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**Reports
on European Union**

European Parliament
Court of Justice
Economic and Social Committee

EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
Commission

At the Paris Summit Conference in October 1972 the Heads of State or Government, 'having set themselves the major objective of transforming, before the end of the present decade and with the fullest respect for the Treaties already signed, the whole complex of the relations of Member States into a European Union', requested the Community institutions to draw up a report on this subject by the end of 1975 for presentation at a later Summit Conference. The aim of European Union was reaffirmed at the Summit Conferences held in Copenhagen in December 1973 and in Paris in December 1974. At the Paris meeting the Heads of Government felt that the Nine should agree as soon as possible on an overall plan for European Union. They stressed the importance they attached to the reports from the Community institutions and asked Parliament, the Commission and the Court of Justice to present their reports by the middle rather than the end of 1975.

The Commission's report was published as Supplement 5/75 to the Bulletin of the European Communities. The present Supplement contains the reports presented by the European Parliament, the Court of Justice and the Economic and Social Committee.

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Introduction

At the Paris Summit Conference in October 1972 the Heads of State or Government, 'having set themselves the major objective of transforming, before the end of the present decade and with the fullest respect for the Treaties already signed, the whole complex of the relations of Member States into a European Union', requested the Community institutions to draw up a report on this subject by the end of 1975 for presentation at a later Summit Conference.¹ The aim of European Union was reaffirmed at the Summit Conferences held in Copenhagen on 14 and 15 December 1973² and in Paris on 9 and 10 December 1974.³ At the Paris meeting the Heads of Government felt that the Nine should agree as soon as possible on an overall plan for European Union. They stressed the importance they attached to the reports from the Community institutions and asked Parliament, the Commission and the Court of Justice to present their reports by the middle rather than the end of 1975. They agreed to instruct Mr *Tindemans*, the Belgian Prime Minister, to prepare a summary report for the Heads of Government by the end of 1975 on the basis of the reports presented by the institutions and his consultations with the governments and representative sectors of public opinion in the Community.

The Commission adopted its report on European Union on 25 June 1975.⁴

The Council sent the Governments of the Member States and the other Community institutions for their consideration a questionnaire on the establishment of European Union which had been prepared by the Permanent Representatives Committee with the assistance of a panel of experts from the Member States.⁵

At the beginning of 1973 Parliament instructed its Political Affairs Committee to prepare a report on European Union. The Committee appointed Mr Alfred Bertrand (Belgium, Christian-Democratic Group) rapporteur.

Parliament adopted a first Resolution on European Union on 17 October 1974 on the basis of an interim report, and presented its report on European Union in a Resolution adopted on 10 July 1975 by 71 votes to 9 with 20 abstentions, following a major policy debate.⁶

The Court of Justice set out its suggestions on European Union in an internal Community paper which was transmitted to the other Community institutions on 15 July 1974. These suggestions were communicated to Mr *Tindemans* by Mr Robert Lecourt, President of the Court of Justice, on 22 July 1975.

At its plenary session of 16 and 17 July 1975 the Economic and Social Committee adopted an Opinion on European Union. This Opinion, which was prepared on the basis of a report by Mr de Bruyn (Belgium, Various Interests Group), was presented to Mr *Tindemans* by the Committee's President, Mr Henri Canonge, on 22 July.

¹ Point 16 of the Final Communiqué, Bull. EC 10-1972, Part I, Chapter I.

² Point 2 of the Declaration released after the Summit, Bull. EC 12-1973, point 1106.

³ Point 13 of the Final Communiqué, Bull. EC 12-1974, point 1104.

⁴ Supplement 5/75 — Bull. EC; see also Bull. EC 6-1975, points 1101 to 1106.

⁵ Bull. EC 6-1974, point 2507; Eighth General Report, point 8.

⁶ Bull. EC 7/8-1975, point 2406.

European Parliament

Resolution on European Union

adopted on 17 October 1974

The European Parliament,

— recalling the major objective expressed in the Paris communiqué of October 1972 regarding the transformation of the whole complex of the relations of the Member States into a European Union before the end of the present decade and with the fullest respect for the Treaties already signed,¹

— pointing out that the Community institutions were requested to draw up a report on European Union before the end of 1975,¹

— conscious of the role conferred on by it by the Treaties and by the will of the peoples of the Community,

— having regard to the motion for a resolution of its Political Affairs Committee.²

I

1. Undertakes to draw up and submit by 30 June 1975 its report on European Union;

2. Strongly urges the Commission and Council of the Communities to give the same undertaking;

3. Declares its readiness to draw up, in close cooperation with the other Community institutions, a single report on European Union by the date set by the Heads of State or Government at the October 1972 Paris Summit Conference;

II

4. Stresses that European Union, as the practical embodiment of the principles and objectives laid down in the Treaties establishing the European Communities and the joint declaration on European identity, must enable the European Community to emerge and establish itself as an economic and political union;

5. Declares that this transformation can be achieved only with the support of the Community institutions, the Member States and the peoples, the aim being to give a new shape to the political resolve to act in concert in a Community of shared risks and opportunities which is constantly evolving towards a closer union between the European peoples, while respecting their traditions;

III

6. Points out that efforts to transform the present Community into a European Union must aim at the following:

— extension and strengthening of existing Community powers and the creation of new Community powers, not only in the field of monetary, economic, social and cultural policy, but also in that of foreign policy and security;

— democratization of the institutions which will be responsible for Community activities while respecting the specific interests of the Member States.

7. Considers that European Union must comprise the following basic institutions:

— a political decision-making centre with the appropriate terms of reference to cover the areas mentioned in paragraph 6, and destined to form the European government;

— a Parliament comprising at least a chamber elected by direct universal suffrage;

— a Court of Justice to ensure observance of the law in the interpretation and application of the Treaties, Agreements and Decisions, and to guarantee the primacy of the law of the union over national legislation in the matters covered by the Treaties or any extension or amendment thereof;

— a Court of Auditors;

— an Economic and Social Committee;

¹ Point 16 of the Final Communiqué, Bull. EC 10-1972, Part I, Chapter I.

² Doc. 300/74.

IV

8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Governments of the Member States, to the Council and Commission of the European Communities and to the Presidents of the Parliamentary assemblies of the nine States with a request that it be notified to the Members thereof.

