidarity of the nine Member States and their peoples, both internally and in their external relations;
- providing European Union progressively with the instruments and institutions necessary for its action. Union should also be reflected in everyday life.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs would like to direct particular attention to major developments such as the first direct elections to the European Assembly, the launching of the European Monetary System and the signature of the Treaty of Accession of Greece to the European Communities. Notwithstanding the challenges with which the Community has been faced as a result of the world energy crisis, the Community has made important progress.

- 1. The election of members to the European Parliament held from 7 to 10 June 1979¹ is a token of an already advanced stage in European Union and of the participation of the peoples of the Member States in the construction of Europe. It is not simply a technical transition from one method of designating the members of the European Parliament to another method, but also an event the importance of which cannot be underestimated in view of the great hope it offers. By their participation in this election the peoples of the Member States have expressed their hope and their resolve to advance, effectively and logically, the construction of Europe. This call must not be left unanswered.
- 2. The entry into force of the European Monetary System² is one of the cornerstones of this effective and logical construction. Although the prime objective of the European Monetary System is to establish increased monetary stability in the Community, it cannot be confined to that. It must also form a basic part of a wide-ranging strategy and of policies aimed at increased growth in stable conditions, a gradual return to full employment, the harmonization of living standards, a better adjustment of industry to meet the challenges offered by the present-day economy and the reduction of regional disparities within the Community. The System is designed to facilitate the convergence of economic development and will therefore certainly assist in giving fresh impetus to the process of European Union.

In addition to specific provisions (Regulation on interest subsidies) adopted or to be adopted under

¹ The first was published in Supplement 8/77 — Bull. EC, the second in Supplement 1/79 — Bull. EC.

² Bull. EC 11-1976, point 2501.

¹ Bull. EC 6-1979, points 1.3.1 to 1.3.4.

² Bull. EC 2-1979, preliminary chapter.

the European Monetary System, with a view to reducing regional disparities, and the creation of a new Community instrument (the Ortoli facility), the Community has at its disposal a new regulation on the Regional Fund.¹ The originality of this instrument is that it permits specific intervention by the Community aimed at mitigating the local repercussions and combating the structural effects of particularly serious events in certain regions.

- 3. The challenge that concerns the Community in the energy field and the way in which the Community faces this challenge will have a far-reaching effect on its future. It is for this reason that the Community has stepped up its efforts to combat the energy crisis in order to achieve the following objectives:
- more moderate and rational use of oil as a nonrenewable natural resource;
- continuing economic growth no longer reliant on an increase in oil consumption but based on the development of other energy resources;
- ensure that the most-needy developing countries will also have the energy necessary for their growth.

The European Council meeting in Strasbourg on 21 and 22 June 1979,² having considered the need for urgent action in the face of the serious world energy situation, affirmed the Community's will to play an exemplary role. It undertook that Community oil imports between 1980 and 1985 would be maintained at an annual level not higher than that for 1978, that transparency of the market would be improved, that the process of redeployment of energy within the Community would be extended and that the policy of energy saving would be strengthened.

- 4. The strength which the Community needs to meet the many challenges facing it will not be found only by strengthening its internal cohesion but also by opening outwards.
- 5. First of all by opening up to welcome those States which have manifested the desire to join the present nine Community States. The signing of the Greek Accession Treaty³ is a first step along this road. The negotiations now being actively pursued with Portugal and Spain should reach a successful conclusion as quickly as possible.

- 6. This also insolves opening up towards the developing countries, the poorest of which are alarmingly affected by the repercussions of the energy crisis. An indication of this opening is the signing of the new Lomé Convention.⁴ It consolidates the achievements of the earlier Convention while introducing a number of new and innovatory features which take into account both the experience gained and the specific requirements of our ACP partners.
- 7. Finally, the Community must open up to the world at large, and of the many instances which could be given here, the multilateral trade negotiations are worthy of notice.⁵ As a result of the constructive efforts made in particular by the Community, a balanced result has been reached which must, however, be implemented in a uniformly correct manner by the signatories.

¹ OJ L 35 of 9. 2. 1979; Bull. EC 2-1979, point 2.1.37.

² Bull. EC 6-1979, points 1.1.1 to 1.1.19.

³ Bull. EC 5-1979, points 1.1.1 to 1.1.19.

