

BACKGROUND DOCUMENTS

on

BRITISH, DANISH and IRISH APPLICATIONS
FOR MEMBERSHIP
of the
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Ref. P.6323-E

C O N T E N T S

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REQUESTS FOR MEMBERSHIP

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C.5 Letter from M. HALLSTEIN to M. ERHARD of September 15, 1961

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The communiqué on the Danish application for membership of the E.E.C., published by the E.E.C. Council on September 27, 1961, is contained in document B.8 b-c

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C.6 Letter from M. MUELLER-ARMACK to M. KRAG, September 27, 1961

C.7 Letter from M. KAMPMANN to M. ERHARD of October 2, 1961

C.8 a-d Summary of M. KRAG's statement to the representatives of the Member Governments of the E.E.C. in Brussels on October 26, 1961

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D.1 Letter from M. MUELLER-ARMACK to M. LEMASS, October 25, 1961

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The communiqué on the Irish application for membership of the E.E.C., published by the E.E.C. Council on September 27, 1961, is contained in document B.8 c.

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D.2 Statement by M. LEMASS to Ministers of the Member States of E.E.C., Brussels, January 18, 1962.

REQUESTS FOR ASSOCIATION

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Translation

T R E A T Y
establishing the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Article 237

Any European State may apply to become a member of the Community. It shall address its application to the Council which, after obtaining the opinion of the Commission, shall act by **unanimous vote**.

The conditions of admission and the adaptations of this Treaty necessitated thereby shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. Such agreement shall be submitted to all the contracting States for ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional rules.

Article 238

The Community may conclude with a third country, a union of States or an international organisation agreements creating an association embodying reciprocal rights and obligations, joint actions and special procedures.

Such agreements shall be concluded by the Council acting by **unanimous vote** and after consulting the Assembly.

Where such agreements involve amendments to this Treaty, such amendments shall be subject to prior adoption in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 236.

Statement by Mr. MACMILLAN to the House of Commons on July 31, 1961.

With permission, I wish to make a statement on the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards the European Economic Community.

The future relations between the European Economic Community, the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and the rest of Europe are clearly matters of capital importance in the life of our country and indeed of all the countries of the free world.

This is a political as well as an economic issue. Although the Treaty of Rome is concerned with economic matters it has an important political objective, namely to promote unity and stability in Europe which is so essential a factor in the struggle for freedom and progress throughout the world. In this modern world the tendency towards larger groups of nations acting together in the common interest leads to greater unity and thus adds to our strength in the struggle for freedom. I believe it is both our duty and our interest to contribute towards that strength by securing the closest possible unity within Europe. At the same time, if a closer relationship between the United Kingdom and the countries of the European Economic Community were to disrupt the longstanding and historic ties between the United Kingdom and the other nations of the Commonwealth the loss would be greater than the gain.

The Commonwealth is a great source of stability and strength both to Western Europe and to the world as a whole, and I am sure that its value is fully appreciated by the member governments of the European Economic Community. I do not think that Britain's contribution to the Commonwealth will be reduced if Europe unites. On the contrary, I think its value will be enhanced.

.../...

On the economic side, a community comprising, as members or in association, the countries of free Europe, could have a very rapidly expanding economy supplying, as eventually it would a single market of approaching 300 million people. This rapidly expanding economy could in turn lead to an increased demand for products from other parts of the world and so help to expand world trade and improve the prospects of the less developed areas of the world.

No British government could join the European Economic Community without prior negotiations with a view to meeting the needs of the Commonwealth countries, of our European Free Trade Association partners, and of British agriculture consistently with the broad principles and purpose which have inspired the concept of European unity and which are embodied in the Rome Treaty.

As the House knows, Ministers have recently visited Commonwealth countries to discuss the problems which would arise if the British government decided to negotiate for membership of the European Economic Community. We have explained to Commonwealth governments the broad political and economic considerations which we have taken into account. They for their part told us their views and in some cases their anxieties about their essential interests. We have assured Commonwealth governments that we shall keep in close consultation with them throughout any negotiations which might take place. Secondly, there is the European Free Trade Association. We have Treaty and other obligations to our partners in this association and my right hon. friends have just returned from a meeting of the European Free Trade Association Ministerial Council in Geneva where all were agreed that they should work closely together throughout any negotiations. Finally, we are determined to continue to protect the standard of living of our agricultural community.

.../...

During the past nine months, we have had useful and frank discussions with the European Economic Community governments. We have now reached the stage where we cannot make further progress without entering into formal negotiations. I believe that the great majority in the House and in the country will feel that they cannot fairly judge whether it is possible for the United Kingdom to join the European Economic Community until there is a clearer picture before them of the conditions on which we could join and the extent to which these could meet our special needs. Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome envisages that the conditions of admission of a new member and the changes in the Treaty necessitated thereby should be the subject of an agreement. Negotiations must therefore be held in order to establish the conditions on which we might join. In order to enter into these negotiations it is necessary under a Treaty to make formal application to join the Community, although the ultimate decision whether to join or not must depend on the result of the negotiations. Therefore, after long and earnest consideration, Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that it would be right for Britain to make a formal application under Article 237 of the Treaty for negotiations with a view to joining the Community if satisfactory arrangements can be made to meet the special needs of the United Kingdom, of the Commonwealth and of the European Free Trade Association.

If, as I earnestly hope, our offer to enter into negotiations with the European Economic Community is accepted we shall spare no efforts to reach a satisfactory agreement. These negotiations must inevitably be of a detailed and technical character covering a very large number of the most delicate and difficult matters. They may therefore be protracted and there can of course be no guarantee of success. When any negotiations are brought to a conclusion then it will be the duty of the Government to recommend to the House what course we should pursue. No agreement will be entered into until it has been approved by the House after full consultation with other Commonwealth Countries by whatever procedure they may generally agree.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE EEC COMMISSION OF AUGUST 1st, 1961
ON GREAT BRITAIN'S APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN EEC

The Commission of the European Economic Community has taken note with very great interest and lively satisfaction of the declaration made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, on the subject of Great Britain's adhesion to the European Economic Community. The Commission considers this a turning point in post-war European politics.

The Commission regards it as a fresh recognition of the economic and political value of the work of European integration undertaken since 1950. It is particularly glad to note the very apt terms in the British declaration according to which the Treaty of Rome has an important political objective which consists in promoting unity and stability in Europe, essential factors in the struggle for liberty and progress throughout the world.

It recognises, no less than the British Government, the extent and the difficulty of the negotiations which are to be begun. For some months, the Commission has been studying the problems raised in the case of adhesion for Great Britain and for her various partners on the one hand, and for the Community on the other. It is resolved to bring its full support to a positive solution of these problems, in order to contribute to the realisation of this new step in the economic and political unification of Europe, and thereby to tighten the bonds which link the free world on both sides of the Atlantic.

Government Motion on the application for Great Britain's membership in the EEC adopted by the House of Commons on August 3rd, 1961 by 313 votes to 5.

"That this House supports the decision of Her Majesty's Government to make formal application under Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome in order to initiate negotiations to see if satisfactory arrangements can be made to meet the special interests of the United Kingdom of the Commonwealth and of the European Free Trade Association; and further accepts the undertaking of Her Majesty's Government that no agreement affecting these special interests or involving British sovereignty will be entered into until it has been approved by this House after full consultation with other Commonwealth countries, by whatever procedure they may generally agree."

Letter from M. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern
Ireland

dated August 9th, 1961

to M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the EEC Council

Subject Application for membership in the EEC

Monsieur le Président,

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that in accordance with the terms of the resolution carried by both Houses of Parliament on the 3rd of August, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland wish to open negotiations with a view to acceding to the Treaty of Rome under the terms of Article 237.

As the Member Governments of the European Economic Community are aware, Her Majesty's Government have need to take account of the special Commonwealth relationship as well as of the essential interests of British agriculture and of the other Members of the European Free Trade Association. Her Majesty's Government believe that Member Governments will consider these problems sympathetically and therefore have every confidence in a successful outcome to the negotiations. This would constitute an historic step towards that closer union among the European peoples which is the common aim of the United Kingdom and of the Members of the Community.

Please accept, Monsieur le Président, the assurance of my highest consideration.

TRANSLATION

Letter from:	M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the European Economic Community
To:	The Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Dated:	August 14th, 1961
Subject:	Interim reply by the President of the Council to Mr. Macmillan's letter concerning the United Kingdom's application for membership of the European Economic Community.

Mr. Prime Minister,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 9th, in which Your Excellency informs me of the decision of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to apply, in accordance with Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome, for the accession of the United Kingdom to the European Economic Community.

I agree with Your Excellency that the accession of the United Kingdom to the Community would constitute a decisive step towards that closer union among the European peoples which is the common aim of the Member States of the Community and of the United Kingdom.

I have immediately forwarded Your Excellency's letter to the members of the Council, and have arranged for the procedure envisaged in the Treaty to be set in motion as soon as possible.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the expression of my highest consideration.

(Sgd. Ludwig Erhard)

Letter from: M.Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of
the EEC

To: M.Walter Hallstein, President of the EEC
Commission

Dated: August 25th, 1961

Subject: (Request for opinion in accordance with Article
237 of the Treaty in connection with the
application of the United Kingdom for
membership of the EEC)

Mr. President,

In a letter addressed to the President of the Council, of which a copy is attached, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have applied for membership of the European Economic Community.

In accordance with the first paragraph of Article 237 of the Treaty I have the honour, on behalf of the Council, to ask you for the Commission's opinion on this application. I should be grateful to you, Mr. President, if this opinion could be conveyed to the Council as soon as possible.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my high consideration.

The President of the Council
(sgd. Ludwig Erhard)

TRANSLATION

Letter from:	M. Walter Hallstein, President of the E.E.C.-Commission
To:	M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the E.E.C.
Dated:	September 7th, 1961
Subject:	Reply to a letter of August 25th 1961, concerning the Commission's opinion on the application for membership submitted by the United Kingdom.

Mr. President,

The Commission has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the letter of August 25th, 1961 with which, in conformity with Article 237 of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, the Council requests the Commission to give its opinion on the application submitted by the United Kingdom on August 9th, 1961

In its communiqué of August 13th, the Commission has already expressed its lively satisfaction at the British Government's request for the opening of negotiations with a view to the accession of the United Kingdom to the European Economic Community. It is the Commission's desire that these negotiations be begun without delay.

Since the negotiations will concern a number of issues of interest to the Community, the Commission will express its views on these as the negotiations proceed. The Commission will submit its opinion under Article 237 of the Treaty in the light of the results of the negotiations.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my high consideration.

The President of the Commission

(sgd. Walter Hallstein)

- a -

Excerpt from the communiqué of the Council of Ministers of the EEC,
dated September 27th, 1961

APPLICATION BY THE BRITISH, DANISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS FOR
ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

a) The British application

The Council has examined the application for the opening of negotiations on the accession of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Treaty of Rome (Article 237), submitted in Mr. Macmillan's letter of August 9th, 1961.

The Council approved the text of the reply to the British Government. On September 27th, 1961, the President in office of the Council, M. Ludwig Erhard, handed this reply to His Excellency Ambassador Tandy, the Head of the United Kingdom Mission to the European Communities.

By agreement with the British Government and the six Governments of the Member States of the Community the official text of this reply will be published later simultaneously in London and Brussels.

In it the Council informs the British Government that it has unanimously approved the latter's request for the opening of negotiations.

The Council also proposes that a meeting be held in Paris on the 10th and, if necessary, 11th October 1961, when the British Government would have an opportunity to present its views. It is suggested that the negotiations proper should take place in Brussels and begin in the first half of November.

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- b -

b) The Danish application

The Council also approved the text of the reply to the letter of August 10th, 1961, by which the Danish Government applied for accession to the Treaty of Rome under the terms of Article 237.

This reply was handed to His Excellency M. Lars Peter Tillitse, the Danish Ambassador to the European Communities, on September 27th, 1961 by the President in office of the Council, M. A. Müller-Armack, Under-Secretary of State in the Federal German Ministry of Economics.

By agreement with the Danish Government and the six Governments of the Member States of the Community the official text of this reply will be published later simultaneously in Copenhagen and Brussels.

In it the Council informs the Danish Government that it has unanimously approved the latter's request for the opening of negotiations. It proposes that on the occasion of the next Council session on October 25th, 1961 in Brussels a meeting be held to enable the Danish Government to present its views.

The Governments of the Member States will then approach the Danish Government with a view to fixing a date for the opening of the negotiations proper.

.../...

c) The Irish application

The Council held a preliminary discussion on the application submitted by the Irish Government on July 31st, 1961. It has decided to resume at its next session the study of this application and the problems to which it gives rise. Meanwhile the Council has requested the opinion of the Commission in accordance with the first paragraph of Article 237 of the Treaty.

d) Procedure

In considering the replies to these applications for membership the Council also dealt with various matters of procedure.

As to the question of the Commission's participation in the negotiations the Council has decided that the Commission will attend the negotiations and be entitled to express its views.

The Council further agreed to propose that the negotiations take place in Brussels.

With regard to other matters of procedure (especially chairmanship, etc.) the Council agreed to reconsider these at its next session and meanwhile instructed the Committee of Permanent Representatives to continue its study of these problems.

