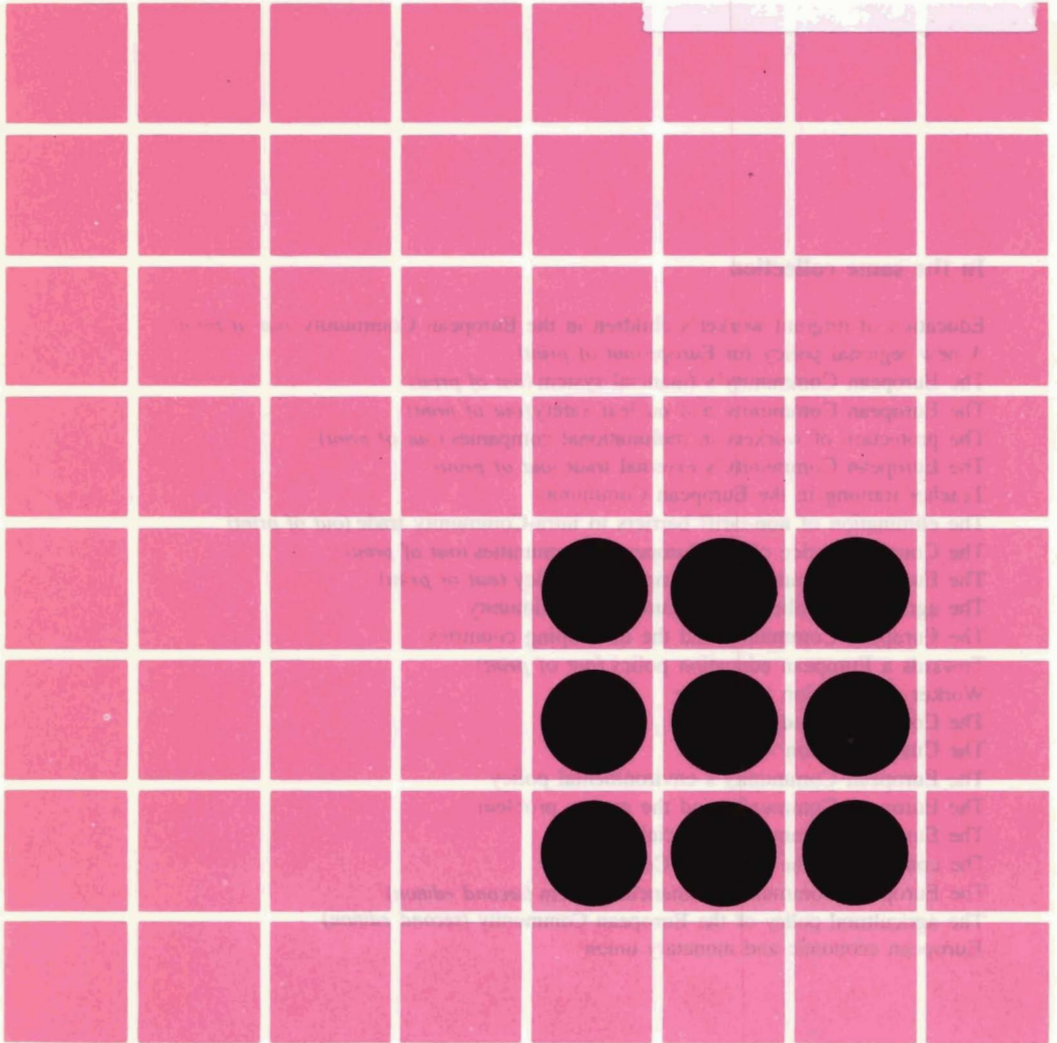


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# 25 Years of European Community External Relations

by Edmund Wellenstein

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## **Edmund Wellenstein**

For the past quarter of a century the author of this booklet has played an active part in the process of European unification. After entering the service of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in Luxembourg in 1952, at the age of 33, Edmund Wellenstein in turn occupied the posts of secretary of that Authority's most important working party, Secretary of the High Authority itself and, in 1960, Secretary-General of this very first European executive institution.

After the merger of the High Authority with the Commission of the European Economic Community and the Euratom Commission, he was appointed Director-General for External Trade at the European Commission in Brussels and in 1973, Director-General for External Relations.

From 1970 to 1972, he headed the Commission delegation for the negotiations on the enlargement of the Community (accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark) and for the conclusion of commercial agreements with Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Portugal and, lastly, Norway.

In 1976/77, after leaving his post as Director-General, Mr Wellenstein became co-Chairman of the Commission on Development of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (commonly known as the 'North-South Dialogue') which met for eighteen months in Paris.

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## Introduction

The following pages seek to give a broad overview of the European Communities' external relations, showing how the appearance of those new entities called 'Communities' on the international stage has given rise to a dynamic process which has yet to reach its final conclusion.

The movement began with the setting up in 1952 of the first of the three Communities — the one with the task of creating a common market for coal and steel — which soon found itself having to feel its way in the complex field of international relations. This process gathered momentum with the founding, in 1958, of the European Economic Community and of Euratom, and now extends to all areas of the world, including China and the 'Comecon' orbit.

It is assumed that the reader has a general grasp of EEC affairs and of how the Community works. For those who do not, an excellent introduction exists in the form of the brochure entitled 'How the Community Institutions Function', written by the European Commission's Secretary-General, Emile Noël.

In a short exposé such as this it is clearly impossible to provide an exhaustive review of the European Treaty articles dealing with the conduct of external affairs and, accordingly, only the most important of these are mentioned. Likewise, the number of footnotes has been kept to a minimum. The author trusts that any reader whose appetite for further information on this issue is whetted by this essay will refer to the attached bibliography for guidance in further reading.

In order not to burden the text with too many figures, tables and graphs have been included in the appropriate places. The two central pages of this brochure provide a map of the world which illustrates the nature and extent of the Community's relations worldwide. To complete this introduction, a table showing the position the Community itself occupies in the world (share of world population, trade, etc.) is provided.

## The earliest period, 1952 to 1958: The European Coal and Steel Community as pioneer

1. The powers attributed to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and in particular to its High Authority, in the field of foreign relations are, of course, limited to the economic sectors covered by the Treaty of Paris. But they are also limited in nature.

Articles 71 to 75 did not provide for a common commercial policy for coal and steel; they merely enabled the institutions to have recourse to specific measures, mostly to correct undesirable market situations. Concrete use of these special powers was only to be made after several years.

But from the outset, the founders of the ECSC paid great attention to its relations with the outside world, especially with the Western world, and in particular with the United Kingdom and the other non-Community OEEC members. Jean Monnet (the first president of the High Authority), for one, had never considered the refusal of the UK to join the European Coal and Steel Community as a final 'no' to the concept of European integration. He set out therefore to establish a close working relationship with the UK Government, rejecting however any watering down of the distinction between ECSC membership and the situation of non-members (soon to be called 'third countries'). Within the very first months of the European Coal and Steel Community beginning operations (the High Authority took up its duties in August 1952), some rather fundamental decisions had to be taken in this respect.

But even before these questions arose, another important matter was settled by events themselves, namely the right for the High Authority to receive foreign envoys. Only days after the High Authority started work, a UK — and then a US — diplomatic mission was accredited to the European Coal and Steel Community; Austrian, Swiss, Swedish, Danish and other representatives soon followed.

By the autumn of 1952, the ECSC was confronted with a double problem: the UK Government had tabled the so-called 'Eden-plan', according to which the Council of Ministers and the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community would function as a kind of integrated 'inner circle' of the Committee of Ministers and of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. A position had to be taken on this plan and it had to be decided which institution was entitled to discuss these matters with the UK Government and with the Council of Europe.

Since the Treaty (Article 6<sup>1</sup> for instance) did not contain provisions directly relevant to the problem, advice was sought from three eminent international lawyers — Professors Reuter, Ophüls and Rossi. They concluded that in the ECSC's institutional set-up it was up to the High Authority to conduct such negotiations with foreign authorities. It was found, moreover, that the proposed intertwining of the European Coal and Steel Community Council with the Council of Europe's Ministerial Committee, two bodies completely different in kind, would impair the proper functioning of the former. As to the Common Assembly, an arrangement was made with the Council of Europe according to which a yearly joint session would be held of the two Assemblies, each maintaining full statutory autonomy,<sup>2</sup> but both debating together — after due preparation at committee level with

<sup>1</sup> Article 6: 'The Community shall have legal personality.

In international relations, the Community shall enjoy the legal capacity it requires to perform its functions and attain its objectives.

In each of the Member States, the Community shall enjoy the most extensive legal capacity accorded to legal persons constituted in that State; it may, in particular, acquire or dispose of movable and immovable property and may be a party to legal proceedings.

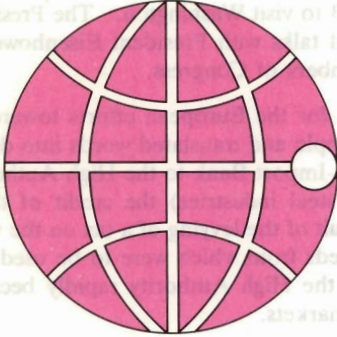
The Community shall be represented by its institutions, each within the limits of its powers.'

