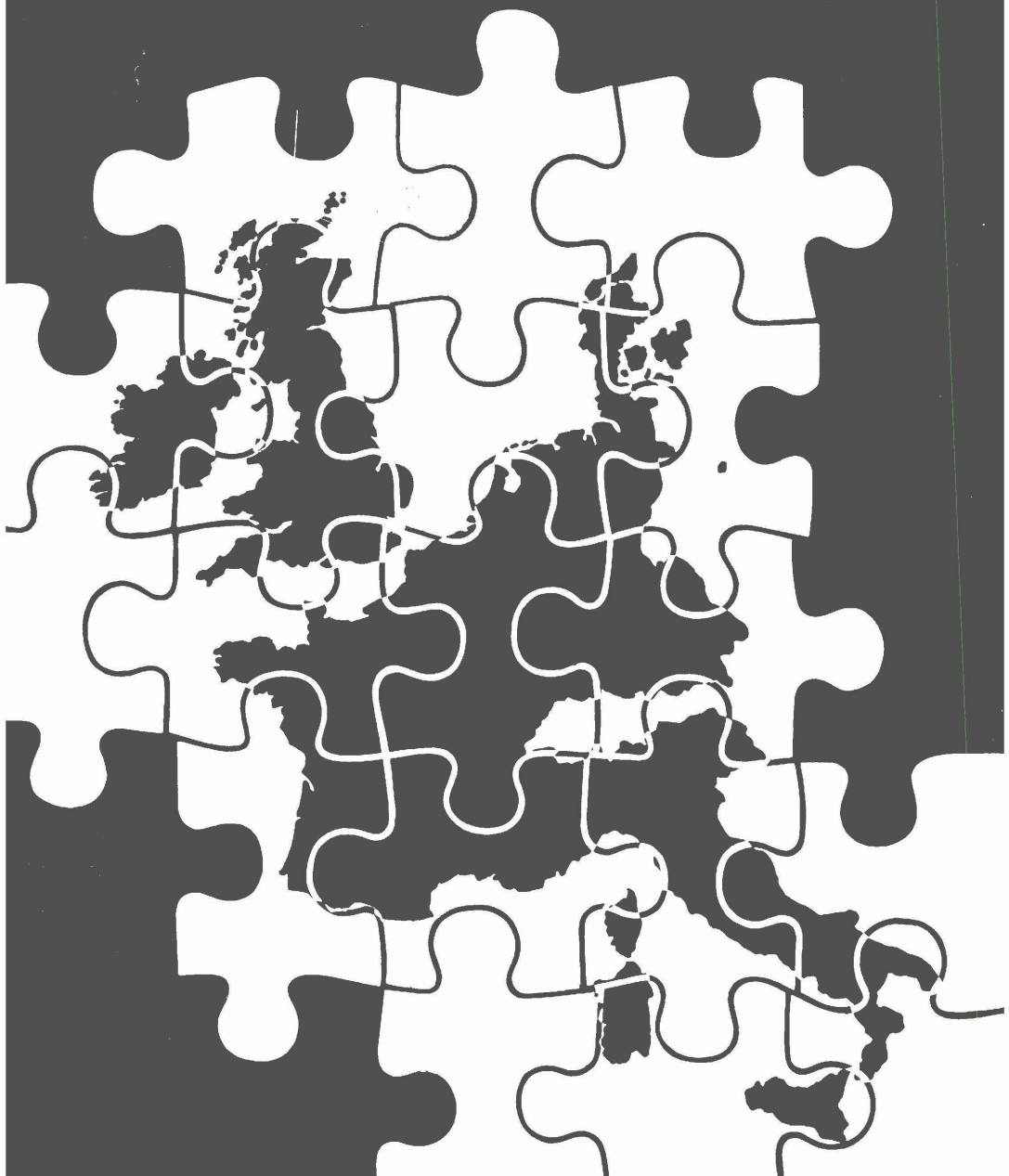


Uniting Europe

The European Community since 1950





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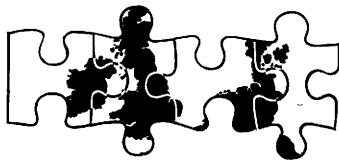
Uniting Europe

Ideals and common sense

The European Community affects the lives of all of us. In a period of world shortage it helps provide food at reasonable prices. In a world fearing trade depression, it is a guarantee against beggar-my-neighbour policies. It protects consumers against cartels and monopolies. Its social policies help fight unemployment. In all these ways, its benefits affect home and shop, factory and farm. As members of the Community, our countries enjoy an influence in world economic affairs which they would not have had individually, and which can safeguard us all in difficult times like the present.