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Finally, the Council stated that application by a country for membership of the Community implied unreserved recognition of the aims and rules of the Treaty as well as accession to the two other existing Communities (ECSC and Euratom).

TRANSLATION

Letter from:	M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the EEC Council
To:	The Right Honourable Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Dated:	September 27th, 1961
Subject:	Reply to letter of August 9th, 1961, submitting the application of the United Kingdom for membership of the European Economic Community.

Mr. Prime Minister,

I have the honour to refer to your letter of August 9th, 1961 ~~and to inform~~ Your Excellency that the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community has at its session of September 25th and 26th 1961 given its opinion on the application made by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the opening of negotiations with a view to acceding to the Treaty of Rome under the terms of Article 237 of that Treaty.

I am glad to be able to inform Your Excellency that the Council has unanimously approved this application.

In the letter referred to, Your Excellency has drawn the attention of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community to the British Government's need to take account of the special Commonwealth relationship as well as of the essential interests of British agriculture and of the other members of the European Free Trade Association.

The Governments of the six signatory States of the Treaty of Rome have taken note of this and have instructed me to inform Your Excellency that, in order that the negotiations may be begun under the most favourable conditions, they consider it necessary to be fully informed of the problems arising for the British Government, especially in the three spheres referred to in Your Excellency's letter of August 9th, 1961, and of the solutions which your Government proposes.

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To this end the six Governments have instructed me to invite the British Government to attend a meeting which could be held in Paris on the 10th and, if necessary, the 11th October 1961. The point of view of the British Government could be put before them at this meeting.

As soon as the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community have completed the study of the points thus submitted to them they will, whilst reserving the right to ask for supplementary information, decide by agreement with the British Government on the date when the negotiations proper shall begin. In the view of the six Government these could take place in Brussels, starting in the first half of November.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the expression of my highest consideration.

(sgd. Ludwig Erhard)

Letter from M. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern
Ireland

dated September 30th, 1961

to M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the EEC Council

Subject Reply to a letter of September 27th, 1961 con-
cerning the statement of the EEC Council of the
request of Great Britain for admission to the
EEC

Monsieur le Président,

I have the honour to acknowledge Your Excellency's letter of the 27th of September in which you informed me that, at its session on the 25th and 26th of September, the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community agreed to the request of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, conveyed in my letter of the 9th of August, for the opening of negotiations with a view to accession to the Treaty of Rome in accordance with the provisions of article 237, and invited Her Majesty's Government to participate in a meeting to be held in Paris on the 10th and, if necessary, on the 11th of October, 1961, at which Her Majesty's Government could communicate their views about the problems facing them, particularly under the three headings mentioned in my letter of the 9th of August.

I am happy to inform Your Excellency that this proposal is agreeable to Her Majesty's Government. The suggestion in Your Excellency's letter that negotiations should be pursued in Brussels, starting at a date to be agreed in the first half of November, is also acceptable to them.

Her Majesty's Government have designated the Lord Privy Seal, the Right Honourable Edward Heath, M.P. to represent them at the meeting in Paris and to be responsible for the conduct of the subsequent negotiations.

Please accept, Monsier le Président, the assurance of my highest consideration.

STATEMENT BY THE RT. HONOURABLE EDWARD HEATH, M.P., LORD
PRIVY SEAL, LEADER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION AT
THE MEETING IN PARIS ON 10th OCTOBER, 1961, BETWEEN THE
MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
AND HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. Chairman,

I am very happy to be present at this historic meeting under your Chairmanship. I would like to thank you for the wise and kind words which you have spoken in your introductory remarks. I would like first to express our warm gratitude and add my own personal words to yours to our French hosts for the arrangements which have been made for this meeting, and to the French Foreign Minister personally for the hospitality which we look forward to enjoying a little later today. We deeply appreciate the welcome which has been ~~given by the Member Governments of the~~ European Economic Community to our application under Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome. May I add also that we are glad to see here the distinguished President and other members of the European Commission, from whose unique knowledge and experience I am sure we shall greatly benefit.

2. I am deeply conscious of the importance of this occasion and of the work on which we are embarking together. There can be no doubt that the success or failure of these discussions will determine the future shape of Europe. They will affect profoundly the way of life, the political thought and even the character of each one of our peoples. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have asked me to set before you today, in clear and comprehensive terms, the view they take of this enterprise and to emphasise the importance which they attach to its success.

3. The British Government and the British people have been through a searching debate during the last few years on the subject of their relations with Europe. The result of the debate has been our present application. It was a decision arrived at, not on any narrow or short-term grounds, but as a result of a thorough assessment over a considerable

period of the needs of our own country, of Europe and of the Free World as a whole. We recognise it as a great decision, a turning point in our history, and we take it in all seriousness. In saying that we wish to join the E.E.C., we mean that we desire to become full, wholehearted and active members of the European Community in its widest sense and to go forward with you in the building of a new Europe.

4. Perhaps you will allow me to underline some of the considerations which have determined our course of action. In the first place, ever since the end of the war, we in Britain have had a strong desire to play a full part in the development of European institutions. We, no less than any other European people, were moved by the enthusiasms which gave birth to the Brussels Treaty⁽¹⁾, the Council of Europe⁽²⁾, the O.E.E.C.⁽³⁾, the Western European Union⁽⁴⁾ and the North Atlantic Treaty⁽⁵⁾. These organisations, based on the general principle of co-operation between sovereign states, played an important role in developing amongst us all the practice of working together. They gave us that knowledge of one another's institutions, practices and modes of thought, which is the necessary foundation for common action. Many are the tables round which we have all sat - round which our officials and experts have sat - during the last 15 years, creating bit by bit the habit of international co-operation and joint action on which our present friendships and understandings are based.

5. Then there came a point when you decided to move a stride ahead towards a more organic type of unity, and my country, though understanding this move, did not then feel able to take part in it. It is true to say, however, that it was never agreeable to us to find that we were no longer running with the stream towards European unity. There were reasons for it and we knew them - but we did not feel comfortable to be outside.

(1) "Treaty Series No. 1 (1949)", Cmd. 7599
(2) "Treaty Series No. 51 (1949)", Cmd. 7778
(3) "Treaty Series No. 59 (1949)", Cmd. 7796
(4) "Treaty Series No. 42 (1957)", Cmd. 173
(5) "Treaty Series No. 56 (1949)", Cmd. 7789

Nor, I believe, did you feel entirely comfortable to see us outside. One of our main purposes today is to discover afresh the inspiration and the stimulus of working together in a new effort of political and economic construction.

6. The second consideration has been the increasing realisation that, in a world where political and economic power is becoming concentrated to such a great extent, a larger European unity has become essential. Faced with the threats which we can all see, Europe must unite or perish. The United Kingdom, being part of Europe, must not stand aside. You may say that we have been slow to see the logic of this. But all who are familiar with our history will understand that the decision was not an easy one. We had to weigh it long and carefully.

7. In particular, we had to think very deeply about the effect on the Commonwealth of so important a development in United Kingdom policy. I hope you will agree with me that the Commonwealth makes an essential contribution to the strength and stability of the world, and that sound economic foundations and prospects of development go hand in hand with this. We believe that it is in the interests of all of us round this table that nothing should be done which would be likely to damage the essential interests of its Member Countries. Some people in the United Kingdom have been inclined to wonder whether membership of the Community could in fact be reconciled with membership of the Commonwealth. The task of reconciliation is complex, but we are confident that solutions can be found to Commonwealth problems fully compatible with the substance and the spirit of the Treaty of Rome.

8. The third factor determining our decision has been the remarkable success of your Community and the strides which you have made towards unity in both political and economic fields. This has been in many ways an object lesson. You have shown what can be done in a Community comprising a group of countries with a will to work closely together. Our wish is to take part with you in this bold and imaginative venture, to unite our efforts with yours, and to join in promoting, through the E.E.C., the fullest possible measure of European unity.

.../...

9. Against the background I have described you will, I hope, recognise that the United Kingdom has taken a momentous and carefully weighed decision. We are convinced that our destiny is intimately linked with yours. The decision we have taken reflects this conviction. Public opinion in my country has moved a long way during the last few years and more especially during the last 12 months. I think that opinion in the Member Countries of the Community has likewise developed. In particular I have noticed a growing understanding of the importance of the Commonwealth, and of the problems which would be created for Commonwealth countries by our entry into the Community. I have no doubt that, as all these issues continue to be debated, they will be understood with increasing clarity.

10. Our application has been made in a positive spirit. I hope that what I now have to say will amply demonstrate our determination to bring these negotiations to a successful conclusion.

The Treaty of Rome

11. Her Majesty's Government are ready to subscribe fully to the aims which you have set yourselves. In particular, we accept without qualification the objectives laid down in Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Rome, including the elimination of internal tariffs, a common customs tariff, a common commercial policy, and a common agricultural policy.

12. We are ready to accept, and to play our full part in, the institutions established under Article 4 and other articles of the Treaty.

13. So far as we can judge at this stage, we see no need for any amendments to the text of the Treaty, except of course in those Articles where adaptations are plainly required consequent upon the admission of a new Member. We think it should be possible to deal with our special problems by means of protocols. This would be very much in line with the procedure adopted for dealing with the special problems of the original signatories when the Treaty was drafted.

14. In addition to the major problems mentioned in our application, about which I will speak later, there will, of course, be other subjects arising from various articles of the Treaty which we should like to discuss with you. Since the Treaty came into force decisions, recommendations, directives, and regulations have been adopted.

How far these measures can be applied to the United Kingdom as they stand should, I suggest, be a matter for joint examination. In some cases this could wait until after our accession to the Treaty. On other, more vital, matters either you or we would doubtless wish to have a measure of mutual understanding before our accession.

15. The sort of things I have particularly in mind mostly concern what one might call the ancillary provisions of the Treaty. I will give you a few examples. Our system of social security and social benefits is different from the systems in force in your own countries; this raises certain problems which we would like to discuss with you. Another example is the question of monopolies and restrictive practices: we have legislation which has the same objective as those of the relevant Articles of the Treaty of Rome, but which provides for a procedure different in detail from that which the Treaty envisages. A third example lies in the field of establishment and services. Although we take pride in the fact that our legislation involves relatively little discrimination against foreign nations, we may nevertheless need additional time to bring our law and practice into line with whatever programme there may be for the Community. Fourthly, we shall wish to discuss with you how our exchange control practice could be harmonised with the "First Directive" on capital movements.

16. None of these matters for joint examinations should be the cause of major difficulty. We are anxious that our accession to the Treaty should not tend to slow up the progress towards harmonisation. We should be happy, if that were your general wish, to arrange for technical discussions on these matters to take place with your experts simultaneously with the negotiations on the problems of Commonwealth trade and United Kingdom agriculture.

17. Now I turn to a central feature of the European Economic Community - the common external tariff. We see no need to ask you for a re-negotiation, item by item, of the existing common external tariff of the Community. We assume that some adjustments are a necessary consequence of the admission of a new Member. It seems to us that, if the common external tariff of the enlarged Community is to be broadly acceptable to G.A.T.T. (6) and to third countries, it cannot remain

(6) Cmd. 9413

at precisely the level of the existing one. At the same time we recognise that the negotiation of the present common external tariff was a long and difficult process, and that you might not wish to begin detailed negotiations all over again. We are moreover anxious that the process of adjustment should raise the minimum of practical problems. We think it important, in this and in other fields, to simplify the task before us.

18. We are therefore ready - and I hope that this simple solution may be agreeable to all of you - to accept the structure of the present E.E.C. tariff as the basis of the common tariff of the enlarged Community. In these circumstances we think that the necessary lowering of tariff levels might be achieved by making a linear cut in the common tariff as it stands today. We would suggest that this might be of the order of 20 per cent., a figure which the Community have considered in another context. No doubt both you and we would wish to single out some items for special treatment. I can assure you that our own list will not be long.

19. We are also ready, once we enter the Community, to make, in a single operation, the same cuts in tariffs on trade between Member States as you will have yourselves made by that date. In addition we are prepared to move our most favoured nation tariff towards the new common tariff by a step equivalent to that which you have already taken. This would be a considerable leap forward, but is one which we are **ready** to make in the interests of the Community as a whole.

20. So far I have spoken entirely about the European Economic Community. But we recognise that the unity of the Six goes beyond the E.E.C. I should like now to say something about our attitude towards the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom and the Bonn Declaration of the 18th of July.

21. As regards the E.C.S.C. and Euratom, we shall be prepared, as I told the House of Commons during the debate on the 3rd of August, to enter into negotiations with you, at the appropriate moment, with a view to joining these two Communities when we join the E.E.C.

22. We have followed with close interest your progress towards greater unity in fields other than those covered by the three existing Communities. The latest public statement of your position in these matters was the Declaration issued by the Heads of State and Government

at their meeting in Bonn on the 18th of July. We fully share the aims and objectives, political and otherwise, of those who drew up this Declaration, and we shall be anxious, once we are members of the Community, to work with you in a positive spirit to reinforce the unity which you have already achieved. That indeed animates **our whole** approach. The more that we, the United Kingdom, can contribute to the unifying process of this great European Community, the more we shall feel that we are joining the historic enterprise which the genius of the European peoples has launched.