<sup>2</sup> Accordingly the Common Assembly had to have its own independent staff, answerable only to that Assembly itself, even if it used the same material facilities in Strasbourg as the parliamentarians of the Council of Europe.



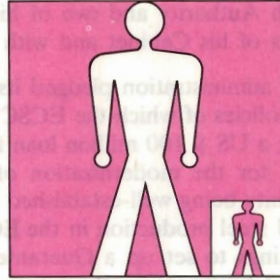
## THE COMMUNITY AND THE WORLD

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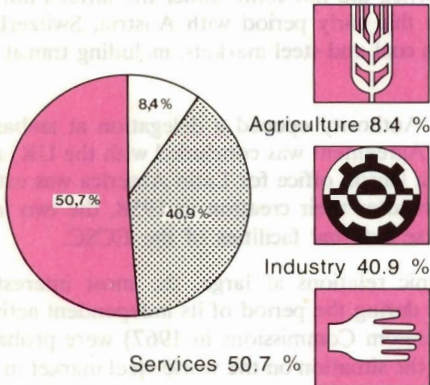
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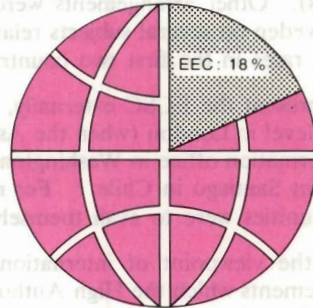


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DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR FORCE



SHARE OF WORLD TRADE \*



\* Intra-Community trade excluded

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF PRIMARY ENERGY (in toe)



WORLD : 1.6



USA : 8.1



EEC : 3.5

Source : EUROSTAT.

the help of High Authority representatives — matters pertaining to the operation of the European Coal and Steel Community. This system, which has since been extended to the two newer Communities, is still functioning today.

2. Another early event which contributed much to establishing the international position of the European Coal and Steel Community was the invitation extended by the US Government to the High Authority in the summer of 1953 to visit Washington. The President of the High Authority and two of his colleagues had talks with President Eisenhower, with members of his Cabinet and with influential members of Congress.

The US administration pledged its strong support for the European efforts towards integrated policies of which the ECSC was a first example and translated words into deeds by agreeing a US \$ 100 million loan from the Export-Import Bank to the High Authority (to be used for the modernization of the coal and steel industries) the credit of the new Community being well-established already as a result of the levying of a tax on the value of coal and steel production in the ECSC, the proceeds from which were to be used among other things to set up a Guarantee Fund. Thus, the High Authority rapidly became an important borrower on the international capital markets.

Subsequently, a number of agreements were concluded on this side of the Atlantic, including the 'Agreement of Association' with the United Kingdom of 1954 (in essence a consultative agreement which brought in the Member States alongside the High Authority because some of the trade policy issues concerned did not come under the latter's normal powers). Other arrangements were made in this early period with Austria, Switzerland and Sweden on several subjects relating to the coal and steel markets, including transit rail freight rates in the first two countries.

To represent the ECSC externally, the High Authority opened a delegation at ambassadorial level in London (when the Association Agreement was concluded with the UK) and an information office in Washington. Later, a liaison office for Latin America was established at Santiago in Chile.<sup>1</sup> For many years after their creation in 1958, the two later Communities were to avail themselves of these external facilities of the ECSC.

From the viewpoint of international economic relations at large, the most interesting arrangements which the High Authority made during the period of its independent activity (i.e. before the merger with the EEC and Euratom Commissions in 1967) were probably the very useful consultations with Japan about the situation on the world steel market in the early sixties. At that time the steel market was already going through a period of weakness and destabilization which risked provoking dangerous protectionist reactions, especially in the United States. The 'trilateral' discussions going on at present, fifteen years later, between the Community, the US and Japan on similar problems (albeit, alas, over much wider fields than steel alone) are in fact a more sophisticated continuation of the same policy.

It was in the late fifties and in the early sixties that the specific powers of the High Authority in the field of commercial policy were first used in practice, and they appear to be useful again now, in order to cope with a disorderly market situation.

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<sup>1</sup> Since then, the main representation of the Communities in Latin America has been transferred to Caracas.

Thus, several policies initiated by the ECSC in the early years of Community history continue, *mutatis mutandis*, into the present day.

## **The period of the three Communities functioning in parallel: 1958 to 1967**

### *The contribution of Euratom to the external policies of the Community*

3. One must certainly not underestimate the contribution made to the conduct of the Communities' external relations, nor the prospects for the future, of the second of the Treaties of Rome of 1957, the one establishing the European Atomic Energy Community ('Euratom'). This potential is of course limited to the sector in which Euratom operates, but within these limits the scope of the powers of this Community is much wider than those transferred to the High Authority by the ECSC Treaty. One may even say that the Euratom Treaty contains the most systematic set of provisions in the field of foreign relations of all three treaties setting up the European Communities, including the EEC Treaty.

In a separate Chapter (X) on 'External Relations', Article 101, Paragraph 1, establishes that 'the Community may, within the limits of its powers and jurisdiction, enter into obligations by concluding agreements or contracts with a third State, an international organization or a national of a third State'.

It is the Commission which negotiates *and* concludes such agreements, following directives given by the Council (whereas under the EEC Treaty it is the Council which concludes); some agreements can even be implemented without the Council, within the framework of the current budget. Further provisions are about mixed agreements, to which the Community as well as Member States are parties, and about the limitations on the treaty-making powers of the Member States. Finally, there are detailed provisions about the handling of agreements concluded by Member States prior to the conclusion of the Euratom Treaty itself.

In the very first years of Euratom, a number of important agreements were concluded, in particular as regards the supply of natural and enriched uranium, notably with the United States (1959), and with Canada.<sup>1</sup> Security control plays an important part in the implementation of these agreements and Euratom has its own elaborate nuclear safeguards system. It was the preservation of this system at the Community level which necessitated lengthy but finally successful negotiations during the later sixties and early seventies with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna: the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons required inspection arrangements which resulted, in 1973, in the so-called 'Verification Agreement' between Euratom, a number of its Member States and the IAEA.<sup>2</sup>

4. Apart from Chapter X, Chapter VI ('Supply'), of the Euratom Treaty contains provisions of considerable importance for the conduct of foreign relations in the field of nuclear

<sup>1</sup> Euratom also concluded some technical agreements, i.e. with Brazil and Argentina.

<sup>2</sup> A 'mixed' agreement based on Article 102: the seven Member States not possessing nuclear weapons are party to it.

energy. This chapter establishes an Agency which, among other things, has the exclusive right to conclude contracts for the supply of ores, raw materials and special fissile materials from countries in and outside the Community.

This Agency functions under the supervision of the Commission which appoints its Director-General as well as his deputy, issues directives and has right of veto over its decisions (Articles 52 and 53). Notwithstanding important internal difficulties about the scope and exact meaning of the provisions of Article 76 concerning the functioning of this supply system after the first seven years, the Agency has consistently fulfilled its important functions throughout the two decades of its existence.

The circle of supplier countries having been extended in recent years to include in particular the USSR (the obstacles encountered by the EEC in its efforts to develop normal relations with Eastern Europe will be dealt with later), it will be clear that considerable skill and firmness have been necessary to defend the system of the Euratom Treaty against attempts to ignore the central role of the Community in supply matters.

The provisions of the Euratom Treaty as well as the main agreements concluded in the late fifties on that basis still have their full importance for the external policy of the Community. The difficulties which have had to be surmounted in recent years, not least in order to ensure regular supplies from North America, seem fully to confirm that the Treaty established supply policy as a *common* policy, handled by the Community institutions. The advantage of such a system for the effectiveness of verification procedures and safeguards needs no further comment.

### *The rapid emergence of the EEC as a major negotiating partner in the world*

5. Both the ECSC and EEC Treaties have the establishment of a 'common market' as a kind of centre-piece. But whereas under the ECSC Treaty this common market is only surrounded by 'harmonized' tariffs,<sup>1</sup> the EEC, as a customs union, has a fully-fledged *common* external tariff (Article 19, Article 110, Article 111). The EEC also has a *common commercial policy* (Article 110, Article 113), as well as provisions about negotiations with third countries on the common tariff and on the common commercial policy. Since the end of the transitional period, decisions on these matters have been taken by the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, by qualified majority; in the beginning, they had to be unanimous.