⁴ Bull. EC 10-1979, points 1.3.1 to 1.3.5; Bull. EC 9-1979, points 1.1.1 to 1.1.15.

⁵ Bull EC 10-1979, points 1.1.1 and 1.1.2; Bull. EC 4-1979, points 1.2.1 to 1.2.11.

- 1. In the course of 1979 the Nine discussed, within the framework of European political cooperation, the major political issues of international concern. In this regard the Ministers wish to underline that both through the activities of political cooperation and through the Community's external relations activities, the Europe of the Nine is increasingly regarded by the external world as a coherent entity in world affairs.
- The agreed procedures for the gradual association of candidate countries with Nine coordination within the framework of European political cooperation were fully implemented. In the case of Greece, following the signature of the Treaties on 28 May last, this process has been intensified and Greece now consults with the Nine (through the Presidency) on all issues discussed in political cooperation. In addition Greece is kept abreast of Nine coordination at the United Nations and other international organizations, and at meetings of Ambassadors of the Nine in third countries. Following the second Ministerial meeting in the framework of Spanish accession negotiations held on 18 September last, Spain is kept informed on a regular basis of developments within Nine cooperation. At the appropriate time the Nine will implement similar procedures with regard to Portugal.
- 3. The Nine attach particular importance to their close cooperation on issues relating to the CSCE¹ process. In addition to consulting regularly on developments related to implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, they have been engaged in extensive preparations for the next CSCE follow-up meeting which will open in Madrid in 1980.
- 4. As at previous CSCE meetings, the Nine intend to make an active contribution to the Madrid meeting. They aim to make it a significant step in the development of East-West relations in Europe, thus giving a fresh impetus to the CSCE process and contributing to the advancement of détente. At Madrid the Nine will press for better implementation of all aspects of the Helsinki Final Act. They will also seek to have the meeting adopt new measures covering all the main areas of the Final Act which will effectively promote further

implementation and enlarge the scope of cooperation among the participating States.

- 5. To this end they are preparing their positions carefully on all the substantive and procedural issues connected with the meeting. Among the proposals they are studying is the French proposal for a European Disarmament Conference.² In addition they are engaging in bilateral consultations with other participating States in order to discuss all these questions and to facilitate a greater understanding of each other's objectives for Madrid and for the future of the CSCE process.
- 6. The Nine have continued to play an active role in the deliberations of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. During the present thirty-fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Nine maintained their practice of seeking to concert their views, to express their common attitudes and to adopt common voting positions wherever possible. A general statement on major world issues was made on behalf of the Nine by the Irish Foreign Minister in the General Debate at the beginning of the Session. At the United Nations the Nine have in particular continued their efforts to promote respect for and observance of human rights throughout the world.
- 7. The Nine consult closely with a view to contributing in a constructive manner to the disarmament process. They participated actively at the first substantive meeting of the Disarmament Commission earlier this year and made important contributions to the formulation of the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, agreed by consensus at the Commission, which will now be referred to the Committee on Disarmament.
- 8. Six countries of the Nine are members of the new Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. The Nine consult regularly on the issues treated in this important disarmament forum. The Nine maintain a high level of coordination on the whole range of disarmament issues which come before the United Nations General Assembly which they regard as an indispensable instrument for facilitating discussion

¹ Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

² Bull. EC 11-1979, point 2.2.60.

and agreement among the members of the international community in the field of disarmament.

- The Nine continue to follow closely developments in the Middle East. On the occasion of the signing of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel on 26 March, the Nine issued a statement to the effect that they considered the Treaty to constitute a correct application of the principles of Security Council Resolution 242 to Egyptian-Israeli relations. They added that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only within the framework of a comprehensive settlement. In their statement of 18 June the Nine deplored any action or statement which might constitute an obstacle to the search for peace.2 They accordingly opposed the Israeli Government's policy of establishing settlements in occupied territories, nor could they accept claims by Israel to sovereignty over these territories.
- 10. In his address to the United Nations General Assembly on behalf of the Nine on 26 September,³ the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs endorsed the right of the Palestinian people, within the framework set by a peace settlement, to exercise their right to determine their own future as a people. He further stressed their right, through their representatives, to play their full part in the negotiation of a comprehensive peace settlement.
- 11. The Nine remain particularly concerned by the unstable situation in Lebanon, which they see as related to the problem of the Middle East as a whole. In statements of 18 June² and 11 September,⁴ the Nine reaffirmed their support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.
- 12. After the significant progress achieved at the General Committee in Damascus in December 1978, the Euro-Arab Dialogue has recently suffered a slowing-down of activity as an indirect Middle East. The Nine have expressed their willingness to pursue the Dialogue and they hope that conditions will soon be favourable for a renewal of the Dialogue, which is a unique instrument for cooperation between the Community and the whole of the Arab region.⁵