23. I have heard it suggested that, if we join the Community, it will be our aim to slow down the pace of its development. I beg you to believe that this is not so. The concrete proposals I have put forward in the field of tariffs show that, far from wishing to slow up the progress of the E.E.C., we are determined to take the necessary action in this sphere to enable us to move at the same pace as you yourselves and in step with you. I do not imagine that any of us would care to hazard a guess as to the form which the Community may take in 15 or 20 years' time. But I am convinced that we share the same essential interests and that the habit of working closely together, which you have learned over the past four years, and in which we should now like to join, will mean, not the slowing down of this process, but a continued advance and the development of closer unity.

Three major problems

24. I will now turn to the three major problems posed by the particular circumstances of the United Kingdom for which we have to seek solutions together. As you all know, these problems are those of Commonwealth trade, of United Kingdom agriculture, and of the arrangements which could be made for our partners in the European Free Trade Association⁽⁷⁾.

25. I wish to make it clear that we are not seeking a privileged position for the United Kingdom. We fully recognise that the solutions to be worked out must be compatible with, and not disruptive of, the

(7) "Treaty Series No. 30 (1960)", Cmnd. 1026

Common Market. In drafting the Treaty the original signatories were faced with a large number of special difficulties in entering the Community. In one way or another solutions were found for all of them. I do not think that the problems for which we would wish to negotiate special arrangements differ in principle from those which you yourselves faced in the earlier negotiations. But they obviously differ in magnitude. We recognise that they will only be solved by a joint effort based on good will and on a mutual understanding of what all of us are trying to achieve, politically as well as economically.

The Commonwealth

26. We believe that you share our view of the value of the Commonwealth, not only to the United Kingdom but also to yourselves and to the whole Free World. The Commonwealth is an association of peoples stretching into every continent and comprising many races. It is a great force in the world for the promotion of ideals and purposes which are widely shared in Europe. Its origins are based in history, in the fact that the members of the Commonwealth were parts of the British Empire, and much of its strength lies in the perpetuation of the links that were then formed. I should be misleading you if I failed to say how deeply the British people feel about this association. That, I am sure, is a sentiment which the Members of the Community will fully understand.

27. Commonwealth trade is one of the strongest elements in maintaining the Commonwealth association. It would be a tragedy if our entry into the Community forced other members of the Commonwealth to change their whole pattern of trade and consequently perhaps their political orientation. I do not think that such a development would be in your interests any more than in ours. Nor, looking at it now from the point of view of a potential member of the Community, would any of us wish the Community to be met with the hostility which would flow from a large group of countries strung across the world if they were to feel that their interests had suffered at our hands.

28. The economies of most Commonwealth countries have been built up on the basis of supplying the British market, which has traditionally imported their produce duty free and often on preferential terms. In the last few decades the majority of them have sought to enlarge both the variety of their production and the range of their markets. But the

British market is still of great importance to the economies of most Commonwealth countries.

29. I am sure that you will understand that Britain could not join the E.E.C. under conditions in which this trade connection was cut with grave loss and even ruin for some of the Commonwealth countries. For our remaining Dependent Territories we have a special and direct responsibility.

30. The problem of Commonwealth trade has analogies in the problems which faced you when you were negotiating the Treaty of Rome. Your problems concerned a considerable number of countries which were in varying constitutional relationships with members of the Community. The total volume of trade affected was large. Your problems were dealt with, either in the Treaty or in its accompanying Protocols, without damage to the interests of the countries concerned, and in some cases with considerable advantage to them. It is a striking fact, and very relevant to the Commonwealth problem, that in no case was a tariff imposed on trade where one had not been in force before the Treaty was signed. Broadly speaking, it appears to us that two alternative solutions were applied according to the different circumstances. For some countries - Morocco and Tunisia for example - the problem was solved by maintaining, unimpaired by the Treaty, their right of access to the market of the country with which they were associated. For others, who became Associated Overseas Countries or Territories, not only was their right of access to their metropolitan country preserved, but they gained a preferential position for their products in the Common Market as a whole.

31. We recognise that the problem of Commonwealth trade is more extensive in scale and range than these earlier problems. The differences should not be exaggerated. Thirty-six per cent. of our imports come from the Commonwealth, but I think I am correct in saying that over 20 per cent. of metropolitan France's imports come from territories having a special relationship with her. Be that as it may, the trade is of very great importance to the Commonwealth countries concerned. For example, among the dependent or newly independent countries, Mauritius sends 82 per cent. of her exports to the

United Kingdom Sierra Leone 70 per cent. and Nigeria 51 per cent. Of the older Commonwealth countries, New Zealand is also heavily dependent on the United Kingdom market, sending 56 per cent. of her exports to us. The proportions of their exports which Australia, India and Ceylon send to the United Kingdom are of the order of 30 per cent.

32. On the assumption that there is general recognition of the need to devise satisfactory arrangements to protect vital interests of Commonwealth countries, and with this background in mind, I think it would be helpful to suggest in more detail how the problem might be split up into its different components, and how each of these might be treated.

33. I would like to begin with the less developed members of the Commonwealth and those territories which are still dependent. May I start by trying to describe briefly the nature and needs of these countries and territories? Of the Dependent Territories some are moving towards independence and at least one, Tanganyika, will be an independent member of the Commonwealth by the time our negotiations are completed. For others we cannot foresee, at any rate for some time to come, a constitutional position more advanced than that of internal self-government. Of the less developed countries which are already independent members of the Commonwealth, three - Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone - are in Africa, four - India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya - are in Asia, and one, Cyprus, is in Europe. Apart from Cyprus, Malta, Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands, all these countries and territories have tropical or sub-tropical climates. They nearly all produce tropical products and raw materials many of which are also produced by the countries and territories at present associated with the Community under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome. Many of them are seeking to establish secondary industries in order to diversify their economies and reduce their very great dependence upon imports. India, Pakistan and Hong Kong are also exporters of certain manufactured goods, and some others, such as Malta and the West Indies, hope to follow their example, though on a much smaller scale.

34. All these countries and territories attach importance to the preferences and duty-free entry which they enjoy in the United Kingdom market, There are a few other special arrangements, which are vital to

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certain of them. For some territories it is also of importance in some cases of great importance - to be able to compete in the markets of the rest of Europe on equal terms with other exporters of similar products. They would certainly not understand if, as a result of becoming a Member of the Community, the United Kingdom were obliged to discriminate against them in favour of other non-European countries. Another feature of many of these countries and territories is that their need to encourage industrial development and their unavoidable reliance on indirect taxation for revenue makes it necessary for them to put tariffs on imports of manufactured goods.

35. In considering the problems which our entry into the Common Market would create for these countries and territories we have studied with great interest the arrangements laid down in Part IV of the Treaty of Rome and in the related Convention for the Association with the E.E.C. of certain Overseas Countries and Territories with whom members of that Community previously had special relations. Some Commonwealth countries have expressed the opinion that the present arrangements for Association are not appropriate for independent states. But this view may not apply to the new arrangements when it is known what they will be. In any case we should like to see the less developed members of the Commonwealth, and our Dependent Territories, given the opportunity, if they so wish, to enter into Association with the Community on the same terms as those which will in future be available to the present Associated Overseas Countries and Territories. This is something we shall need to discuss, and we know that you are already at work on a review of the present arrangements for Association. Some Commonwealth countries may feel that some other arrangements might suit them better. We would not wish to prejudge any solutions they may decide to propose.

36. Association may, therefore, be a solution for the problems of many Commonwealth countries and territories. But for others it may not be possible. One way of dealing with the problems of those who are not associated would be to arrange for them to maintain unimpaired their rights of access to the United Kingdom market, in the same way as was done for Morocco's trade with France, or for Surinam's trade with Benelux, under the relevant Protocol to the Rome Treaty. But we recognise that this solution would not be applicable in all cases.

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Another method of proceeding would be to consider the problems on a commodity-by-commodity basis. Perhaps it would be helpful if I were to say something, at this point, about the main groups of commodities - tropical products, materials, manufactures and temperate foodstuffs.

37. Difficulties will arise over tropical products if one or more of the less-developed countries or territories of the Commonwealth do not enter into an appropriate form of association with the Community. There does not appear to be any complete solution of such difficulties. But we see two alternative lines of approach. The first, which would be appropriate when not only equality of opportunity but also some measure of protection is essential, would be to grant free entry into the United Kingdom market alone for the Commonwealth country or territory which is not associated, and then to fix the common tariff of the enlarged Community at a level which would safeguard the interests both of that country and of the countries and territories associated with the Community. The second line of approach would be to fix a zero, or a very low, level for the common tariff. For a few important commodities we believe that it would be possible to do this without significant damage to the interests of the countries and territories associated with the Community. For example, tea is a commodity of great importance to India and Ceylon, and so is cocoa to Ghana. A zero common tariff would go a considerable way to meet the trade problems of those countries if they were not solved by association.

38. Materials should not in general give rise to difficulties, as the common tariff on most of them is zero. There are, however, a few on which it is substantial. Five of them - aluminium, wood pulp, newsprint, lead and zinc - are of great importance to certain Commonwealth countries: on these five materials we would wish to seek a zero tariff.

39. Manufactures are, with a very few exceptions, imported duty-free into the United Kingdom both from the developed countries in the Commonwealth - Canada, Australia and New Zealand - and from the less developed Asian countries. Exporting industries in all these countries have been assisted in their development by free entry and the preferential position they have enjoyed in the United Kingdom.

They would be seriously affected, not only by loss of preferences in our market, but also if their position were transformed into one in which the whole of their export trade was affected by reverse preferences in favour of the major industrial countries in Europe. Nevertheless we recognise that indefinite and unlimited continuation of free entry over the whole of this field may not be regarded as compatible with the development of the common market and we are willing to discuss ways of reconciling these two conflicting considerations. I believe that the problem is of manageable proportions. The trade in question is important to the Commonwealth countries concerned but it is not large in total in comparison with European trade.

40. The problem arises in a special form for manufactures from the less-developed countries, the so-called low cost manufactures. It occurs most acutely in relation to Asian Commonwealth countries and the Colony of Hong Kong. There is increasing international recognition that developed countries have a duty to facilitate international trade in this field as much as they can. But what the nature of the solution should be in the context of our joining the E.E.C., must depend on how far it can be dealt with under arrangements for a Part IV Association. You will probably agree that it would not be in the general interest that the United Kingdom should erect fresh tariff barriers to cut back such trade.

41. A major concern of the more fully developed members of the Commonwealth is their trade with us in temperate foodstuffs. Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, in particular, have vital interests in this field for which special arrangements must be made.

42. I should like to give you some figures to demonstrate how essential to these countries exports of temperate foodstuffs are. New Zealand's total exports in 1959 were valued at £ 290 million. Of these £ 170 million worth, or about 60 per cent, were temperate foodstuffs. £ 130 million worth, out of the total £ 170 million, came to the United Kingdom. The bulk of these exports to us consisted of mutton, lamb, butter and cheese. Over 90 per cent. of total exports of these commodities came to the United Kingdom. If in the future New Zealand cannot, by one means or another, be assured of comparable outlets for them, her whole economy will be shattered. New Zealand's problem is particularly acute because of her dependence on a relatively limited

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range of exports. But other Commonwealth commodity problems are the same in kind if not in degree. For example Australia, even though she exports a much more varied range of products, relies on temperate foodstuffs for 35 per cent. of her exports. The temperate foodstuffs she sends abroad are valued at £ 250 million: of these £ 100 million worth come to the United Kingdom. I hope that these figures will help to illustrate the problem. But figures alone cannot tell the whole story. We must bear in mind the effect of what we do both on particular localities and on individual producers in Commonwealth countries.

43. To many Commonwealth countries the United Kingdom has both moral and contractual obligations, on the basis of which they have planned the development of their economies. I will mention only the Commonwealth sugar agreement with which you are all familiar since it is recognised in the International sugar agreement ⁽⁸⁾. It provides an assured basis for sugar production which is particularly important in the case of our Dependent Territories.

44. The problem therefore is to reconcile our obligations to the Commonwealth with the common agricultural policy as it evolves. We believe that solutions can be found which will prove satisfactory. The Commission's proposals emphasize that trade policy in agricultural products should take into account, not only internal agricultural considerations, but also the need to maintain trade with third countries. This is a liberal approach and one with which we fully agree.

45. I therefore hope that we can reach agreement in principle that full regard should be paid to the interests of the Commonwealth producers concerned, and that they should be given in the future the opportunity of outlets for their produce comparable to those they now enjoy.

46. The precise form of the special arrangements needed to protect vital interests of Commonwealth countries in this field will need careful consideration. To a large extent it must depend on the way in which the common agricultural policy is developed. We want to work jointly with you in examining these problems and their relation to the common agricultural policy. We shall no doubt have to consider a whole range

⁽⁸⁾ "Treaty Series No. 55 (1960)", Cmnd. 1146

of possibilities. I have already mentioned the possibility of continued free entry when I referred to the Morocco-type protocol earlier on. Other possibilities include duty-free, levy-free, or preferential quotas, market sharing agreements and long-term contracts: but we are satisfied that, if you are prepared to accept the basic principle of comparable outlets which I have put forward, then agreement on the detailed arrangements required should be possible.