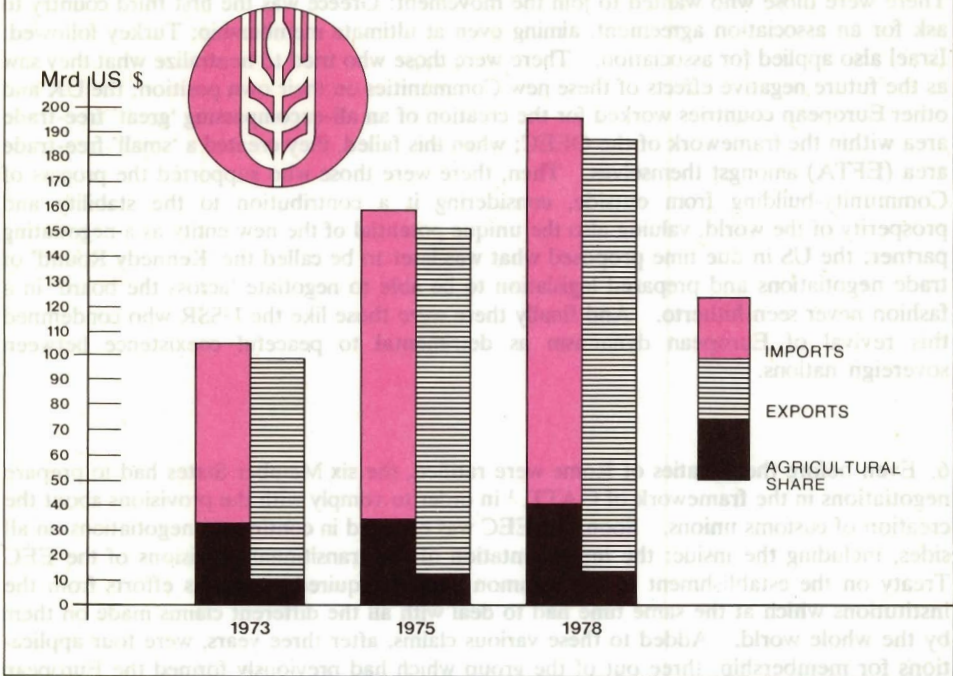
Nowadays, the provisions of the EEC concerning trade negotiations are *de facto* also used for coal and steel products (although the formal conclusion of agreements with third countries for these products remains a privilege of the Member States). Products coming under the Euratom Treaty had never been excluded from the common commercial policy.

Another important feature of the EEC Treaty is Article 116 which obliges the Member States to act in common (after the transitional period) when matters of particular interest for the common market arise in international economic organizations. There is also a general article about the procedures for the negotiation and conclusion of agreements with

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<sup>1</sup> The customs duties of Member States may not differ by more than the incidence of transport costs between their territories.

## AGRICULTURAL TRADE BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE REST OF THE WORLD



Source : EUROSTAT.

third States or with international organizations, the Commission being the negotiator and the Council the 'concluder'; this Article (228) also opens the possibility of seeking a preliminary opinion from the Court. Finally, there is Article 237 on enlargement of the Community and 238 about 'associations' (characterized by mutual rights and duties, common actions and special procedures).

But *the* characteristic which gives the EEC Treaty its pre-eminence is of course its wide scope, not only product-wise but also policy-wise: indeed, under the EEC Treaty new policies can be created *by the institutions* themselves.

Even before the merger of the previously separate Councils and Commissions (or High Authority) of the three Communities in 1967, the EEC was viewed in the world as a *general* integrative undertaking, denoting a political resolve to go further on the road on which the ECSC had been an interesting signpost without, however, specifying the final destination. Euratom alone would not have added enough 'mass' to convey the same

political message; but the creation of the EEC, with Euratom as a kind of 'science fiction' arm, had a considerable political impact on the outside world, long before any economic impact could make itself felt.

There were those who wanted to join the movement: Greece was the first third country to ask for an association agreement, aiming even at ultimate membership; Turkey followed; Israel also applied for association. There were those who tried to neutralize what they saw as the future negative effects of these new Communities on their own position: the UK and other European countries worked for the creation of an all-encompassing 'great' free-trade area within the framework of the OEEC; when this failed, they created a 'small' free-trade area (EFTA) amongst themselves. Then, there were those who supported the process of Community-building from outside, considering it a contribution to the stability and prosperity of the world, valuing also the unique potential of the new entity as a negotiating partner: the US in due time proposed what was later to be called the 'Kennedy Round' of trade negotiations and prepared legislation to be able to negotiate 'across the board' in a fashion never seen hitherto. And finally there were those like the USSR who condemned this revival of European dynamism as detrimental to peaceful coexistence between sovereign nations.

6. Even before the Treaties of Rome were ratified, the six Member States had to prepare negotiations in the framework of GATT,<sup>1</sup> in order to comply with the provisions about the creation of customs unions. Soon, the EEC was engaged in continuous negotiations on all sides, including the inside: the implementation of the transitional provisions of the EEC Treaty on the establishment of the common market required enormous efforts from the institutions which at the same time had to deal with all the different claims made on them by the whole world. Added to these various claims, after three years, were four applications for membership: three out of the group which had previously formed the European Free Trade Association, plus Ireland.

This is not the place to retrace the history of these applications, which only led to final conclusions in the early seventies. But it is necessary to visualize the density of external involvement of the new Community-in-the-making during that first period in order to grasp the importance this new entity immediately acquired in the international context.

It is interesting to recall that all this intense international activity during the first years of the EEC centred mainly around one single aspect of Community policy, which, moreover, hardly had a tangible existence yet: namely the common external tariff, which was only gradually to become applicable over the twelve years of the transitional period.

But Article 111 of the Treaty gave the Community the express task of negotiating on the basis of these 'virtual' common customs duties from the very outset (whereas the other aspects of the 'common commercial policy' (Article 113) were only to come under full Community competence in 1970). Now, concessions on the future customs duties of the common market were interesting enough to elicit important offers from the most powerful trading nation in the world, the United States.

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<sup>1</sup> General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (based in Geneva).

Thus, the emergence of the Community as a party in its own right, replacing the Member States in international trade talks, facilitated dismantling of trade barriers which otherwise, because of lack of equilibrium between the mutual concessions, would not have been possible.

This was the rationale of the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations (1963 to 1967); the most important reductions of the common tariff of the Community were thus made before this tariff had even been applied.

### **The 'merger' of the institutions of the three Communities, the end of the transitional period of the EEC and the transitional period after enlargement: 1967 to 1977**

7. The conclusion of the 'Kennedy Round' coincided with the merger of the ECSC High Authority and the EEC and Euratom Commissions and with the unification of the three Councils of Ministers of the three Communities (1967). The unified institutions were immediately confronted with a number of important external challenges.

Its successful participation in the greatest multilateral trade negotiations ever gave the EEC henceforth a very strong position in the international forums dealing with such matters, in particular in GATT. But it also gave the Community a great responsibility: UNCTAD, which had taken up work in 1964, subsequently concentrated on the creation of a generalized system of tariff preferences for manufactured products from developing countries, and quite naturally turned in particular to the Community as the biggest market in the industrialized world for the LDC's.

The Community lived up to the challenge: it became the first major trading entity in the Western world to implement the guidelines adopted in 1968 at UNCTAD II in New Delhi concerning the introduction of generalized preferences for manufactures exported by developing countries. Thus, the single subject of customs duties was already sufficient to place the EEC at the centre of a number of important policy decisions at world level.

In the meantime, however, the Community had been working out other policies, notably the common agricultural policy which proved to have an important impact of its own on the commercial position of the EEC in the world. Through the agricultural negotiations in the Kennedy Round, the Community also became involved in food aid for developing countries and thus in an important aspect of world development policy. The conclusion of a world cotton textiles agreement also became an — albeit less positive — subject of Community involvement. Soon thereafter, with the end of the transitional period (1970), the merged institutions of the three Communities were to become responsible for the EEC's 'common commercial policy' (Article 113) in its totality.

8. But long before the end of the transitional period, and even before the merger of the executive institutions, the Community had become involved in an impressive series of individual and collective negotiations, often at the initiative of would-be partners.

Fundamental 'Association Treaties', aiming at future membership, were concluded with Greece in 1961 and with Turkey in 1963. Negotiations with the UK and other Western

European countries in the early sixties, about membership and/or special relations with the Community, did not lead to agreements at that time. Negotiations with Austria continued nevertheless in this period, whilst talks with Israel and Spain were taken up. The latter led to agreements before the end of the decade, which would thereafter be reviewed again in the wider context of the relations with all the countries around the Mediterranean, against the background of the enlargement of the Communities which became a fact in 1973.

When the UK and Denmark left the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and together with Ireland joined the Communities in that year, the enlarged Communities entered into simultaneous industrial free-trade agreements with the remaining members of EFTA, namely Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Iceland and Portugal. Norway and Finland followed somewhat later.

With some of these countries, negotiations had been going on for a decade, but could only succeed in the general framework of enlargement cum EFTA arrangements.

Another set of complicated negotiations arose from the historical ties between various Community members and their overseas territories or departments. Soon after the establishment of the EEC, the decolonization process called for a transformation of the links which Part IV of the Treaty had created previously between these countries and the 'Common Market', consisting essentially of two-way free access for each other's products and a special Community aid programme ('European Development Fund') in favour of those territories.

Under the Treaty, the mechanics of the system had to be reviewed in any case after four years, but this review now had to consist, for the greater part of the group, in a negotiation with new sovereign States.

This led to the conclusion of the Convention of Yaoundé with 18 African States and Madagascar.

Even before the UK joined the Community, a more or less similar arrangement was concluded with the three East African States, under the Convention of Arusha, and later with Mauritius.