- 13. The Nine have continued to cooperate to the fullest extent possible with African countries in promoting their development in a spirit of partnership. They have followed events in Africa closely and they remain convinced that such problems can best be resolved peacefully and through African solutions. The Nine have been particularly concerned about the situation in southern Africa and they have supported efforts to bring about, through peaceful means, the just solutions that are urgently required to the problems of the region.
- 14. Indo-China remains an area of great concern to the Nine. Following the Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia and the subsequent Chinese intervention in Vietnam, the Nine called for the independence, territorial integrity and self-determination of both Cambodia and Vietnam to be respected. In the Nine's view the establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia requires an independent Cambodia. In the Nine's view this means a Cambodia with a genuinely representative government, free from any foreign military presence, maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the region and having the benefit of international assistance for reconstruction.
- 15. On a number of occasions the Nine have voiced their concern about the problem of the Indo-Chinese refugees and they called for immediate practical measures to deal with it.⁷ In adopting concerted positions at the United Nations meeting on South-East Asian Refugees in July this year,⁸ the Nine stressed the right of people to leave freely and to return to their own countries. They also expressed their determination to contribute to continuing international efforts on behalf of the refugees.
- 16. The Nine have already taken steps to respond urgently to the desperate needs of the Kampuchean people in the face of widespread famine.⁹

¹ Bull. EC 3-1979, point 2.2.74.

² Bull. EC 6-1979, point 2.2.59.

³ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 3.4.1.

⁴ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 2.2.55.

⁵ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 2.2.58; Bull. EC 11-1979, point 2.2.61.

⁶ Bull. EC 2-1979, point 2.2.61.

⁷ Bull. EC 6-1979, point 2.2.58.

⁸ Bull. EC 7/8-1979, point 2.2.63.

⁹ Bull. EC 9-1979, point 2.2.57; Bull. EC 11-1979, point 1.1.15.

At the United Nations Pledging Conference for Kampuchea in New York on 5 November, the Nine pledged a substantial contribution. They indicated that they intend to follow developments in Kampuchea with a view to further assisting in any way they can to relieve the situation.

17. Relations with the European Parliament, now directly elected, continue to receive the close attention of the Nine in political cooperation. Through the medium of replies to Parliamentary questions, both oral and written, regular colloquies following Ministerial meetings, and the annual report on developments within political cooperation, the Parliament is kept abreast of all issues discussed by the Nine.

III

An Agreement between the Member States of the European Communities concerning the application of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism is likely to be signed by the Nine during the current Presidency.1 Moreover, a group of senior officials is continuing its examination of a draft convention dealing with extradition for a broad range of criminal offences in the context of proposals for an espace judiciaire européen. The Ministers of Justice of the Nine met in April 1979² to consider these proposals and it is expected that they will meet at future dates on this subject. The group of senior officials, taking due account of the progress achieved, feels that the draft convention could be considered by Ministers at a meeting in spring 1980. In addition Ministers of the Interior or Ministers with similar responsibilities met in Dublin in October as a continuation of their activities in examining practical measures of cooperation dealing with international terrorism.

¹ Bull. EC 10-1979, points 2.3.15 and 3.4.1.

¹ The Agreement was in fact signet in Dublin on 4 December 1979; Bull. EC 12-1979, point 2.2.68.

² Bull. EC 4-1979, point 2.3.1.

Commission Report on European Union

COM (79) 684, 21 November 1979

- 1. This is the Commissions's third report, since the Tindemans Report in December 1975,¹ on the results which have been achieved and the progress which can still be made towards European Union in the various fields concerned.²
- 2. The current year has seen a considerable number of major economic and political events, the most significant being the election of the European Parliament. Substantial progress has been made towards European Union thanks to the awareness which has developed on important issues and the Community-level deliberations of the previous year.
- 3. Throughout the Community, industrial activity has been expanding but the extension of industrial restructuring measures reflects the lingering malaise still affecting the economic climate, which is now less tense but still uncertain. Unemployment is still high and remains a cause for concern, especially unemployment among young people. Inflation, which was largely contained last year, has been showing a distinct upward trend since the early months of 1979. The uncertainty surrounding supplies and the rise in fuel prices are once more the factors determining the bleakness of the economic outlook.