United Kingdom Agriculture

47. I now turn to the question of United Kingdom agriculture. Here, let me say at once, we start from common ground. The agricultural objectives of the Treaty of Rome are in line with the objectives of our own agricultural policy. We, like you, are fully committed to the maintenance of a stable, efficient and prosperous agriculture. The Treaty of Rome aims at increasing agricultural productivity, a fair standard of living for the agricultural population, stable markets, regular supplies, and reasonable prices and supplies to consumers. These objectives command our wholehearted support. Moreover, we are now prepared to take the major step of participating with you in a common agricultural policy and in developing a common organisation of agricultural markets. We fully accept that the Common Market must extend to agriculture and trade in agricultural products.

48. This, however, poses big problems for us. Our system of support, except for horticultural produce, relies mainly on Exchequer payments to ensure the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of living for our farmers. Our tariffs on foodstuffs are low and a large proportion of our supplies, particularly those from the Commonwealth, enter our market free of duty. We make very little use of import restrictions. Broadly speaking, we buy our food at world free market prices. Our people are therefore accustomed to low prices for food. Their tastes are related to a traditional pattern of food supplies.

49. At the same time our farmers have guaranteed prices for all their principal products. These guarantees are provided by means of Exchequer payments which make up the difference between the average price realised by farmers on the market and the guaranteed price determined by the Government. In addition we make direct farming grants designed to encourage improved farming methods and to raise the general efficiency

of the industry. The level of the guaranteed prices, and of the direct farming grants, is settled annually by the Government after consultation with the producers' representatives. We have legislation which sets definite limits to the amount of the reductions which may be made from one year to the next, both in the general level of support and in the guaranteed prices for individual commodities. The United Kingdom Government have pledged themselves to make no change in these statutory limits during the lifetime of the present Parliament which can continue until October 1964.

50. Our farmers are thus assured of reasonable stability of income. Furthermore the annual review of the guarantees provides the opportunity for a careful examination of the economic condition and prospects of the industry. This annual review is a key feature of our system. It enables us to look, not only at the prices of individual commodities, but at all the main factors affecting the industry's prosperity. The review is conducted on the basis of statistics which have been discussed fully with the farmer representatives. We assess the extent of changes in farmers' costs since the last review and make assumptions about the gain from increasing efficiency. In order to discount the effects of particular weather conditions, we look at the level of farmers' incomes not only as they have actually developed but as they would have done under normal weather conditions. We also study the trend of production of individual commodities, the likely movement of imports, the prospective course of demand, and the way in which market prices can be expected to develop in the coming year. We take account of all these factors, together with the cost of Exchequer support, in determining the level of guaranteed prices and direct farming grants. We are also able to take account of the effects of our policy on our trade relations with the Commonwealth and with other overseas suppliers.

51. The annual review is therefore a comprehensive examination of the agricultural situation, and the United Kingdom Government are able to relate their decisions on the level of the guarantees to the national economic situation and to the prospects for the farming community. The Government and the farmers' representatives do not always agree on the measures to be taken. But the farmers have the assurance that their case will be fully examined in all its aspects and that the Government's

decisions are not taken without due regard to their interests. They are protected, not only by the legislation about the fixing of guarantees, but also by this institutional machinery which ensures a thorough examination of the effects of Government policy on their financial position. The Government can in fact judge, year by year, whether they are carrying out their obligation to provide the conditions needed to maintain a satisfactory standard of living for the farming community.

52. The method of support which characterises our present system is very different from the methods to which you are accustomed. It has been developed to meet our particular situation, and it is one in which our farmers have come to place great faith. They value especially the stability it secures, the sound basis it provides for planning ahead, and the fact that the system of annual reviews ensures that changes are made gradually and with due regard to their effects on the level of farming incomes. I need not emphasise the advantage which the consumer enjoys under our system and which in turn helps the producer, since low food prices encourage demand. In moving towards your methods of support we should have to introduce great changes affecting both producers and consumers. But provided we can see that in future - with the new methods decided upon - we are able to maintain the stability and living standards that we have established for our farmers, I believe that the problems raised by the differences in our present methods are in no way insuperable.

53. I am sure that the pooling of ideas and experience will have fruitful results, indeed, some features of our arrangements may prove attractive to you. Our object will be to consider with you how the essential interests of our farmers can be effectively safeguarded within the framework of the Treaty of Rome and in consonance with the objectives of the common agricultural policy.

54. We are encouraged by the recognition which the Treaty itself gives to the importance of ensuring that changes in agriculture are brought about gradually. If the necessary changes in the United Kingdom are to be introduced without harmful effects to our agricultural economy, or indeed to our economy as a whole, the period allowed must be long enough to give our farmers time to adjust to new conditions and to permit increases in food prices to the consumer to take place gradually. We

start, as I have said, with a system of support very different from yours, and one that has been developed to meet our particular situation. Perhaps one or two figures will help to bring out the importance of our support system in relation to the standard of living of our farmers. The agricultural industry's total receipts amount to about £ 1,600 million a year. Its net income is about £ 360 million. The total of Exchequer payments to the industry is of the order of £ 270 million a year, or three-quarters of the industry's net-income. We should thus be facing more fundamental changes in our system than you have to face and we should be joining the Community some years later. I feel sure that you will agree that the transitional arrangements for the United Kingdom should take account of these circumstances, and that the conditions under which our agriculture is brought within the common policy should not be more onerous than those which were open to you when the Treaty of Rome entered into force. On this basis the transitional arrangements for the United Kingdom could, where necessary, continue for a period of between twelve and fifteen years from when we join. Timing will, of course, differ for different commodities. For some we should certainly hope that a shorter period would be sufficient. In general we should wish to keep pace with you as far as we are able.

55. We should be moving continuously in the direction of a common policy. However, the changes we shall need to bring about are of such fundamental character that it is impossible for us to judge what their effect will be on the standard of living of our farmers when we have reached the end of the transitional period. Consequently, we regard it as of the utmost importance that we should continue to be able to use such means as are necessary to safeguard our farmers' standards of living. It may be that this concept would on examination commend itself to you for use by the Community as a whole. The maintenance of a stable, efficient and prosperous industry is a basic objective of the United Kingdom Government's long established policy for agriculture. This objective is entirely consistent with the principles of the Treaty. The importance of maintaining the standard of living of the agricultural population is clearly acknowledged in the Treaty. We have much in mind the Treaty provisions which recognise the need to ensure that the Common Market organisation should provide "equivalent guarantees regarding

the employment and standards of living of the producers concerned". Indeed, as we understand it, the Treaty envisages a levelling up of standards and not a levelling down. Our purpose in our discussions with you will be to gear what has already been achieved for our own farmers into the general aims and framework of the Treaty. I would hope that, in harmony with the Treaty provisions, we could establish with you arrangements which will enable us to assure our farmers that the development of the common agricultural policy will effectively protect their standard of living.

56. The United Kingdom Government are also pledged to ensure for horticulture a measure of support equivalent to that given to the agricultural industry generally. In the United Kingdom we mainly rely on the tariff as the instrument of support for horticulture and not, as for agriculture generally, on direct Exchequer subvention. You will therefore appreciate that the adoption of a common policy for horticulture will face us with some particularly complex problems. The problem of the removal of our tariffs on imports from the Community countries cannot be considered in isolation from your own existing arrangements and from those which may be made for these producers in the common agricultural policy. We shall therefore need to devise, in consultation with you, arrangements for the different horticultural products which will enable the United Kingdom Government to continue to implement its pledges to horticulture.

57. I believe that together we can work out the arrangements needed to accommodate all these United Kingdom interests and that this can be done without detriment to the development of the common agricultural policy. I trust that our approach to the examination of our common task will commend itself to you as constructive and as being in accord with both the spirit and the letter of the Treaty.

E.F.T.A.

58. I should next like to consider the position of the countries associated with the United Kingdom in the European Free Trade Association. It has long been our view that the present division of Western Europe into two economic groups - a division which in our opinion has political as well as economic dangers - should be brought to an end. We believe that the other members of E.F.T.A., including the neutral countries,

have a significant part to play, and that it would be wrong from the political as well as the economic point of view, if they were excluded. In recent months we and our E.F.T.A. partners have considered this problem very carefully. As you will know from the statement issued by the E.F.T.A. Council on the 31st of July, we concluded that each member of E.F.T.A. should examine the possibility of entering into a direct relationship with the Community.

59. The United Kingdom and Denmark have already applied for full membership. We were delighted to hear of your decision to open negotiations with the Danish Government later this month. Some members of E.F.T.A. consider that for political reasons they cannot apply for full membership. We believe that this should not be allowed to prevent them finding an appropriate relationship with the Community. At the E.F.T.A. Council Meeting in London last June we agreed with our E.F.T.A. partners to maintain the Association - and here I quote from the Communiqué - "until satisfactory arrangements have been worked out..... to meet the various legitimate interests of all members of E.F.T.A., and thus enable them all to participate from the same date in an integrated European market". Her Majesty's Government earnestly trust that, when the other E.F.T.A. countries have explained where they stand, it will be possible to agree on ways and means of meeting their legitimate interests. I am sure you will appreciate that, given our obligations to our E.F.T.A. partners, we should not ourselves be able to join the Community until this had been done.

60. There may in the past have been some misunderstandings of our views about arrangements for the E.F.T.A. countries. At the risk of some repetition I would like to make them perfectly clear. We hope to see an enlarged Community including ourselves and as many of our E.F.T.A. partners as may wish to become full Members. As to the remainder of the E.F.T.A. countries, we should like to see an association between each of them and the enlarged Community. If satisfactory arrangements could be made on these lines the wider trading area thus created would include, not only the Members of the enlarged Community, but also the remaining Members of E.F.T.A., and, of course, Greece. E.F.T.A. itself would disappear. Contrary to what some people seem to have thought, therefore, there is no question of the United Kingdom seeking to maintain for itself

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a trading relationship with its present partners in E.F.T.A. in any way different from that which would be enjoyed by all other members of the enlarged Community.

Finland

61. I should like to say a special word about Finland, whose case does not present the same problems as that of the Members of E.F.T.A. Finland, although associated with E.F.T.A., is not, of course, a full member. Given her difficult political position, it may not be possible for her to establish a formal relationship with the E.E.C. But I am sure we should all wish that something should be done, in due course, to enable her to preserve her commercial links with Western Europe.

The Irish Republic

62. There is one other European country I should like to mention, namely the Irish Republic. We have special trading arrangements with the Irish, deriving from the days when they were part of the United Kingdom. I do not think it necessary to describe these in detail. I will limit myself to saying that we in the United Kingdom were pleased to see that the Republic had applied for membership of the Community. If their application succeeds - as we hope it will - our trading arrangements with them will be subsumed in the wider arrangements of the enlarged Community, and no special problems need arise.

Procedure

63. I should like to say a word now about procedure. I do not, of course, expect you to comment on my statement in any detail at this opening meeting. You will no doubt wish to consider it carefully and to discuss it among yourselves. I am therefore arranging for copies to be made available to you in the four official languages of the Community. I must ask you to forgive any imperfections in the translations. We have not yet become accustomed to multilingual working. It may be that you will wish to have some explanations and clarifications of what I have said. If so I am completely at your disposal for the purpose.

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64. When the time for our next meeting comes I hope that we shall be able to discuss the principles on which the negotiations should proceed and give our officials instructions which will enable them to get down to work at once.

Conclusion

65. All of us here have come a long way in the brief span of time since the end of the Second World War. The application which we have made for membership of the Community, if it raises the difficulties which I have dealt with at some length, presents us all with a great opportunity for new advances together. We in the United Kingdom will regard the successful conclusion of these negotiations as a point of departure, not as the end of the road. The present dangers which confront the Free World generally, and Europe in particular, are an added spur to us in seeking a new step forward in European unity. On the one hand we have a situation in which - owing to the advent of so many new States - the old and experienced voices of Europe find themselves more and more in a minority in world councils. We also have the phenomenon of blocs and groupings forming amongst these new States for the purpose of furthering their interests and increasing their influence in the world. On the other hand, nearer home, we have the direct threat to the security and well-being of European peoples from Communist expansionism, and in particular the threat to Berlin which weighs so heavily upon us at the present time. Great European nations have heard themselves described as "hostages". I can imagine no better way of counteracting the anxieties to which these events give rise in all our countries than by making rapid and visible progress with the task which we are undertaking today. An early success in this would, I think, do more than anything else to restore confidence in the future. It would compel our adversaries to treat us all with new respect, and encourage all who believe in the future of free peoples.

66. I have done my best to describe the United Kingdom's special problems. Important as they are, their compass is small compared with the vast field in which the problems and the objectives are the same for all of us. I am confident that together we shall find solutions to them. The United Kingdom Delegation will spare no effort to see that this is done and to bring the great enterprise on which we have embarked to an early and successful conclusion.

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF EFTA ON JULY 31st, 1961 AT GENEVA

DECLARATION

At their meeting in London on 27th and 28th June, EFTA Ministers decided to re-examine at their next meeting the question whether their common objective - a single European market - could be achieved by way of negotiation for membership of, or association with, the European Economic Community, and they agreed on the lines on which such negotiation should be co-ordinated in EFTA. This examination was carried further at the Ministerial Meeting in Geneva on 28th July. In this connection, Ministers recalled the repeated statements by the Members of the European Economic Community of their willingness to accept other countries as Members or in an associated status.