After Community enlargement, the whole system was renegotiated (1973-1974) with a much larger group of countries, now including other former UK dependencies in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific (ACP), as well as other African countries, bringing the total to 46.<sup>1</sup> Many of the ACP's are among the smallest and often the poorest of the developing countries and find themselves handicapped because of their economic structure (monocultures) or their geographical situation (island or land-locked states). They are heavily dependent on the markets of the Community Member States as an outlet for their products, and on outside aid.

The Lomé Convention, which was concluded between the enlarged Community and this group of countries in 1975 and is already up for renewal, far from copying the previous Yaoundé and Arusha models, introduced new ideas like the stabilization of export earnings and the organization of commercial and industrial cooperation.

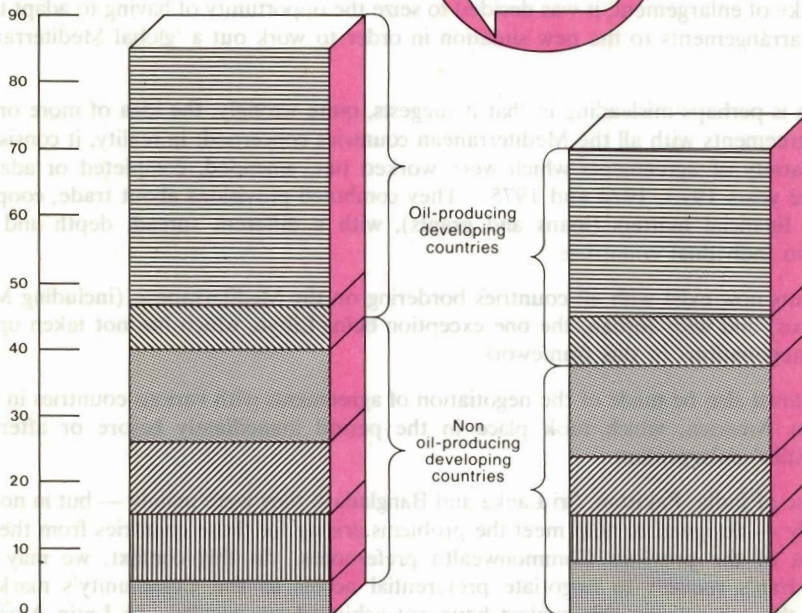
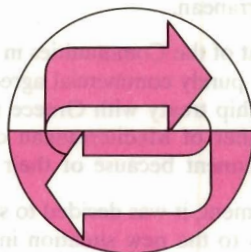
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<sup>1</sup> Their number has in the meantime grown to 55, new territories having become independent.



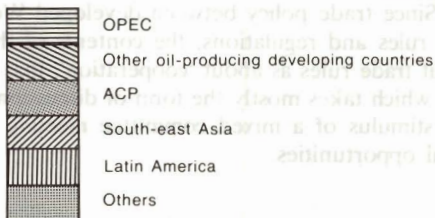
## TRADE BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (1977)

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IMPORTS

EXPORTS



Source : EUROSTAT.

Its trade provisions give ACP exports free access to the Community market but do not require the ACPs to reciprocate (taking some liberty with the formal rules of GATT, but in fact not more than the already consecrated generalized system of preferences had done before).

9. Yet another set of negotiations deserves special mention: those with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

Before the enlargement of the Communities in 1973, agreements of different kinds (varying from non-preferential, purely commercial agreements with the Lebanon and Yugoslavia to the potential membership treaty with Greece mentioned above) had already been concluded with quite a number of Mediterranean countries, several of which, moreover, were entitled to special treatment because of their former links with certain Member States.

In the wake of enlargement, it was decided to seize the opportunity of having to adapt these previous arrangements to the new situation in order to work out a 'global Mediterranean policy'.

This term is perhaps misleading in that it suggests, quite wrongly, the idea of more or less similar agreements with all the Mediterranean countries concerned; in reality, it consists of a wide variety of agreements which were worked out, amended, completed or adapted during the years 1973, 1974 and 1975. They combined provisions about trade, cooperation and financial matters (loans and grants), with a different spread, depth and mix adapted to individual countries.

Agreements now exist with all countries bordering on the Mediterranean (including Malta and Cyprus) and with Jordan, the one exception being Libya, which has not taken up the offer of negotiations in this framework.

Mention must also be made of the negotiation of agreements with various countries in Asia and Latin America, which took place in the period immediately before or after the Communities' enlargement.

In the case of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh they were mainly — but in no way exclusively — designed to help meet the problems arising for those countries from the loss of certain of the previous Commonwealth preferences. In this context, we may also mention Iran's request to negotiate preferential access to the Community's markets<sup>1</sup> although the contacts on this subject have not achieved any results. In Latin America, agreements have been concluded with Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Mexico.

There is also the recent agreement with Canada — the only case so far of a bilateral contractual relationship between the Community and an industrialized nation outside Europe. Since trade policy between developed Western countries is completely covered by GATT rules and regulations, the contents of the agreement with Canada are not so much about trade rules as about 'cooperation', that modern instrument of external economic policy which takes mostly the form of discussions between interested parties under the aegis and stimulus of a mixed committee meeting periodically, in order to identify new commercial opportunities.

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<sup>1</sup> A non preferential trade agreement of limited scope had expired in 1974.

With some groups of developing countries the Community has established a permanent framework for cooperation rather than a formal agreement. This is the case with the Andean group of countries in Latin America, and with the five countries comprising ASEAN (the Association of South East Asian Nations).

Several members of the latter group are entitled to special consideration for their trade problems following the elimination of Commonwealth preferences, by virtue of a declaration of intent in the Treaty of Accession of the UK, Ireland and Denmark; but they have preferred to deal with their problems as a group, for the whole region, which has found a very positive echo in the Community.

Attention is also being given to other integrative efforts, like the Central American Common Market, the ALALC (the Latin American Free Trade Association) and SELA (the Latin American Economic System).

10. This long list of negotiations and other external activities would not be complete without mention of the very considerable renewed activity which has taken place in GATT since 1973.

Just as the creation of the EEC gave rise to the multilateral trade negotiations of the 'Kennedy Round', so the enlargement of the Communities in 1973 sparked off another round of world trade negotiations (preceded by the so-called 'XXIV.6 negotiations' about compensation for third countries as a result of the creation of a customs union between the Community of Six and the three new Member States).

This 'Tokyo Round' has taken place in a particularly difficult economic climate because of the current recession. As with the Kennedy Round, textiles have had to be singled out and a multifibre arrangement now regulates the growth of trade in all fibres, not just cotton textiles.

It is precisely because of the present risk of protectionist temptations that the positive conclusion of these multilateral trade negotiations in April 1979 was so important in the current depressed economic situation. This is all the more true because the results, for the very first time, encompass the reduction of non-tariff barriers as well as of customs duties.

International negotiations are also in progress within the framework of UNCTAD, notably about an integrated programme for commodities. Here we meet a general problem, namely that of the position of Community (Commission) representatives in international organizations, especially those of the UN family (because of the structure of the United Nations). Only States are members of these organizations; within their framework, Commission representatives, whatever their constitutional powers may be under Community law (for example the exclusive right to negotiate) are at best 'observers'. Sometimes they have just been invited as 'guests of the Secretariat', because of some political opposition to the granting of a more formal status.

For example, in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which led to the 1975 Helsinki ministerial session, the Commission representative even had to find his place within the delegation of the Member State currently exercising the chairmanship of the EC Council: he started as a 'Dane' and finished the conference as an 'Italian'.

But the important thing, in the case of this last conference as in any other context, was to make clear in all statements and documents that certain matters simply could not be dealt with unless the Community, through its competent institutions, agreed to it. As early as 1967 this simple argument made the USSR give up its resistance to Community participation in the International Wheat Agreement.

11. This may be the best place to insert some brief considerations on the evolution of the concept of 'commercial policy' as used in Article 113 of the EEC Treaty. This article lists a number of examples: tariff changes, liberalization, etc. Not unnaturally, there was an initial tendency on the part of national administrations to limit the application of the article almost solely to the examples given there.

This, however, is not a correct or even an economically logical interpretation. In the first place, it is clear from Article 113 itself that the enumeration is not meant to be exhaustive; secondly, even in the examples listed there is one with a totally general wording: 'export policy'. Thirdly, there are many other techniques — especially in the newer forms of trade policy — besides those listed in Article 113; a Community which were to deprive itself of those possibilities would weaken itself in relation to other entities, whereas the rationale of the common commercial policy is to strengthen the EEC.

The question of the scope of the concept of 'commercial policy' has become a practical issue on various occasions in recent years. An important case arose when a number of Western countries, quite rightly, tried to introduce some more discipline into State-backed export credit policies.

These policies threatened to degenerate into a competition between the treasuries of various Western countries to provide advantageous export credits with the result that highly industrialized States, e.g. in Eastern Europe, were being provided with credits at well below the market rate.