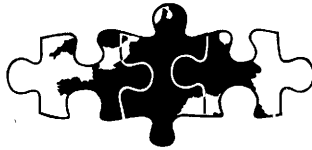
But the European Community is no new institution. The treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was signed in 1951, and, since then, the objectives and methods of the founders of Europe have produced concrete results in the shape of peace and prosperity. For the heart of the Community idea is the development of new methods of settling international disputes and getting away from the hatreds left behind by history. The past alternatives of war and diplomacy, which failed so miserably between 1914 and 1945, have been replaced by cooperation between partners in which the good of one becomes the good of all. The birth of the Community marked the introduction of a new spirit, into international affairs. Its progress through two decades has shown how a great experiment can succeed despite all difficulties.

This is an account of the European Community's history and policies – a chapter in man's search for better ways of managing his affairs.



The European Community now has a history of over twenty years. It comprises nine member States: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom – with a combined population of over 253 million people. The aim of the Community is European unity, and it has made great strides along the road to a Europe whose economic and political integration is becoming ever more of an accomplished fact. How did Europeans come to set out on this quest for new institutions and a new form of collective action among States?

The answer lies in the two world wars which, between 1914 and 1945, tore Europe apart and came near to destroying it. Those wars were caused by national rivalries and culminated in the terrible paroxysm of diseased nationalism which produced the National-Socialist (Nazi) movement. Already between the wars there had been enlightened statesmen such as Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann who had perceived the need for reconciliation between the nations of Europe and for overcoming the barriers imposed by the frontiers of the nation-state. After the Second World War, in a Europe of ruin and death, it became doubly urgent to abolish the barbed-wire and the minefields, which, spread along the boundaries, symbolised a past of hatred and destruction. Some new and better system had to be developed within which the peoples of Europe could find peace and prosperity. It was out of this necessity that the European Community arose, created by men who responded to an intense popular craving for a world where war and poverty would be abolished.

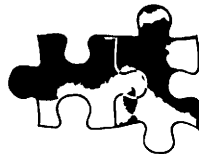


The countries of Europe were ruined. Their industry was destroyed, their railways and roads cut, their agricultural production diminished. Their peoples were often out of work, sometimes starving and homeless, always poor. Thus *reconstruction* had to be the first practical aim of European statesmen. So the statesmen who signed the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in Paris on April 18, 1951, declared themselves 'anxious to help, by expanding their basic production, to raise the standard of living and further the works of peace'. In this way they took the first step towards providing a better future for the ordinary men and women of Europe. And this has remained a fundamental aim of the European Community ever since.

But progress in economic expansion and the provision of a better life for Europeans would not be assured unless there were peace in Europe and a determination to bind up the wounds inflicted by history. Without this, economic recovery would merely go to fuel the engines of future war. Political *reconciliation* was an essential condition of economic *reconstruction*. So the statesmen also declared themselves 'resolved to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of their essential interests; to create, by establishing an economic community, the basis for a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared'.

This declaration was a recognition that, in Europe, no one country could be prosperous alone, that only common institutions could resolve conflicts of national interest, and that the long-standing rivalries of history could only be overcome by a common effort to bring about European unity. Symbolically, it was France and Germany which took the lead in establishing the Coal and Steel Community, thereby burying an antagonism that had lasted for centuries.