The trade balance, which had been broadly speaking positive for a year, has again deteriorated. The various external factors affecting the wide diversity of domestic situations in the Community are once more making for greater economic divergence between Member States.

Political and institutional aspects of Europe

4. With the first direct election of European Members of Parliament by universal suffrage,³ a decisive step was taken towards strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the entire institutional structure. Although provided for by the Treaties of Paris and Rome, the election of the European Parliament did not take place until more than twenty years after those Treaties were signed. From the first debates and the atmosphere of the proceedings it is apparent that the new Parliament

is resolved to spur the achievement of European Union.

- 5. The brief entrusted to the 'Three Wise Men' by the European Council which met in Brussels on 4 and 5 December 1978⁴ shows that the Heads of State and Government are anxious to ensure that the Community institutions are adapted, on the basis of the Treaties and without any infringements thereof, to meet the needs of the enlarged Community. The Wise Men have now reported.⁵
- 6. The Commission, for its part, has been considering how it itself operates. An independent working party consisting of five high-ranking public figures had been requested to prepare a report on the structure of the Commission's departments and how these could be adapted to take account of the Community's enlargement from nine to twelve Member States. This working party, which was chaired by Mr Spierenburg, submitted its conclusions on 24 September 1979.6 This report will provide guidance for the Commission's present concentration on getting its departments efficiently organized to cope with its changing duties.

Economic and social aspects of Europe

7. Once again the fuel shortage and rising fuel prices have been the central problem confronting the world economy. Within the Community itself, the first sign of an effective common policy on energy was the Member States' joint decision to limit their oil imports. At the Tokyo Summit, this common stand enabled the participating countries to adopt oil-import ceilings up to 1985. A separate set of measures, some of which have already been adopted, are aimed at promoting the use of solid fuels, at rationalizing and cutting back energy consumption, and at making use of alternative sources of energy.

Supplement 1/76 — Bull. EC.

² The first two reports were published in Supplements 8/77 and 1/79 — Bull. EC.

³ Bull. EC 6-1979, points 1.2.1 to 1.3.4.

⁴ Bull. EC 12-1978, point 2.3.1.

⁵ Bull. EC 11-1979, points 1.5.1 and 1.5.2.

⁶ Bull. EC 9-1979, points 1.3.1 to 1.3.15.

⁷ Bull. EC 6-1979, point 1.1.7.

⁸ Bull. EC 6-1979, points 1.2.1 to 1.2.6.

- 8. The Community is holding more and more consultations with the other main industrialized countries with a view to finding a common position and agreeing on common measures to deal with the energy crisis. Although a common energy policy is still a long way off (because of the constant pressure exerted by external factors), some real progress in this direction has been made.
- 9. In many sectors, the level of industrial activity is still disturbingly low; Community investment aid has been proposed for restructuring or conversion measures in other sectors, such as the shipbuilding and textile industries. These industrial restructuring and conversion measures also have repercussions on producers outside the Community. Until the process has been completed and until industrial structures and activity levels have become compatible with the long-term market outlook, it will be difficult to dispense with certain measures to restrain imports.
- 10. Using other means, the Community has worked to encourage changeovers in sectors in trouble, and to stimulate industrial activity in the high-technology sectors. Towards this end, various research and development programmes have been launched, including those for the textile and clothing industry, aeronautics and informatics.
- 11. As concerns the common agricultural policy, the structural imbalances in some markets, particularly sugar and milk, have once more been of very considerable proportions. Only limited support has been forthcoming for Commission proposals for bringing some sectors of agriculture back into balance.² The problem of the surpluses and its financial implications for the pattern of Community expenditure is still there, and the Commission is proposing a number of adjustments to certain common organizations of markets.
- 12. In addition, an assortment of measures in connection with policy on the structure of agriculture have been agreed on for the disadvantaged regions, more particularly in Southern Europe: they include specific programmes for Ireland and the Mediterranean areas of Italy and France, and a common forestry operation. Other structural operations and specific measures are currently under discussion. Injection of very large sums into the

European Regional Development Fund is calculated to help place Community funding of higher structural expenditure on a sound basis.