Was this a matter for the Community or for member countries individually? The European Commission seized the opportunity of a fairly minor arrangement in this field within the framework of OECD to ask the Court for an opinion under Article 228. The opinion (1975) left no doubt about the 'commercial policy nature' of such export credit arrangements with State backing. They were clearly a matter for which the EEC as such was responsible.

Another question of considerable practical importance is the status of so-called 'cooperation' activities *vis-à-vis* Article 113. It is accepted that Member States can still have individual cooperation agreements (especially with Eastern European countries), but an obligation to consult fully on the terms as well as the practical application of such agreements, was introduced in 1975. The Community itself, as the previously mentioned agreement with Canada shows, also has the possibility of concluding agreements of which 'cooperation' is the main feature. Quite logically, international commodity agreements must also be covered by the Community's commercial policy.

Practice as well as jurisprudence have gradually provided a much clearer and more convincing outline of the concept of 'common commercial policy'. On the other hand, a conscious effort was made at the end of the transitional period (and thereafter) to produce

a coherent body of Community legislation dealing with the different aspects of traditional trade policy and laying down methods to handle them.

Thus, regulations dealing for example with the establishment of a common liberalization list for products imported from GATT members, and countries treated as such (with the exceptions resulting from the terms of some protocols of accession), with the establishment of a similar list for the products originating in other countries, with the Community handling of dumping cases, with export restrictions, with procedures and criteria for the replacement of trade agreements of member countries by agreements to be negotiated by the Community, etc., were all adopted before 1970.<sup>1</sup> These lists are reviewed and adapted periodically.

This set of regulations covering the traditional element of the common commercial policy is however not yet totally watertight; for instance, certain residual non-unified quantitative restrictions do continue to exist between Member States and certain third countries. These may be limited in number, but they do of course concern the most sensitive cases and are thus not unimportant in a period of recession.

Summing up, one must conclude that there remains a margin to improve the 'grip' of the common commercial policy still further and to extend its application.

## **Dialogues and negotiations of a global nature**

12. One must not forget that the EEC's external activities are in no way limited to the field of trade policy.

The Treaty is not very explicit about those other dimensions, but we owe it again to the European Court to have clarified the matter. The case concerned an arrangement concluded within the framework of the European Association for Road Transport, touching upon matters which had (at least in part) already been dealt with in a regulation under the Community's common transport policy.

In March 1971, the Court ruled, most convincingly, that a matter already regulated by the Community institutions could, for that very reason, be dealt with internationally only with Community participation and approval. Thus, all fields where the Community works out rules of its own are potential fields for external activity.

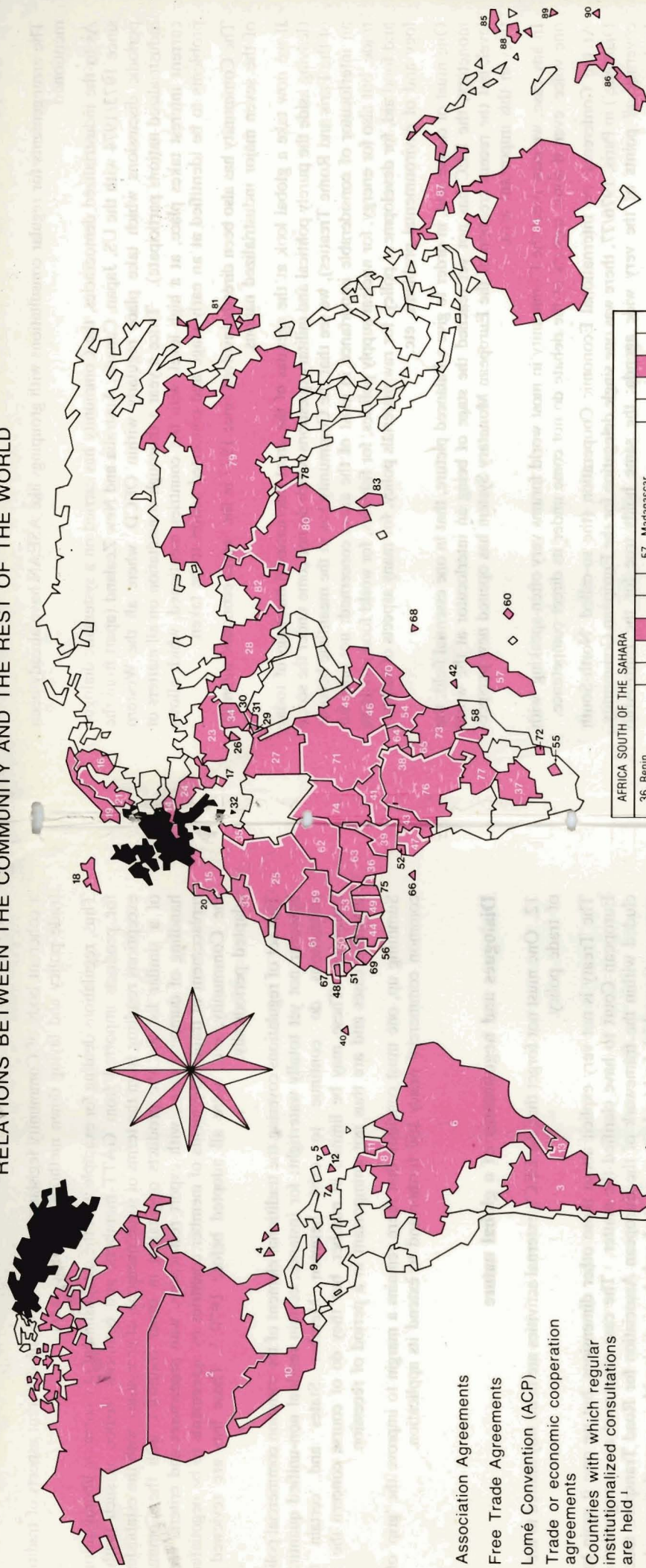
Now, 'external activity' can take three main forms: *autonomous legislation*, to set rules for relations with the outside world — *negotiation*, to arrive at agreements with third parties — and *dialogue*, to gain a better understanding of other parties in order better to determine one's own attitudes. The last one of these three forms is constantly gaining in importance.

It is of interest in this last context that the Community now has diplomatic delegations in various capitals in the industrialized as well as in the developing world and at UN headquarters (where the Community obtained official observer status in 1975). Over a hundred diplomatic missions are accredited to the Community in Brussels. Thus, the European Commission is in constant touch with interested parties throughout the world.

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<sup>1</sup> End of the transitional period of the EEC.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE REST OF THE WORLD



- Association Agreements
- Free Trade Agreements
- Lomé Convention (ACP)
- Trade or economic cooperation agreements
- Countries with which regular institutionalized consultations are held<sup>1</sup>

NORTH AMERICA	
1. Canada	
2. USA	

LATIN AMERICA	
3. Argentina	
4. Bahamas	
5. Barbados	
6. Brazil	
7. Grenada	
8. Guyana	
9. Jamaica	
10. Mexico	
11. Surinam	
12. Trinidad and Tobago	
13. Uruguay	

EUROPE	
14. Austria	
15. Spain	
16. Finland	
17. Greece	
18. Iceland	
19. Norway	
20. Portugal	
21. Sweden	
22. Switzerland	
23. Turkey	
24. Yugoslavia	

MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST	
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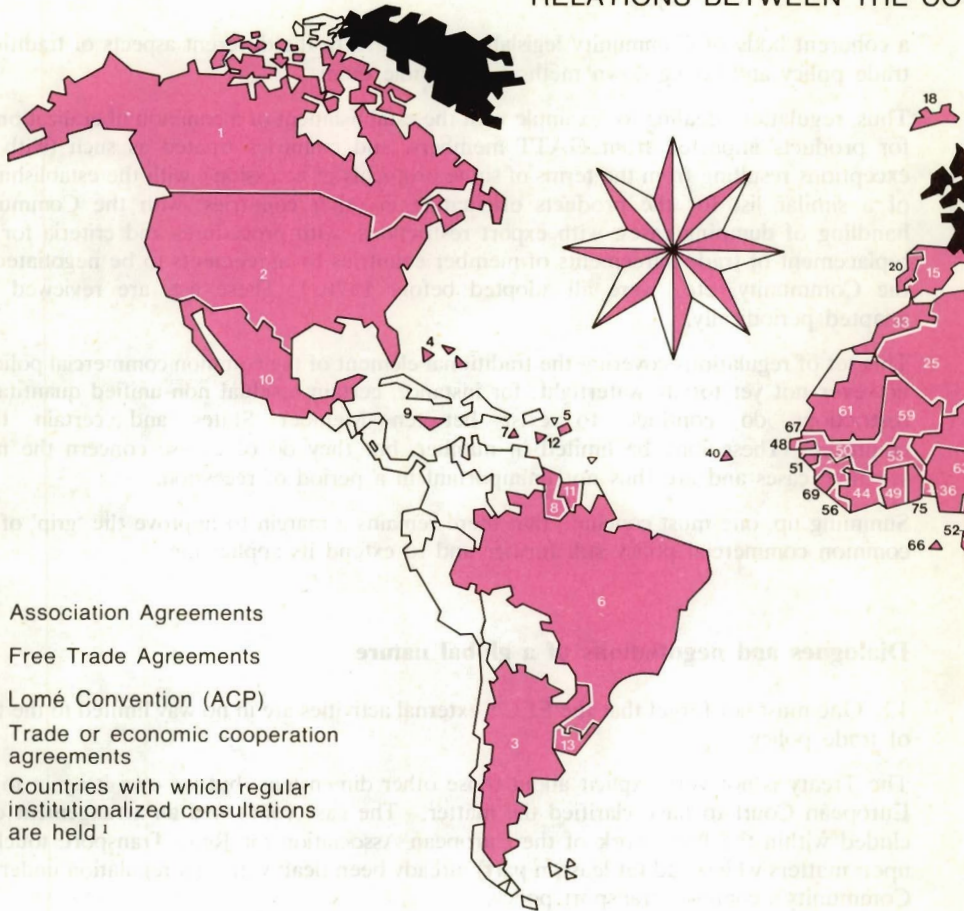
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73. Tanzania	
74. Chad	
75. Togo	
76. Zaire	
77. Zambia	