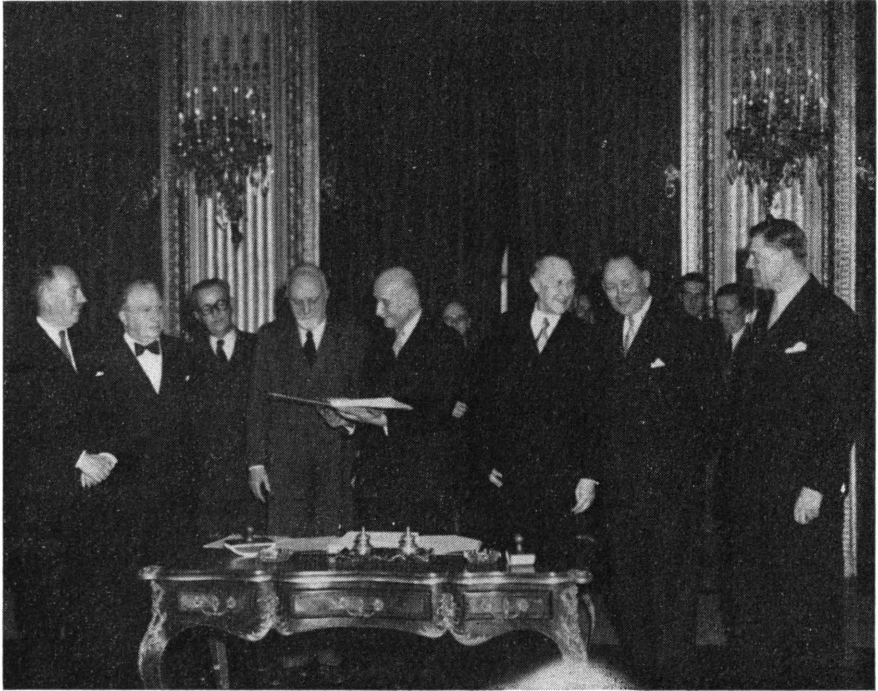
The countries of Europe also came out of the Second World War weakened in power and incapable of mastering their own fate. Not until they had achieved *reconciliation* and *reconstruction* would they cease to be dependent and dwarfed by the super-powers, or be able to carry the authority to which their population, skills and past history entitled them. The signatories of the Coal and Steel Community treaty, therefore, also declared themselves 'convinced that the contribution which an organised and vital Europe can make to civilisation is indispensable to maintenance of peaceful relations'. Thus the creation of a united Europe took its place in a wider vision of improving international relations. Unless Europe had recovered its strength and achieved its unity, it would not be able to play its part as an area of stability and make a positive contribution to solving the world's problems. A united Europe's political weight could be used in the cause of peace. Its economic prosperity could help the poorer countries of the developing world.



Thus the attempt to achieve European unity between 1945 and the present day has significance for a larger area than Europe itself. Europeans have begun a great experiment in relations between countries. And because it is an experiment, it has encountered new problems, not all of which have been solved. If Europeans are to keep what they have gained, they must continue to show themselves inventive and flexible – as ingenious as the original founders of the Community. The uniting of Europe is a story that is full of twists and turns, of unexpected snags and blind alleys. But it is a story which has gone forward, not back. A story which has gone on and not trailed away. A story which will go on because it is the story of how Europeans are working on new ways of resolving bitter conflicts and harnessing their energies for prosperity and peace.

In a world crisis, the reasons for uniting Europe are still the same – and as urgent – as they were twenty years ago. And if today we are more conscious of the real difficulties, we also have twenty years' experience of the best way to surmount them.

Europe Uniting



The Signing of the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty, April 18, 1951

1945

At the end of the war, Europe found itself exhausted and devastated by the rival nationalisms which had torn it apart between 1914 and 1945.

Europeans had to answer two fundamental questions:

how to repair their ruined economy and provide a decent standard of living for their peoples;

how to create political stability in Europe and prevent the re-emergence of old hatreds.

1946

In a speech at Zürich, Winston Churchill declared 'We must build a kind of United States of Europe'. These words were to become a slogan for action.

1947

This year saw the European economy begin to recover, generously aided by the United States through the Marshall Plan. The

American Government insisted that Europeans share the aid among themselves and organise their own recovery. For this purpose the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was formed in the following year as well as a European Payments Union (EPU). These were purely intergovernmental bodies, and many Europeans wanted to go further.

1948

In a meeting at The Hague European political leaders called for the establishment of a European Parliament.

1949

The Council of Europe was set up in Strasbourg. But this body had little power and mainly serves just as a forum for European parliamentary opinion.

1950

The Schuman declaration on May 9 was the first realistic approach to the problems of uniting Europe.

The French Foreign Minister announced: 'It is no longer the moment for vain words, but for a bold act – a constructive act'. He then proposed a limited but decisive step towards real unity in Europe: a plan, initiated by Jean Monnet, to pool the coal and steel of France and Germany in an organisation open to all European countries.

Its aims were:

- to reconcile France and Germany;
- to make possible an eventual Federation of Europe.

Its methods were:

- to create de facto solidarity between Europeans through gradual concrete achievements, rather than a single overall plan;

- to lay the foundations of economic union in Europe by pooling basic production of raw materials.

- to set up for this purpose a High Authority independent of governments, and responsible to the Community as a whole.

Its principles were soon adopted by Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Britain, however, felt itself unable to join.

