Steps to European unity

Community progress to date: a chronology

6th Edition
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Every day the European Community organizes meetings of parliamentarians, ambassadors, industrialists, workers, managers, ministers, consumers, people from all walks of life, working for a common response to problems that for a long time now have transcended national frontiers.

It is not an easy task.

Turning its back on earlier efforts to unite Europe by force, the Community's objective is unity by mutual consent on the basis of a freely accepted body of law. But by the very nature of things progress is slow and laborious and sometimes still encounters resistance, for governments never find it easy to give up their powers and prerogatives, and no administration is happy to abandon its traditions.

But the young of today — those with whom the future of Europe lies — are losing hope and interest. And though the Community's hesitations and failures regularly make the newspaper headlines, they are not, to the minds of young people, what a united Europe is all about.

Today's young people are fortunate that they no longer harbour the hatreds and prejudices engendered by the constant warfare of the past. What counts in their eyes is working together to master the many problems facing the modern world.
What is important to them is the role that their Europe, their country, their region will have to play in a world where everything is changing, and changing fast. What interests them, like every generation of young people before them, is to create a more generous and a more human society.

What young people often fail to realize is that progress actually has been made, that Europe really is beginning to fuse together and that there has been a definite change in attitudes of mind.

The aim of this booklet is to outline and explain the main facts and trends of an often very complex process.

We have not written a textbook on the history of the European Community, nor even a full chronology. That would have filled a far larger volume. All we have set out to do is describe the main stages in the construction of the Community, highlighting the key events at each stage of its history.

We begin in 1945, with Europe emerging bloodied and spent from the Second World War, and trace subsequent progress towards the creation, development and enlargement of the European Community.

The European ideal, now over 30 years old, still holds great promise for the future, despite many failures and setbacks along the road towards unity.
First hopes,
first failures
1950 - 1954
The victory of the allied powers over Nazi Germany, which brings the Second World War in Europe to an end, once again leaves Europe licking its wounds, a continent in ruins, impoverished and enfeebled, brimming with hatred.

The only real victors in this European civil war are the United States and the Soviet Union. The two great powers, each profoundly convinced of the inherent superiority of its own ideology, dominate the world and its immediate future.

At the same time there are countries in Africa and Asia, many of which have been involved in the war, that are wakening up and demanding independence from their weakened colonial masters in Europe.

These are the circumstances in which far-sighted politicians, just like certain resistance movements in the two wars, awake to their duty.

Winston Churchill, who, as British Prime Minister, played such an eminent role in the struggle against Nazism, makes his now famous speech at Zurich calling for the establishment of a United States of Europe. This has a truly sensational impact, for it represents, both the response to the overwhelming desire for peace among the peoples of Europe and, in a continent where poverty, revenge and hatred still reign supreme, a glimmer of hope and generosity and the first step towards reconciliation.

This is the date on which the European Communities as we know them celebrate their 'birthday'. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert Schuman, in a speech on behalf of the French Government, proposes pooling the production and consumption of coal and steel and setting up a European organization for the purpose, bringing France and the
Federal Republic of Germany together. The organization would be open to all the countries in Europe and would be directed by a European institution, to be called the High Authority. But whatever the economic importance of this community, its political importance is even greater, for its authors are laying the foundation-stone of a European federation.

For the first time in their history, national governments are asked to delegate part of their sovereignty, albeit in limited, clearly-defined matters, to a High Authority consisting of persons chosen by them but acting independently and collectively enjoying powers to take decisions in the common interest of the Member States.

This is the really novel element in the first European Community — the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

As well as the High Authority, the ECSC is given a Council of Ministers, a Court of Justice and a Parliamentary Assembly.

In this new institutional structure, decisions are taken by the High Authority and by the Council. The latter consists of Ministers representing the governments of the Member States. The Court of Justice settles disputes between the High Authority and the governments and citizens of the Member States. The Assembly gives opinions but does not have legislative powers.

The whole idea is bold and revolutionary for its day and its success owes much to the conviction with which Jean Monnet advanced the scheme. Together, Jean Monnet, the planner, the creative genius who sought to build the future out of the ruins of the past, and Robert Schuman, whose home was Lorraine in France and who had experienced at first hand the effects of enmity and warfare between France and Germany, are able to bring about this fundamental step towards a united Europe.

Then there is the geopolitical context. The great powers and the nations of Europe have to devise their policies in the light of each other's intentions. The spectre of Soviet Communism haunts us from the East.
Against this background, the European Coal and Steel Community stands every chance of being accepted, and indeed, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, are quick to endorse the plan.

The first Community is set up by a Treaty signed in Paris on 18 April 1951 (Paris Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community) and swiftly ratified by the parlia-
ments of the six Member States in the winter of 1951 and the spring of 1952.

The United Kingdom, however, declines the invitation to join a Community whose rules seem rather too binding for its taste.

27.5.1952

The inherent dynamism of the new-born Europe prompts plans for two new communities — the European Defence Community (EDC), based on a treaty signed by the Six on 27 May 1952, and a European Political Community.

The EDC is inspired by the political and, more especially, the military situation of the time.

In 1945 Berlin, the old capital of the German Reich, was divided into four sectors administered by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the USSR. So indeed was the whole of Germany, with the result that eventually there are two separate German States.

The blockade of Berlin by the Soviet Union in June 1948 creates serious tension in Europe and puts even more strain on relations between East and West.

The EDC is thus conceived as a means of bolstering the Atlantic Alliance; the aim is to integrate the armed forces of Europe.

But an integrated European army is unthinkable without a common European foreign policy, and so the foreign ministers of the Six call on the ECSC Parliamentary Assembly to prepare a plan for a political Community.

9.3.1953

A report submitted to the six governments states that the new community should enjoy powers in the fields of foreign affairs, defence, economic and social integration, and protection of human rights. It is also proposed that a new federal type of organization be set up to absorb the ECSC and the EDC within two years. More haste, less speed? Throughout Europe, and even in the very Assembly that devised it, keen controversy surrounds the plan.

30.8.1954

Failure comes in the middle of the summer. As soon as the French Parliament begins debating ratification of the EDC Treaty, it becomes clear that there will not be a majority in
favour. On 30 August 1954, the French National Assembly rejects the plan outright.

Reactions to the failure vary. Some are saddened by the defeat of this attempt to create a new Europe in a single, powerful burst of enthusiasm. Others argue that Europe is perhaps trying to integrate too fast and that a community created exclusively in response to the pressure of outside events will be a fragile community indeed.
Birth of the Common Market
1955 - 1962
1/2.6.1955 Within a few months the governments of Europe have learnt the lessons of the failure of the EDC. But most of them are unshaken in their desire to press ahead with the unification of Europe.

Meeting at Messina at the beginning of June 1955, the Foreign Ministers of the Six announce that they intend to continue the attempt to establish a united Europe so as to preserve Europe's role in the world, restore its influence and prestige, and steadily increase the standard of living of its people.

But, reacting cautiously to the failure of the EDC, they decide to begin by developing European union on the economic front. An intergovernmental committee, chaired by Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian statesman and ardent supporter of the European cause, is set up to report on the prospects for general union and for union in the field of nuclear energy.

29.5.1956 Europe is on the move again. On 29 May 1956, Foreign Ministers, meeting in Venice, approve the Spaak Report and decide to begin intergovernmental negotiations in which the Six and other countries in Europe are invited to take part.

Since these negotiations are to lead to the establishment of new communities and hence of new common policies, the United Kingdom decides not to take part; in October 1956 it announces its preference for a free-trade area.

13.2.1957 In February 1957 the Council of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) begins negotiations for the establishment of a free-trade area.

While continuing their own efforts to integrate, the Six express willingness to take part in the OEEC negotiations.

25.3.1957 At the same time, then, there are two separate series of negotiations; one culminates in the Treaties of Rome signed by the Six on 25 March 1957 and the other in the formation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) on 3 May 1960. EFTA consists of Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

The Rome Treaties establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Com-
munity (Euratom), together with the Paris Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), form the constitution of the European Community.
Ratified within a few months by the parliaments of all the signatory States, the Rome Treaties receive far greater majorities than the Paris Treaty — a symptom of growing enthusiasm for European integration. The European Treaties all have the same objectives — economic expansion and higher standards of living, accompanied by political union of the peoples of Europe.

The EEC Treaty's immediate objectives are the establishment of a customs union with free movement of goods between Member States, the dismantling of quotas and barriers to trade of all kinds, and the free movement of persons, services and capital.

But going beyond this, the Treaty provides for a number of common policies on matters such as agriculture, transport and competition; the harmonization of legislation; a social policy; an external trade policy, etc.

Moreover, the preamble and the general clauses of the EEC Treaty call for the implementation of common policies and rules in virtually all areas of economic and social life. A special article empowers the Community institutions to set up any policies — even if not specifically provided for by the Treaty — that may be necessary to attain the general objectives set out in the Treaty. It is under this article that the Community gradually develops policies to deal with the great industrial problems of the day, a regional policy (not provided for in the Treaty) and a social policy, a policy on the environment, a policy on consumer protection and proposals for a passport union, to name but a few.

