Statement
delivered to the European Parliament
by
Mr. Emanuel M.J.A. SASSEN
on behalf of the Euratom Commission
concerning
the negotiations with the United Kingdom

Strasbourg

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentleman,

On 30 January 1963, the Euratom Commission issued the following statement concerning the negotiations with the United Kingdom:

"In compliance with its decision dated 16 January 1963, and in line with the statement made on its behalf by its President on 14 November 1962 to the delegations of the Six and the United Kingdom, the Euratom Commission exerted every effort to achieve a favourable outcome of the negotiations with the United Kingdom on the latter’s entry into the Community.

From the outset, it was clear that the United Kingdom could only join on the basis of membership of all three European Communities, which form a unit and are possessed of common institutions."
In consequence, the Euratom Commission regrets to observe that the situation created on 29 January 1963 also brings to a temporary halt the negotiations with the United Kingdom as far as the European Atomic Energy Community is concerned.

The Commission nevertheless hopes that in the meantime, the factors which have arisen in the course of the negotiations will hold out prospects of more intimate and at the same time more far-reaching cooperation within the framework of the valuable ties which have been developed between the United Kingdom and the Community since early 1959."

Before defining Euratom's attitude to recent events, I should like to give a brief description of the status of the negotiations as at 29 January this year.

As soon as the United Kingdom made its application for membership of the Communities, it was plain that, while its entry into the Common Market would raise economic problems such as those affecting the Commonwealth, British agriculture or the Free Trade Association, there were no comparable difficulties in the nuclear sphere and that the United Kingdom's joining would constitute a vast increase in the atomic potential of an integrated Europe.

This impression was strengthened by Mr. Heath's statement on 3 July 1962, which evidenced a willingness to make a positive contribution to the development of the enlarged Community's nuclear industry. The Lord Privy Seal said: "We are ready to accept the substantive provisions of the Euratom Treaty as they stand. The only amendments we think we shall have to suggest to the Treaty itself
will be those which are the necessary consequence of the accession of a new member to your Community”.

The Community’s standpoint was expressed by Secretary of State Van Houten — the official spokesman of the “Six” — and President Chatenet, in the name of the Euratom Commission, at the meeting of Ministers on 14 November 1962.

On the basis of these declarations, the subjects for negotiation were defined in very specific terms.

The three main subjects were:

— the United Kingdom’s contribution to the Community’s research programme,

— conflicts stemming from agreements previously concluded by the United Kingdom, and

— the implications deriving from the United Kingdom’s nuclear defence programme.

With regard to the United Kingdom’s contribution:

The United Kingdom Government had in fact agreed to discuss at once the question of its contribution to the Community’s research efforts. It was prepared to enter into contracts of association with the Community and to accommodate part of the Euratom Joint Research Centre on its territory. It put forward proposals covering the bulk of the most advanced research in progress in the United Kingdom under the atoms-for-peace programme.

On the financial plane, the United Kingdom would have contributed to the Second Five-Year Programme a sum comparable with that contributed by Germany or France, which would have represented an extra hundred million dollars over four years.
As to the bilateral agreements it has concluded to date, the British Government was willing to furnish a list of these agreements and their contents, as well as the substance of the agreements concluded by the Atomic Energy Authority, and the question of private agreements had just been brought up when the talks were broken off.

The negotiations had not yet touched on the problem of reconciling the application of the Euratom Treaty with the United Kingdom’s defence programme. This was a delicate matter which called for solutions complying with both the spirit and the letter of the Treaty.

The fact is that the Treaty of Rome was originally drafted in such a way as to be applicable equally to States which had a defence programme and those which had not. The Commission considered and still considers (and its President, Mr. Chatenet, said so at the Ministerial Conference held on 14 November) that the Treaty has established a system which, while broadly covering all the nuclear activities of the Member States, contained special provisions in the field of military applications providing effective safeguards for the defence interests of the Member States. Thus intelligent application of the Treaty made and still makes it possible to solve the problems in this field by avoiding discriminations between the Members of the Community.

It should be pointed out that the technical discussions had enabled the Community to assess more accurately the extent of the contribution that the United Kingdom was prepared to make and conversely had enabled the United Kingdom to obtain a complete idea of the magnitude of the programmes now being carried out in the Community.
This work will not have been in vain, and the Euratom Commission intends to make use of it in order to intensify to the highest possible degree the cooperation which has already been set on foot by the agreement between the Community and the United Kingdom signed as far back as 4 February 1959. This hope is mirrored in the statement which I read to you at the beginning of my address and we have good reason to believe that our intentions in this respect may be reciprocated by our British friends.