1951

On April 18 the Six signed the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty. They solemnly declared themselves: 'resolved to substitute for historic rivalries a fusion of their essential interests; to establish, by creating an economic community, the foundation of a wider and deeper community, among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the bases of institutions capable of giving direction to their future common destiny'.

For the first time the Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) set up a European Institution, the ECSC High Authority, to which member governments transferred part of their



Robert Schuman

sovereign powers. The High Authority was subject to democratic control by an Assembly composed of representatives from the six national parliaments. A Court of Justice was created to deal with disputes.

1952

The High Authority, with Jean Monnet as President, began work at its headquarters in Luxembourg. Encouraged by the success of the ECSC, and faced with the problems of German rearmament, the Six governments signed the European Defence Community (EDC) Treaty, which would have begun to merge their armed forces.

1953

The ECSC abolished barriers to trade among its member States in coal and iron-ore (February 10), scrap (March 15) and steel (May 1). By the end of the year trade in coal and steel across the Community's internal frontiers was already rising sharply.

1954

EDC was rejected by the French National Assembly. This rejection was a serious set-back for European political union.

1955

The ECSC had already achieved great success and it seemed possible and logical to extend to the whole economic field the methods which had already been used. Moreover, Europeans were becoming more and more aware of their individual economic weakness and their need for unity.

At a conference in Messina the Ministers of the Six instructed a committee of experts, under the chairmanship of the Belgian Foreign Minister, Paul-Henri Spaak, to examine the possibilities of a general economic union, and the joint development of the peaceful use of atomic energy.

The Six governments meeting at Messina declared themselves ready to continue the development of a united Europe: 'In order to maintain Europe's place in the world, to restore her influence and prestige, and to ensure a continuous rise in the living standards of her people.'

1956

When the Foreign Ministers of the Six met again in Venice at the end of May, they decided to go ahead with negotiations on the basis of the Spaak Committee's report. This aimed at drafting two treaties which would set up:

A European Economic Community (EEC)

to bring into being a vast single market for all goods, with a wide measure of common economic policies, which would constitute a powerful productive unit and generate steady expansion, greater stability, and a more rapid rise in living standards;

A European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom)

to further the use of nuclear energy in Europe for peaceful purposes and to ensure that Europe did not lag behind in the energy revolution.

The detailed negotiations for these Treaties opened at Val Duchesse outside Brussels on June 26.

1957

Less than a year later, on March 25 in Rome, the Ministers of the Six signed the Treaties setting up the Economic Community and Euratom. Both Treaties were ratified before the end of the year by the Parliaments of all six member countries, and with even greater majorities than the Treaty which set up the ECSC. The six countries thus decided to apply to the whole of their economies the principle which had been proved in ECSC. They agreed to the gradual merging of their six separate economies into a single area of common economic policy with the same characteristics as an individual national market.

How the EEC was established



Jean Monnet

A customs union was set up to remove the obstacles which hindered the free movement not only of goods, but also of people, firms, services, and capital. The customs union also established uniform conditions under which imports from the rest of the world entered the new unit, by merging the different national tariffs at the Community's external frontier.

This merger of separate national markets into a large, single market could not have been achieved in one move. The authors of the Treaty proposed that it should be done gradually over a transition period, which was scheduled to end in 1970. The Six recognised that the Common Market would have little chance of success if all its members remained free to apply divergent economic policies. The Treaty therefore specified that the Common Market had to harmonise national economic policies and apply common policies for the whole of the Community, particularly in the spheres of agriculture,

competition, transport, and trade with the rest of the world.

To achieve these aims, the authors of the Treaty used an institutional structure which was based on the federal pattern. They took over, with some differences, the ECSC system: a Commission, independent of governments and private interests and which, by stimulating and initiating common action, would be the Community's main driving force; a Council of Ministers, composed of representatives of the governments, which would decide on proposals put forward by the Commission, and as time passed, by majority, rather than unanimous vote; a European Parliament which would exercise democratic control over the Commission; and a Court of Justice to ensure the rule of law.

1958

The new Community institutions started work in Brussels and Luxembourg. The President of the EEC Commission was Walter Hallstein, and of the Euratom Commission, Louis Armand, soon to be succeeded by Étienne Hirsch.

1959

The Six carried out the first cuts of 10 per cent in tariffs. The first draft proposals on common economic policies were published.

1960

The Six decided to speed up the development of the customs union,

reducing internal customs duties on industrial products by 60 per cent by 1963, instead of 40 per cent as originally envisaged.