In its endeavours to attain the four great freedoms (free movement of persons, of goods, of services and of capital), the Community begins tackling the problem of right of establishment, achieves free movement for all workers, sets about harmonizing national legislation and gradually creates a single market. But much still remains to be done.

The Community, originally dependent upon contributions from the Member States for its financial resources, eventually embarks on a budgetary policy providing it with substantial resources of its own.

But the Treaty is virtually silent on matters of general economic and monetary policy since at the time it was drafted,
economic growth and convergence were largely taken for granted.

Foreign policy remains the prerogative of the Member States themselves. *Vis-à-vis* non-member countries, the Community’s powers are confined to establishing a common commercial policy. In pursuit of this goal, a wide variety of agreements have been concluded between the Community and virtually the whole of the rest of the world.

Right from the start the Treaty imposes on the Community specific duties in relation to the former colonies of the Member States. Step by step, a general policy has been worked out on relations with all the developing countries.

The EAEC Treaty (generally referred to as the Euratom Treaty) provides for the joint development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Set up in a burst of enthusiasm to provide Europe with the energy it so badly needs, Euratom quickly runs into difficulties as the Member States fail to agree on the action to be taken.

1.1.1958

The EEC and Euratom Treaties enter into force on 1 January 1958. By the spring, the institutions of the two new Communities — the Commissions and the Councils consisting of ministers from the Member States — have been set up and are ready to get down to business. The Parliamentary Assembly and the Court of Justice are common to all three Communities (ECSC, EEC and Euratom).

The EEC Commission, which has the broadest range of functions, has nine members; its President is Walter Hallstein, one of the leading EEC Treaty negotiators and an outstanding figure in the process of building Europe.

19.3.1958

The Assembly elects Robert Schuman to be its President. This great pioneer of European unity can thus go on working for the achievement of his grand design.

1.1.1959

During the first few years after the signing of the EEC Treaty, substantial achievements are chalked up. The first cut in customs duties in trade between the Member States is made on 1 January 1959. All these customs duties are to be abolished gradually according to a timetable set out in the EEC Treaty, though not for agricultural produce. In trade with
the rest of the world, a common external customs tariff is gradually set up at the same time.

8.6.1959 The progress that the Community has made and the hopes that it inspires begin to seem attractive to a number of non-member countries. On 8 June 1959 Greece applies to become an associated State with the European Economic Community, and six weeks later, on 31 July 1959, Turkey follows suit.

31.7.1959

20.9.1960 The Treaty gives the European Coal and Steel Community extensive powers and financial resources to come to the assistance of workers in need, for instance in the event of unemployment.

Since the EEC Treaty has not clearly provided for a similar kind of social policy, the Council of the Six adopts the first regulation on the European Social Fund in 1960. The Fund is to provide assistance to workers and firms so that they can adapt to rapidly changing economic circumstances.

Although some sectors and regions continued to suffer hardship, the economic boom which the Community enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s helped stimulate social progress and 'harmonization while the improvement is being maintained' in line with the objective of the Treaties.

Between 1954 and 1982 the Community granted 748 million ECU in aid for the redeployment of redundant miners and steel workers.

The European Social Fund granted more than 1 500 million ECU in 1982 in assistance for social measures, the priority areas being employment and vocational training.

10./11.2.1961 The economic progress made by the Community and the continuing desire for closer cooperation in matters which are not specifically economic bring political cooperation back into the limelight.

At a summit conference of Heads of State or Government of the Member States in February 1961, it is agreed that a political union should be set up between the Six.
A few months later, on 18 July 1961, the leaders of the Six agree to hold regular meetings for general political consultation.

On 2 November 1961 a plan for political union worked out by a committee chaired by a French politician, Christian Fouchet, is published. But neither this plan nor the next one (the second Fouchet plan) is approved by the Six. They fail because the larger and the smaller Community countries cannot agree on the way political cooperation should work. The large Community countries are reluctant to hand over the direction of foreign affairs, for which they feel they have special responsibility, to the Community's less flexible institutional machinery. The smaller Benelux countries on the other hand, fearing the prospect of a directory of the larger countries, prefer the more egalitarian decision-making procedures of the Community which they regard as better geared to producing solutions reflecting everybody's interests.

9.7.1961 The European Economic Community and Greece sign an association agreement. The object is to promote economic rapprochement between Greece and the Community with a view to subsequent Greek accession.

31.7.1961 In July and August 1961 Ireland, Denmark and the United Kingdom submit applications for membership of the European Communities.

10.8.1961 Europe is on the move, and changing its dimension. Three countries which originally felt unable to join in the venture have finally concluded that they, too, should work for integration.

The applications from these three countries have a major impact on public opinion worldwide.
Some months later, on 30 April 1962, Norway tables its application for Community membership.

1.9.1961 The first regulation on free movement of workers from Member States within the Community comes into force. It opens up the frontiers to job seekers from all the Member States and protects them by giving them the same rights and obligations as nationals of whatever country they go to.

6./7.12.1961 On 6 and 7 December 1961 the Six and a large number of African countries meet in conference in Brussels.

In 1957 the Treaty of Rome had taken into account the special relations between certain Member States and their colonies. At the time France still had a number of territories in Africa, Belgium was responsible for the Congo and administered Ruanda-Urundi under United Nations trusteeship, as did Italy Somaliland.

To preserve the interests of these territories and of the Member States concerned, the Treaty provided for a commercial association with the African territories.

Policy in relation to these countries developed rapidly. Most of the African countries became independent early in the 1960s.

The major negotiation initiated with them in December 1961 is to lead stage by stage to an ever deeper and ever broader association.

January 1962 Agricultural policy has been at the centre of Community concern for a long time now. It is provided for by the Treaty and its broad lines were worked out at the Stresa conference in July 1958. Right from the beginning it was clearly impossible, for economic, human and political reasons, to establish free movement of farm produce without suitable safeguard measures, for there were specific bodies of regulations governing farming in all the Member States.

Ever since the EEC Treaty came into force, the elaboration of a common agricultural policy was a cornerstone in European integration, on a par with the establishment of a customs union.
The common agricultural policy is born in January 1962 following lengthy and often bitter negotiations and the longest negotiating marathon in the Community's history.

It is based on the following principles: establishment of a single market and consequently of common prices for most agricultural products; the assurance that those working in agriculture will enjoy a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by workers in other sectors; preference for
Community produce; financial solidarity through a European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF).

14.1.1962 By and large, progress so far has been fairly good. Indeed the European Economic Community has advanced so far that, with retroactive effect from 1 January 1962, the Council decrees the transition to the second stage of integration prescribed by the EEC Treaty.

9.2.1962 The Spanish Government asks to begin negotiations for Community association. Portugal follows three months later on 18 May.

15.5.1962 The customs union is progressing: the Council decides to accelerate the process of reducing customs duties within the common market.
Two steps forward,
one step back
1963 - 1965
14.1.1963 The first round of negotiations for Community enlargement breaks down. At a press conference General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, states that France doubts the political will of the United Kingdom to join the Community. A few days later, on 18 January, negotiations with all the applicant countries — Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom — are suspended.

22.1.1963 France and the Federal Republic of Germany sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation. The aim is to tighten links between the two countries and give a new impetus to the process of European integration.

11.7.1963 The unilateral halting of negotiations for Community enlargement and the signing immediately afterwards of a Franco-German treaty of friendship have left a bitter taste in the mouths of certain Member States. Attempts are made in diplomatic circles to break out of the deadlock.

On 11 July 1963 the EEC Council proposes regular contacts with the United Kingdom via the Western European Union (WEU).

20.7.1963 Meanwhile the Community is still pursuing the negotiations commenced with the African countries late in 1961, and on 20 July 1963 the broadest association agreement ever entered into by Europe and Africa is signed at Yaoundé: the Yaoundé Convention, valid for five years, unites the Community with 17 African States — Burundi, Cameroon, the
Central African Republic, Chad, Congo Kinshasa (now called Zaire), Congo Brazzaville (now called Congo), Dahomey (now called Benin), Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Togo and Upper Volta — and Madagascar.

The Community's 18 partners are to enjoy commercial, technical and financial cooperation on an equal footing and the agreement is scheduled to come into operation on 1 June 1964.

12.9.1963  The association agreement with Turkey is signed. Like the 1962 agreement with Greece its aim is to produce economic rapprochement with a view to ultimate Turkish accession to the European Community.

29.9.1963  Encouraged by the signing of the Yaoundé Convention, three East African countries — Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika (now called Tanzania) — belonging to an African common market ask for negotiations with the Community.

14.10.1963  The Community signs its first trade agreement with a non-member country — Iran.

4.5.1964  The GATT multilateral trade negotiations begin on 4 May 1964 with the Community taking part. These negotiations, which go under the name of the Kennedy Round, result in a substantial cut in international customs duties. The Community's external tariff is reduced by between 35% and 40% depending on the product (excepting agricultural products) and is lower than the tariffs of its major trading partners.