To this brief account the Commission feels bound to add the following. It is common knowledge that the situation that arose on 29 January 1963 as a result of which the negotiations with Great Britain were suspended created a number of serious and important problems which could affect, either directly or indirectly, the existence of the Communities themselves.

The Treaty gave members of the Commission an explicit mandate to exercise their functions in the general interest of the Community, in complete independence, without requesting or accepting instructions from any government or body. Moreover, the Treaty made the Commissions politically responsible to this Parliament inasmuch as it can pass a motion of censure to remove the members of an executive Commission or the High Authority from office.

This definition of their functions vests in the Commissions and their members an essentially political role and duties.

In his first address to this Assembly, the President, Mr. Chateauneuf, clearly and properly defined the responsibilities of our Community in terms of
— the aims of Euratom as set out by the Treaty,
— secondly, the wider design of an economic and energy policy being evolved for the Community of the Six,
— and finally, with the more general objective of the "building of Europe".

Since it is the building of Europe that my Commission has at heart, we consider it our duty to contribute to your discussions by submitting the following considerations.

As it is our duty to exercise our functions in complete independence and in the general interest of the Community, at the present moment we should lay special emphasis on the features and essential structures of the European Communities.

They are primarily European Communities, and "European" is not synonymous with "continental". The first President of the High Authority recently stated that extension of the Community is only limited by the will of those who do not wish to join it. This was true at the time. Since then several European states, particularly Great Britain, have applied for membership of the Communities. Only recently, on 31 January 1963, the Ambassador and Head of the United Kingdom Delegation to the European Communities, stressed the fact that Britain was an integral part of Europe, his actual words being: "We are a part of Europe; by geography, history, culture, tradition and civilization. We shall continue to work with all our friends for the future strength and unity of the continent."

Our adherence to the Treaty also obliges us to continue in the defence and promotion of the open character of the European Communities. They are
open and must remain open to other European countries who wish to join us. Moreover, the importance and responsibility of the Communities are such as to prevent them from adopting an inward-looking, protectionist policy towards the free world as a whole.

Nor is there any need for me to remind you of the importance of the ties between Europe and Africa.

In this chamber both you and we ourselves have on more than one occasion welcomed the intentions and practical measures taken by the United States with a view to establishing a partnership with the European Community on an equal footing.

The whirlwind speed pace of technological progress, and the result: rapid growth of interdependence, the ties uniting the free world — ties of civilization, freedom, democracy, as well as interests — are additional reasons why it is necessary and vital to create this partnership, on a footing, it goes without saying, of equality.

An essential prerequisite for the achievement of this work, which is so important for the peace and prosperity of the world (it is also an essential condition for the establishment of this basis of equality of partners) is that the Community characteristic and structure of our Communities should be maintained and strengthened with firmness and determination.

This Community structure (an original one which has proved its worth) has the following essential features:

- The creation, by the merging of national interests, of a common interest for which the common institutions would be responsible, fulfilling their
aims and performing their tasks in the common interest. I am not the author of this formula; it was propounded by Mr. Robert Schumann, your Honorary President, with that lucidity and precision which is characteristic of the French mind and genius.

— A second essential feature is the strict status of equality of all members of these Communities with regard to the Treaty. The following important conclusions must be drawn up from this principle of equality, viz:

1. Any form of supremacy or hegemony is incompatible with the concept and very existence of such a Community.

2. The Treaties establishing these Communities should be applied by all members and by all the institutions without discrimination and in an absolutely equal and identical manner. The Community institutions, each working within its own terms of reference, should do everything possible to ensure and guarantee this non-discriminatory equality of application.

In order to maintain and strengthen this European structure we need a Six possessed of a joint political will of their own, defined, guided and inspired by the spirit and letter of the Paris and Rome Treaties of which I have taken the liberty of drawing to your attention some of the fundamental elements.

Both the Member States and all the Community institutions should be animated by this common political will.

There are good reasons for believing that the great issues underlying recent differences are outside the proper sphere of action of our Communities and relate to fundamental matters of politics and strategy.
The existence of this basic difference of opinion on the fundamental line which should be adopted in the field of policy and strategy would make it extremely difficult to plan concerted action in the economic, social, financial, technical and scientific spheres.

The existence of such a situation could endanger the firmness and effectiveness of this common political will.

Consequently recent events have given rise to serious and important problems which, either directly or indirectly, could affect the existence of the Communities themselves.

For these reasons and because our Communities are so precious and indispensable to us, because they are of fundamental importance not only to ourselves but also to the free world as a whole and the cause of peace, it is our duty, it is the duty of all of us, and especially of all Community institutions and all Member Countries, to do everything in their power to ensure the reaffirmation of this common political will, so that we can go forward with the work of building up the European Community.

This, Mr. President, is the declaration I have the honour to make on behalf of the Euratom Commission.