1961

Britain first applied for membership of the European Community. Similar applications were made by Denmark, Ireland, and Norway. A 'Summit' meeting at Bonn proposed European 'political union'.

1962

Negotiations between Great Britain and the Community continued throughout the year, whilst the start of the 'Kennedy Round' gave another incentive to the Six to reach common policies. The Common Agricultural Policy began to be applied.

1963

Negotiations between Great Britain and the Community were broken off in January following a veto by President de Gaulle of France. Despite the tense atmosphere this created, the preparatory 'Kennedy Round' talks were able to begin in Geneva. In July the Six Community countries and 18 independent African states signed a new association convention (the Yaoundé agreement).

1964

The Six moved towards a greater freedom of movement for workers within the Community and adopted a Community plan to fight inflation.

They also decided on greater co-ordination of their monetary policies.

1965

The EEC Commission proposed the complete removal of customs duties within the Community and the completion of the Common Agricultural Policy by July 1, 1967.

In April the Six decided to streamline their institutional structure by merging the three Community Executives (the EEC and Euratom Commissions and the ECSC High Authority) into a single Commission, and later to merge the Communities themselves into a single European Community.

However, the Commission's agricultural and budgetary proposals led to a virtual French boycott on June 30 which lasted for seven months.

1966

At a meeting in Luxembourg on January 28 and 29, the Foreign Ministers of the Six decided to resume normal working. The Luxembourg 'Gentleman's Disagreement' was in reality an agreement to try to avoid majority voting in the Council on any subject which a Member State felt to be of vital national interest to it. In July the Common Agricultural Policy was applied to the three remaining major product groups.

In November, the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, announced that his government would explore

the prospects for a new attempt at British entry into the Community.

1967

The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Rome Treaty was marked by a summit meeting in Rome in May. The Community's first five-year economic programme, 1966-70, was adopted. On June 30, the 'Kennedy Round' talks were successfully concluded. The participants undertook to reduce their tariffs on industrial goods by a maximum of 40 per cent in stages over five years.

The Treaty merging the Executives came into effect and a single Council of Ministers and Commission were created for the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, and Euratom. The new President was Jean Rey. On May 11 Britain formally applied for membership, together with Ireland, Denmark, and Norway. However, President de Gaulle's Government prevented negotiations from opening.

1968

This year saw the completion of the customs union eighteen months earlier than laid down in the Treaty of Rome. Customs duties were completely eliminated between the six member States and the common external tariff completed. Some 90 per cent of total agricultural production was now traded freely. At the end of the year, the Commission

published its ten-year plan 'Agriculture 1980'. This envisaged a reduction of farm acreage and a rise in efficiency and productivity.

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania signed an association agreement in Arusha, Tanzania.

1969

On April 27, 1969, President de Gaulle of France retired. On December 1 and 2 there was a summit meeting of the Six at The Hague where it was agreed that negotiations on the enlargement of the Community should start. The Community undertook to work out a common negotiating position by July 1, 1970. Following the Hague summit, agreements were also reached to give the Community its own financial resources and to increase the budgetary powers of the European Parliament.

In July a new five-year agreement was signed with the 18 associated states in Africa and Madagascar. In September the Arusha Agreement linking the Six with Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania was renewed.

1970

On January 1, 1970, the common commercial policy was introduced.

Negotiations with Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway began on June 30. The Commission – now under a new President, Franco Malfatti – signed trade agreements with Yugoslavia, Spain, and Israel and began talks with other Mediterranean countries. This was the origin of the Community's 'Mediterranean Policy'. The six also agreed on monthly consultations on foreign policy issues.

1971

Negotiations with the applicants for entry were concluded. On October 28, the British House of Commons voted for entry on the terms secured, by 356 votes to 244. Similarly, satisfactory agreements were reached with Ireland, Denmark, and Norway, though the Norwegian people were to reject their agreement at a referendum the following year.

The Fathers of Europe: De Gasperi, Adenauer and Schuman



The Council of Ministers decided to set up a new Social Fund from the beginning of 1972. This was intended to distribute resources in areas where problems of unemployment and redundancy were at their worst and to help with the re-training of workers.

1972

On January 22 the accession treaties for new members of the Community were signed. In July the Commission, now headed by Sicco L. Mansholt, signed free trade treaties with Austria, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland. On October 19–20 the Heads of State or Government of the Community met at a Paris ‘summit’. They agreed on a new programme of work for the Commission and also declared that their aim was ‘European Union’.