Resolution on European Union

adopted on 10 July 1975

The European Parliament,

— recalling the hope repeatedly expressed since the Bonn Summit Conference in July 1961¹ and the concrete indications concerning the transformation of the Communities established by the Treaties of Paris and Rome into a single and real economic, social and political Community,

— desirous of seeing practical effect given to all the undertakings solemnly entered into by the Heads of State or Government of the Member States on 1 and 2 December 1969 at The Hague,² 19 to 21 October 1972 in Paris,³ 14 to 15 December 1973 in Copenhagen⁴ and 9 to 10 December 1974 in Paris,⁵

— emphasizing its essential role and its responsibilities as an institution representing the peoples joined together in the Community in the efforts to transform all the relations of the Member States into a European Union,

— recalling in particular its resolutions of 5 July 1972,⁶ 14 November 1972⁷ and 17 October 1978,⁸

— firmly convinced that the progressive achievement of the Union must be based on the active and conscious participation of the peoples, whose interests it must reflect, and that the European Parliament will, therefore, have to take at all times, with the assistance of the national Parliaments, all initiatives likely to foster and ensure such participation,

¹ Bull. EC 7/8-1961, Chapter III.

² Bull. EC 1-1970, Part I, Chapter I.

³ Bull. EC 10-1972, Part I, Chapter I.

⁴ Bull. EC 12-1973, point 1106.

⁵ Bull. EC 12-1974, point 1104.

⁶ OJ C82 of 26.7.1972.

⁷ OJ C129 of 11.12.1972.

⁸ Page 9.

— in answer to the desire expressed by the Heads of State or Government for the Community institutions to contribute to the work on European Union and, in particular, to the drawing up of a summary report by Mr Leo Tindemans,

Declares that:

1. The European Union must be conceived as a pluralist and democratic Community whose priority aims are as follows:

— to ensure strict respect for liberty and human dignity,

— to promote social justice and solidarity between the Member States and the citizens of the Community, through the establishment of an economic order ensuring full employment and the equitable distribution of incomes and wealth;

— to oppose resolutely any cause of conflict or tension, in order to contribute towards the maintenance of peace and freedom,

— to take part in efforts to reduce tension and settle disputes by peaceful means throughout the world and, in Europe, to develop cooperation and security between States;

2. The European Union must be brought about progressively by means of more rational and efficient forms of relations between Member States, taking existing Community achievements as its point of departure through the introduction of a single organization undertaking duties which the Member States can no longer effectively carry out alone, thus avoiding wastage of effort or actions contrary to the cohesion of the Union;

3. The Union must be based on an institutional structure which will ensure its coherence:

— on a body, within which participation by the Member States in the decision-making process of the Union will be guaranteed,

— on a Parliament having budgetary powers and powers of control, which would participate on at least an equal footing in the legislative process, as is its right as the representative of the peoples of the Union,

— on a single decision-making centre which will be in the nature of a real European government, independent of the national Governments and responsible to the Parliament of the Union,

— on the European Court of Justice,

— on an Economic and Social Council, as a consultative body,

— on a European Court of Auditors.

4. The dynamic character of the present Community must be preserved in full, the powers and responsibilities of the Union must be progressively widened, respecting the essential interests of Member States, in particular:

(a) foreign policy, for which the existing coordination procedures must be further strengthened. New procedures must be developed to enable the Community to speak with a single voice in international politics;

(b) security policy;

(c) social and regional policy;

(d) educational policy;

(e) economic and monetary policy;

(f) a Community budgetary policy;

(g) policy on energy and supplies of raw materials;

(h) a scientific and technical research policy.

The Union, based on the collective exercise of common responsibilities, must remain open to new tasks.

5. The Union can only be achieved through a process of continuous political development, which must make full use of all the provisions and possibilities of the present treaties and the other procedures which link the Member States, in order to bring about quickly and effectively the degree of solidarity necessary to transform the present Community into an organization whose decisions are binding on all parties.

6. Achievement of the Union therefore necessitates immediate action to ensure real progress in the various Community policies and in the institutional structure, which must take place in parallel.

The European Parliament therefore asks

7. That an immediate start be made on the procedures necessary to allow the election of its Members by direct universal suffrage not later than in 1978, the date indicated by the Heads of Government of the Member States, thus giving proof of the political resolve to advance towards the construction of Europe with the active participation of the peoples;

8. That in the course of 1976 the Commission of the European Communities should submit an overall programme of priority action which will enable the main aims of the Community policies on which the future European Union is based to be achieved before the end of the present decade;

9. That this programme should be submitted to the urgent consideration of Parliament and the Council for such amendment or modification as may be jointly agreed between the two institutions and then for approval and implementation by the Council;

10. That the links which exist between Economic and Monetary Union and European Union, making desirable a parallel development in the two fields, should be recognized, without, however, allowing the lack of progress in one field to be used as a pretext for taking no action in the other;

11. That adjustments to the institutional structure necessary to adapt it to its task in the European Union should now be made, in particular,

(a) that, in accordance with the Treaties, the Council should abandon the principle of unanimity and meet in public in its legislative capacity;

(b) that the role of the Commission should be extended to include the primary responsibility for all multilateral relations between Member States; this decision would enable these relations to be simplified and coordinated, while putting an end to the distinction between Community procedures and inter-governmental procedures;

(c) that the Community decision-making process should be organized in accordance with the following procedure:

— the Commission, where appropriate on a proposal from Parliament, draws up a draft proposal;

— this draft is submitted to the Council and Parliament at the same time;

— the Council proceeds to give consideration to the proposal only after having received the text of Parliament and in the light of that text;

— until the Council has adopted its conclusions with regard to the proposal the Commission retains the right to amend it in accordance with the provisions of the second paragraph of Article 149 of the EEC Treaty;

— if the Council feels it has to make changes in the text of the proposal as approved or amended by Parliament, a conciliation procedure must be set up within time limits to be specified, before the Council takes its decision, and the procedure will continue until Council and Parliament have reached agreement;

(d) that all the European Parliament's powers should be substantially reinforced by 1980 and that, above all, in the transfer of new powers to the Communities the European Parliament should be given corresponding powers of legislation and control, since this is the only way to ensure that decisions of the European Communities are democratically legitimate;

(e) that Parliament, in accordance with the wish solemnly affirmed by the Heads of Government of the Member States, should participate fully in the work concerning political cooperation and in all the procedures for coordination and consultation between the Member States;

(f) that Parliament should participate in the appointment of the Members of the Commission of the Communities to emphasize their democratic legitimacy.