ASIA (excluding the Middle East)	
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79. China	
80. India	
81. Japan	
82. Pakistan	
83. Sri Lanka	



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<sup>1</sup> The Community has also established working relations with the ambassadors of Latin America in Brussels, the Andean Group, SELA and ASEAN, and it currently has contacts with COMECON.








# RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CO













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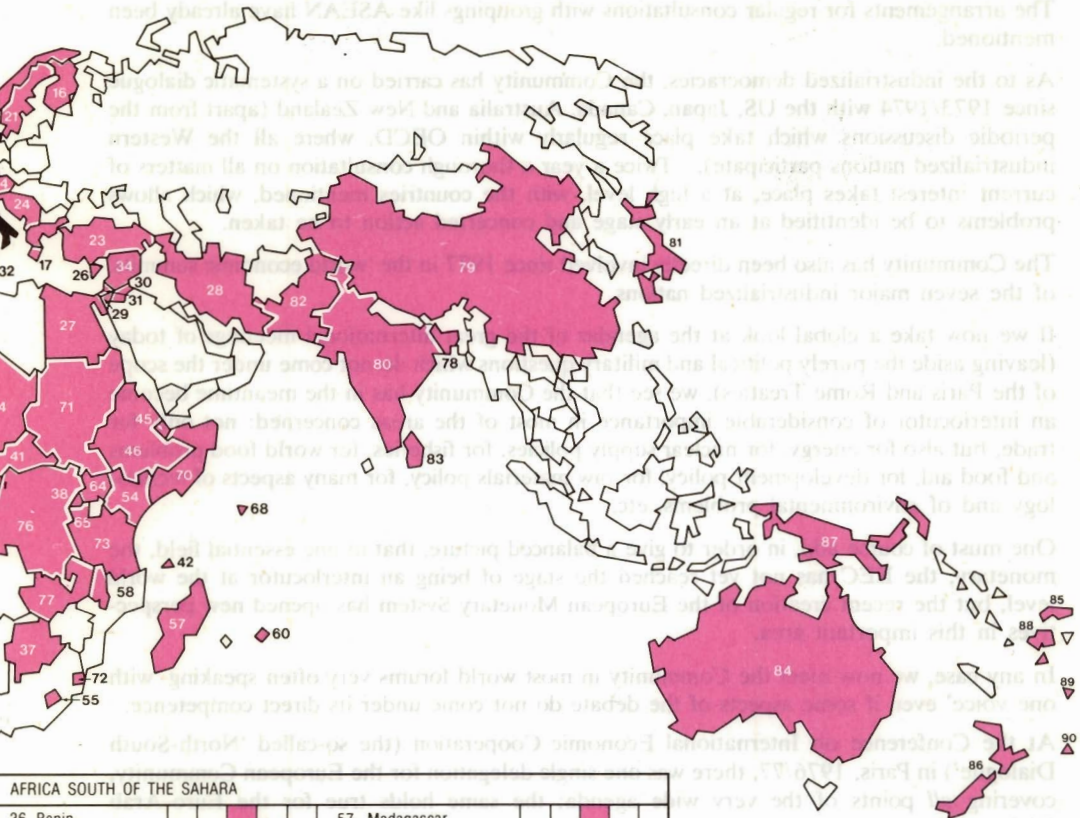
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# UNITY AND THE REST OF THE WORLD



## AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

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### OCEANIA

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The arrangements for regular consultations with groupings like ASEAN have already been mentioned.

As to the industrialized democracies, the Community has carried on a systematic dialogue since 1973/1974 with the US, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (apart from the periodic discussions which take place regularly within OECD, where all the Western industrialized nations participate). Twice a year a thorough consultation on all matters of current interest takes place, at a high level, with the countries mentioned, which allows problems to be identified at an early stage and concerted action to be taken.

The Community has also been directly involved since 1977 in the 'world economic summits' of the seven major industrialized nations.

If we now take a global look at the agendas of the great international meetings of today (leaving aside the purely political and military questions which do not come under the scope of the Paris and Rome Treaties), we see that the Community has in the meantime become an interlocutor of considerable importance in most of the areas concerned: not only for trade, but also for energy, for nuclear supply policies, for fisheries, for world food problems and food aid, for development policy, for raw materials policy, for many aspects of technology and of environmental problems, etc.

One must of course add, in order to give a balanced picture, that in one essential field, the monetary, the EEC has not yet reached the stage of being an interlocutor at the world level, but the recent creation of the European Monetary System has opened new perspectives in this important area.

In any case, we now meet the Community in most world forums very often speaking 'with one voice' even if some aspects of the debate do not come under its direct competence.

At the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (the so-called 'North-South Dialogue') in Paris, 1976/77, there was one single delegation for the European Community, covering *all* points of the very wide agenda; the same holds true for the Euro-Arab Dialogue.

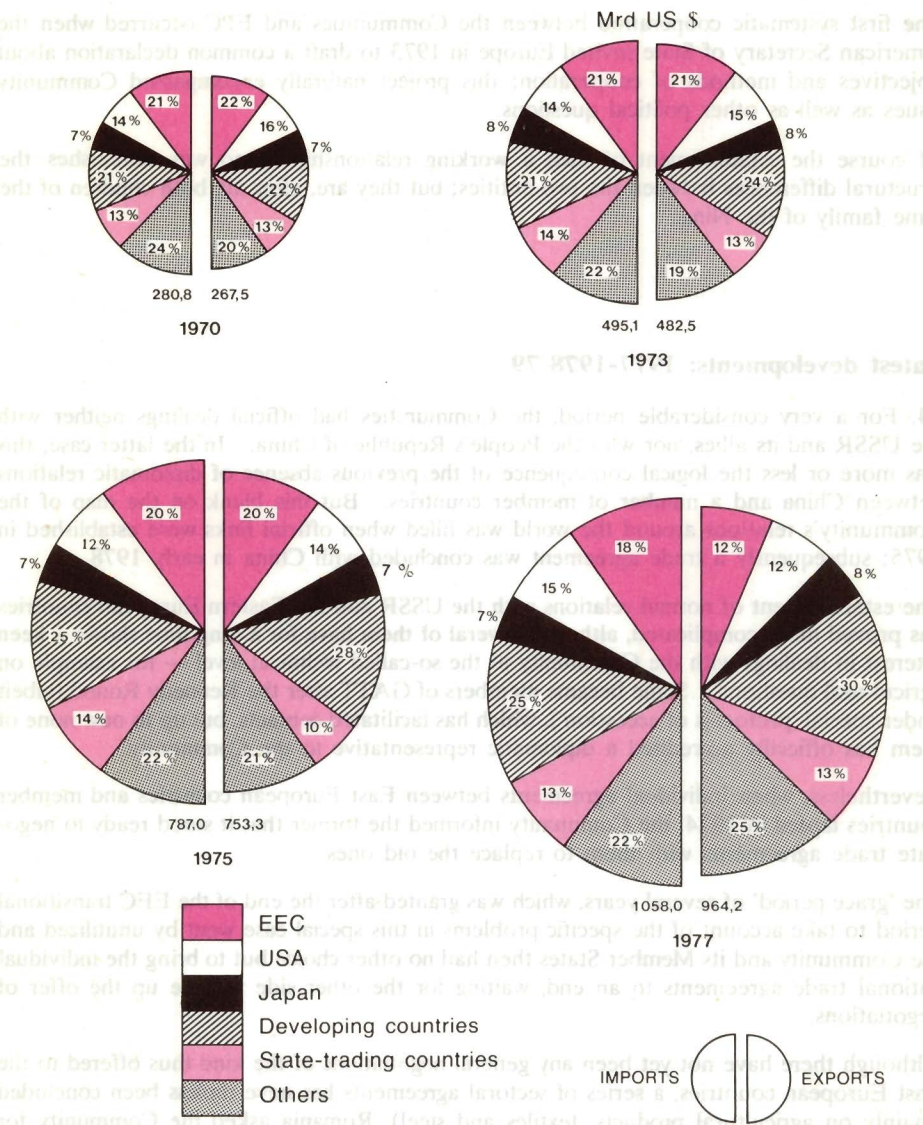
13. A word should be said now about 'European Political Cooperation' (EPC), that form of systematic consultation and cooperation between the ministries of foreign affairs of the Member States which has developed since the early seventies.