1973

Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark joined the Community on January 1. A new thirteen-man Commission took office headed by François-Xavier Ortoli. In April the first 20 per cent cut in tariffs between the original Six and the new member States took place, and a European Monetary Cooperation Fund was set up. On October 17 the Community began new negotiations with associated and ‘associable’ developing countries. A trade agreement with India was signed on December 17.

On July 3 the European Conference on Security and Cooperation opened

in Helsinki. A Community ‘summit’ in Copenhagen was held on December 14 and 15.

1974

This year saw many changes in the European Community. On February 28 British elections resulted in a government formed by the Labour Party and committed to a fundamental renegotiation of Britain’s terms of entry to the Community and the putting of the results to the whole British people. The new British Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan, put the British case at ministerial meetings in Luxembourg in April and June.

On April 2 President Pompidou died, to be succeeded in May by Valéry Giscard d’Estaing. In May, too, Willy Brandt resigned and was replaced as German Chancellor by Helmut Schmidt. In the United States Gerald Ford became President after Richard Nixon’s resignation on August 8.

This year, despite Community differences on regional policy and the difficulties surrounding the Common Agricultural Policy, the Nine were able to agree on an outline energy policy. A mandate for negotiation with Mediterranean countries was also approved after considerable delay. A successful meeting at Kingston, Jamaica, in July, paved the way for agreement between the Community and developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific.

The record so far

How has the European Community fulfilled the hopes and aspirations which presided at its birth? How have its two tasks of *recovery* and *reconciliation* been performed? And how far has a reinvigorated Europe succeeded in making its voice heard in the world?

As to Europe's economic recovery there is no doubt. The signs of it are all around us. Here the European Community (EEC) completed in the Sixties what had been begun by the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in the Fifties. Between 1958 and 1972 prosperity in the Member States of the Community grew apace. This meant a better life for Europeans – an increase in individual standards of living which was far greater than the rise in prices that took place during the same period. All over Europe better conditions for the man in the street and the housewife have accompanied the rise in standards of living. Education and health services have benefited from prosperity. The peoples of Europe now have access to a standard of life which they had never known before.

A great increase in trade has been another sign of the Community's economic success. Between 1960 and 1972 trade among the Community's Six founder members grew by nearly seven times. The enlarged Community now accounts for more than a third of world trade. The growth in trade has been encouraged by the lowering of tariffs, a liberal trading

policy *vis-à-vis* other countries and by the Community's scheme of generalised preferences, designed to help the developing countries.

The European Community has been equally successful in bringing about reconciliation in Europe. There has been no falling back into the old ways of nationalism. The contribution made by the European Community to stability in Europe has helped to maintain peace in the region and to provide a solid political foundation for an attempt to reach understanding between East and West. Without a stable and prosperous European Community, *détente* in relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries would have presented almost insuperable difficulties.

The emergence of a Europe speaking with one voice in the councils of the world is necessarily a slow business. In economic and trade negotiations the Commission of the Communities can speak for Europe as a whole. But the harmonisation of foreign policy has been conducted as an increasingly continuous negotiation between states. Members of the European Community were able to agree on a common policy at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. European ministers are to have meetings with the Arab states and, when recently events in Cyprus led to a clash between Greeks and Turks, European Foreign Ministers met to work out a common policy.

So far, the pattern of European political cooperation has been one of increasingly frequent meetings between ministers to discuss problems and work out common solutions. Through this gradual process of mutual understanding and recognition of a common interest, a genuinely European view of foreign policy can emerge.

But if the movement towards political cooperation in Europe has been taking place cautiously and carefully in order not to give offence to national susceptibilities, the process of economic unification has extended itself to new fields under the direction of the European Commission. A wide range of new policies has been worked out and put to the Council of Ministers for their approval. In the sixties the measures proposed by the Commission were largely concerned with getting rid of barriers to trade and setting up a single European market for industrial

and agricultural produce. In the seventies, as this process has been completed, attention has focused on the problems of building a strong economy in the Community and on concern for social problems, for the interests of the consumer and the worker. The problems of the environment and of migrant workers transcend national boundaries and can hardly be dealt with except on a European scale.