1.7.1964  Internally, the most important event at this time is the establishment of the common agricultural market. Market organizations are set up for most agricultural products. Uniform prices, valid only with effect from 1967, are adopted for cereals on 15 December 1964. The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) begins operating on 1 July 1964.
As most agricultural products are gradually brought under common market organizations, the Community has to solve the problem of financing the common agricultural policy.

The financial regulations in force since the beginning of 1962 are due to expire on 1 July 1965. To replace them the Commission, still with Walter Hallstein as its President, devises a bold new solution which it presents to the Council on 31 March 1965.

The plan is to give the Community its own resources by allocating to it the levies charged at the Community's frontiers on imports from non-member countries. These new resources — the Community's own resources — would be subject to review by the European Parliament, which would thus acquire major budgetary powers.

The Commission's objectives are ambitious — providing the Community with its own resources, making it financially autonomous and at the same time strengthening the powers of the European Parliament — and the Commission counts on the massive support of Parliament and of the agricultural organizations to get its plan adopted.

30.6.1965

The French Government's reaction is keenly hostile. On 30 June 1965 the Council meets in Brussels, with the French Foreign Minister, Mr Couve de Murville, in the chair.

Tension is high. Shortly after midnight, in a strained atmosphere, Mr Couve de Murville declares that no agreement has been reached within the appointed time and closes the meeting.

The next day the French Government issues a statement declaring that the Community is in a state of crisis.

And crisis there is. Not only because of the serious and unprecedented events of the night of 30 June but also because for the next seven months France operates an 'empty chair' policy in the Community. No French representatives attend Community meetings and France's Permanent Representative to the Community in Brussels is recalled to Paris.
At the end of October the other five members issue an official Council statement calling on France to resume its place in the institutions.
A compromise settlement and new beginnings
1966 - 1968
28/29.1.1966 The 1965 crisis is solved by the Luxembourg compromise: whenever one or other of the members considers that it has 'vital interests' at stake, the Council will endeavour to reach solutions acceptable to all within a reasonable time. But the six Member States nevertheless 'note that there is a divergence of views on what should be done in the event of failure to reach complete agreement'.

The result is the preservation of the unanimity rule in the Council, wrapped up in a rather tortuous formula that barely conceals the differences of opinion between the Six. From January 1966 the unanimity rule should have given way to majority voting on many of the decisions to be taken by the Council.

Following the Luxembourg compromise France resumes its place in the Community institutions.

21.4.1967

The Community puts its association with Greece on ice following the Colonels' coup d'état. The Colonels have abolished the Greek constitution, repealed many of the country's democratic laws and curtailed individual freedom. By freezing the association the European Community seeks to show its profound disapproval.

11.5.1967

The United Kingdom reappears to join the Community. It is followed by Ireland and Denmark and, a little later, by Norway.

But General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, is still reluctant to accept British accession. In view of France's refusal to commence negotiations, all the Community can do is leave the applications on its agenda.

30.6.1967

The GATT multinational trade negotiations (Kennedy Round) that opened on 4 May 1964 culminate in a general reduction in customs tariffs by all the world's major trading countries and in new conditions for developing trade in agricultural products.

For the Community, the agreements are signed by the Member States and by the Commission.

1.7.1967

The Treaty establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission, signed on 8 April 1965, enters into force.
This is what is commonly known as the merger of the executives. There is now only one Commission (replacing the ECSC High Authority and the EEC and Euratom Commissions) and one Council. But the new Commission and the Council will naturally continue to act in accordance with the rules governing each of the Communities (laid down by the three Treaties).
Consolidation
1968 - 1970
The customs union is completed. Eighteen months ahead of the timetable in the EEC Treaty, all customs duties are removed in trade between Member States. At the same time the Community finally sets up its common external tariff.

More than 15 years later the single market is still incomplete: customs formalities and procedures, rather than customs duties, are the main obstacles facing traders and ordinary citizens who wish to exploit the advantages of the common market to the full.

Early in 1984 a strike by French and Italian customs officials halts goods traffic and provokes a violent reaction among lorry drivers, who block roads in protest at the slowness of customs formalities.

The Commission estimates the cost of shortcomings in the operation of the customs union at some 13 400 million ECU.¹

Proposals for simplified procedures along the lines of those in use in the Benelux countries have been tabled, but the Council has not yet approved them.

¹ 13 400 million ECU = BFR/LFR 614 000 million; DKR 114 500 million; DM 30 000 million; DR 1 161 000 million; FF 92 400 million; HFL 33 800 million; IRL 9 770 million; LIT 18 652 000 million; UKL 7 740 million; USD 11 500 million; (as at 1 March 1984).
Sicco Mansholt, Vice-President of the Commission with particular responsibility for the common agricultural policy, launches what has come to be known as the Mansholt plan for modernization of the Community’s farming sector.

Pricing policy and market organizations have not settled all the problems. There are more than 10 million persons working in agriculture. There are substantial differences in the size of farms, the number of persons working on them and the number of machines per hectare. The same applies to incomes and working conditions.

In Sicco Mansholt’s memorandum the Commission describes the current situation of agriculture in Europe and points out the need for substantial structural reform. Only large, modern, rational farms can survive, the Commission argues. Yet most farms in the Community are far from satisfying the minimum structural requirements, according to the memorandum. Accordingly, the proposal advocates an active social and structural policy and a package of social measures in favour of farmers who retire or leave the land to take up some other occupation.

The Heads of State or Government meet in The Hague, aware that if they are to preserve the Community’s achievements — and nobody wishes to destroy them — they must launch out once again with new initiatives for integration in Europe.

Following a particularly difficult period in the Community’s life, the Hague summit constitutes an important step forward.

In accordance with the Treaty the Heads of State or Government declare that the Treaty of Rome is now in the defini-
tive stage; they call for the establishment of economic and monetary union; they speak out in favour of strengthening the Community institutions; they support the idea of enlarging the Community; and they give a new impulse to political cooperation.

They also agree on the financing of the common agricultural policy, on the creation of Community own resources and on increases in the Parliament’s budgetary powers, issues which had all given rise to considerable tension before and were indeed at the origin of the serious crisis in June 1965.

The summit conference in The Hague thus satisfies all the great hopes that were placed in it. The Hague spirit is the symbol of a political will that the Member States have rediscovered. Its resolutions call for the consolidation, strengthening and enlargement of the Community.

9.2.1970 The governors of the central banks sign an agreement setting up a short-term monetary support system. This is a practical step towards greater monetary solidarity between the Community Member States.

21/22.4.1970 Decisions are quickly taken on the Community’s own resources. Under the new system the Community will receive all customs duties on products imported from non-member countries, all levies on agricultural imports and resources deriving from value-added tax calculated by a rate of up to 1% to a uniform base. The parliaments of the Member States rapidly ratify these arrangements, which provide the Community with the beginnings of a real financial autonomy.

27.10.1970 The Member States approve the Davignon report on political cooperation, a direct sequel of the Hague summit.

With this report the Member States adopt the principle of periodic meetings of Foreign Ministers and heads of Foreign Ministry political departments. The idea is to concert and if possible harmonize Member States' foreign policy opinions and activities.

The objectives set out in the report, often known as the Luxembourg report after the place where it was adopted, are: regular exchanges of information and consultations so as to improve mutual understanding on the major interna-
tional problems of the day; greater solidarity between the Member States by promoting harmonization of their views, by coordinating their positions and by undertaking joint actions wherever this is possible and desirable.

The new objective that the Member States have assigned themselves is to get Europe to speak with a single voice on all major international and world problems and to act together wherever it can and wherever it must.
Over the past 10 years or so, the Member States have held innumerable consultations in the context of political cooperation in an endeavour to speak with a single voice on the major world issues. And that voice now carries considerable weight.
Enlargement and monetary problems 1970 - 1973
Community enlargement and the attainment of economic and monetary union are the top priorities between 1970 and 1972.

30.6.1970

New negotiations for the accession of Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom begin. They are difficult negotiations as they extend to virtually every area of economic and political life. On 22 January 1972 the Treaties of Accession are signed. They are rapidly ratified by the parliaments of the old Member States and of the new Member States except Norway, where a referendum is held and the Accession Treaty is rejected by a narrow majority (53%).

The new Community of Nine dates from 1 January 1973.

7.10.1970

The Hague summit has given the impulse for the creation of an economic and monetary union. It has been found that the pursuit of European integration means there have to be common or at least coordinated economic policies. In October 1970 a committee of financial and monetary experts chaired by Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner presents the governments with a plan for the progressive unification of economic policies and the creation of a monetary organization designed to culminate by 1980 in the attainment of full economic and monetary union with a common currency.

The measures to be taken for the achievement of this ambitious objective concern economic, monetary and budgetary policy, capital movements, and tax and income policies.

22.3.1971

The Council decides that the first stage of the Werner Plan will have retroactive effect from 1 January 1971 and proceeds to strengthen the coordination of economic policies. The Member States are to take measures to harmonize their budgetary policies and to reduce the margins of fluctuation between their currencies.