The European Parliament,

emphasizes that these adjustments—provided for in paragraph 8 *et seq.*— do not involve

formal modifications to the existing treaties but are necessary if there is a desire to make real progress towards European Union and give proof of the existence of a political resolve capable of affirming and strengthening the solidarity between the peoples of the Community and between their Governments;

12. Hopes that, with a view to giving the peoples of the Community a sense of common destiny, a 'Charter of the rights of the peoples of the European Community' will be drawn up and that practical measures capable of contributing to the development of a European Community consciousness, which have been requested for some time, will be adopted;

13. Appeals to the national Parliaments to associate themselves with the efforts towards the progressive achievement of European Union capable of responding to the legitimate hopes of the peoples and in particular of youth;

14. Expects the Governments of the Member States, the national Parliaments, the Council and the Commission of the European Communities to act on this resolution and undertake the necessary practical steps to achieve European Union within the time limits laid down;

15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to Mr Tindemans, to the national Parliaments, to the Governments of the Member States, the Council and Commission of the European Communities.

Observation by the Danish delegation: Communiqué issued at the end of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the European Communities, 9 and 10 December 1974—statement by the Danish delegation: 'The Danish delegation is unable at this stage to commit itself to introducing elections by universal suffrage in 1978'.

Court of Justice

Suggestions of the Court of Justice on European Union

Following the Conferences of Paris¹ and Copenhagen² the Community Institutions were invited to make suggestions with a view to the attainment of a 'European Union'.

As it is not yet clear what this expression imports, the Court of Justice, whilst anxious to reply to this invitation, is conscious of the duty of reticence inherent in its judicial function. It will therefore confine itself to emphasizing the need for coherence between the present Community structure and that which is planned, the need for effective legal machinery and the need for an awareness of the limits beyond which that which the Community has already achieved would be put at risk.

It will therefore restrict its remarks to the legal and judicial fields. Subject to explaining in more detail at a later date those proposals that may be adopted, it will confine itself to the essential, setting them out under three headings: the requirements of a genuine rule of law, those for effective legislation and finally those for an appropriate judicial apparatus.

I. The requirements of a genuine rule of law

The Community is governed by the rule of law. Any extension of the Community must also be so governed. If the new union were to be given a looser legal structure the value of existing Community law, which in the space of only twenty years has proved itself, will be diminished. If, however, this law is taken as the basis, the plans for the union will carry conviction.

A genuine rule of law in the European context implies binding rules which apply uniformly and which protect individual rights.

A. *Binding rules*

European Union, whatever form it takes, will lack any force if it is based upon rules that impose neither obligations nor sanctions on Member States in their relations with one another or with individuals. Three conclusions emerge which suggest two safeguards and one improvement.

(1) Legal certainty requires that such rules be judicially enforceable and accordingly the rejection of any system based on mere resolutions, which can be unilaterally called in question or which lack any sanction.

(2) These rules will be much less effective if national courts cannot apply them directly to individuals, as hitherto they have successfully done.

(3) Finally, legal certainty entails the filling of a legal gap in the Treaty of Rome in that it does not in terms provide for any effective sanction against a state which fails to temper its obligations, to the detriment of states which do. It is therefore desirable firstly that, in its judgment against a defaulting state, the Court should be able to specify those steps which that state is invited to take, secondly that the execution of the judgment should be subject to an appropriate systematic control and finally that any advantages sought by the state concerned should be conditional upon its rectification of the failure.

B. *Uniform rules*

Any genuine European structure must involve that the rules in question should apply with the same force in all the Member States. Any departure from this principle would amount to a renunciation of the concept of a common rule, making the legal situation differ from state to state. This would be a step backwards from what has already been achieved.

¹ Point 16 of the Final Communiqué, Bull. EC 10-1972, Part I, Chapter I.

² Point 2 of the Declaration released after the summit, Bull. EC 12-1973, point 1106.

This requirement of uniform rules involves three conditions:

(1) For these rules to be common to the states and to their inhabitants, they must take precedence over all internal measures, as is already recognized by the case law prevailing generally within the Community. It seems that the time has come to state clearly that such measures, of whatever date, cannot be invoked against provisions duly adopted in implementation of the future treaty.

(2) The uniform authority of common rules requires that a national court be guided in coming to its decision by one common court which has the task of declaring the law for all the states and their inhabitants.

(3) Legal certainty involves that powers once transferred may not be withdrawn, since any such withdrawal must endanger the whole structure.

These three conditions are all the more necessary in that, if Community law has succeeded in establishing itself more or less securely, this is because it has been conceived, interpreted and applied as a uniform system for the inhabitants of all Member States and because individuals have themselves been able to rely upon it before their national courts. Any other structure would jeopardize the unity and the effectiveness of the Community's legal achievement.

C. *Protection of the rights of the individual*

The protection of individual rights can be considered from the standpoint of constitutional review of laws, fundamental rights and the individual's right of action.

(1) If the European Union were to include an elected parliament exercising legislative powers, the question would arise of a possible review of the conformity of legislative enactments with the Treaty. The Court of Justice would be the appropriate body to exercise such a review.

(2) The problem posed by the safeguard of fundamental rights has two aspects. Firstly, as

regards the definition of such rights, it may be enough if the states recognize, in a general formula, the need to safeguard fundamental personal rights in the construction and objectives of the European Union. As to the way in which such rights are safeguarded, the institutions should be expressly required to respect them in the exercise of their powers.

(3) The right of action of individuals might be developed as follows:

If individual rights are to be safeguarded future acts of primary legislation must escape neither the control of Parliament nor the effective control of the courts at the suit of private parties.

The safeguarding of these rights requires that acts of subordinate legislation are open to challenge by private parties having a direct interest, as is the case in the legal systems of several of the Member States.

The safeguarding of these same rights presupposes that in the event of a failure by a state to fulfil an obligation, persons adversely affected thereby may obtain redress before their national courts.

The same concern requires the creation for individual persons of an appropriate remedy for infringement of Article 177 of the EEC Treaty either by means of a direct application to the Court of Justice by the parties to the main action or by means of an obligatory action for default or, finally, by an action for damages against the state concerned at the suit of the party adversely affected.

II. **The requirements for effective legislation**

To the conditions inherent in any legal system must be added those which are necessary for the system to be effective. In three fields, in particular, precautions must be taken in order to avoid a risk of dislocation which would be brought about if a European structure were adopted which rested on a legal base different from the present Community structure: precautions in the process of construction of the European Union,

in the working of the decision-making body, and in the new opportunities for legal cooperation that may be expected to arise.

A. *The process of construction*

The consequences of European Union will differ depending on whether the Community's present achievements are simply to be preserved without being further developed in the new framework or whether the union is to be conceived as a more dynamic extension of the present machinery. The result of that choice will manifest itself in the procedure that is used to achieve all the objectives which were laid down in the Treaty but have not yet been attained.