The policies for which the Commission has produced proposals include:

A social policy

This has meant giving new scope to the Social Fund to deal with the conditions of migrant workers, the re-training of workers made redundant through the contraction or obsolescence of their industries, and help in providing various types of social aid, such as housing. All this is in addition to the funds the Coal and

The rise in living standards 1958-1972

	GNP per head ¹	1958	1972	Real Wages ²	% increase 1958-72
Belgium		1,154	3,351		93%
France		1,196	3,489		109%
Germany		1,096	3,840		79%
Italy		612	2,008		121%
Luxembourg		1,402	(3,255)		75%
Netherlands		845	3,193		106%

SOURCE: EEC. ¹ \$ per year at market prices. ² Increase of gross hourly earnings of workers in industry October/October, in real terms.

Steel Community (ECSC) has at its disposal for social purposes (mine safety, housing and retraining for miners and steel-workers). All these measures have been approved by the Council of Ministers and are now being carried out.

A regional policy

The Commission has proposed, at the request of member Governments, that a number of areas within the European Community should be designated as needing special help. These are regions with declining agriculture or industry, with high unemployment rates or bad communications. These will be helped out of a special Regional Fund. This has not yet been set up, owing to disagreements within the Council of Ministers, but new proposals are on the way.

A consumer policy

The Community has agreed on a number of rules designed to help the consumer by preventing price-fixing, maintaining health standards in food, etc. It is also in touch with consumer groups in the Member States with a view to working out a comprehensive policy for consumer protection.

An environmental policy

The Council has also adopted the broad lines of a policy to preserve the natural balance within highly industrialised societies.

There are also new economic policies:

A transport policy

Here the position has been changed by the energy crisis, but the Community is determined to work out a policy to provide safe, economic and rapid transport for Europeans and their goods.

An energy policy

The Community has agreed on preliminary Commission proposals for reducing the amount of imported energy the Community needs, lessening the reliance on oil and increasing the proportion of energy derived from coal and nuclear power.

As they are put into effect, all these policies will deepen the sense of unity among Europeans and help make the Community a human as well as an economic reality. In the years to come, Community policies are bound to be modified, but their present range is a proof of the Community's concern, for economic integration and growth, but also for social justice and for a better life for all Europeans.

Nor is the Community's action limited to the inhabitants of Europe. By its Association and trade agreements with the developing countries, by its generalised system of preferences designed to free trade and give them a fair return for their produce, by food aid and technical assistance, the Community has constantly shown its concern for the poor countries of the world.

Britain's role in Europe

Great Britain did not join the Coal and Steel Community or the European Economic Community at their beginning. It was only after two attempts at entry – both blocked by President de Gaulle – that the United Kingdom could enter the Community after a meeting between President Pompidou and Edward Heath in 1971. Previously, however, many British statesmen had seen the opportunities open to Britain in Europe.

“If we are to deal with the problems of Europe, we have got to try to teach the people of Europe that their economic interests, their economic development have to transcend merely national boundaries.”

Ernest Bevin

“Our aim is to bring about the unity of all nations of all Europe. We seek to exclude no state whose territory lies in Europe and which insures to its people those fundamental personal rights and liberties of which our democratic European civilisation has been created.”

Winston Churchill

“Our aim is to make a true European unity. Then and only then will Europe be great and strong enough to build a more equal and worthy partnership with North America.”

Harold Macmillan

In a world becoming increasingly interdependent, those who had to conduct Britain's affairs felt more and more that it could not live in isolation. The alternative was a new

relationship with our neighbours in Europe which would replace the old dreams of an overseas Empire, gradually disappearing as state after state attained independence, taking their places in a Commonwealth of Nations which Britain could no longer dominate or lead. What Britain had to gain from entry into the European Community was a creative challenge to the best qualities and abilities of her citizens.

In the words of all the leading political parties and trade unions of the Community's Six founder-members:

“By her traditional respect for law and for democratic institutions, Great Britain would strengthen the very foundations of the Europe that we are building – the democratic union of peoples in a common spirit under laws and institutions that are the same for all; as a participant in the European Community and its Institutions, which would then be hers as they are ours, Great Britain would join in the great process of change on which our countries are embarked, thereby recognising that the big problems of today can no longer be successfully dealt with by European countries as national problems, but must be treated as common problems; she would at the same time enrich Europe's outlook on world affairs.”

Britain's European friends foresaw that she would bring to the Community many of those qualities on which traditionally we have prided

ourselves. And it is not hard to see that this is already happening. Since Britain joined, the European Parliament has taken on a new life, particularly in the new Parliamentary Question Time, modelled partly on Westminster experience. Although this was proposed before Britain joined, British MPs have played a leading role in using it to extend information and bring to bear the pressure of public opinion. Now the way is open for the European Parliament to become more representative and to assume greater powers. The British members of the European Parliament will not rest until it does. This is the kind of extension of British influence in the world which our friends would wish to see – the exercise of influence where everyone gains and no-one loses.