EFTA Governments consider that the decision of the United Kingdom Government to take the initiative announced by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons this afternoon, which was followed by a similar statement of the Danish Government, provides an opportunity to find an appropriate solution for all EFTA countries and thus to promote the solidarity and cohesion of Europe. In reaching this conclusion, the Members of EFTA re-affirmed the decisions recorded in the London Communiqué.

The Members of EFTA consider that it is the duty of all concerned not to miss this new opportunity. EFTA, for its part, will, on the lines set out in the London Communiqué, do everything in its power to seize it. All Member States of EFTA declare their intention to examine with the European Economic Community, the ways and means by which all Members of EFTA could take part together in a single market embracing some 300 million people.

The Council of EFTA will consider at future meetings, what further action should be taken by the Members of EFTA in the light of these developments.

The Council invited the Chairman, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, to inform the European Economic Community of the declaration.

The Council instructed the Secretary-General to inform the Finnish Government of these decisions.

28th June, 1961

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE EFTA COUNCIL

LONDON, 27th - 28th JUNE, 1961

COMMUNIQUE

The Council of the European Free Trade Association met at ministerial level in London from 27th to 28th June, 1961, under the chairmanship of the President of the Board of Trade, the Rt. Hon. Reginald Maudling.

The aim of the European Free Trade Association has been, from the outset not only to create a free market between its members but ultimately also to achieve the economic integration of Europe as whole in the form of a single European market comprising 300 million consumers, following liberal policies towards the outside world. This purpose is stated in the Stockholm Convention and has been reaffirmed at every Ministerial Meeting since July 1959. Ministers agreed that a generally increased awareness of the dangers of the present split in Europe has led to signs of willingness to make a new effort to bring to an end the division which during recent years has become an obstacle to European economic co-operation. An ending of this division would enable the European countries to give full attention to the serious problems of economic relations between Europe and the rest of the world and in particular the relationship between western Europe as an industrialised region and the developing countries of other continents. A new effort to bring to an end this European division will necessitate a readiness to make some modification of policy on all sides, but it must respect the basic political positions not only of the several states of Europe, but also of the European Economic Community.

Experience gained in recent years has provided a basis for a re-examination of the problems of European integration. This re-examination has shown that while some EFTA countries could not accept obligations of a political nature, all members of EFTA are willing to undertake, in order to achieve an integrated European market, obligations which go beyond those which they have accepted among themselves in the Stockholm Convention.

Ministers agreed that the aim of any solution must be to promote unity and solidarity in Europe; to strengthen the European economy and to build an integrated market upon solid and permanent foundations. To this end, Ministers agreed that there must be effective institutions to supervise the implementation of undertakings necessary to achieve a solution acceptable to all parties.

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Ministers considered whether their common objective - a single European market embracing all the members of EFTA - could be achieved by way of negotiation for membership of, or association with the European Economic Community. They concluded that it was premature to judge whether this was possible or was likely to be successful. They decided to re-examine the question at their next meeting.

Ministers agreed that if such a course should then appear possible the members of EFTA should co-ordinate their actions and remain united throughout the negotiations. Ministers resolved that the European Free Trade Association, the obligations created by the Convention between the members and the momentum towards integration within the Association would be maintained at least until satisfactory arrangements have been worked out in negotiations to meet the various legitimate interests of all members of EFTA, and thus enable them all to participate from the same date in an integrated European market. They agreed that a partial solution which created new economic division within Western Europe could not in any circumstance be regarded as satisfactory.

Ministers recalled their discussion at the Geneva meeting of the Council from 14th to 16th February, 1961, and their decision to advance the date for the next ten per cent reduction of import duties from 1st January, 1962 to 1st July, 1961. They agreed that there would be advantage in a further acceleration of the timetable for the dismantling of tariff protection within EFTA, and decided to consider the matter further at their next meeting.

During the course of their meeting the EFTA Ministers received the Finnish Ambassador in London, His Excellency Leo Tuominen, representing the Finnish Government. The chairman of the EFTA Council expressed the pleasure of all the EFTA Ministers at the recent entry into force of the association agreement with Finland, and the prospect of fruitful economic co-operation which it held out.

The Finnish Ambassador declared in reply that his government felt great satisfaction at the link now created between Finland and the EFTA countries by the new agreement which was of the utmost importance for his country.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION IN
PARIS ON AUGUST 1st, 1961

On August 1, 1961, the council of the Western European Union held a meeting at the Italian Embassy in Paris under the presidency of Mr. C. Russo. Belgium was represented by M. Spaak. France by M. Couve de Murville, the Federal Republic of Germany by Herr von Brentano, Luxembourg by Mr. E. Schaus, the Netherlands by Mr. J.M.A.H. Luns, and the United Kingdom by Mr. E. Heath.

The council heard the statement from Mr. Heath. Lord Privy Seal, on the British Government's decision to apply under Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome for negotiations with a view to membership of the European Economic Community.

"The representatives of the Six signatory states of this treaty very favourably welcomed this initiative which is of the highest importance for the political and economic future of Europe.

"They recalled that they had always hoped that European states who were ready to assume the same responsibilities and the same obligations in all fields would adhere to the European Community.

"The council agreed it was necessary, once the procedure foreseen was complete, that negotiations should start as soon as possible and should be conducted and concluded in a spirit of mutual goodwill.

"As is the normal practice at the periodic meetings of the W.E.U. council, the Ministers held a valuable exchange of views on other problems of joint interest arising from the present political situation".

TRANSLATION

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Letter from: M. J.O. Krag, Foreign Minister of Denmark
To: M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council
of the EEC
Dated: August 10th, 1961
Subject: Application of Denmark for membership of the
European Economic Community

Mr. President,

On behalf of the Danish Government I have the honour, with reference to Article 237 of the Treaty of 25 March 1957 establishing the European Economic Community, to request the admission of Denmark as a member of the Community.

The Danish Government would welcome it if the negotiations on the conditions for admission and on the adaptations of the Treaty rendered necessary by this step and by the particular requirements of the Danish economy and the Danish Community, including Greenland and the Faroe Islands, could be begun as soon as possible.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

(sgd.) J.O. Krag
Minister for Foreign Affairs

STATEMENT BY MR. J.O. KRAG IN THE DANISH PARLIAMENT

The Folketing was summoned on 3 August to give its authorisation for the opening of negotiations.

Mr. Krag, Minister for Foreign Affairs, referred to the British Government's decision to open negotiations for the accession of the United Kingdom to the Common Market, to the reasons which had induced the British Government to take this step, and to the EFTA Declaration. The following extracts are taken from Mr. Krag's speech:

"~~Denmark~~ has always maintained that only a single market organisation which covered both of our principal outlets, Germany as well as the United Kingdom, could satisfy our commercial needs.

"Such a unified market would enable us to avoid the discriminatory treatment to which our exports would inevitably be subjected as a result of a permanent division of Europe into two market groupings - a division which would have harmful repercussions on all sectors of Denmark's economic life.

"It is evident, therefore, that Denmark must join a new extended common market. The question is: How soon and in what form? Seeing that the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the Six are likely at a very early stage to be concerned with a common European agricultural plan which would cover also the market and the farming industry of the United Kingdom, as well as the question of Commonwealth exports to that market - partly in competition with Danish agricultural exports - there can be no doubt that Denmark's application for admission should be submitted at the same time as the British application as far as possible, aiming - like the British application - at negotiations for full membership with such rights and such commitments as this would imply.

"In the light of the considerations I have explained here the Government has indicated that Denmark will approach the European Economic Community in the same way as the United Kingdom, applying for negotiations to be opened with a view to Denmark's admission into the Community on terms which take account of the special needs of the various sectors of our economic life and of the Danish community as a whole, including Greenland and the Faroe Islands.

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"The Government declarations by which the United Kingdom and Denmark have indicated their desire for admission into the European Economic Community are clear and concise. The declarations make it clear that the applicant countries want to join the European co-operation with the obligations, the responsibilities and the rights which this co-operation involves, and that the applicant countries aim at strengthening this co-operation.

"A watering down of the Rome Treaty will not be accepted. Major amendments of the Treaty will hardly be accepted either, even if certain adjustments will be inevitable. The main points to be negotiated will be the special protocols which each individual country will need for its accession, similar to those already set up for the original Members. We must also try

"The Danish problems to be solved in the course of these negotiations are very far-reaching. Anticipating the present developments, the Government initiated examinations already a couple of months ago in order to determine as far as possible, - prior to negotiations with the Six - the scope of such provisions and to ascertain also in what cases special provisions would be necessary or desirable for Denmark and what changes in Danish legislation they may involve. These studies, which have reached a fairly advanced stage, will be completed before September 1, 1961.

"It is essential for Denmark to retain full employment, to expand our exports, to continue the development of our industries, to avoid impeding the growth of our standard of living, to continue the improvement of social benefits or - in other words - to ensure that economic growth can be achieved under the best possible conditions in our country.

"The Government is of the opinion that our high social standards will not be jeopardized by our joining the extended Common Market. ...

.... "To Danish enterprise the access to a wider European market will open up new perspectives, which a small isolated market could never offer.

"The Government finds it essential that the Folketing as well as the various sectors of economic life should be enabled to follow the coming negotiations as closely as possible. In the view of the Government the best way to keep Parliament informed will be to set up a parliamentary committee; the various trade organisations can best be informed by following the existing method of holding regular meetings in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

.../...

"I want to emphasize that even if our admission to the European Economic Community will have far-reaching repercussions in economic and political fields, we find it essential that we should preserve our previous relations with outside countries in these fields.

"Denmark's accession cannot be effected until the results of the negotiations have been submitted to the Folketing and have been approved by the latter in accordance with the rules of the Constitution.

"We realize that the road on which we are now taking the first step will give rise to concern, but the Government is convinced that these developments also open up new perspectives and can create new possibilities for our country in the present and future changes of economic, technical and political conditions.

The Government's motion to open negotiations was carried by 152 votes to eleven.

TRANSLATION

Letters from:	M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the EEC
To:	M. J.O. Krag, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark
Dated:	August 16th and 28th, 1961
Subject:	Interim reply to the letter of August 10th concerning the application of Denmark for membership of the EEC

Mr. Minister,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the letter of August 10th in which Your Excellency informs me of the decision of the Danish Government to apply, in accordance with Article 237 of the Treaty of 25th March 1957 establishing the European Economic Community, for accession to the European Economic Community.

I have immediately forwarded Your Excellency's letter to the members of the Council.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the expression of my highest consideration.

(sgd.) Ludwig Erhard

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On August 28th M. Erhard addressed a second letter to M. Krag:

Mr. Minister,

Further to my letter of August 16th acknowledging receipt of the letter with which Your Excellency conveyed to me the Danish Government's decision to apply for accession to the European Economic Community, I have the honour to inform you that the members of the Council have authorized me to say that the procedure envisaged in the Treaty will be set in motion as soon as possible.

I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you how glad I am that the Government of Denmark shares the ideals which led the Member States of the EEC to conclude the Treaty of Rome and that it is ready to accept the principles, aims and objectives of that Treaty.

As soon as the Council has considered the request of the Danish Government I shall keep you informed of the result of its deliberations.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the expression of my highest consideration.

(sgd.) Ludwig Erhard

TRANSLATION

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Letter from : M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the EEC
To : M. Walter Hallstein, President of the EEC Commission
Dated : September 6th, 1961
Subject : Request for opinion in accordance with Article 237
of the Treaty in connection with the admission of
Denmark to the EEC.

Mr. President,

In a letter addressed to the President of the Council, of which a copy is attached, the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark has applied for membership of the European Economic Community.

In accordance with the first paragraph of Article 237 of the Treaty I have the honour, on behalf of the Council, to ask you for the Commission's opinion on this application. I should be grateful if this opinion could be conveyed to the Council as soon as possible.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(sgd.) Ludwig Erhard

President of the Council

TRANSLATION

Letter from: M. Walter Hallstein, President of the ~~E.E.C.~~ Commission
To: M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the E.E.C.
Dated: September 15th, 1961
Subject: Reply to the letter of September 6th 1961 concerning the Commission's opinion on the application for membership submitted by Denmark.

Mr. President,

The Commission has the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 6th 1961 in which you requested the Commission to give its opinion on the application submitted by Denmark on August 10th 1961, as required under Article 237 of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community.

The Commission warmly welcomes the Danish Government's application for accession to the Community; it is the Commission's desire that the negotiations be begun without delay.

Since the negotiations will concern a number of issues of interest to the Community, the Commission will express its views on these as the negotiations proceed. The Commission will render its opinion under Article 237 of the Treaty in the light of the results of the negotiations.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration.

TRANSLATION

Letter from: M. Müller-Armack (on behalf of the President of the Council of the EEC)

To: M. J.O. Krag, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Kingdom of Denmark

Dated: September 27th, 1961

Subject: Reply to letter of August 10th, 1961

Mr. Minister,

I have the honour to refer to your letter of August 10th, 1961 and to inform Your Excellency that the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community has at its session of September 25th, 26th and 27th, 1961 given its opinion on the application made by the Danish Government for the opening of negotiations with a view to accession to the Treaty of Rome under the terms of Article 237 of that Treaty.