EPC does not come under 'European Community external relations', because it has nothing to do with the Treaties and institutions of the Communities. Moreover, most ministries of foreign affairs in the Member States happen to be organized in such a way that the lines of command dealing with the two different areas are parallel and yet independent; coordination between these is not always perfect.

A tendency to consider EPC and EC as two totally different and separate worlds has thus sometimes prevailed in certain quarters, the former being thought of as 'political', the latter as 'economic' or 'technical', the difference occasionally being accentuated further for various reasons.

It is a fact that until the end of 1973 there was very little, if any, contact between the European Commission and the meetings dealing with 'political cooperation' (a somewhat confusing term; 'diplomatic cooperation' would have been a more precise term).

## SHARE OF WORLD TRADE HELD BY THE COMMUNITY AND ITS MAJOR PARTNERS



Sources : EUROSTAT and UN.

The force of events brought an end to this artificial segregation when more and more issues appeared to be situated in both areas of policy making. Examples of constructive cooperation between EPC and EC are the conduct of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the organization of the Euro-Arab Dialogue, and the handling of certain delicate problems in Africa and in the Eastern Mediterranean where the Communities are involved because of their association with the countries concerned.

The first systematic cooperation between the Communities and EPC occurred when the American Secretary of State invited Europe in 1973 to draft a common declaration about objectives and methods of cooperation: this project naturally encompassed Community issues as well as other political questions.

Of course the establishment of such a working relationship in no way diminishes the structural differences between the two entities; but they are, after all, both children of the same family of the Nine.

#### **Latest developments: 1977-1978/79**

14. For a very considerable period, the Communities had official dealings neither with the USSR and its allies, nor with the People's Republic of China. In the latter case, this was more or less the logical consequence of the previous absence of diplomatic relations between China and a number of member countries. But this blank on the map of the Community's relations around the world was filled when official links were established in 1975; subsequently a trade agreement was concluded with China in early 1978.

The establishment of normal relations with the USSR and the Eastern European countries has proved more complicated, although several of them have for a long time shown a keen interest in dealings with the Community at the so-called technical level — for example on agricultural questions. Some became members of GATT after the Kennedy Round (albeit under special 'protocols of accession'), which has facilitated contacts, but up to now none of them has officially accredited a diplomatic representative to the Community.

Nevertheless, when individual agreements between East European countries and member countries lapsed in 1974, the Community informed the former that it stood ready to negotiate trade agreements with them to replace the old ones.

The 'grace period' of several years, which was granted after the end of the EEC transitional period to take account of the specific problems in this special case went by unutilized and the Community and its Member States then had no other choice but to bring the individual national trade agreements to an end, waiting for the other side to take up the offer of negotiations.

Although there have not yet been any general negotiations of the kind thus offered to the East European countries, a series of sectoral agreements has nevertheless been concluded (mainly on agricultural products, textiles and steel). Romania asked the Community for (and obtained) partial application of the 'generalized system of preferences' (1974). Other negotiations are being prepared.

Apart from the relationship between the Community and individual countries in Eastern Europe, there is the question of a possible arrangement with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), commonly called 'Comecon', which is sometimes looked upon as a kind of 'common market'. The idea of such an arrangement was first launched by that organization in 1973. Exploratory talks took place in Moscow in 1975 at official level, then in Brussels in 1977 at ministerial level, followed by talks in Moscow in May 1978, which led to an agreement to work out areas of possible cooperation. Nevertheless at the present time, a full year later there are still no results in sight.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed analysis of the possibilities of cooperation between the Community and the CMEA, but to get an idea of their scope, one can best compare the CMEA with the OECD on the Western side, allowing of course for all the differences arising from the fact that the CMEA deals with centrally planned and directed economies characterized by state trading.

In any case, whatever arrangement may finally be made with the CMEA, it will not be a substitute for dealings on commercial questions between the Community and CMEA's Member States. CMEA has no powers or competence comparable to the Community's 'common commercial policy', which would enable it to deal with external policies in the same way as the Community does.

### **Final remarks — the prospect of the 'second enlargement'**

The previous paragraph implies, even if the quality of the relations with the Member States of CMEA still leaves much to be desired, that the Community by now covers the whole globe with its external activities.

With all its shortcomings, its occasional failures and its constraints arising from the as yet unfinished process of economic integration, the Community has nevertheless marked the past 25 years by its emergence as a major — indeed indispensable — actor on the international economic stage.

The Community was founded to create a framework within which the economies of the Member States could find better conditions for development than within the fences of national borders. But it was also founded to help create a better equilibrium in the world, through the economic strength and stability of the European pillar of the Western system.

A reading of the preambles of the treaties of Paris and Rome gives a clear idea of the very wide objectives which the founders of the Community had in mind. Indeed, the place their creation now occupies in the world lays enormous responsibilities on the institutions: without a constructive contribution from the Community, solutions to many world problems simply cannot be found.

These responsibilities are exemplified in a very particular way by the applications for membership which Greece, Portugal and Spain have presented over the last year or two. The prospect of this 'second enlargement' has on purpose been left out of the overview given in the previous paragraphs, not only because it is a subject for the future, but because it would indeed have been impossible to do justice to this development in such a short survey.

But let it be said here that the very fact of these three applications, the expectations to which they give rise, and the relationship between these applications and the re-establishment of democracy in those three countries, illustrate better than anything else how important the political background is against which the daily activities of the Communities in the field of foreign relations take place.

## 1. Landmarks in the development of the European Community and its external relations

- 1950**  
9 May Proposal by Mr Robert Schuman, France's Minister for Foreign Affairs, for the pooling of the coal and steel resources of France and Germany in an organization open to all European countries.
- 1951**  
18 April Signature in Paris by the 'Six' (Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands) of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Entry into force: 27 July 1952.
- 1953**  
February/May Opening of the common market for coal and iron-ore (10 February), scrap (15 March) and steel (1 May).
- 1954**  
21 December Signature in London of the Association Agreement between the ECSC and the United Kingdom. Entry into force: 23 September 1955.
- 1955**  
1-2 June Messina Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the ECSC, who set up an intergovernmental committee to draw up a report on the possibility of establishing full economic union and union in the nuclear field.
- 1957**  
25 March Signature at the Capitol in Rome of the Treaties establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Entry into force: 1 January 1958.
- 1958**  
10 February End of the ECSC transitional period.
- 3-11 July Conference at Stresa, which laid the foundations of the common agricultural policy.
- 1959**  
1 January Start of the process of progressively eliminating customs duties and quotas within the EEC.
- 20-21 July Ministerial Conference of the 'Seven' (Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom), which proposed the establishment of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Entry into force: 3 May 1960.
- 31 July Application by Turkey for association with the EEC.
- 1960**  
12 May Decision by the Council of the EEC to speed up the establishment of the common market.

**1961**

- 9 July Signature in Athens of the EEC-Greece Association Agreement. Entry into force: 1 November 1962.
- 18 July Undertaking by the Heads of State or Government to strengthen political cooperation among the Six.
- July-August Application for accession by Ireland (31 July), the United Kingdom (9 August) and Denmark (10 August).
- 6-7 December Ministerial Conference between the Member States and the Council of the EEC and Associated African States and Madagascar (AASM), which laid down objectives and principles for a Convention of Association.

**1962**

- 1 January Start of the second phase of the establishment of the common market.
- 9 February Application by Spain for association with the EEC.
- 30 April Application by Norway for accession to the EEC.
- 15 May Further speeding up of the timetable for establishing the common market.

**1963**

- 29 January Negotiations on the accession of the United Kingdom broken off at the request of the French Government. This resulted in the suspension of negotiations with the other countries that had applied for accession or association.
- 20 July Signature at Yaoundé (Cameroon) of the Convention of Association between the EEC and 18 African States and Madagascar. Entry into force: 1 June 1964.
- 12 September Signature in Ankara of the EEC-Turkey Association Agreement. Entry into force: 1 December 1964.
- 14 October Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Iran Agreement, the first trade agreement between the EEC and a non-member country.

**1964**

- 4 May Opening in Geneva of the GATT multilateral tariff negotiations (Kennedy Round) in which the EEC participated as such. The Final Act concluding the negotiations was signed on 30 June 1967 by the Commission acting on behalf of the Community, and by the other Contracting Parties.

**1965**

- 8 April Signature by the Six of the Treaty merging the executives of the EEC, the ECSC and Euratom and establishing a single Council and a single Commission of the European Communities. Entry into force: 1 July 1967.

**1966**

- 1 January Third and final phase of the transitional period in the establishment of the common market (resulting *inter alia* in the replacement of unanimity by majority voting as the basis for many of the Council's decisions).

**1967**

- May-July New applications for accession to the Communities by the United Kingdom (10 May), Ireland (10 May), Denmark (11 May) and Norway (25 July).