If, in conformity with the EEC Treaty, the procedure of Article 235 is employed, Community law will have the opportunity to develop by the progressive extension of its own field of application in a more effective European Union. If, on the other hand, another procedure of a purely international type, in whatever guise, is substituted, Community law will be in danger of becoming sterile, with no prospect of development. In either case, however, the essential problem of the effectiveness of the decision-making body will remain.

B. *An effective decision-making body*

Such a body is an essential preliminary. If this is not settled at the outset, European Union will suffer from the same weaknesses as the present structure. If there were an effective decision-making body the present legal system would cease to be so unwieldy.

Every court, both national and Community, is faced with gaps in legislation which cannot be filled in the foreseeable future because of the slow processes of lawmaking and the failure to provide the judge with the appropriate textual guidance. Experience has shown, however, that when the European authorities provide clear and positive rules of law they are easily absorbed by the judicial system and the national courts can apply them without difficulty. This is a most

effective process and one which should be preserved. Difficulties therefore arise at the source of Community law and not at a later stage. This difficulty will become apparent at least as sharply, if not more so, in a system other than that of a Community.

In solving the decision-making problem two points must be borne in mind.

(1) A choice must be made as to how legislation is drafted. Should legal instruments attempt to deal in great detail with all conceivable contingencies? If this was required, the preparation of even the smallest item of legislation would inevitably take years and even then might not prove sufficiently comprehensive. Alternatively, a method of drafting might be chosen in which only the essentials are dealt with, the courts being given the task of interpreting the provisions with the aid, where possible, of a clear and full recital of reasons. The usefulness of the provisions and the speed with which they can be drawn up largely depends on which method is adopted.

(2) Apart from the question of legislative technique there is also a choice to be made as regards procedure at the expert level. In the absence of any arbitration procedure, the nine experts, in seeking with difficulty to achieve unanimity on the technical plane, may have to continue putting off their decisions indefinitely. It is therefore desirable that in purely legal or technical matters—the only type of case here considered—a mediator should be able to intervene where a certain period has elapsed without the experts reaching agreement, in order to permit an item of draft legislation to be submitted to the decision-making body for a decision according to the rules laid down in the Treaties.

C. *The prospects for legal cooperation*

Once endowed with effective decision-making machinery, European Union can concentrate on the development of legal cooperation.

In the first place this cooperation must necessarily be concerned with matters for which provi-

sion has already been made in the Treaties. The European Union will be built upon sand if what has already been started is not first completed, and if what has been agreed by Treaty is not first achieved.

Moreover the provisions relating to the harmonization of laws¹ could provide the Member States with a suitable procedure if they intend to accelerate the process of legal cooperation.

In addition to those matters for which provision has already been made in the Treaties, the search for other suitable fields for cooperation will not be difficult. As an example may be mentioned those subjects of private law, especially commercial law, which have been covered by international conventions to which most of the Member States are parties, such as the Geneva Conventions of 1930-31 on bills of exchange. In those fields the procedure for preliminary rulings could be extended to those Member States which have signed the conventions to ensure uniformity of interpretation of the provisions of these conventions.

One could also imagine that there might be progress in legal cooperation in all areas of positive law important for Community law. Examples are the basis of non-contractual liability, those areas of criminal law which touch upon Community legislation and, in general, the whole of commercial law.

III. Judicial requirements

In order to keep to the most essential, three avenues of research could be adopted. They concern the necessity for a supreme jurisdiction, the simplification of procedures and the development of cooperation amongst courts.

A. *A single court*

Because of the need to ensure uniform application of the law in all the Member States, it is of fundamental importance that the judicial system should be subject to a single supreme

court. Any new structure involving the coexistence of a number of separate or competing courts must therefore be avoided.

Indeed, with a view to ensuring that in the interpretation and application of the Treaties the law is observed, the jurisdiction of the Court should be extended to cover any new powers to be exercised by the institutions. It is therefore of the first importance that there should be one independent Community court.

B. *The simplification of procedures*

Similar considerations suggest that any new powers conferred on the institutions should not give rise to any new legal procedures as this would involve serious drawbacks. It is a source of confusion and insecurity for those concerned in litigation to have a complex web of different types of procedure, as there is for example already in the case of references for preliminary rulings, of which there are three different types.

Furthermore, attention should be drawn to the difficulty in ensuring effective protection by the courts that would occur should the states forming the European Union agree to measures, without indicating their specific legal form, as a result of informal undertakings which only become public when those undertakings are performed. Accordingly, any resolution which may involve consequences for individuals should be adopted explicitly in the appropriate legal form and subsequently published.

C. *Development of cooperation amongst courts*

The success and effectiveness of the procedure for preliminary rulings make it desirable that the confidence and cooperation between national and Community courts that already exist should be developed further. The procedure might therefore automatically be extended to any new field which develops from the future treaty establishing a European Union or from any other

¹ Article 100 *et seq.* of the EEC Treaty.

convention between Member States. A provision should be included to prohibit national courts from treating a Community act as invalid unless the European Court, having already considered the matter, has declared the act invalid. This is the position under the ECSC Treaty.

If these safeguards or suggestions are adopted, the risk inherent in juxtaposing a Community structure which has stood the test of time with a legal and judicial system of a different order would be avoided. A legal dichotomy of this sort, whereby the practitioner and to a still greater extent the litigant is torn between two types of law, would be the cause of so much weakness, if not failure, that all argument leads to the future European Union being safeguarded by a unified system of law based on a fundamental concern for homogeneity, coherence and effectiveness.