I am glad to be able to inform Your Excellency that the Council of Ministers has unanimously approved the opening of such negotiations.

In order that the Community be enabled to discuss certain matters of procedure and to obtain information on the specific problems to which the Danish Government's application gives rise, I am also authorized to propose to Your Excellency that a first meeting be held in Brussels on October 25th, 1961, which would be followed by the negotiations proper at a later date to be decided in the light of the time required to study the results of the first meeting.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the expression of my highest consideration.

(sgd.) Müller-Armack

TRANSLATION

Letter from : M. Kampmann, Prime Minister of the Danish Government
To : M. Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the European Economic Community
Dated : October 2nd, 1961
Subject : Reply to the letter of the President of the Council dated September 27th, 1961 concerning the application of Denmark for membership of the Community.

Mr. President,

I have the honour to refer to the letter of September 27th, 1961 stating that the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community had, at its session of September 25th, 26th and 27th, 1961 unanimously approved the opening of negotiations with a view to the accession of Denmark to the Treaty of Rome.

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Danish Government agrees with the procedural proposals contained in that letter and will be pleased to attend a first meeting in Brussels on October 25th, 1961.

M. J.O. Krag, the Foreign Minister, will represent the Danish Government at the meeting in Brussels and will lead the Danish delegation in the negotiations proper.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the expression of my highest consideration.

(sgd.) Kampmann
Minister of State,
acting Foreign Minister

Summary of statement by Mr. J.O. Krag, Danish Minister
for Foreign Affairs, at the meeting in Brussels on
October 26, 1961, between the Member Governments of the
European Economic Community and the Government of Denmark.

" It is with a deep feeling of the importance of the historic development towards European unity, of which this meeting forms a part, that I take the floor to-day ", said Mr. Krag in the opening paragraph of his statement. " Looking around this table I see representatives of the countries which a few years ago took the bold initiative that proved so successful and dynamic.

It is my task to explain to you the considerations which have led to Denmark's application under Article 237 of the Rome Treaty to become a full member of the European Economic Community " .

Mr. Krag expressed his appreciation of the positive spirit and goodwill with which the Danish application had been received. Denmark wanted to play its full part in the Community and accepted whole-heartedly the aims and objectives of the Community as laid down in articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Rome. The Danish Government was prepared to participate on equal terms with the present members in the political cooperation aimed at furthering European unity as foreseen in the Bonn-declaration of 18th July this year. Denmark also wished in due course to accede to the Coal and Steel Community and to EURATOM.

Denmark accepted the Rome Treaty as it stands and did not intend to suggest any amendment. Apart from such adaptations as were made necessary in the provisions concerning voting rules etc. the special problems arising from Denmark's membership could in Mr. Krag's view be dealt with in special protocols or similar arrangements. It was expected that Denmark's special problems could in general be solved by arrangements not extending beyond the transitional period.

Denmark could accept the provisions of the Treaty on the elimination of tariffs and quantitative restrictions but found herself obliged to request transitional arrangements for a limited number of commodities. For such commodities Denmark wished to enter the Community with a 30 % reduction and to remain at this level for two years, thereafter to catch up with the tariff reduction of the other countries.

Furthermore Denmark could accept the common outer tariff. There were, however, a few items for which the tariff adjustment would be necessary or expedient. Mr. Krag expressed the hope that it would be possible to carry through the 20 % reduction of the common outer tariff.

Denmark also accepted the provision on the gradual establishment of a common commercial policy but difficulties might arise in individual sectors for which special solutions such as tariff-free quotas might be required.

Commenting on the principle of the free movement of workers Mr. Krag said that Denmark would like to explore certain questions regarding the practical implementation of the general principle and certain questions of interpretation. Denmark attached importance to the maintenance of the common Nordic labour market and Mr. Krag appealed to the members of the Community to consider this problem in a positive spirit and with full appreciation of the closely-knit ties existing between the Nordic countries. Mr. Krag also raised certain other questions in respect of social security and labour market provisions.

As far as the principle of the free movement of capital was concerned Denmark desired during a certain period to reserve her position as far as portfolio investments were concerned.

Turning to agriculture Mr. Krag stated that Denmark accepted the objectives of the Rome Treaty as well as the main principles of the common agricultural policy as defined in the Treaty and in the decisions of the Council. Denmark also subscribed to the aims and objectives underlying the revised Mansholt-Plan but it was pointed out that the realization of this Plan would involve material changes in the conditions under which the whole Danish farming industry operates.

At the accession Denmark desired to be assured of the possibility of concluding long-term agreements or long-term contracts under article 45 even if Denmark's accession were to take place after the end of the first stage of the transitional period. It was important for Denmark's ability to compete on the world market for agricultural products, that arrangements be made to ensure that the world market price for raw materials could be used as a basis for exports to third countries even if the raw materials were produced in Denmark.

Mr. Krag underlined Denmark's interest in questions relating to fisheries and stated that his Government would approach the various member countries and the Commission in order to ascertain their views on the main problems in this field.

The special position of Greenland and the Faroe Islands made it difficult to accept without reservations all the provisions of the Rome Treaty with regard to these regions. The problems had been taken up with the local authorities and would have to be considered in common.

The Danish Foreign Minister said that although the Danish authorities had done their best to appraise all the material available he would have to reserve the right to bring up in the course of the negotiations such other problems as might arise.

M. Krag then turned to Denmark's membership of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and stressed the importance of finding solutions which would make it possible for all EFTA-countries either to become members of the EEC or to be associated with the Community. Mr. Krag referred to the special ties existing between the five Nordic countries and stressed Denmark's interest in continued Nordic cooperation. He also underlined Denmark's interest in the maintenance of close economic relations with the outside world and mentioned in this connection in particular the relations with the British Commonwealth.

As regards the coming period of negotiation Mr. Krag emphasized the necessity of reaching agreements in the near future between Denmark and the members of the EEC with a view to safe-guarding Denmark's agricultural exports to these countries. He also emphasized that the great importance of the United Kingdom and Denmark as respectively an importer and an exporter of agricultural products should be taken into account in the elaboration of the common agricultural policy. He also expressed the wish that Denmark should be given the opportunity to follow this work closely and present her own views.

The Danish Foreign Minister further emphasized the close connection between Denmark's interests and several of the topics which will be the subject of negotiations between the United Kingdom and the Community regarding the position of the Commonwealth-countries and the future rules regarding agriculture in the United Kingdom.

In conclusion Mr. Krag emphasized that the Danish approach to the problems at issue was guided by the wish not to change and not to interfere with the process of integration going on in the Community and not to infringe upon the interests of any of its members. Important as Denmark's wishes were for Denmark, considered in their proper perspective they were modest and evidence of the desire to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

" This would make it possible for us to play our full part in creating that European unity which is so essential for the future safety and happiness of the peoples of our part of the world ", Mr. Krag ended his statement.

TRANSLATION

<u>Letter</u>	:	From Prof. Dr. A. Müller-Armack, on behalf of the President of the Council of the European Economic Community
<u>Dated</u>	:	25 October 1961
<u>To</u>	:	Mr. Sean F. Lemass, Prime Minister of the Government of Ireland
<u>Subject</u>	:	Reply to the Irish application for membership of the European Economic Community, dated 31 July 1961

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to your letters of 31 July and 19 August 1961 and to inform you, further to my letter of 14 August 1961, that at its session of 23, 24 and 25 October 1961 the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community studied the request of the Irish Government to enter into negotiations for accession to the Treaty of Rome under Article 237 thereof.

I have pleasure in informing Your Excellency that the Council of Ministers has unanimously instructed me to propose that a first meeting be held in Brussels at the beginning of January 1962 in order to enable the Member States of the Community to examine with the Irish Government the specific problems arising from its application, to reach conclusions thereon and to consider certain questions of procedure.

The negotiations proper would take place later, at a date to be fixed according to the time required to study the results of this first meeting.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

A. MÜLLER-ARMACK

STATEMENT BY MR. SEAN F. LEMASS, PRIME MINISTER OF IRELAND, TO MINISTERS
OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

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Brussels - 18th January, 1962

Mr. Chairman:

1. I would like, at the outset, on behalf of the Government of Ireland, to thank you for your kindness in arranging this meeting. We appreciate very much the opportunity you have thus provided for an exchange of views on Ireland's application for membership of the European Economic Community with the representatives of the Governments of the member States. I hope that what I shall say will be of help to you in considering our application. I am also pleased that the Commission is represented at this meeting.

2. Ireland belongs to Europe by history, tradition and sentiment no less than by geography. Our destiny is bound up with that of Europe and our outlook and our way of life have for fifteen centuries been moulded by the Christian ideals and the intellectual and cultural values on which European civilisation rests. Our people have always tended to look to Europe for inspiration, guidance and encouragement.

3. It is thus natural that we in Ireland should regard with keen and sympathetic interest every genuine effort to bring the peoples of Europe closer together, so as to strengthen the foundations of our common civilisation. We were happy at the development in the years following the last war of a strong movement towards closer European union; and we have participated actively from the outset in the two organisations established to promote cooperation between European States, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation and the Council of Europe. While Ireland did not accede to the North Atlantic Treaty, we have always agreed with the general aim of that Treaty. The fact that we did not accede to it was due to special circumstances and does not qualify in any way our acceptance of the ideal of European unity and of the conception, embodied in the Treaty of Rome and the Bonn Declaration of 18 July last, of the duties, obligations and responsibilities which European unity would impose.

4. The Treaty of Rome, as an expression of the ideal of European unity, brought into being a more closely integrated organisation than either the Council of Europe or the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation. Political considerations, we know, played a considerable part in the motivation and the successful outcome of the negotiations for the Treaty and the aims of the European Economic Community go much beyond purely economic matters. The Contracting Parties in the preamble to the Treaty affirmed their determination to lay the foundations of an ever closer union between European peoples and their resolve to strengthen, by combining their

resources, the safeguards of peace and freedom. Their call to other peoples of Europe to join in their effort was addressed to those "who share their ideal". In the Bonn Declaration, they reaffirmed their resolve to develop their political cooperation with a view to the union of their peoples and set in motion procedures designed to give statutory form to this union.

5. It was in full awareness of these facts and, in particular, of the importance attached by the member States to political objectives, that my Government, in the letter of 31 July, 1961, applying for admission to the Community under Article 237 of the Treaty, declared that we share the ideals which inspired the parties to the Treaty and accept the aims of the Community as set out therein, as well as the action proposed to achieve those aims.

6. I desire to emphasise that the political aims of the Community are aims to which the Irish Government and people are ready to subscribe and in the realisation of which they wish to play an active part. As I have already said, the Irish nation has always had a strong sense of belonging to Europe. We are also very conscious of the great advantages which can accrue to all the countries concerned and to world peace from a strong and united Europe. These considerations were an important factor in the decision taken by my Government in July. That decision was discussed at the time in our National Parliament and, I am happy to say, met with almost unanimous approval. But long before the formal decision was taken the European Economic Community and our position in relation to it were matters of wide public interest and debate. I can, therefore, say that our application not only represents a deliberate decision on the part of the Government but also corresponds to the sentiments of our people generally.

7. My Government are in full agreement with the purposes of the Community as defined in Article 2 and will most readily work with the member States in the accomplishment of these purposes by the methods prescribed in Article 3. We also agree that the achievement of the tasks entrusted to the Community be assured by the institutions set up under Article 4.

8. As regards the economic aspects of membership of the Community, I propose to deal first with agriculture, which has a particularly important place in our economy. It generates about one-quarter of the national income, employs over one-third of the gainfully-occupied population, and is responsible, directly or indirectly, for three-quarters of our exports. With the development of industry these proportions will decline, but for Ireland agriculture will always be of major importance. We are, naturally, anxious that, through membership of the European Economic Community, Ireland should be able to look forward to a balanced development of agriculture and industry.

9. We have studied with interest and attention the agricultural provisions of the Treaty of Rome and the proposals of the Commission for a common agricultural policy. We agree with the aims and principles set out in the Treaty and are in sympathy with the basic features of the Com-

mission's proposals. We note that the common agricultural policy is intended, when fully implemented, to provide rational and orderly conditions of trading in a unified market, so that efficient farmers in member countries would have equal marketing opportunities under a uniform price structure. The sociological concepts which underlie the agricultural policy of the Community, and in particular the emphasis placed on the maintenance of viable family farms, also appeal to us as our rural society is based on the family farm and on ownership of the land by the occupier. The Governments of the member States may, therefore, be assured that we would play a constructive and cooperative part in the evolution and implementation of the Community's agricultural policy.

10. We do not, of course, assert that we have no agricultural problems. While the average size of agricultural holding in Ireland is somewhat higher than in most Continental countries and there is relatively little fragmentation of holdings, there are, as in other countries, variations in soil fertility and size of holding in different regions. In some districts where structural reorganisation has been in progress for many years it may be desirable to accelerate this activity and widen its scope in accordance with the Commission's proposals. Our horticultural industry is of rather recent growth and may not find it easy to adapt itself rapidly to Common Market conditions. It is not our intention, however, to seek any arrangements in relation to such matters which would be inconsistent with the common agricultural policy.