But the launching of the economic and monetary union is immediately disrupted by the monetary crisis of 1971. The Community is not responsible for the crisis but bears much of the brunt. The crisis arises from the overvaluation of the US dollar against gold and currencies valued in terms of gold.
In August 1971 the US Government suspends convertibility of the dollar into gold, thereby jeopardizing the whole Bretton Woods monetary system and the parity equilibrium of most Western currencies.

Right in the middle of the summer holiday period, governments, banks and the Community authorities consider the situation and take steps to deal with the immediate problems.

Exchange rates between the currencies of the Member States continue to diverge wildly under the pressures of the market.

Only in December 1971 are the monetary authorities able to restore a degree of order. What happens basically is that the US dollar and the Italian lira are devalued, the Deutschmark, the Dutch guilder, the Belgian franc, the Japanese yen and the Swiss franc are revalued and the French franc and sterling maintain their old gold parities.

In April 1972 the Six decide that the maximum margins for fluctuation of their exchange rates must be brought back to 2.25%. Although the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark are not to become full Community members until January 1973, they nevertheless join the new system, baptized the snake.

But despite this decision, which creates an important link between the currencies of the Member States and consequently between their economic and monetary policies, there can be no escaping the fact that the march towards economic and monetary union now has to begin again.

The dollar crisis is the apparent cause of the failure of the plan for the first stage of economic and monetary union, which has been in operation since 1 January 1971. But the real reasons for the failure are deeper rooted. They lie in the differing structures and policies of the Member States and in their varying capacity to resist external pressure.

While the health of the dollar is quickly restored, the European currencies are still tottering. Sterling, the Irish pound and the French franc are unable to remain within the maximum margin of fluctuation in relation to the currencies of the other Community countries. Sterling and the Irish
pound are withdrawn from the snake in June 1972 and the French franc in February 1973.

21/22.6.1971 The Community offers the non-associated developing countries the benefit of the generalized preferences scheme, under which all developing countries that enjoy no special relations with the Community are given more advantageous customs tariff treatment than is applied to rich countries.
19/20.10.1972 The Heads of State or Government meet at a summit conference in Paris to define new fields of Community action — regional policy, environment policy and energy policy — not provided for by the Treaties. They reaffirm the 1980 deadline for the attainment of economic and monetary union.
The energy crisis, beginning of the economic crisis 1973 - 1974
1.1.1973 Enlargement of the European Community takes effect, when Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom become members. Economically and commercially the Community of Nine is a power to be reckoned with on the world scene. There are still those that regard it as a political dwarf, but it is nevertheless gaining in credibility. Much depends politically on the ability of the Nine to speak with a single voice when offering views or acting on the international stage.

The United States invites the enlarged Community to new multilateral trade negotiations within GATT. These begin in Tokyo in September 1973.

The Soviet Union, originally hostile to the Community, begins to take a more realistic view of things and recognizes realities in Europe.

The Community’s activities in relation to the Third World are expanding considerably. The Community continues and extends its agreements with the associated States. In July 1973 negotiations begin not only with the Yaoundé Convention countries, which since 1972 include Mauritius, but also with 27 other developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP), 24 of them Commonwealth countries. The main object is to broaden the Yaoundé Convention following Community enlargement, to take in countries that have special relations with the United Kingdom and a few other countries. The new convention will concern developing countries with an aggregate population of 240 million.

1.1.1973 Free-trade agreements come into force between the Community and some of the EFTA countries that have not joined the Community. These countries are Austria, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden. Agreements with the other EFTA members, Iceland, Norway and Finland, come into force later. As a result of the agreements the common external tariff does not apply between these countries and the Community. The EFTA countries thus live with the Community in a free-trade area but do not participate in the Communities’ common policies.

October 1973 The Yom Kippur war between Israel and Egypt provokes the Arab countries into decreeing an embargo on petroleum exports to the Netherlands and a substantial reduction in supplies to other industrial countries; but, worse still, the
petroleum exporting countries belonging to OPEC quadruple the price of crude oil.

The Community, which imports 63% of its energy requirements, mostly in the form of petroleum from the Middle East, is hard hit.

The fourfold rise in the price of petroleum has a direct economic impact — it forces up the cost of manufactured products and throws balances of payments into disequilibrium.

Unfortunately, despite the Commission’s efforts, the 1973 energy crisis does not have the advantage of inspiring a common energy policy.

5.11.1973 In November 1973 the Member States, at a political cooperation meeting, put out a joint statement on the situation in the Middle East and on the conditions for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

14./15.12.1973 But at the summit conference in Copenhagen they fail to agree on a common response to the increase in oil prices, though at least they agree — not for the first time — on the rapid introduction of the beginnings of a common energy policy.

21.1.1974 The Council of Ministers undertakes to implement a social action programme aimed at achieving full and better employment in the Community, better working and living conditions so as to make possible their harmonization while the improvement is being maintained and greater involvement of management and labour in the economic and social decisions of the Community and of workers in the life of undertakings.

Forty priority projects are planned under the initial phase of the programme.

But rapid implementation of the social action programme is hampered during the late 1970s by the persistent economic crisis and the worsening financial position of both government and industry in the Member States.

April 1974 In the United Kingdom the Labour Party, which has promised the voters to renegotiate the terms of accession wins the
elections, replaces the Conservative Party in government and seeks renegotiation of the accession terms.

Once again the Community embarks on a difficult period. The European Council in Dublin in March 1975 produces a solution — soon to prove provisional — to the vexed problem of the British contribution to the Community budget.
The British barrier to progress is lifted in June 1975 when the British people, consulted by a referendum, votes by a large majority to stay in the European Community.

9/10.12.1974

The purpose of the December 1974 summit meeting of Heads of State or Government in Paris is to relax the tension in the Community, release the Community from a number of its internal problems and enable it to get on with its real work.

The stage is set by the energy crisis, the economic difficulties which it has aggravated, the monetary chaos of 1973 and 1974, Britain's request to renegotiate the terms of accession, and the inability of the Community to move on to the second stage of economic and monetary union at the beginning of 1974 as planned.

At the Paris summit agreement is reached on the resources to be allocated by the Community to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) from 1975 onwards.

The Heads of State or Government accept the suggestion from the chair that they should meet three times a year and whenever necessary as the European Council, to debate not only European affairs but also important questions of foreign policy.

The European Council is born, to supersede the earlier summit meetings held at less regular intervals.

But the most important decision taken in Paris by the Heads of State or Government concerns the election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage.

The Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Leo Tindemans, is instructed to prepare a report on how to transform the Community into a European union embracing the whole complex of relations between the Member States, as envisaged at the 1972 summit.
Further enlargement and direct elections
1975 - 1979
In 1975 and the years that follow, unemployment re-emerges as a major problem in all the Member States, economies slow down and the difficulties besetting several industries — especially textiles, shipbuilding and steel — grow steadily worse.

The European Community and 46 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) sign the Lomé Convention to replace both the 1963 and 1969 Yaoundé Conventions (bringing together the Community and 18 African countries plus Madagascar) and the Arusha Agreement. The Lomé Convention provides for commercial cooperation and gives virtually all products originating in the ACP countries free access to the Community market; it guarantees the ACP countries stable export earnings from 36 commodities, thus shielding them against fluctuations in world market prices; it provides for industrial and financial cooperation; and like the two earlier conventions, it operates through joint institutions in which all the parties have their say in the management of the agreements.

Applications for accession to the Community are received from Greece (12 June 1975), Portugal (28 March 1977) and Spain (28 July 1977). These countries, all of which have recently returned to the democratic fold, would extend the Community southwards and add 9 million Greeks, 9 million Portuguese and 35 million Spaniards to its population.

The accession of three further countries will raise a series of new problems for the Community because of the differences between levels of development in the applicant countries and in the Community.

On the other hand enlargement will confirm the political basis for the integration of Europe and will strengthen the Community's position in the world.
Solutions will have to be found to the problems of the institutional operations of a Community of 12 Member States.

22.7.1975

The Court of Auditors of the European Communities is set up by the Treaty of Brussels. Signed on 22 July 1975, the Treaty enters into force on 1 July 1977.

The Court of Auditors, with its headquarters in Luxembourg, is modelled on similar bodies in the Member States.

Its responsibilities include the work previously done by the audit bodies of the different European Communities.

The Court examines all the Community's accounts, including the general budget, borrowing and lending activities and off-budget activities such as the European Development Fund.

The Court's responsibilities for ensuring the legality and correctness of income and expenditure and monitoring the sound financial management of the Community quickly give it a key place in the Community's mechanism for ensuring financial responsibility.

1.12.1975

In Rome the European Council finally decides on the election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, the principle having been adopted at the Paris summit. It decides that the first elections will take place in spring 1978, but this is later postponed to 7-10 June 1979.

A directly-elected Parliament was called for by the Treaties. It has taken the Community 25 years to reach agreement on it.

The new Parliament is to have 410 members (there were 198 in the old Parliament) — 81 each from France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, 25 from the Netherlands, 24 from Belgium, 16 from Denmark, 15 from Ireland and 6 from Luxembourg.