Monetary aspects of Europe

- 13. Fundamental progress towards European Union was achieved in the monetary sphere with the introduction of the EMS,³ the creation of the ECU and the use of the European Monetary Cooperation Fund to build up currency reserves. Now that the system has been operating for six months, the signs are that this new move towards monetary solidarity is living up to its promise. The technical readjustment of exchange rates in September⁴ shows that the EMS is sufficiently flexible to adapt to the economic facts of life, while preventing disorderly ups and downs on the currency markets.
- 14. One important consequence of the introduction of the EMS has been a substantial reduction in some monetary compensatory amounts; this represents a further step towards the normalization of agricultural markets. Accompanying measures planned at the time when the EMS was being set up also included the strengthening of the economies of the less prosperous Member States. Ireland and Italy can now obtain low interest rates for the financing of selected projects and programmes to improve infrastructures. The first loans have already been granted from the 'New Community Instrument' for the financing of infrastructure projects.

Enlargement of Europe

15. The enlargement of the Community came one step nearer with the signing of the Accession Treaty with Greece,⁵ which will thus become the tenth Member State in January 1981. Negotiations for Spanish and Portuguese accession are proceeding. Once Spain and Portugal become Member States, the Community will be faced with the problems peculiar to southern Europe.

¹ Thirtheenth General Report, points 130 to 132.

² Thirtheenth General Report, point 300.

³ Bull. EC 2-1979, preliminary chapter.

⁴ Bull. EC 9-1979, points 2.1.1. to 2.1.4.

⁵ Bull. EC 5-1979, points 1.1.1 to 1.1.19.

Europe and the world

- 16. The Tokyo Round, which has finally been concluded after six years of difficult negotiations, represents an important new stage in the liberalization of international trade.1 The final results are significant, not only as concerns tariffs but also as concerns the rules of GATT and non-tariff codes, especially when it is borne in mind that these results were achieved in the context of the worst economic recession for 40 years. The agreement is designed to work against national protectionist tendencies, and shows that all the participating countries realize the interdependence of trade.
- 17. The negotiations with the ACP countries resulted in the signing of the Lomé II Convention,² which specifies the new forms of cooperation freely negotiated between equal partners. The system of stabilizing export earnings has been extended. while increased resources will be placed at the disposal of the ACP countries, in all sectors, from small local projects to major regional projects involving more than one country.
- 18. The Community has been working up its relations with other developing countries: thus it has opened negotiations for a cooperation agreement with the five ASEAN countries,3 and has held exploratory talks with Brazil, India and the Andean Group with a view to renewing or concluding cooperation agreements.
- 19. In Europe, it has devoted particular attention to relations with Turkey - a Community associate since 1964 – and with Yugoslavia: discussions have been conducted for the purpose of working out future stages for reactivating and intensifying the Associations,4 and initial negotiations have been entered into with Yugoslavia on the terms of a cooperation agreement.5

Europe and the Europeans

20. On 10 June 1979 the citizens of Europe had the opportunity to vote on the future of the European Community, but 1979 has seen little progress on the issues which are of special interest to European men and women. The Community pursues essentially economic goals; it is hardly surprising, therefore, if the progress achieved so far has been largely in the economic sphere. European Union has a wider aim, however. For several years, as political pressure has been growing, certain issues of direct concern to the citizens of Europe have been under consideration and these are now being discussed by Community bodies. These matters include extension of right of residence to all, voting and standing in local elections, European passport and a European driving licence.

21. Apart from some minor adjustments, no progress has been made towards reducing the checks applied at the Community's internal frontiers. The Community is still deliberating on whether to sign, as a single body, the European Convention on Human Rights.⁶ As regards culture and contacts between peoples, no further moves have been made to set up the European Foundation suggested by Mr Tindemans.

What remains to be done

22. At their meeting in Paris in October 1972, the Heads of State and Government set themselves the principal objective of transforming the whole range of relationships between Member States into a European Union before the end of this decade, without in any way departing from the Treaties already signed.

Now that the end of the decade is only a few weeks away, it would seem appropriate to assess what progress has been made and to measure the gap which still separates us from the said objective.