11. Our principal concern in the agricultural sphere relates to the manner in which British agricultural and food import policy will be harmonised with that of the Community. As you know, a high proportion of our agricultural exports goes to the United Kingdom, and we have long-standing trade agreements which reflect our economic relations with that country. We realise that, when a common agricultural policy is in full operation in an enlarged Community including - as we hope it will - the United Kingdom and Ireland, our economic arrangements with the United Kingdom would become merged in a greater whole, but we expect that in the normal course of things the United Kingdom market will continue to provide an outlet for a considerable proportion of our agricultural exports. The nature of the arrangements which have yet to be settled in relation to the agricultural and food import policy of the United Kingdom in the context of her membership of the Common Market will be of vital concern to us.

12. We also export agricultural and fishery products to the present members of the European Economic Community, and in some cases this trade is the subject of bilateral agreements between Ireland and member States. We note that Article 45 of the Rome Treaty envisages the conclusion of long-term agreements or contracts between exporting and importing countries as a means of expanding trade during the transitional period, but that such arrangements must be concluded during the first stage. We recognise, however, that in general, bilateral policies are not consonant with the basic ideas and aims of the Rome Treaty. It is not, therefore, our intention, if we are admitted to the Community, to seek to extend or add to existing bilateral agreements with the other members, since we assume that the development of agricultural trade within the Community will

proceed henceforth on a multilateral basis as envisaged in the Treaty of Rome and in the proposals of the Commission. Should it be decided, however, in relation to the admission of any other country to membership of the Community that bilateral agricultural agreements between members should be allowed as a transitional measure, then we would, of course, assume that such arrangements would be open to Ireland as well.

13. This concludes what I have to say on the subject of agriculture. In this important if difficult field, as in all others, we look forward to active and constructive collaboration with the other members in their efforts to overcome the problems arising in putting into effect a common agricultural policy in accordance with the objectives of the Treaty.

14. Turning now to the position of Irish industry, I shall begin with a few general remarks. For historical reasons, the industrial development of Ireland was retarded until well on in the present century. To hasten progress in industrialisation under our own Government it was necessary to rely on a policy of protection. Industrial capacity, though it has been steadily increasing, still makes a smaller contribution to national output and employs a smaller proportion of the working population than in the Community generally. In recent years special efforts have been made to achieve a higher degree of economic activity and better balance in the economy as between industry and agriculture. A Programme for Economic Expansion initiated in 1958, the objectives of which are entirely consistent with those of the Community, has had encouraging results. The volume increase in gross national product, which averaged only 1 per cent per annum in the preceding decade, amounted to 4 1/2 per cent in 1959, 5 per cent in 1960 and not less than 5 per cent, it is estimated, in 1961. The greater part of this expansion is attributable to the industrial sector. For manufacturing industry rates of growth of 6 per cent and 7 per cent were achieved in 1959 and 1960, respectively, and the estimate for 1961 is almost 9 per cent, a rate of expansion amongst the highest in Western Europe. The economic growth of recent years has been achieved in conditions of equilibrium in Ireland's international payments.

15. These results confirm not only the considerable scope for economic development in Ireland but the capacity of Irish initiative and effort, augmented by Western European enterprise, to exploit the existing potentialities. We have an economic and social infrastructure capable of supporting a much greater degree of industrial development. We also enjoy conditions of political and social stability conducive to maintenance of the higher rate of economic growth achieved in recent years. There is, therefore, good ground for the belief that a total increase in production of 50 per cent by 1970 is within the capacity of the Irish economy; in other words, that Ireland can reach the collective target recently set by the members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

16. The lower income per head than in highly industrialised countries, the smallness of the home market, and the hitherto downward trend in population made it all the more necessary to achieve export outlets as a condition of the continued growth of industry and of the economy generally. Government policy has been directed towards helping exporters over their

initial difficulties. Domestic exports of industrial raw materials and manufactured goods have risen from £ 25 million in 1958 to almost £ 50 million in 1961. This, I believe, demonstrates the growing competitive capacity of Irish industry.

17. It is, however, important that the industries thus already advancing, despite various handicaps, be enabled to consolidate their position and that those not yet fully competitive be helped to make the changes necessary to ensure progress in an increasingly competitive environment. The Irish Government intend to promote energetically the adaptation of Irish industry to Common Market conditions. A comprehensive series of industrial surveys has been initiated to analyse the situation of particular industries and devise positive measures of adjustment and adaptation. Furthermore, the review now proceeding of our Programme for Economic Expansion will take account of the obligations which Ireland will have to assume as a member of the Community and will ensure that in the new conditions progress towards the objectives of the Programme will be maintained.

18. External trade, particularly trade with Western Europe, is of great importance to Ireland's economy. Exports represent almost one-quarter of gross national product, while imports exceed one-third. In relation to gross national product, Ireland's external trade is the second highest in Europe. Four-fifths of our exports go to, and almost two-thirds of our imports come from, the United Kingdom and the present member States of the Community. As far as industrial exports are concerned, we have enjoyed for many years in the British market conditions of free entry similar to those which the Rome Treaty will have established between the member States when the Common Market is finally in being. These advantages we shall henceforth be sharing progressively with many Continental countries. We are, therefore, disposed to look to Continental Europe for new scope and opportunity for the expansion of industrial exports. As yet, our export trade in industrial products to the Continent is small. Indeed, there is at present a significant lack of balance in our general trade relations with the Community; we import from the existing members over three times as much as we export to them.

19. Having thus described the general position of the Irish economy and the present state of Ireland's industrial development, I now propose to give some general indications of our capacity to accept the obligations of the Treaty in the industrial field.

20. Approximately two-thirds of our imports from the Community enter Ireland free of any protective duty or quantitative restriction. As a general rule, we impose no duties or import restrictions on industrial raw materials or on capital goods such as plant and machinery. In respect of fiscal duties, we anticipate that we shall be able to match the reductions already made by the member States and to keep pace with them in the future. It is intended to replace industrial quantitative restrictions, as soon as possible, by tariffs of no greater, and probably less, restrictive effect. In respect of protective tariffs, the Irish Government would hope that the member States would find it possible to agree to an

appropriate general rhythm of tariff reductions to operate from the date of Ireland's accession to the end of the transitional period. It is only reasonable, however, to envisage that, despite their own best endeavours and State aids, some basically sound industries might find it too difficult to comply fully with this rhythm. The Irish Government would hope that a solution could be found for cases of this kind either under Article 226 of the Treaty or under the provisions of a protocol dealing generally with the subject of tariff reductions.

21. The Irish Government accept the objectives of the Treaty of Rome in regard to a common commercial policy and economic and social policies. We are prepared to accept the common external tariff of the Community, subject to negotiation for revision of a few items, mostly downwards. We assume at the same time that the movement of Irish tariffs towards the common external tariff would, where necessary, be related to the rhythm of tariff reductions agreed for Ireland so as to ensure that at no stage would our external tariff be lower than the tariff applied to members.

22. Because of the small home market and the size of Irish industrial units, Irish industry is particularly vulnerable to dumping, and the Irish Government would hope that an arrangement could be made under which it would be possible for them to take effective counter-measures against any dumping or threat of dumping in good time.

23. The Irish Government accept the provisions of the Treaty concerning the right of establishment and freedom of services and, in step with the members of the Community, are prepared to remove the restrictions in this regard which at present exist.

24. We do not anticipate that it will be necessary to seek any special financial assistance from the Community, though it is assumed that Ireland as a member of the Community would have the same right of access to the European Investment Bank and the European Social Fund as other member States.

25. Detailed negotiations will provide an opportunity for discussing questions of interpretation of particular Treaty provisions and of the implications of the regulations, decisions, directives and recommendations issued by the Council and the Commission.

26. If Ireland's application for membership of the Community is accepted in principle, we shall apply for accession to the European Coal and Steel Community and Euratom.

27. Because of the close inter-relationship of the economy of Ireland and that of the United Kingdom, and the vital interest of Ireland in agricultural trade, the Irish Government would hope that the discussions for the admission of Ireland to the Community might be brought to completion at the same time as those for the United Kingdom. We would greatly appreciate being granted the opportunity of following closely the course of the discussions with the United Kingdom and other countries on matters of concern to Ireland and of having our views taken into consideration before conclusions are reached.

28. I hope what I have said, Mr. Chairman, will assure you and the other representatives of the member States of the Community not only of Ireland's will and desire to play a positive part, with you, in the achievement of the ideal of European unity but also of our capacity, granted an appropriate rhythm of tariff reductions, to accept and discharge the economic obligations of membership of the Community. In general, the Irish Government feel that the problems involved in accepting Ireland as a member of the Community will not prove to be greater and may, indeed, be less than those which were originally overcome by the member States in accordance with the spirit expressed in the preamble to the Treaty.

29. The energy and vision shown by the member States in planning, creating and developing the Community leave no room for doubt that they will achieve the aims they have set themselves. As a country small in extent, population and production, Ireland would not represent, in terms of statistics, any considerable addition to the Community. We do feel, however, that we have a contribution to make to the accomplishment of the Community's design for a new European society and would wish to be given an opportunity of bringing our national qualities and potentialities to the service of this ideal in a spirit of loyal and constructive cooperation.

30. In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you and your colleagues for the attention with which you have listened to this statement of my Government's reasons for applying for membership of the Community, of the general aspects of our economy, and of our attitude towards the Rome Treaty. Translations of my statement in the four official languages of the Community have been made available. I hope, as I mentioned at the outset, that what I have said will prove helpful to your deliberations. I hope, too, that, as a result of this present exchange of views and of the negotiations which are to follow, you will feel able to reach a favourable decision on our application. If there are any additional data I can supply at this stage, or if there are particular points on which you would wish to have further clarification, I am at your disposal.

TRANSLATION

M 1

THE VIENNA COMMUNIQUE OF THE NEUTRAL EFTA STATES
of OCTOBER 19th, 1961

The Ministers of the neutral EFTA countries met on 19th October, 1961, in Vienna in order to consult about the ways and means appropriate to achieve the objective laid down in the Decision of the EFTA Council of 31st July, 1961 - the creation of an integrated European market.

On the basis of previous studies, the Ministers were able to establish that, as regards the form of the future relationship with the EEC, they see in the same light the problems posed by the neutrality status of their countries. They found themselves also confirmed in their view, that neutrality does not constitute an obstacle to their participation, through association in appropriate form, in the economic integration of Europe, and to their taking the measures necessary for the functioning of an integrated European market.

The Ministers subsequently conferred about further steps as regards the formal offer to the EEC of negotiations and the conduct of the negotiations. In order to attain the goal of a simultaneous entry into force of an overall solution for all the EFTA countries, the Ministers came to the conclusion that, in the light of the satisfactory progress of the integration negotiations, it would be justified to follow up with formal steps by the individual countries, before the end of the year, their readiness to negotiate - already indicated in the EFTA Declaration of 31st July, 1961. Before taking final decisions in this regard, the neutral EFTA countries will co-ordinate their actions with the other EFTA members during the next EFTA Ministerial meeting, which is due to take place in the course of November and they will initiate consultations with their parliamentary bodies or report to them.

The Secretary-General of EFTA, who took part in the meeting, undertook to inform the other EFTA members about the proceedings of the meeting.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE STATES
MEMBERS OF THE E.C.S.C. AT THEIR MEETING AT MESSINA ON JUNE 1 AND 2, 1955**

The Governments of the Federal German Republic, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands believe that the time has come to make a fresh advance towards the building of Europe. They are of the opinion that this must be achieved, first of all, in the economic field.

They consider that it is necessary to work for the establishment of a united Europe by the development of common institutions, the progressive fusion of national economies, the creation of a common market and the progressive harmonisation of their social policies.

Such a policy seems to them indispensable if Europe is to maintain her position in the world, regain her influence and prestige and achieve a continuing increase in the standard of living of her population.

I

To these ends, the six Ministers have agreed on the following objectives:

A.-1. The expansion of trade and the freedom of movement call for the joint development of the major channels of communication.

A joint study will accordingly be undertaken of development plans based on the establishment of a European network of canals, motor highways, electrified railways and on a standardisation of equipment, as well as a study of possible means of achieving a better co-ordination of air transport.

2. A fundamental condition of economic progress is that the European economies should have at their disposal cheaper and more plentiful supplies of power.

For this reason, all possible steps will have to be taken to develop exchanges of gas and electricity as necessary to increase the profitability of investment and to reduce the cost of supplies.

Study will be given to methods for co-ordinating a joint approach to questions affecting the future production and consumption of power, and for drawing up the general lines of an overall policy.

3. The development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes will in the near future open up the prospect of a new industrial revolution out of all proportion to that which has taken place over the last hundred years. The six signatory States consider that it is necessary to study the creation of a common organisation to be entrusted with the responsibility and the means for ensuring the peaceful development of atomic energy, while taking into account the special arrangements made by certain Governments with third countries.

These means should comprise:

a) The establishment of a common fund derived from contributions from each of the participating countries, from which provision could be made for financing the installations and research work already in progress or planned.

- b -

b) Free and sufficient access to the raw materials, and the free exchange of expertise and technicians, by-products and specialised equipment.

c) The pooling of the results obtained and the grant of financial assistance for their exploitation.

d) Co-operation with non-member countries.

B

The six Governments recognise that the establishment of a European market, free from all customs duties and all quantitative restrictions, is the objective of their action in the field of economic policy.