29.12.1975

Mr Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Prime Minister, presents the governments of the Member States with his report on European Union, called for at the Paris summit. In preparing it Mr Tindemans has had consultations with all the
Community institutions, the governments of all the Member States, and a broad spectrum of political parties, business associations and trade unions.

In order gradually to fuse the relations of the Member States into a European Union, Mr Tindemans proposes a series of measures including a common external policy, an economic and monetary union, European social and regional policies, joint industrial policies as regards growth industries, policies directly affecting Community citizens and a substantial reinforcement of the Community institutions.

The Tindemans report has regularly been on the European Council’s agenda, but no direct action has yet been taken on it.

**16.2.1976**

There are contacts, requested by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), which groups the State-trading countries of Eastern Europe, seeking outline agreements with the Community. Negotiations are inconclusive because of persistent divergences between Eastern Europe and the Member States of the European Community.

**April 1976**

The Community enters into agreements with the Maghreb countries (Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) in April 1976 and with the Mashreq countries (Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon) in January 1977. By these agreements and the agreement made with Israel on 11 May 1975, the Commission implements its global Mediterranean policy.

The agreements with these southern Mediterranean countries provide for the removal or reduction of customs duties on most of the products that the Community imports from them; they also provide for economic, technical and financial cooperation. As regards the Maghreb countries, which have 800 000 of their citizens working in the Community, the agreements guarantee the same working conditions and social security rights as are enjoyed by nationals of Community countries.

**April 1978**

The Community signs a trade agreement with China, with which it established relations in 1975.

Even before then China had always insisted on the need for a strong, united Europe.
The trade agreement with the world's most populous country, which was so long kept off the international political scene, raises great expectations in the Member States.

April — December 1978

The European Councils in April (Copenhagen), July (Bremen) and December (Brussels) are largely devoted to seeking ways out of the problems created for the Community by the persistence of the economic difficulties and to the establishment of a European Monetary System (EMS).

9/10.3.1979

The European Council in Paris brings the EMS into operation. The decision had already been taken in Brussels in December before, but had been held up pending agreement on the monetary compensatory amounts applied under the common agricultural policy.

The EMS has four main components — a European currency unit (ECU), an exchange and information mechanism, credit facilities and transfer arrangements.

The European currency unit is the heart of the system.

Initially the United Kingdom prefers not to play a full part in the EMS, as does Greece when it joins the Community at the beginning of 1981.

The operation of the EMS will have to be accompanied by greater convergence of economic policies. Measures are also planned to boost the economic potential of the less prosperous Community countries.

Since its conception the system has proved its usefulness and resilience. Despite serious economic and monetary turbulence leading generally to higher interest rates and marked but still fairly diversified increases in inflation among the
Member States, the currencies participating in the EMS have maintained a degree of cohesion unprecedented since 1972.

However, divergences in economic trends from country to country have failed to narrow. For this reason, in keeping with the philosophy underlying the system, seven monetary realignments have been implemented between the setting-up of the system and 21 March 1983. Parities have been altered in the wake of currency devaluations or revaluations. In each case, the adjustments were carried out by the mutual consent within the framework of a procedure in which the Commission participated.

The European Monetary System must be further strengthened and its mechanism improved. To achieve this, economic policies must be coordinated more closely, and monetary policies must be more strictly harmonized.
The fifth anniversary of the EMS in March 1984 provides the Community with an opportunity to take stock of the results. The European Commission and the Council of Ministers conclude that the system has impelled the Member States to coordinate their economic policies more closely, albeit on a rather limited scale. In particular, monetary policies have had to be closely aligned, although convergence is hampered by continued restrictions in several Member States on the free movement of capital and the possibility of raising loans without restrictions on the international financial markets.

Despite international monetary instability, the Community currencies participating in the EMS exchange mechanisms have remained relatively stable against one another, although inflation rates still vary too widely between the Member States.

On the private markets the ECU has become increasingly popular.

28.5.1979  
In Athens, Greece and the Community sign the Treaty of Accession; Greece will become the tenth Member State of the Community with effect from 1 January 1981. The Treaty has to be ratified by the parliaments of the Member States and of Greece.

7/10.6.1979  
In the first direct election the citizens of the nine Member States vote for 410 members of the European Parliament.

The overall turnout is 61%. The figures for the individual countries are as follows: Belgium 91.4%, Luxembourg 85% (voting is compulsory in these two countries), Italy 85.5%, Federal Republic of Germany 65.9%, Ireland 63.6%, France 61.3%, Netherlands 57.8%, Denmark 47% (Greenland 33%), United Kingdom 32.6%.

This historic election, which is conducted in each country on the basis of the national electoral system, produces the following groups in the Parliament: Socialists 112 members, European People's Party (Christian-Democrats) 108 members, European Democratic Group 64 members, Communists 44 members, Liberal and Democratic Group 39 members, European Progressive Democrats 22 members, Group
for the Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members 11 members, and the remaining 10 members non-attached.

The directly-elected Parliament holds its first sitting on 17 July. In a second ballot the House elects as its first President Mrs Simone Veil, the former Minister for Health and Family Affairs in the French Government.

31.10.1979

The Community's nine Member States, together with their 58 partners in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP countries), sign the new Lomé Convention (Lomé II).

The new five-year Convention, effective on 1 January 1981, reflects the parties' determination to consolidate Lomé I's achievements. The second Lomé Convention is not merely an extension of the first; it involves numerous improvements and the consolidation of previous policies, as well as significant innovations and supplementary provisions encompassing cooperation in mining, energy and fisheries, and assistance for labour.

The resources available during the five years of the new Convention total 5 200 million European units of account (EUA).

From the very outset the Community's development policy has been steadily enriched by the experience gained with the Conventions and it has now become an essential feature in European external relations.

Development policy is important not only in terms of the funds involved, but also because of the very large number of countries concerned and the novel forms of cooperation employed.

20.11.1979

The Council endorses the results of the GATT trade negotiations. The purpose of these multilateral trade negotiations between the European Community and 99 other participants was to reduce obstacles to free world trade.

The negotiations were formally opened in September 1973 in Tokyo. They proved to be protracted and sometimes arduous and it was not until 1977 that progress really started.
The most spectacular result is a further reduction in customs duties — by about one-third — in international trade; these cuts will enter into force in 1980.

Just as important is the establishment of a new discipline in international trade, designed to reduce or eliminate camouflaged protectionism — sometimes more damaging than actual customs duties.

International trade in agricultural products will also be facilitated, with due recognition being given to the sector's specific characteristics.

The results of the Tokyo Round are all the more significant as they were achieved at a time of international economic recession.

The European Community played a major role in countering the threat of worldwide protectionism hanging over the conference. It did so in the awareness that a world trade war would have pushed up the unemployment figures everywhere, possibly to beyond 10 million in the Community.

The European Community inaugurates the Euronet network, a telecommunications system enabling thousands of users throughout the Community to obtain information in a matter of minutes.

Through Euronet the Diane group of information services provides access to millions of data on the widest variety of topics: product research, industry, law, statistics, personalities, political speeches, election results, and so on. No sector is excluded.
By the end of 1980 Diane will regroup data available in some 20 computer centres in the Member States.

Euronet-Diane is the European Community's first major achievement in telematics.

30.5.1980

The United Kingdom's contribution to the Community budget — considered by the country concerned to be too heavy a burden on its economic resources — weighs upon the Community and threatens to paralyse it. The problem, which the UK Government insists on linking with the annual farm price review for 1980/81, comes up repeatedly for discussion at the highest level. It is on the agenda of the European Council in Dublin (29-30 November 1979) and in Luxembourg (27-28 April 1980).

The failure of the European Council in Luxembourg is ominous. The dual threat of a rejection of the principle of Community solidarity and a return to national solutions hangs over the European Community.

For a full five weeks the Community institutions focus virtually all their attention on the problems left over from Luxembourg.

Eventually, on 30 May, a compromise agreement is reached by the Council of Ministers. Once again, the European institutions have emerged from protracted and difficult negotiations.

The eight Member States concede that it is not equitable to impose an excessive financial burden on a less prosperous country but refuse to fix a ceiling on future UK financial contributions on the grounds that the principle of Community financial solidarity must be upheld.

Certain governments need several days to think matters over before the compromise is accepted. It includes acceptance of the farm prices for 1980/81, the setting-up of a market organization for sheepmeat, and a declaration on the common fisheries policy.

In budgetary terms the UK contribution is reduced for 1980 and 1981 by 2 585 million EUA (to 1 175 and 1 410 million EUA respectively). For 1982 and subsequent years the Community pledges to solve the problem by more radical
reforms which the Commission is invited to prepare, in what is to be called 'the mandate of 30 May 1980'. This commitment was a significant factor in the compromise package and is to play a key part in Community affairs in the years ahead.

The Commission again underscores its concern over energy supplies in view of their considerable impact on the overall economic situation and on the level of employment in the Community.