The Tindemans Report on European Union,7 23. which was submitted in December 1975, defines such Union as consisting of the following:

¹ Bull. EC 4-1979, points 1.2.1 to 1.2.11.

² Bull. EC 10-1979, points 1.1 to 1.3.5; Bull. EC 9-1979 points 1.1.1 to 1.1.15.

³ The agreement was finalized at two negotiating sessions in November and approved by the Council on 18 December 1979: Bull. EC 12-1979, points 1.2.1 to 1.2.8.

⁴ Bull. EC 2-1979, points 1.3.1 to 1.3.5.

⁵ Bull. EC 7/8-1979, point 2.2.49.

<sup>Supplement 2/79 — Bull. EC.
Supplement 1/76 — Bull. EC.</sup>

- institutions having the authority to define policies which are common, comprehensive and consistent, having the powers to take effective action and possessing the legitimacy required for democratic control;
- common measures in the most important areas of external relations: foreign policy, security and economic cooperation;
- common policies on economic and monetary matters, on industrial and agricultural matters, and on energy and research;
- effective solidarity, to correct the disparities in levels of development and incomes;
- protection of the rights and improvement of the living standards enjoyed by the citizens of Europe.
- 24. Economic and monetary union, which represents an intermediate stage, is still far from complete, but full participation by all the Member States in the EMS and closer EEC economic and monetary cohesion are major strides in that direction. Active preparation must be made for setting up the European Monetary Fund and for full-scale use of the ECU as a reserve currency and means of payment.
- 25. Convergence on the common goals of growth, stability and full employment necessitates coordination of economic and social policy and tighter budgetary discipline on the part of the Member States. The arsenal for improving economic structures so as to help reduce disparities between Member State and Member State and between region and region must be both deployed more efficiently and further expanded.
- 26. It is essential that the internal market should be effectively completed in the short term. Too many barriers of every kind still stand in the way of the free movement of people, goods and capital. In many fields (such as taxation, social welfare legislation, transport and the award of public contracts) purely national arrangements still persist. As yet there is no European economic zone in which our economies, industries and services can be organized and planned for the future within a Community framework. All the remaining barriers must be quickly dismantled if benefits are to be derived from economies of scale, a European division of

- labour or economic and industrial planning. The achievement of EMU is impossible without full customs union, which can no longer be delayed without jeopardizing the whole edifice of the European Community, so painstakingly erected over a period of almost 30 years.
- 27. The customs union, competition policy and the common agricultural policy, although incomplete, are the areas where most progress has been made towards the objectives of European Union. Every effort must be made to complete and consolidate this part of the European edifice. In all other areas, common policies are still at a very early stage. Certain measures such as the EMS are now under way, but others have hardly left the drawing board. The energy crisis and the technological challenge, however, may strengthen the common determination to arrive at European policies.
- 28. The enlarged Community must find adequate ways of gradually and harmoniously integrating the economies of the new Member States into the European framework. The marked economic and social differences will call for imaginative and courageous solutions.
- 29. To deal with the problems which await us in coming years, the Community should now be increasing the effectiveness of its institutions. Internal difficulties, the disturbances caused by external factors and the imminent prospect of enlargement all militate in favour of new and different ways of operating, more suited to the needs of the enlarged Community. An in-depth investigation must be made into the tasks and powers entrusted to the institutions.
- 30. Little or no progress is being made on the issues of special interest to the citizens of Europe. As long as the political will is lacking, no meaningful steps can be taken to improve living conditions, establish a European identity or give shape to deeply-felt human and cultural aspirations. Europe's elected representatives will doubtless make some political moves to render the Community more meaningful to the human beings of which it consists.
- 31. The more one advances towards European Union, the more difficult it will be to draw an artificial distinction between important Com-

munity activities and those of the Member States. All matters of common interest must be treated within a single institutional framework. Experience shows that the full weight of the Community is needed behind us if our voice is to be heard and any effective action is to be taken. Where individual Member States are incapable of taking effective action to solve problems, the Community should be given the relevant powers and the means to take action on its own.

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At its meeting in The Hague in 1976 the European Council invited the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Commission 'to report to it once a year on the results obtained and the progress which can be achieved in the short term in the various sectors of the Union, thus translating into reality the common conception of European Union'.

On 29 and 30 November 1979 the two latest reports were submitted to the European Council, which authorized publication.