They consider that this market must be achieved by stages and that its entry into force requires a study of the following questions:

a) The appropriate procedure and pace for the progressive suppression of the obstacles to trade in the relations between the participating countries, as well as the appropriate measures for moving towards a progressive unification of their tariffs against third countries.

b) The measures to be taken for harmonising the general policy of the participating countries in the financial, economic and social fields.

c) The adoption of methods designed to make possible an adequate co-ordination of the monetary policies of the member countries so as to permit the creation and development of a common market.

d) A system of escape clauses.

e) The creation and operation of a readaptation fund.

f) The gradual introduction of the free movement of manpower.

g) The elaboration of rules which would ensure the play of competition within the common market so as to exclude, in particular, all discrimination on a national basis.

h) The institutional arrangements appropriate for introducing and operating the common market.

C

The creation of a European Investment Fund will be studied. The object of this fund would be the joint development of European economic potentialities and in particular the development of the less developed regions of the participating states.

D

As regards the social field, the six Governments consider it essential to study the progressive harmonisation of the regulations in force in the different countries, notably those which concern working hours, overtime rates (night work, Sunday work and public holidays) and the length and rates of pay for holidays.

- c -

II

The six Governments have decided to adopt the following procedure:

1) Conferences will be called to work out treaties or other arrangements concerning the questions under consideration.

2) The preparatory work will be the responsibility of a Committee of Governmental representatives, assisted by experts, under the chairmanship of a political personality responsible for co-ordinating the work in the different fields.

3) The Committee will invite the High Authority of the E.C.S.C. and the Secretariats of O.E.E.C., the Council of Europe and the European Conference of Ministers of Transport, to give the necessary assistance.

4) The report of the Committee, covering the whole field, will be submitted to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs by not later than the 1st of October, 1955.

5) The Ministers for Foreign Affairs will meet before that date to take note of the interim reports prepared by the Committee and to give it the necessary directives.

6) The Government of the United Kingdom, as a power which is a member of W.E.U. and is also associated with the E.C.S.C., will be invited to take part in this work.

7) The Ministers for Foreign Affairs will decide in due course whether other States should subsequently be invited to take part in the conference or conferences referred to in paragraph (1) above.

T R E A T Y
establishing the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

(Preamble)

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, THE PRESIDENT OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC, HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE GRAND DUCHESS OF LUXEMBOURG, HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS,

DETERMINED to establish the foundations of an ever closer union among the European peoples,

DECIDED to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action in eliminating the barriers which divide Europe,

DIRECTING their efforts to the essential purpose of constantly improving the living and working conditions of their peoples,

RECOGNISING that the removal of existing obstacles calls for concerting action in order to guarantee a steady expansion, a balanced trade and fair competition,

ANXIOUS to strengthen the unity of their economies and to ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and by mitigating the backwardness of the less favoured,

DESIROUS of contributing by means of a common commercial policy on the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade,

INTENDING to confirm the solidarity which binds Europe and overseas countries, and desiring, to ensure the development of their prosperity, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

RESOLVED to strengthen the safeguards of peace and liberty by establishing this combination of resources, and calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts,

HAVE DECIDED to create a European Economic Community.

TRANSLATION

T R E A T Y

establishing

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Article 1

By the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties establish among themselves a EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY.

Article 2

It shall be the aim of the Community, by establishing a Common Market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increased stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between its Member States.

Article 3

For the purposes set out in the preceding Article, the activities of the Community shall include, under the conditions and with the timing provided for in this Treaty :

- a) the elimination, as between Member States, of customs duties and of quantitative restrictions in regard to the importation and exportation of goods, as well as of all other measures with equivalent effect;
- b) the establishment of a common customs tariff and a common commercial policy towards third countries;
- c) the abolition, as between Member States, of the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital;
- d) the inauguration of a common agricultural policy;
- e) the inauguration of a common transport policy;
- f) the establishment of a system ensuring that competition shall not be distorted in the Common Market;

.../...

g) the application of procedures which shall make it possible to co-ordinate the economic policies of Member States and to remedy disequilibria in their balances of payments;

h) the approximation of their respective municipal law to the extent necessary for the functioning of the Common Market;

i) the creation of a European Social Fund in order to improve the possibilities of employment for workers and to contribute to the raising of their standard of living;

j) the establishment of a European Investment Bank intended to facilitate the economic expansion of the Community through the creation of new resources; and

k) the association of overseas countries and territories with the Community with a view to increasing trade and to pursuing jointly their effort towards economic and social development.

- a -

FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE MEETING
OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR OF GOVERNMENT
IN BONN ON JULY 18, 1961

The Heads of State or of Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg as well as the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, desirous of affirming the spiritual values and political traditions which form their common heritage, united in the awareness of the great tasks which Europe is called upon to fulfil within the community of free peoples in order to safeguard liberty and peace in the world, anxious to strengthen the political, economic, social, and cultural ties which exist between their peoples, especially in the framework of the European Communities, and to advance towards the union of Europe;

Convinced that only a united Europe, allied to the United States of America and to other free peoples, is in a position to face the dangers which menace the existence of Europe and of the whole free world, and that it is important to unite the energies, capabilities, and resources of all those for whom liberty is an inalienable possession, resolved to develop their political co-operation with a view to the union of Europe and to continue at the same time the work already undertaken in the European Communities;

wishing for the adhesion to the European Communities of other European States ready to assume in all spheres the same responsibilities and the same obligations, have decided:

1. To give shape to the will for political union already implicit in the Treaties establishing the European Communities, and for this purpose to organise their co-operation, to provide for its development and to secure for it the regularity which will progressively create the conditions for a common policy and will ultimately make it possible to embody in institutions the work undertaken.
2. To hold, at regular intervals, meetings whose aim will be to compare their views, to concert their policies and to reach common positions in order to further the political union of Europe, thereby strengthening the Atlantic alliance. The necessary practical measures will be taken to prepare these meetings. In addition, the continuation of active co-operation among the Foreign Ministers will contribute to the continuity of the action undertaken in common. The co-operation of the Six must go beyond the political field as such, and will in particular be extended to the sphere of education, of culture, and of research, where it will be ensured by periodical meetings of the Ministers concerned.

3. To instruct their Committee to submit to them proposals on the means which will as soon as possible enable a statutory character to be given to the union of their peoples.

The Heads of State or of Government are convinced that by thus organising their co-operation, they will thereby further the application of the Rome and Paris Treaties. They also believe that their co-operation will facilitate those reforms which might seem opportune in the interests of the Communities' greater efficiency.

To this end they have decided:

1. To have a study made of the various points of the Resolution of the European Parliament of June 29, 1961, on the subject of political co-operation among the Member States of the European Communities.
2. To associate public opinion more closely with the efforts already undertaken, by inviting the European Parliament to extend the range of its debates to new fields, with the co-operation of the Governments.

MR. CHURCHILL'S ZURICH SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 19th, 1946
ON A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

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"I wish to speak to you to-day about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the western world. It is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern times. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that have sprung that series of frightful nationalistic quarrels, originated by the Teutonic nations, which we have seen even in this twentieth century and in our own lifetime, wreck the peace and mar the prospects of all mankind.

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller States have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings gaze at the ruins of their cities and homes, and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror. Among the victors there is a babel of jarring voices; among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair. That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient States and nations, that is all that the Germanic Powers have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed, but for the fact that the great Republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realized that the ruin or enslavement of Europe would involve their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succour and of guidance, the Dark Ages would still have returned in all their cruelty and squalor. They may return.

"Yet all the while there is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted, would, as if by a miracle, transform the whole scene, and would, in a few years, make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is to-day. What is this

.../...

sovereign remedy? It is to re-create the European Family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living. The process is simple. All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong and gain as their reward blessing instead of cursing.

Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the Pan-European Union which owes so much to Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and which commanded the services of the famous French patriot and statesman, Aristide Briand. There is also that immense body of doctrine and procedure, which was brought into being amid high hopes after the First World War, as the League of Nations. The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those States who had brought it into being. It failed because the Governments of those days feared to face the facts, and act while time remained.

This disaster must not be repeated. There is, therefore, much knowledge and material with which to build; and also bitter, dearbought experience.

I was very glad to read in the newspapers two days ago that my friend President Truman had expressed his interests and sympathy with this great design.

There is no reason why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations. On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon coherent natural groupings. There is already a natural grouping in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own Commonwealth of Nations. These do not weaken, on the contrary they strengthen the world organization. They are in fact its main support. And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty continent; and why should it not take its rightful place with other great groupings in shaping the destinies of men? In order that this should be accomplished there must be an act of faith in

which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part.

We all know that the two world wars through which we have passed arose out of the vain passion of a newly-united Germany to play the dominating part in the world. In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed for which there is no parallel since the invasions of the Mongols in the fourteenth century and no equal at any time in human history. The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to re-arm and make another aggressive war. But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, there must be an end to retribution. There must be what Mr. Gladstone many years ago called 'a blessed act of oblivion'. We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years that are to come the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past. If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery, and indeed from final doom, there must be an act of faith in the European family and an act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past.

Can the free peoples of Europe rise to the height of these resolves of the soul and instincts of the spirit of man? If they can, the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted will have been washed away on all sides by the miseries which have been endured. Is there any need for further floods of agony? Is it the only lesson of history that mankind is unteachable? Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The peoples have only to will it, and all will achieve their hearts' desire.

I am now going to say something that will astonish you. The first step in the re-creation of the European Family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the usual leadership of Europe. There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany. The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honour by their contribution to the common cause. The ancient states and principalities of Germany, freely joined together for mutual convenience in a federal system, might each take their individual place among the United

States of Europe. I shall not try to make a detailed programme for hundreds of millions of people who want to be happy and free, prosperous and safe, who wish to enjoy the four freedoms of which the great President Roosevelt spoke, and live in accordance with the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter. If this is their wish, they have only to say so, and means can certainly be found, and machinery erected, to carry that wish into full fruition.

But I must give you a warning. Time may be short. At present there is a breathing space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped: but the dangers have not stopped. If we are to form the United States of Europe or whatever name or form it may take, we must begin now.

In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield and protection of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a State and nation which we know will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom. But it may well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilization, but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I must now sum up the propositions which are before you. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations. Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European Family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe. The first step is to form a Council of Europe. If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join the Union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and those who can. The salvation of the common people of every race and of every land from war or servitude must be established on solid foundations and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny. In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America, and I trust Soviet Russia - for then indeed all would be well - must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live and shine.

DECLARATION BY M. ROBERT SCHUMAN
FORMER FRENCH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
ON MAY 9, 1950

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of constructive efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilisation is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than twenty years the rôle of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved, and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single, general plan. It will be built through concrete achievements, which first create a de facto solidarity. The gathering of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. The first concern in any action undertaken must be these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes to take action immediately on one limited but decisive point. The French Government proposes to place Franco-German production of coal and steel under a common "higher authority", within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.

The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately provide for the setting-up of common bases for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes, not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting-up of this powerful production unit, open to all countries willing to take part, and eventually capable of providing all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay the real foundations for their economic unification.

This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to the raising of living standards and the promotion of peaceful achievements. Europe, with new means at her disposal, will be able to pursue the realization of one of her essential tasks, the development of the African continent.

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In this way there will be realized, simply and speedily, that fusion of interests which is indispensable to the establishment of a common economic system; and that will be the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by sanguinary divisions.

By pooling basic production and by setting up a new higher authority, whose decisions will be binding on France, Germany and other member countries, these proposals will build the first concrete foundation of the European Federation which is indispensable to the preservation of peace.

In order to promote the realization of the objectives it has thus defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following basis:

The task with which this common "higher authority" will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; and the equalization as well as improvement of the living conditions of the workers in these industries.

To achieve these objectives, starting from the very disparate conditions in which the productions of the member countries are at present situated, certain transitional measures will have to be instituted, such as a production and investment plan, compensating machinery for equating prices, and an amortization fund to facilitate the rationalization of production. The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed of all Customs duties; it will not be permissible to apply differential transport rates to them. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously ensure the most rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to international cartels, which aim at dividing up and exploiting the national markets by means of restrictive practices and the maintenance of high profits, the proposed organization will ensure the fusion of the markets and the expansion of production.

The essential principles and undertakings defined above will be the subject of treaties signed between the States and submitted for the ratification of their Parliaments. The negotiations required to settle details of their application will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator appointed by common agreement. He will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the agreements reached conform with the principles laid down and, in the event of a deadlock, he will decide what solution is to be adopted.

The common "high authority" entrusted with the management of the scheme will be composed of independent persons appointed by the Governments on an equal basis (sur une base paritaire). A chairman will be chosen by common agreement between the Governments. The authority's decisions will have executive force in France, Germany and other member countries. Appropriate measures will be provided for means of appeal against the decisions of the Authority.

A representative of the United Nations will be accredited to the authority, and will be instructed to make a public report to the United Nations twice yearly, giving an account of the working of the new organization, particularly as concerns the safeguarding of its pacific objects.

The institutions of the "high authority" will in no way prejudice the methods of ownership of enterprises. In the exercise of its functions the common "high authority" will take into account the powers conferred upon the International Ruhr Authority and the obligations of all kinds imposed upon Germany, so long as these remain in force.