Energy saving, investment in new sources of energy, increasing coal production capacity in the Community, and promoting research are high on the list of priorities.

Energy problems weigh heavily on the Heads of State or Government and on the Community's institutions. There is a consensus on the vital significance of energy supplies in the world of the 1980s.

The Member States are particularly vulnerable in this respect. Oil — increasingly more expensive — accounts for 55% of energy requirements. 85% of the oil consumed is imported, and 90% of this comes from OPEC countries.

Price increases in the last six months alone are to cost some 50 000 million US dollars in foreign currency during 1980.

In the early 1980s the Community's oil bill falls slightly, partly as a result of the economic crisis and also thanks to a more rational use of energy. But the question of the Community's long-term security of energy supplies remains as unresolved as ever.

The Community is faced with difficulties in a number of industries and with a particularly serious crisis in the steel industry.
For years there has been overcapacity, both worldwide and within the Community, leading to price reductions and damaging competition with intolerable industrial and social consequences.

At the initiative of the Commission, the Community's steel-making industry launches a scheme for the voluntary management of the crisis: reduction in production is to be coordinated throughout the Member States. But the system of voluntary restraint fails to cope with the generalized decline in demand and continuous erosion of prices.

The Community consequently proclaims a state of manifest crisis and introduces production quotas for steel firms. This is a far-reaching decision. Implementation of Article 58 of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) requires unanimity from the Council of Ministers and constitutes a unique procedure in the Community's history. It grants the Commission the power and responsibility for laying down production quotas for each steel firm in the Community up to 30 June 1981.

The continuing crisis will compel the Commission to extend the monitoring arrangements and production quotas until the end of 1985; these will gradually be expanded to cover 80% of steel production. To support the market, minimum prices will be fixed at the end of 1983 for the most vulnerable steel products.

In the autumn of 1982 the Community estimates structural overcapacity at between 30 and 35 million tonnes. On that basis each Member State is required to reduce capacity, as indicated by the Commission, and is authorized to grant short-term financial aid for this purpose.

Under the impact of restructuring, which aims to make steel firms viable again by 1986, manpower in the industry falls from 597 800 workers at the end of 1980 to 462 100 in June 1984. A major financial effort is made at Community level to mitigate the social effects of the crisis.

All these measures, as well as some recovery in demand in 1984, will enable a substantial number of firms to get back on their feet.
The Commission’s efforts and the fact that the ECSC Treaty allows it the means to act will have made it possible for the steel industry to retrench and consolidate according to plan with the cooperation of all concerned.

Effective production quotas, together with measures for improving prices, should lead to a better balance between supply and demand.
A Community of Ten
1981
Greece becomes a member of the European Community; the Nine become the Ten; and the Community’s expansion southwards begins.

Greek accession will take place over a five-year transitional period during which the Greek economy will gradually adjust to the higher economic level of the Community, which will provide substantial financial assistance for the purpose. The addition of 9.2 million Greeks will raise the Community’s population to 269 million.

But over and above the purely economic implications, enlargement this time will have a profound historic and political significance, for Greece is the birthplace of European civilization and democracy.

Greece’s move towards the Community started more than 20 years ago when it applied for association status with the European Economic Community on 8 June 1959. The association agreement came into force on 1 November 1962 but it was frozen on 21 April 1967 following the coup d'état which brought the Colonels to power. It remained frozen until the downfall of the regime.


By Council regulation the ECU replaces the EUA (European unit of account) in the Community’s general budget.
The ECU was actually devised on 1 January 1979, but its generalized use was delayed.

The term ECU has medieval connotations (the 'écu' was created by Louis IX of France) but it now stands for 'European currency unit'.

The ECU, as the European Community's monetary unit, is the very core of the European Monetary System (EMS). It is made up of specific amounts of the Member States' currencies.

Introduced by stages as the precursor of a European currency, the ECU is now used in all Community accounts and is increasingly becoming part of day-to-day affairs: banks and the press regularly indicate its rate in national currencies; and bank accounts can be opened and loans floated in ECU.

On 30 May 1980 when the compromise was reached on the UK contribution to the Community budget, the Council gave the Commission a mandate to work out proposals for the development of Community policies, without calling into question the principle of joint financial responsibility or the basic principles of the common agricultural policy.

On 24 June 1981, the Commission transmits its report to the Heads of State or Government of the Member States, together with a personal letter from its President, Gaston Thorn.

From the outset the Commission ruled out an interpretation of its mandate in mere budgetary terms. The only solution for the Community's difficulties, in its view, is to lay the foundations for a second-generation Europe.

The main aim is to relaunch European integration and restimulate economic and monetary solidarity. Revitalizing the Community will involve developing Community policies to meet the challenges of the 1980s. A comprehensive Community strategy would open up new prospects for stable, long-term growth and fuller employment.
This goal is all the more valid since the Community, in common with most industrialized countries, is fighting inflation and unemployment; there are more than 10 million unemployed in the Community, or 9.3% of the labour force, and 40% of them are less than 25 years old.

The Commission’s comprehensive strategy aims to create a zone of monetary stability through a strengthened monetary system, to develop a modern and dynamic European industry making full use of the Community dimension and to promote new forms of energy and new industrial technologies generally. On the agricultural front the Commission considers that results over the past 20 years have been largely positive and that, set against the achievements including security of supplies, increased productivity and higher farm incomes, the cost is not excessive. However, in order to keep a tighter control on surpluses, particularly in the dairy sector, and on the costs involved, the Commission proposes immediate improvements to the common agricultural policy.

On the regional and social fronts, second-generation Europe needs to spend more to better effect. Regional aid should be concentrated on the most deprived areas and social assistance focused on job creation and vocational training.

To settle the problem of British budgetary imbalance, which triggered off the ‘mandate of 30 May 1980’, the Commission proposes a special financial mechanism based on solidarity by the Member States who benefit more from the common agricultural policy than does their British partner.

Heads of State and ministers in the Member States work hard on the Commission’s report but no comprehensive agreement is reached in 1981.

Problems other than the revitalization of the Community dominate the political scene in the Member States: general elections are held in six Member States in 1981; there are seven changes of government and the ruling parties are voted out in several Member States.
The Community is also facing the severest economic crisis of its existence.

Conflicts and tension abound worldwide. Political, economic and security problems remain unresolved. Large areas are affected by unemployment and inflation. Political institutions seem unable to cope with the challenges set by the arms race, hunger and the population explosion. The North-South Dialogue fails to progress despite the Cancún summit.

As a result, European political cooperation, introduced by the Member States in October 1970, gains momentum.

The main world hot spots figure regularly on the agenda of the Community institutions and political cooperation meetings: the Middle East, Afghanistan, Central America, Angola, Kampuchea, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Namibia, Cyprus and, nearer home, Poland. The Community helps the Polish population with food. The Foreign Ministers express concern at the introduction of martial law and the detention of trade unionists in Poland.

In a consultative referendum Greenland, which became a member of the European Community as part of Denmark on 1 January 1973, opts by a small majority (52% of its voters) for withdrawal from the Community.

In the referendum on Denmark's accession to the Community, 70% of Greenland's voters were 'against'.

Following the February referendum, it is now for the Danish Government to decide what action should be taken.

Greenland has had full internal autonomy since 1 May 1979. The autonomous government and assembly are responsible for fisheries, taxation, religious matters, education, culture and the environment. International relations remain the responsibility of the central authorities in Copenhagen.
Greenland's departure means that the European Community loses slightly more than half its territory and a population of about 50,000. The main activity, from which 25% of the population make their living, is fishing. The Greenlanders caught 41,000 tonnes of fish in 1972; this figure soared to 90,000 tonnes in 1980.

The nays' narrow victory in the referendum was due to the desire of voters to retain full freedom over their fishing reserves and to prevent their integration into a Community policy.

In the negotiations following the referendum the Community offers Greenland OCT (overseas countries and territories) status. The Treaties no longer apply to Greenland but cooperation and assistance are still available. The new status ensures free access to the Community market for Greenland's fishery products and the continuation of Community fishing in Greenland's waters. In return, the Community grants Greenland annual financial compensation of 26.5 million ECU.

The Silver Jubilee of the signing of the Treaties of Rome (EEC and Euratom) on 25 March 1982 coincides with the third year of economic recession. Unemployment rises for the 11th year in a row to approach the 12 million mark (nearly 10% of the labour force) by the end of 1982.

The governments of the Member States are now so concerned with national problems that they display little interest in making progress on Europe. The manifest inability of Community policies to curb the steady rise in unemployment damages the Community's public image. Disputes occur daily and the most the Community can hope to do is
preserve what it has already achieved. Difficulties in breaking down barriers between markets have never been so great.

At a time when public spending accounts for about 50% of Community gross domestic product, the Commission insists on the need for economic convergence and for a new boost to investment that will create jobs.

In order to improve economic prospects, the Commission presents 80 proposals for measures to remove barriers to trade so that the business world can take full advantage of the European dimension. The Commission also begins work on devising a new industrial strategy to modernize Community industry and even re-industrialize Europe. What is needed is a repeat of the incentive provided in the Community's early days by the removal of customs duties.