In Britain itself, there is growing awareness of the benefits of belonging to a Community in a world where isolation is increasingly dangerous and where it is very difficult for a nation to stand alone. Any country's power is limited by circumstances,

and, without the Community, individual European countries would have very little power indeed, faced not only by the superpowers but also by raw material producers demanding more and more for the vital goods that all industrialised countries need for their manufacturing industries.

The oil crisis is a warning. Starkly it has revealed how vulnerable our individual nations are. Only within a Community based on cooperation with others can any of us continue to live comfortably and securely in the late twentieth century. By joining the Community, Britain drew the conclusion which was always logical for a country so dependent on world trade and so dangerously exposed to economic and monetary forces which she cannot control alone. By choosing to join the Community, she also chose to use national energies, which might otherwise go sour, for a great work of international construction, for peace and prosperity in Europe. In doing so, she has not limited her real freedom: she has increased it.

The Signing of the Treaty of Accession, January 22, 1972



The future

The European Community has a long road to travel. It has done much in the past and it will continue to make progress in the future, though not necessarily in ways which can be foreseen with certainty. The development of the Commission's economic and social policies will bring about an ever greater degree of integration but, as the process continues and becomes better understood and accepted, there are signs of greater flexibility which can only increase the Community's effectiveness and lessen the strains on the national communities that new policies may involve. New patterns of unity may also emerge in foreign policy. In institutions like the Davignon Committee or a new political secretariat, national officials will gradually become accustomed to dealing with policy on a European basis and from a European viewpoint. Work together will gradually lead to unity; a growing identity of interests will encourage common policies.

Thus the Community will come more and more to present a united front to the world. Its member States will join together to do more for the poor and hungry countries of Africa and Asia. They will continue to value and to strengthen the ties of friendship which bind them to the United States and to countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. They will strengthen their links with Japan and with the countries of Latin America. They

will try to assist in the process of arriving at a real East-West settlement in Europe by which the burden of armaments and the fear of war will be lifted from the peoples of East and West alike.

Other countries already recognise the influence for peace and stability which the European Community can exert. For many years, enlightened American statesmen have encouraged the emergence of a united Europe. The People's Republic of China is now one of the most enthusiastic supporters of European unity. The Soviet Union, too, is beginning to see its advantage of accepting the European Community as a fact and ultimately treating it as a useful and peaceful economic partner. The peoples of Asia and Africa know that they have more to gain from the Community than they could from individual nation states.

The Community represents a simplification of international relations at a time when interdependence has brought with it dangerous complexities. Just as an economically integrated Europe has made for freer trade and greater prosperity, so a politically united Europe makes for peace in the world at large.

There is also another sense in which the Community is contributing to law and order in the world. Its institutions, imperfect as they are, provide a model for better relations between States. As in the case of traditional international organisa-

tions, major decisions in the Community are taken by the *Council of Ministers*, whose members represent the Member States. But these decisions are prepared by proposals from the *Commission*, an 'executive' independent of the member Governments and responsible to the Community as a whole, and are subject to appeal to the Community *Court of Justice*. The Commission, finally, is answerable to – and can be dismissed by – the *European Parliament*, elected by and from the national parliaments. At present, the European Parliament is in an early stage of its existence. It must be a major task of the coming years to make it more representative and to endow it with more powers, thereby enabling public opinion to participate more fully in the formation of policy.

All this lies in the future, but there is no doubt that more democratic control in the Community is needed and is going to be demanded. Centralised government is increasingly unpopular in the world of the late twentieth century. Perhaps the Community can lead the way in developing new forms of administration, where decision-making in common on some subjects need not be incompatible with greater national, regional or local autonomy on others, and where all policies can be developed with the maximum informed involvement of everyone concerned.

These institutional problems will be a difficult challenge to the European Community in the decade to

come. But a vital feature of all institutions in a democratic society must be to enable public opinion to influence decisions and the individual to assert his rights. The Community's founders recognised this need when they included in its institutions the embryonic European Parliament. The same need is no less real today. The tasks that lie ahead for the European Community are too important to be handed over to a technocracy, and too urgent to be left to traditional negotiations between States. Only a democratic Community with firm rules, agreed procedures, and properly working institutions can hope to achieve the high ideals that were stated by its original founders and are shared, however silently, by so many of its citizens today.