**Economic and
Social Committee**

Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on European Union

The Economic and Social Committee

having regard to the fourth paragraph of Article 20 of the Committee's Rules of Procedure;

having regard to the decision which the Committee, acting on a proposal from its Bureau, took at its 128th plenary session held on 26 and 27 February 1975, to deliver an Opinion on this matter on its own initiative and to set up, in accordance with Article 17 of the Rules of Procedure, a subcommittee to produce a draft version of that Opinion;

having regard to the oral report made by the Rapporteur, Mr De Bruyn;

having regard to the discussions at its meeting on 16 July 1975 (132nd plenary session of 16 and 17 July 1975);

whereas on three occasions, viz. at their meetings in Paris (19 to 21 October 1972),¹ in Copenhagen (14 and 15 December 1973),² and again in Paris (9 and 10 December 1974),³ the Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the European Communities have affirmed 'their common will that Europe should speak with one voice in important world affairs', and decided 'to transform before the end of the present decade and with the fullest respect for the Treaties already signed, the whole complex of the relations of the Member States into a European Union';

whereas at their last meeting they decided that 'the time has come for the Nine to agree as soon as possible on an overall concept of European Union', and requested the Community institutions 'to bring the submission of their reports forward to before the end of June 1975';³

whereas they agreed 'to invite Mr Tindemans, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, to submit a comprehensive report to the Heads of Government before the end of 1975 on the

basis of the reports received from the institutions and the consultations which he is to have with the Governments and a wide range of public opinion within the Community';³

whereas on 28 March 1974, the Economic and Social Committee, using its right of initiative, adopted its Opinion on the Place and Role of the Economic and Social Committee in the Institutional Machinery of the Communities, in the context of a possible Evolution thereof,⁴ and on 17 July 1974, the Committee adopted its Opinion on the situation of the Community.⁵ The two Opinions were an initial contribution to the Community-level studies on the shape of European Union.

has adopted by 68 votes to 4, with 18 abstentions, the following opinion:

1. The objectives to be achieved by European Union

1.1. It is a basic sense of purpose (the establishment of a lasting peace between European States, preservation of democratic freedoms, Europe's international mission, economic recovery) that is at the root of the process of European integration. These basic aims are as valid as ever. At all events, the European States have no alternative but to continue their progress towards unity.

1.2 Any slackening in pace, any failure to make progress towards the achievement of a united Europe would inevitably jeopardize achievement to date. Without internal European cohesion there can be no lasting solidarity with the world at large.

1.3. European Union must make it possible for the Member States to consolidate their links. This is a prerequisite, if Europe is to be economically and politically independent *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world.

¹ Bull. EC 10-1972, Part I, Chapter I.

² Bull. EC 12-1973, point 1106.

³ Bull. EC 12-1974, point 1104.

⁴ Bull. EC 3-1974, point 2446.

⁵ Bull. EC 7/8-1974, point 2459.

1.4. Although Europe is a centre of attraction in the world, it can only hope to play a decisive role in the international arena if it asserts its own identity to a greater extent.

1.5. European Union must make full use of the provisions of the Treaty. It must be something more, however, and above all something better.

1.6. European Union will not fulfil its mission if it is confined to the economic sphere. It must therefore seek to become a model of change towards a type of society more consonant with the lofty ideals of the peoples of Europe, who want peace, freedom and security and who aspire to the abolition of frontiers, the achievement of a more natural human environment and way of life, enhanced human dignity, and greater fairness through the reduction of inequalities.

1.7. For all the above reasons, European Union must go beyond straightforward coordination under a system of intergovernmental links within a free trade area, even if that free trade area is of an improved type. European Union must possess efficient institutions with clearly defined duties and relationships.

1.8. European Union, which leaves the process of complete political integration to the future, must forthwith provide itself with a democratic European authority, in order to be capable of implementing Community policies swiftly and fully. The institutions must be organized in a way which will allow them to play an active role, within their respective terms of reference, in the Community decision-making process.

1.9. Although European Union will not be achieved fully in the seventies, there can and must be no barrier to earlier achievement of certain objectives. It is possible to take large strides forward on the basis of the wording of the present Treaties, and it is necessary to take such strides in order to refurbish the Community's credibility, which has been undermined by the excessive number of setbacks, mistakes and delays. Possibilities here include majority decisions within the Council of Ministers and use of Articles 235 and 236 of the EEC Treaty.

1.10. Against the background of a clear definition of the respective powers of the national and European authorities, Community powers should be established in all matters where Community action is seen to be more suitable for solving problems than isolated national measures.

1.11. Public support will be contingent on the existence of a genuine political will to phase in European Union, and will be forthcoming only if the public knows about Community action and understands it. The latter prerequisite entails concrete measures at the various appropriate levels, together with objective, continuing, provision of information and education.

1.12. A *'charter setting out the objectives of European Union'* should be drawn up, adopted by the European Parliament and then submitted to the Member States for a decision to accede. This charter should be based on respect for the rules of democracy and political, philosophical and cultural pluralism. It should set out the rights of European citizens and enumerate the economic and social targets which it proposes to achieve.

1.13. European Union must in this way play its part in uniting the peoples and governments of the Member States by gradually linking their destinies in common achievements; thanks to Community institutions which are open to a new world, are integrated in that world and work in it for peace, freedom and economic and social progress.

2. Present situation in the Community

2.1. Over a long period of continuous economic growth stimulated by the organization of a large common market, Europe of the Six and later the Nine has enjoyed relative prosperity, a high level of employment, a considerable rise in living standards, a remarkable expansion of production, trade and consumption.

2.2. However, and in the last 18 months in particular, economic and monetary difficulties

have emerged and been exacerbated by the increased cost of oil. These differences have sparked off serious inflations and an upsurge in unemployment.

2.3. Although not all these problems can be attributed to the Member States or the Community itself, the fact remains that the structural and functional weaknesses of the Community have made it particularly vulnerable to the effects of both national and international imbalances.

2.4. In its Opinion of 17 July 1974,¹ the Economic and Social Committee took stock of the results obtained under the Treaties but also stressed the setbacks encountered and sought to identify their underlying causes.

2.5. The Common Agricultural Policy² has been, and still is, the most highly developed and most integrated form of Community action. However, owing to the lack of convergence, *inter alia* in economic and monetary policy, the CAP has now reached its limits. This situation is fueling the resurgence of tendencies towards national protectionism.

2.6. Leaving aside the general improvement in living standards and its social repercussions, Community social measures, which have been designed essentially to back up economic decisions or to mitigate certain harmful consequences of the latter, have not had all the anticipated effects, despite the recently launched Social Action Programme³ which is still only an outline framework. The concrete achievements which the Community can be credited with are the rules relating to free movement of workers, the protection of migrants, implementation of the principle of equal pay for men and women (Article 119), and assistance from the European Social Fund.

2.7. Serious economic and social disparities still exist, however, in the Community. It was only after long vacillation that agreement was finally reached on the setting-up of a Regional Development Fund⁴ but a scale for the apportionment of aid was introduced straight off without the slightest prior consultation with the interested parties.

2.8. Mention can also be made of the harmful delays in achieving economic and monetary union,⁵ the lack of solidarity on energy policy,⁶ common transport policy,⁷ industrial policy, etc.

2.9. In short, the Community's successes have been made possible by a high rate of growth which the national political authorities have not really tried to control at European level.