After six years of negotiations the Council establishes a common fisheries policy. It has four constituent parts: Community rules for the conservation of resources; structural measures; a common organization of the market; and agreement with non-member countries and consultations with a view to concerted action in the context of international agreements.

The Community fishing industry accounts for 5 million tonnes of fish worth 3 000 million ECU; the total world catch is 75 million tonnes. There are about 150 000 fishermen in the Community, but total employment figures for the industry are nearer 700 000 if ancillary activities are included. Every year the Community imports more than 2 million tonnes of fish and exports less than 1 million tonnes.

The long-term aim of the common fisheries policy is to ensure abundant catches and to introduce conservation measures, especially for the species in greatest danger, such as herring and mackerel.

Within the Community's 200-mile zone, virtually all of which is open to all fishermen from the whole of the Community, Member States are allowed to reserve zones of
up to 12 miles for local fishermen and for fishermen from other Member States who have traditional rights there.

The aim of the common organization of the market is to guarantee a fair standard of living for the fishing community, stable supplies and reasonable prices.

The structural measures are designed to guarantee the competitiveness of the European fleet.

Action has been taken or will be taken in the external relations field to preserve the traditional activities of the fishing industry and seek out new resources.

The Commission presents the proposals on the future financing of the Community announced in its green paper in January. They are based on the fact that 1984 is likely to be the last year in which it will be possible for the Commission to prepare a credible Community budget within the current limits on own resources.

Under the own resources system agricultural levies, customs duties on industrial and manufactured products imported from the rest of the world, sugar levies and resources deriving from VAT up to the equivalent of a 1% rate are transferred to the Community. The system, which has enabled the Community to finance its policies and activities for 12 years despite two rounds of enlargement, has proved its worth but new resources are now needed to finance current policies and to cover the cost of further enlargement and the development of new Community policies.

6.5.1983

1983
The Commission proposes that the 1% VAT ceiling be raised to 1.4%; subsequent 0.4% increases would require a unanimous Council decision based on an opinion from the European Parliament passed by a majority of its members and three-fifths of the votes cast (qualified majority). The new system would both give the Community a greater degree of financial autonomy and enable each Member State to keep tabs on growing financial needs and block any increase in Community revenue if there were no real need for it.

There is also a proposal to vary VAT contributions according to each Member State’s share in final agricultural output so as to lighten the burden on countries benefiting less than the others from the common agricultural policy. The reason behind this proposal is that agricultural expenditure accounts for something like two-thirds of all Community budgetary expenditure.

The Commission is also suggesting a few other smaller sources of revenue to rectify certain anomalies in the existing system.

The Community has to take a decision on the Commission’s proposal by the end of 1984 — a deadline which will have to be met to allow the decision to be ratified by the national parliaments. These changes are of vital importance for the proper operation of existing Community policies, the development of new policies and the enlargement of the Community (which cannot be financed unless new resources are created).

The Commission is doing everything in its power to safeguard the common market under threat from the worsening economic crisis and from governments tempted to outbid one another in the national aid stakes and reintroduce technical barriers to trade and other protectionist measures.

The Commission proposes a programme for consolidating the internal market covering the abolition of customs barriers, business law, the free movement of capital and persons, and freedom to provide services, as well as the liberalization of agricultural, taxation and transport policy.
At the insistence of the Commission backed by certain governments and other circles, protectionist tendencies are countered and progress is made in liberalizing trade and easing frontier formalities.

But the political will of the Member States is still not strong enough to approve the whole package of proposals that would finally create a genuine single market 25 years after the signing of the Treaty of Rome.

14.2.1984

By 237 votes to 31 and 43 abstentions the European Parliament adopts the Treaty establishing the European Union for transmission to the parliaments and governments of the Member States. This is nothing short of a draft constitution for the European Union and is the culmination of three years’ work by Parliament’s Committee on Institutional Affairs.

28.2.1984

The Council of Ministers adopts the Esprit programme or, to give it its full name, the European Strategic Programme of Research and Development in Information Technology.

Esprit, which will run for 10 years, should enable Europe to make up leeway in a key area of technological development. It calls for cooperation at Community level between industry, universities, and research institutes and laboratories. The total outlay in the first five years will be 1 500 million ECU, split equally between the Community budget and industry.
The Council of Ministers (Economic and Financial Affairs) finds that the European Monetary System (EMS) has generally performed well during its first five years.

It has done much to stabilize exchange rates. Over the five years volatility within the Community has been closely contained.

The EMS has also grown to play a major role in the convergence of economic policies. Thanks to the discipline it imposes, the main contours of national economic policies have been brought into greater alignment and have come closer together on the need to continue stabilization of prices and costs. Concertation of monetary policies is now standard practice. In short, the EMS has played what may turn out to be a historic role in preventing the divorce of economic and monetary policies in a period of economic crisis.

The Council of Ministers adopts a package of measures to reform the common agricultural policy. The main aim is to curb structural surpluses in a number of areas of production which are a heavy burden on the Community exchequer.

The overall agreement involves six sets of measures:

- fixing of guarantee thresholds for products in surplus, beyond which farmers will cease to receive guaranteed prices for their output; almost one-third of farm produce is to be covered by this measure which should help to slow down production;

- introduction of production quotas for a period of five years to reduce milk surpluses;

- restoration of a single market by the dismantling of monetary compensatory amounts;

- implementation of a realistic pricing policy geared to market conditions; the average increase in prices for 1984/85 expressed in national currencies is only 3.3%, compared with a general inflation rate of 5.1%;
- reduction or abolition of aids for milk, beef and veal, cereals, proteins, and fruit and vegetables;

- confirmation of the principle of Community preference by the reduction of imports of agricultural products from non-member countries.

These measures, hard to accept for the farming community, are designed to safeguard the common agricultural policy, which has rendered great service to producers and consumers alike. Without this rationalization the agricultural common market could well disintegrate.

9.4.1984

The Joint European Torus (JET), one of the most remarkable European achievements in research into the peaceful uses of the atom, is inaugurated at Culham in the United Kingdom.

Launched in 1978, the JET project is the most ambitious experiment ever conducted in an attempt to control nuclear fusion. Already at the end of 1983 the 400 research workers at Culham saw their initial hopes fulfilled.

Once it has been brought under control, thermonuclear fusion will provide a wellnigh inexhaustible and non-polluting source of energy.

14/17.6.1984

Nearly 120 million voters in the 10 Member States go to the polls for the second election of 434 Euro-MPs by direct universal suffrage.

The turnout averages 60% for the Community as a whole, as against 62% in the first direct election in 1979. It varies considerably from country to country: Belgium 92.2% (voting compulsory), Luxembourg 87% (voting compulsory), Italy 83.9%, Greece 77.2% (voting compulsory), Federal Republic of Germany 56.8%, France 56.7%, Denmark
52.2%, Netherlands 50.5%, Ireland 47.6%, United Kingdom 32.4%.

Commentators regret the lack of European dimension both in the election campaigns, dominated by national issues, and in the voting procedure, which remains traditional and varies from country to country.

The relative party strengths in the new Parliament will not really change. The Socialists remain the biggest political group, winning a few more seats, while the bloc of centre-right groups and Conservatives retain their majority despite losing a few seats.

The complement of the newly elected House is as follows: Socialists 130 members, European People's Party (Christian-Democrats) 110 members, European Democratic Group (mainly British Conservatives) 50 members, Communists 41 members, Liberals 31 members, European Progressive Democrats (mainly French Gaullists) 29 members, Rainbow Group (various leanings) 20 members, European Right 16 members, and the remaining 7 members non-attached.

The new Parliament elects Pierre Pflimlin, a French member of the European People's Party, as its President.

25/26.6.1984 The European Council reaches agreement on the amount of compensation to be granted to the United Kingdom to reduce its contribution to the Community budget, which is considered excessive: for 1984 the United Kingdom is to receive a lump-sum compensation of 1 000 million ECU; in subsequent years it will receive two-thirds of the difference between what it pays in VAT and what it receives from the Community budget.

This agreement, hammered out after four years of discussions, unblocks the agreements on the future financing of the Community and especially on raising the ceiling on own
resources. So from 1986 onwards the maximum rate of VAT own resources paid to the Community by the Member States will be 1.4% instead of the present 1%. The Commission feels the new ceiling is inadequate, especially in view of the cost of the imminent accession of Spain and Portugal.

8.12.1984

The third Lomé Convention (Lomé III) is signed by the 10 Member States of the Community and their 65 partners in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP countries) after negotiations lasting a year. This event highlights the special relationship enjoyed by the Community and its developing ACP partners for over a quarter of a century, which has proved strong enough to survive in periods of crisis.

Lomé III clearly sets out the objectives and principles of ACP-EEC cooperation and contains many improvements and innovations compared with the first two Conventions.

For the first time explicit mention is made of human rights and respect for human dignity.

Financial aid has been raised by 60% and will amount to 8 500 million ECU for the five years of this third Convention.