2.10. Having failed to make sufficient progress in its organization and development, the Community is not yet able to speak with one voice. The effects of the rise in oil prices have increased the risks that the construction of Europe will be thrown out of gear at a time when world events in fact call for greater cohesion.

2.11. European Union must therefore equip itself with effective institutions capable of taking swift action and serving clearly defined concrete objectives.

3. The institutions of European Union

3.1. In its Opinion of 28 March 1974,⁸ the Economic and Social Committee has already

¹ Opinion on the situation of the Community, Bull. EC 7/8-1974, point 2459.

² Study on the balance sheet of the CAP adopted on 28 November 1974, Bull. EC 11-1974, point 2445.

³ Opinion of 29 November 1973 on the Social Action Programme, Bull. EC 11-1973, point 2448.

⁴ Opinion of 25 October 1973 on the Regional Development Fund, Bull. EC 10-1973, point 2450.

⁵ Opinion of 13 December 1973 on Economic and Monetary Union, Bull. EC 12-1973, point 2463.

⁶ Study of 29 May 1974 on the Objectives and Content of a Common Energy Policy, Bull. EC 5-1974, point 2449.

⁷ Opinion of 28 March 1974 on the Communication from the Commission to the Council on the development of the Common Transport Policy, Bull. EC 3-1974, point 2454.

⁸ Opinion on the place and role of the Economic and Social Committee in the Institutional Machinery of the Communities, in the context of a possible Evolution thereof, Bull. EC 3-1974, point 2446.

commented on the criticisms that could be made of the way in which the Community institutions at present function.

3.2. To give practical expression to the goals it has set itself and those it decides to adopt for the future, and to implement the policies essential for its achievement, European Union must be assigned certain responsibilities and possess the relevant powers.

3.3. Such powers and responsibilities presuppose institutions which have legitimacy—which are in other words democratic—and effectiveness. Without wishing to embark upon a full description of what these institutions must be like, the Economic and Social Committee would like to set out the basic conditions it feels they must fulfil.

3.4. First of all the Committee would emphasize that the way the institutions already established under the Treaty of Rome are used still leaves very much to be desired. The Council of Ministers overburdened with minor matters, and reluctant to use the majority voting rule, even in cases where the States' vital interests are not involved, still only very imperfectly succeeds in performing the tasks incumbent upon it. Experience may lead us to believe that this has come basically from a warping of the Treaty: the Community Council as provided for by the Treaty, has, in fact, been replaced by sectoral meetings of Member States' Ministers.

3.5. This therefore weakens the initiatory power of the Commission and considerably reduces the effectiveness of its administrative apparatus.

3.6. Even when decisions are arrived at by the Community, the Member States themselves often show resistance and tardiness in implementing them.

3.7. It is not only possible, but also essential to remedy this state of affairs. The goal of a future European Union must not be used as an alibi to avoid the need to act in this field. For it is the standing of the European institutions in the eyes of the economic and social operators and, through them, the public at large which is at

stake. To allow this standing to decline would jeopardize the very future process of European constructions.

3.8. But though it retains its full value, and must be helped to realize its full effectiveness, the institutional system set up by the Treaty of Rome has also in some respects encountered its limitations. It is now evident that the new phase in the building of the Community requires further progress to be made in the political, and hence the institutional, sphere. It is this need for fundamental progress, now clearly felt by all observers of the development of the Community, which underlies the idea of European Union.

3.9. Achievement of European Union will of necessity be gradual, spread out over a period of time, but it must be driven by its own momentum. It will be a major step between the present state of affairs and the establishment of a fully-fledged federal state.

3.9.1. The Community will have to be assigned responsibilities, particularly in fields where isolated action by Member States no longer matches the requirements of the situation; the Community's powers and those of the Member States will, however, continue to exist side by side with one another during this transitional period.

3.10. European Union will have to respect national peculiarities and distinctiveness. Instead of a unitary society, it must aim at achieving a pluralist society, and not systematically seek maximum standardization.

3.11 Finally, it must give the economic and social groupings a real say in the preparations and making of decisions affecting them, as was indeed requested by the Heads of State or Government meeting in Paris in October 1972.

3.12. The allocation of responsibilities and functions between the various institutions of the Union must, in the view of the Economic and Social Committee, be made as clear as possible.

3.13. The meetings between the Heads of State or Government, which have become a regular practice and are now known as the 'European

Council', must have as their main purpose to provide impetus and to reaffirm the partners' political will, more particularly so in the initial stage of achievement of European Union.

3.14. The Community institutions must be distinguished according to the functions of each one of them.

3.15. The legislative function will have to be progressively assigned, in all the matters coming within Community jurisdiction, to a *European Parliament* elected by universal suffrage. This goal could be achieved quite quickly, since an elected Assembly is provided for in the Treaty of Rome and a draft electoral procedure has already been submitted to the Council of Ministers by the European Parliament itself. The Parliament would have to adopt the budget, pass Community laws, and would be assigned functions of supervising the application of such laws. It should also be empowered to take action on its own initiative in certain areas.

3.16. The executive function should be regarded from two angles. During the transition period before achievement of a fully fledged European Union, the main decision-making powers should be vested in the Council, while the implementing powers should fall within the purview of the Commission.

3.17. A *Council of Ministers* should comprise one or two permanent Ministers from Member States. These Ministers should be members of their respective governments, which would delegate powers to them. To give their deliberations in the Council the requisite effectiveness, they could be accompanied by specialist Ministers depending on the agenda.

3.17.1. The Council should take part in the debates of the Parliament on draft Community legislation and with the help of the Commission should ensure that such legislation is implemented in the Member States.

3.18. The *Commission*, as the concrete expression of the Community, must possess wide initiatory and executive powers. For that reason, the Economic and Social Committee consi-

ders that the Commission should lay before the European Parliament a programme setting out the objectives it proposed to attain during its term of office and the means it intended to use to attain them. In the final stage of European Union, the members of the Commission should be appointed by the European Parliament on the above basis.

3.18.1. In consultation with the Council of Ministers, the Commission would be responsible for drawing up draft Community legislation for submission to the Parliament, and for defending such draft legislation before Parliament.

3.19. The *Economic and Social Council*, the institution bringing together representatives of the various economic and social interests, would have to be able to perform more fully its *consultative and advisory* function so that the political institutions could take account of the views and experience of the economic and social groupings in the decisions they had to take. The members of the Economic and Social Council would still be nominated by the national governments and their appointments confirmed by the Council of Ministers.

3.19.1. The Economic and Social Council should be obligatorily consulted on proposed decisions on economic and social questions, in such a way that its Opinions can be heard in time by the Commission, the Council and the Parliament. This would give all the representatives of economic and social interests a greater say in Community decisions.

3.19.2. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered to decide its own Rules of Procedure. Also, it could act as a forum for the representatives of all the economic and social groupings in the Community to increase the contact both among themselves and with their counterparts in the associated countries.

3.20. The *Court of Justice*, which would continue to be responsible for ensuring observance of Community law in the interpretation and application of the Treaties, Community legislation and the implementing provisions thereof.

3.21. The *Court of Auditors*, which would fulfil the same function as similar institutions in the Member States and would report to the European Assembly.

3.22. Even though, in the long run, the institutional system described above might require modifications of the Treaties, the Economic and Social Committee would emphasize that the Treaties already contain considerable scope for achieving such a system.

4. Priority policies to be pursued in the European Union

4.1. However important and decisive the political will of the Heads of State or Government and the effectiveness of the Community institutions may be, European Union must be our economic and social body and must dovetail with the drawing up and implementation of policies which will enable it to contend with such issues.

4.2. Clearly, it is by its impact on people's daily lives that European Union will obtain popular approval and support. In this connection and in view of the importance of consumer issues for public opinion, the Preliminary Consumer Protection and Information Programme, adopted by the Council on 14 April 1975,¹ should be made to yield practical results as quickly as possible.

4.3. Independently of the work in progress and the studies embarked upon, European Union will have, in the short term, to master the basic problems in the current crisis (the fight against inflation and unemployment), and, in the medium term, to bring about the adaptation of the national economies to the new situation and seek a return to balance-of-payments equilibrium.

4.4. To attain these objectives, *European Union must have* a short- and medium-term economic and social programme. The objectives should be decided after intensive consultation with all the economic and social interest groups in the Community. Regular talks should be held between the Economic and Social Com-

mittee, the Commission and the Council of Ministers on the economic policy to be pursued in the Community.

4.5. The Economic and Social Committee proposes that a *coherent core of the economic and social policy* to be pursued in the Community be implemented; in its view, the elements of economic and social policy are so closely interwoven that any failure to coordinate the two is bound to lead to renewed serious imbalances and fresh dislocation of the Community.

4.6. Without under-estimating the importance of the policies to be pursued or introduced in other sectors, this minimum programme must centre on the following measures, with responsibility for it progressively being given to the Community, in accordance with the procedures of the European Union:

4.7. *Speeding up the achievement of Economic and Monetary Union*¹ one of the essential steps for completion of the common market, involving:

4.7.1. On the one hand, necessary convergence between national economic policies and adequate means of forcing Member States to adhere to jointly agreed policies.

4.7.2. On the other, with a common currency as the ultimate aim, the return to stable parities between European currencies ('the snake'), which is essential if the Member States wish to be less vulnerable to international monetary fluctuations.

4.7.3. The establishment of appropriate financial machinery which presupposes bodies with autonomous powers and Community authority (Community loans, pooling of reserves, strengthened Monetary Cooperation Fund, European Export Bank, etc.).

4.7.4. Close coordination of economic and monetary policies.

4.7.5. Coordination of economic policy at European level is all the more necessary because

¹ Opinion of 13 December 1973 on Economic and Monetary Union, Bull. EC 12-1973, point 2463.

economic policy has to fulfil two requirements: firstly, it must modify its development strategy in the light of people's demands for greater quality, and secondly it must make its contribution to the optimal use of the world resources, with a view to a smooth development of the economies.

4.7.6. Such an aim cannot be achieved unless growth is sufficiently orderly. This implies a certain selectivity in public investment and selective encouragement of private investment.¹

4.8. *The implementation of a Community employment policy which must be financed by a Community budget.*²

4.8.1. The first task is to vigorously tackle employment problems³ in order to ensure that the right to work can be exercised.

4.8.2. As part of a move to give the representatives of the various economic and social interest groups a greater say in Community decisions on economic and social policy, European Union should set itself the following objectives:

4.8.3. *The elimination of all the various difficulties* which currently hamper the equating of degrees, diplomas and other certificates^{4,5}.

4.8.4. *The development of a European policy on immigration*⁶ from third countries, particularly the associated states in Europe and Africa.

4.8.5. The setting up of a *European Employment Office*, which would extend beyond the frequently illusory coordination of national employment services and which would be responsible for providing information on the labour market for matching job supply and demand and for issuing forecasts and guidelines.

4.8.6. European Union should aim at *harmonizing working conditions*, an essential corollary of employment and training policy. Only a European will can generate a major effort in this area, as the cost involved could jeopardize the free operation of competition.

4.8.7. This set of measures cannot be implemented on the sole initiative of the European legislature but is primarily a matter for the economic and social interest groups. Hence the need for these groups to be able to confer freely

and autonomously, *inter alia* at sectoral level⁷ and within a framework of European solidarity.

4.8.8. In view of the likely increase in leisure time, which in turn implies creation of the necessary public facilities, socio-collective infrastructures should undergo a long period of accelerated expansion.

4.8.9. Finally, it is necessary to remove all technical and legal barriers which prevent the right of establishment from being fully exercised in accordance with the principles laid down in the Treaty of Rome.

4.9. *Introduction of a European regional policy*⁸ to curb the excessive expansion of large urban agglomerations, reduce social and cultural inequalities, create jobs locally, provide an income for local labour, re-distribute economic activity more smoothly throughout the Community, further the development of regional natural resources and safeguard the natural environment and beauty spots.

4.9.1. In furtherance of these objectives, the regions should be helped to improve their industrial base and their infrastructures. It is essen-

¹ Opinion of 29 May 1975 on the Restructuring of the Economies, Bull. EC 5-1975, point 2448.

² Opinion of 24 November 1971 on the Preliminary Guidelines for a Community Social Action Programme, Bull. 1-1972, Part II, point 147n and Opinion of 29 May 1975 on the Updating of the Social Action Programme, Bull. EC 5-1975, point 2450.

³ Opinion of 30 May 1974 on Employment and the Changed Situation in the Community, Bull. EC 5-1974, point 2435.

⁴ Opinion of 24 April 1975 on Education in the European Community, Bull. EC 4-1975, point 2443.

⁵ Study of 13 December 1973 on Vocational Training, Bull. EC 12-1973, point 2466.

⁶ Opinion on the Action Programme in favour of Migrant Workers and their Families, to be adopted at the plenary session of the Economic and Social Committee on 29 and 30 October 1975.