1.1.1985

The first European passports are issued in most of the Member States.

President Mitterrand has already produced a model of the passport at the Fontainebleau European Council in June 1984.

The burgundy red cover bears the title ‘European Community’, the name and national emblem of the issuing Member State, and the word ‘passport’.

It has taken over 10 years to introduce this token of European identity.
The Treaty of Accession of Portugal and Spain is signed in Lisbon and Madrid by the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the Member States and the applicant countries. From 1 January 1986 Portugal and Spain will be the 11th and 12th members of the European Community.

The accession negotiations have taken more than six years.

The Commission sends the Council of Ministers its White Paper on the completion of the internal market. The paper reviews the present state of the common market within the European Community. It highlights its shortcomings and defects and sets out what needs to be done over the next seven years so the European Community should have a great internal common market by 1992. This means abolishing physical, technical and fiscal obstacles within the Community to create a large area in which people, goods, services and capital can move around as freely and in the same way as within each Member State.

The programme is warmly welcomed by all the institutions and the general public. It features a more flexible approach to harmonization and deliberately rejects the many compromise solutions of the past, which have hardly touched many controls and barriers to trade and cooperation between the Member States. This broad action programme, intended to be one of the priorities of the next few years, also sets out a timetable for its completion.

At the same time the Community tackles the serious problems besetting the common agricultural policy. Growing agricultural surpluses, the constant difficulty of reaching agreement on agricultural prices and the heavy burden imposed on the Community's finances finally prompt a
thorough examination of the painful measures needed to rectify the situation and especially to guarantee the future of the common agricultural policy.

23.7.1985 The Council of Ministers adopts the system of integrated Mediterranean programmes (IMPs). These are large-scale measures designed to assist the Community's southern regions — their number already increased following the accession of Greece and due to be further extended with the accession of Portugal and Spain — through Community economic collaboration and financial aid.

The scheme calls on the Member States and the regions concerned to draw up their own multiannual economic and social development programmes adapted to their specific needs. These programmes, which will receive substantial Community aid, may involve productive investments, infrastructure work and training for the local people.
A Community of Twelve 1986
1.1.1986

Portugal and Spain become members of the European Community; the Ten become the Twelve.

The accession of Portugal and Spain is an important stage in the southward enlargement of the Community — a process which began when Greece joined in 1981.

The two new Member States will enjoy special temporary arrangements in some 20 areas during a six-year transitional period.

The Community of Twelve has a population of 321 million, over 80 million larger than the United States and about 50 million larger than the Soviet Union. It accounts for 22% of world trade, as compared with 16% in the case of the Community of Ten.

1986

Crisis in the common agricultural policy and, in its wake, a budget crisis threatens to rock the Community. Reflection continues on the Commission's Green Paper suggesting ways of solving the extremely serious problems of overproduction of some agricultural products. The Council follows the Commission's proposals on agricultural prices for 1986/87; there are no increases and even some reductions in the prices for most of the products in surplus. The Council also reaches agreement on measures to reduce cereal production (co-responsibility levy) and milk products (buying back of production quotas).

These are encouraging omens for the restoration of the Community's finances to a state of health.

Faced with the problem of the low rate of increase in the Community's own financial resources in the medium term, the Commission embarks on a thorough review and outlines the financial prospects for the next four years.

Its programme includes measures to keep agricultural expenditure within the limits laid down, a substantial increase in the appropriations earmarked for research, prudent increases in expenditure on the structural funds and budgetary encouragement for new policies and actions.

To provide the Community with a longer period of budgetary stability, the Commission proposes a new scheme for determining the Member States' shares in financing the bud-
get to take greater account of their relative prosperity. It no longer believes that the present system of financing the Community, based mainly on customs duties on imports into the Community and a small fraction of VAT, is the best way to cope with the problems which the future will bring.

The 'Single European Act' is signed in Luxembourg on 17 February by representatives of the governments of Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. The representatives of the governments of Denmark, Greece and Italy sign in The Hague on 28 February.

This is a new institutional instrument which amends the Treaties and is designed to improve the future working of the Community and extend its scope.

The Act was the brainchild of Parliament, and in particular of Altiero Spinelli. Several years were required for it to mature and to persuade all those involved in the Community institutions that action was needed to counter the paralysing slowness of the Community's decision-making machinery.

Parliament's work had culminated in 1984 in a draft Treaty on European Union and this served to focus attention on the range of issues involved.

During 1985 the Heads of State or Government and a specially convened intergovernmental conference considered a series of reforms to the EEC Treaty. A compromise was finally hammered out on the night of 3 December 1985 by the Heads of State or Government meeting in the European Council.

Although limited in scope, this compromise is seen by the Commission as opening the way to further progress. It extends qualified majority voting in four fields: the creation of a real internal market by 1992, technological research and development, economic and social cohesion and the improvement of working conditions. It also extends the Treaty to cover monetary and environment policy and enhances Parliament's role in the Community decision-making process.
Foreign policy cooperation, an area hitherto reserved strictly for the Member States comes under the Treaty. Lastly, the Commission is given increased management powers.

This agreement was finalized in the form of the 'Single European Act' by the Foreign Ministers meeting in an intergovernmental conference on 16 and 17 December 1985. It is ratified by the Parliaments of the Member States in 1986 and 1987.

The Single Act is a compromise. It falls short of what some had hoped for. Although it does not satisfy everyone, it has been ratified by the Parliaments of the 12 Member States. Nevertheless, it is only a very partial answer to the fundamental question about how the citizens of the Community will cooperate and live together in the future and what their common goals are to be.
Main agreements between the European Community and the rest of the world
The list below sets out the main agreements between the Community and the rest of the world. It can be seen that the Community has agreements with most countries of the world.

**Multilateral agreements: some 60 agreements, including:**

Dillon Round (1960—1962)
Kennedy Round (1963—1967)
Tokyo Round (1973—1979)

International Grains Arrangement (1986)
Food Aid Convention (1986)
Wheat Trade Convention (1986)
International Dairy Products Arrangement (1979)
Arrangement on Bovine Meat (1979)
International Agreement on Jute and Jute Products (1983)
International Tropical Timber Agreement (1985)
International Olive Oil Agreement (1986)
Multifibre Arrangement (1986)

**Bilateral agreements: more than 250 agreements, including:**

**Northern Europe:** Free-trade agreements with Austria (1972), Finland (1973), Iceland (1972), Norway (1973), Sweden (1972) and Switzerland (1972).


North America: Cooperation agreement with Canada (1976). Sectoral agreements with the United States.


Agreements with groups of countries:
- Third EEC-ACP Convention (1986)

Specific agreements:
Agreements concluded by the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Atomic Energy Community, agreements on fisheries, the environment, consumer protection and research and development.
Index of main developments

This index lists the most significant dates in the Community's history by subject headings. The aim is to help the reader to find dates and events (for example, by looking up 'European Monetary System' the reader will find the dates and the content of the major decisions).

Agriculture (see common agricultural policy)

Atomic energy (see European Atomic Energy Community)


Coal and steel (see European Coal and Steel Community) — 9.5.1950; 18.4.1951.


Defence (see European Defence Community)


ECU (see also European Monetary System)

Elections (see European elections)


European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) — 9.5.1950; 18.4.1951.

European Defence Community — 27.5.1952; 30.8.1954.
European Economic Community (EEC) — 25.3.1957; 1.1.1958.
May mandate (Mandate of 30 May) — 24.6.1981.
Messina Conference — 1/2.6.1955.
Monetary (see European Monetary System)
Steel (crisis) — 30.10.1980.
Treaties: ECSC — 9.5.1950; 18.4.1951;
Union (see European Union)
Key dates

Signing of the Treaty of Paris (ECSC) 18.4.1951
Signing of the Treaties of Rome (EEC and EAEC) 25.3.1957
Signing of the Association Agreement with Greece 9.7.1961
Signing of the first Yaoundé Convention 20.7.1963
(Community and 17 African countries)
Signing of the Association Agreement with Turkey 12.9.1963
Establishment of the EAGGF 1.7.1964
Merger of the executives: a single Council and a single Commission 1.7.1967
Entry into force of the customs union 1.7.1968
Signing of the second Yaoundé Convention 31.7.1969
Signing of the Treaties of Accession: first enlargement 22.1.1972
Community of Nine 1.1.1973
First meeting of the European Council 10.12.1974
Signing of the first Lomé Convention 28.2.1975
(Community and 46 ACP countries)
Creation of the European Monetary System (EMS) 10.3.1979
First direct elections to the European Parliament 7/10.6.1979
Signing of the second Lomé Convention 31.10.1979
(Community and 58 ACP countries)
Accession of Greece: Community of Ten 1.1.1981
Replacement of the European unit of account (EUA) 1.1.1981
by the European currency unit (ECU)
Establishment of the common fisheries policy 25.1.1983
Second direct elections to the European Parliament 14/17.6.1984
Signing of the Treaty of Accession for Spain and Portugal 12.6.1985
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Comments are added on some of the events to make their significance clearer to the widest possible public.