⁷ Opinion of 28 March 1974 on the Place and Role of the Economic and Social Committee in the Institutional System of the Communities in the Context of a Possible Evolution thereof, Bull. EC 3-1974, point 2446.

⁸ Opinion of 25 October 1973 on the Regional Development Fund, Bull. EC 10-1975, point 2450.

tial to coordinate financial assistance from the various European Funds (EIB, EAGGF, ESF, RDF) in order to ensure that credits are not scattered over too large a number of projects and so have no real effect.

4.9.2. The selection of the regions and areas to be supported and the types of measures to be taken should be placed before the Community authorities. European regional entities could be defined in the light of economic and social criteria and irrespective of borders.

4.9.3. Since the region constitutes an important link in relations between the Community bodies and the public at large, local authorities, citizens, trade associations and workers' and employers' organizations, which give life to the structures, should be involved in the formulation and implementation of the development programmes.

4.10. *Definition of a European energy policy*¹

4.10.1. Would it not be possible to do something on the lines of the Coal and Steel Community—the first of the European Communities. If Europe is not to be excessively dependent on its present suppliers it must take steps to attain the highest possible degree of self-sufficiency in energy.

4.10.2. It must therefore step up its investments in those sectors which will enable it to rapidly cut back its dependence on imported oil as far as possible. In particular, prime importance must be attached to energy conservation, which offers opportunities for making considerable savings at relatively low costs. The Community's own resources must also be developed, be they traditional energy sources (hydrocarbons), new non-depletable sources (solar, geothermal energy) or new forms of energy (hydrogen).

4.10.3. Subject to the express proviso that the environment is protected and that human safety is ensured by strict rules, the use of nuclear energy should undergo considerable expansion.

4.10.4. Joint investments at European level can go a long way towards helping Member States of the Community to bear the costs which they must pay to ensure their maximum independence in the energy field. European Union should

encourage the formation of public cooperations and semi-public companies based on European law in the field of energy research and exploitation.

4.10.5. For many years to come, however, these measures will not make the Community self-sufficient in energy.

4.10.6. A united Europe must engage in constructive negotiations, as a genuine negotiating partner, with the oil-producing countries. If necessary, these negotiations must take place concurrently with negotiations on raw materials generally. This must be one of the aims of European Union.

4.11. Apart from the minimum programme mapped out above, the Committee would also stress the common agricultural policy and industrial policy.

4.12. *Pursuit of the Common Agricultural Policy.*

4.12.1. The balance sheet drawn up by the Economic and Social Committee in its Study of 28 November 1974² shows that, although the agricultural policy has progressed much further than any other common policy, it is losing momentum because it is not backed up by appropriate policies in the monetary, regional, social, commercial and tax spheres.

4.12.2. The construction of a European Union must make it possible to correct this imbalance; it must also provide an opportunity for defining the situation of agriculture in modern society, for improving the involvement of the farming community in economic and social progress and for giving the Common Agricultural Policy its full Community and international dimension, while preserving its fundamental principles, i.e. market unity, Community preference and financial solidarity.

¹ Study of 29 May 1974 on the Objectives and Content of a Common Energy Policy, Bull. EC 5-1974, point 2449.

² Study on the balance sheet of the CAP, Bull. EC 11-1974, point 2445.

4.13. *An industrial policy* which furthers the restructuring of industrial activity including that of small and medium-sized firms,¹ with due regard to forecasts concerning technological development, the trend in world trade and the need to create jobs.

4.13.1. European Union must utilize the instruments at its disposal² to stimulate investment in the key sectors.

4.13.2. Defining a European company statute and establishing genuine European company law is one the ways of realizing a Community industrial policy.

5. European Union in the world

5.1. Relations with the rest of the world are bound to benefit if European Union shows, by virtue of its internal cohesion, that it can further the development of a society which gives more scope to man's aspirations, that is to say a more equitable society providing a better quality of life. This new dimension in its relations will then allow the Community to develop the very outward-looking policy which it has already set in motion in recent years.

5.2. The Lomé Convention and the search for a Mediterranean policy are significant gestures here and could set the pattern for new relations between countries which are at different stages of economic development. In addition, the representatives of the Community are establishing contacts with an increasing number of non-member countries, with a view to setting-up new cooperation links.

5.3. It is very important that the Community should be able to continue its activities here, thus furthering the search for better equilibrium in the world. But this will not be possible unless two conditions are satisfied:

5.3.1. firstly, the Community must have an internal cohesion commensurate with its legitimate external objectives. At the present juncture, it is fair to ask whether an imbalance is not emerging due to the fact that the Commission is

substantially increasing its international contacts while the very structures of the Community are weakening;

5.3.2. without effective, legitimate *institutions*, the Community will lack genuine *credibility* in the eyes of the outside world and be unable to generate the internal *solidarity* needed to cope with the radical effects on its economic and social life of the emergent changes in international economic relations;

5.3.3. the Community must also be *properly equipped* to pursue a vigorous external policy;

5.3.4. the first requirement here is regular *concertation* between the Member States on their foreign policies, so that the Community can speak with one voice;

5.3.5. secondly, the Community itself must possess *instruments* if it is to be able to act. At the moment, only the common trade policy falls within the purview of the Community, and so far this policy has been applied somewhat narrowly;

5.3.6. the Community must henceforth be in a position to take action in the field of industrial cooperation, which will be the true essence of future relations with numerous countries, *inter alia* the energy producers and the suppliers of raw materials.

5.3.7. Experience has shown that when it speaks as an entity the Community can exercise a crucial influence in this field, which is of vital importance for the future.

5.4. The relationship between the European Union and the other leading industrial powers—such as the United States, Japan and Canada—must be one of partnership between equal and loyal partners in which confrontation does not detract in any way from friendship.

5.5. If European Union succeeds in ensuring true cohesion between its members, it can also

¹ Opinion of 29 May 1975 on the Restructuring of the Economies, Bull. EC 5-1975, point 2448.

² See the preceding chapter on Economic and Monetary Union, point 4.7.

serve as a balancing force through its trade with East European countries. In addition it must gradually establish relations with other regions of the world such as Asia and Latin America, which merely ask that Europe should be a loyal partner and should not harbour any thoughts of hegemony.

5.6. Generally speaking, from now onwards consultations should be held prior to all major international encounters, so that the united voice of Europe can make itself heard.

5.7. Membership of the European Union is open to all other democratic and pluralist European States, who apply for membership, and who support the principles and objectives of the Union.

5.8. If, in this way, the Community acquires its own style, its own identity, to use the hallowed expression, it may then make a continuing and concrete contribution to world peace.