**1968**

- 1 July Completion of the customs union. Customs duties between Member States abolished. National customs duties replaced by the Common Customs Tariff in trade with the rest of the world.

## 1968

26 July Signature at Arusha (Tanzania) of the Agreement establishing an Association between the EEC and the member countries of the East African Community: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The agreement did not enter into force because the signatory States failed to complete all the ratification procedures.

## 1969

28 March Signature in Tunis of the Agreement establishing an Association between the EEC and Tunisia. Entry into force: 1 September 1969.

31 March Signature in Rabat of the Agreement establishing an Association between the EEC and Morocco. Entry into force: 1 September 1969.

29 July Signature in Yaoundé of the Second Convention of Association with the African States and Madagascar. Entry into force: 1 January 1971.

24 September Signature at Arusha of the new Association Agreement with the three East African Community countries. Entry into force: 1 January 1971.

1-2 December Conference of Heads of State or Government at The Hague, at which the Commission was invited to participate. The Six agreed to mark the completion of the Communities by passing from the transitional period to the final stage; to strengthen the Community by pushing ahead more rapidly with its internal development; to advance within the Community towards economic and monetary union; and to launch cooperation in the field of foreign policy.

31 December End of the 12-year transitional period laid down in the EEC Treaty for the establishment of the common market.

## 1970

19 March Signature of the EEC-Yugoslavia Trade Agreement.

29 June Signature in Luxembourg of the EEC-Spain and EEC-Israel Preferential Agreements. Entry into force: 1 October 1970.

30 June Opening in Luxembourg of accession negotiations with the four applicant countries (Denmark, Ireland, Norway, United Kingdom).

10 and 24 November Ministerial meetings to mark the opening of discussions with European countries which were members of EFTA but not applicants for accession (Austria, Finland, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland).

19 November First 'political cooperation' meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Six.

5 December Signature at Valletta of the EEC-Malta Association Agreement. Entry into force: 1 April 1971.

## 1971

18 June Joint Declaration by the European Communities and a number of Latin American countries setting up machinery for a dialogue between the two sides.

21-22 June Adoption by the Council of the Commission's proposals for setting up the system of generalized preferences for the developing countries. Date of implementation: 1 July 1971.

1 September Implementation of the Additional Protocol to the EEC-Turkey Association Agreement, dealing with reciprocal trade concessions.

8 November Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Argentina Trade Agreement. Entry into force: 1 January 1972.



**1972**

- 22 January Signature in Brussels of the Act of Accession of Denmark, Ireland, Norway and United Kingdom to the European Communities. Date of accession: 1 January 1973 (except Norway).
- 21 March Establishment of the currency 'snake'.
- 19 April Signature of the Convention setting up the European University Institute in Florence.
- 22 July Signature in Brussels of free-trade agreements covering industrial products with Austria, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. Entry into force: 1 January 1973 for the Agreements with Austria, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland; 1 April 1973 for the Agreement with Iceland.
- 25 September In a referendum the people of Norway voted against accession to the Community. Norway was subsequently to request the negotiation of a free-trade agreement with the Community.
- 19 to 21 October Summit of Heads of State or Government in Paris, at which they reaffirmed their resolve to move irrevocably towards economic and monetary union and 'assigned themselves the key objective of converting, before the end of this decade and in absolute conformity with the signed Treaties, all the relationships between Member States into a European Union'.
- 18 December Signature in Brussels of preferential Agreements between the EEC and the Arab Republic of Egypt and Lebanon. Entry into force: 1 November 1973 for the Agreement between the EEC and the Arab Republic of Egypt. The Agreement with Lebanon did not enter into force.
- 19 December Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Cyprus Association Agreement and a Protocol. Entry into force: 1 June 1973.
- 1973** Establishment of regular exchanges of views between the Commission and the Governments of the United States, Canada and Japan.
- 2 April Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Uruguay Trade Agreement. Entry into force: 1 August 1974.
- 14 May Signature in Brussels of a free-trade agreement covering industrial products with Norway. Entry into force: 1 July 1973.
- 26 June Signature of the EEC-Yugoslavia Trade Agreement. Entry into force: 1 September 1973.
- 25-26 July Opening of negotiations with the ACP countries for the future Lomé Convention.
- 12 September Opening in Tokyo of the current GATT multilateral trade negotiations (Tokyo Round), in which the Community is participating as such.
- 5 October Signature in Brussels of a free-trade agreement covering industrial products with Finland. Entry into force: 1 January 1974.
- 17 December Signature of the EEC-India Commercial Cooperation Agreement. Entry into force: 1 April 1974.
- 19 December Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Brazil Trade Agreement. Entry into force: 1 August 1974.

**1973-1975**

- 3 July 1973 Participation by the Community in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and in its closing session in Helsinki.
- 1 August 1975

**1974**

- 31 July Opening of the Euro-Arab Dialogue.
- September Establishment of regular exchanges of views between the Commission and the Governments of Australia and New Zealand. Establishment of regular consultations with the ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand). These consultations were formalized by the Council on 21 June 1977.
- 11 October The United Nations General Assembly grants the Community observer status.
- 9-10 December Conference in Paris of Heads of State or Government, at which they decided *inter alia* to meet regularly as the 'European Council' (to discuss matters concerning the European Communities and political cooperation issues) and to prepare for direct elections to the European Parliament as from 1978.

**1975**

- 4-6 February Initial talks in Moscow between a Commission delegation and a delegation from the Secretariat of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or 'Comecon').
- 28 February Signature in Lomé of the Convention between the EEC and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific States. Entry into force: 1 April 1976.
- 4-11 May Official visit by a Commission delegation of China, during which the Chinese Government stated that it intended to establish official relations with the Community (this was done on 15 September 1975) and to propose that a trade agreement be concluded with the Community (an Agreement was signed on 3 April 1978).
- 11 May Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Israel Agreement in the context of the overall Mediterranean policy. Entry into force: 1 July 1975.
- 12 June Application by Greece for accession to the Communities.
- 15 July Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Mexico Commercial Cooperation Agreement. Entry into force: 1 November 1975.
- 22 July Signature in Brussels of the Treaty further strengthening the budgetary powers of the European Parliament and establishing a Court of Auditors. This Treaty entered into force on 1 June 1977.
- Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Sri Lanka Commercial Cooperation Agreement. Entry into force: 1 December 1975.

**1976**

- 16 February Proposal by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) for the conclusion of an agreement between the CMEA and its Member States and the Community and its Member States.
- 4 March Signature in Brussels of two Protocols, the purpose of which was *inter alia* to adapt the 1971 EEC-Malta Agreement to the overall Mediterranean policy. Entry into force: 1 June 1976.
- 1 April Entry into force of the ACP-EEC Convention signed at Lomé on 28 February 1975.
- 25-27 April Signature of the Cooperation Agreements between the Community and the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) in the context of the overall Mediterranean policy. Entry into force of the trade provisions: 1 July 1976.

- 1 June Signature in Brussels of the EEC-Pakistan Commercial Cooperation Agreement. Entry into force : 1 July 1976.
- 6 July Signature in Ottawa of the EEC-Canada Framework Agreement for commercial and economic cooperation. Entry into force : 1 October 1976.
- 19 October Conclusion of the EEC-Bangladesh Commercial Cooperation Agreement. Entry into force: 1 December 1976.

**1977**

- 18 January Signature of Cooperation Agreements between the Community and three Mashreq countries (Egypt, Jordan and Syria) in the context of the overall Mediterranean policy. Entry into force of the trade provisions: 1 July 1977.
- 28 March Application by Portugal for accession to the Communities.
- 4-6 April Industrial conference in Brussels, sponsored by the Commission, attended by the ASEAN countries.
- 3 May Signature of a Cooperation Agreement between the Community and Lebanon in the context of the overall Mediterranean policy.
- 7-8 May Third Western Economic Summit, held in London: for the first time the Community as such participated in part of the discussions.
- 26 May First official contacts between the Commission and the Latin-American Economic System (SELA).
- 30 May/2 June Ministerial-level CIEC meeting in Paris marking the end of the Conference — a further stage in the dialogue between the developing countries and industrialized countries. The Community was represented throughout by a single delegation comprising the President of the Council and the President of the Commission.
- 21 June Approval by the Council of a procedure for dialogue between the ASEAN ambassadors to the EEC and the Permanent Representatives Committee and the Commission.
- 1 July Completion of the customs union in the enlarged Community.
- 28 July Application by Spain for accession to the Communities.
- 29 December Signing by the Community of the protocol extending for four years the Multifibre Agreement.

**1978**

- 3 April Trade Agreement between the Community and the People's Republic of China, to enter into force on 1 June 1978, signed in Brussels.
- 7-8 April European Council in Copenhagen: the Heads of State or Government associate themselves with the Joint Declaration on Fundamental Rights signed in 1977 by Parliament, the Council and the Commission.
- 18 April Opening in Caracas of the headquarters of the Commission Delegation for Latin America.
- 20 April Communication sent by the Commission to the Council setting out its views on the problems involved in the enlargement of the Community.
- 29-30 May Negotiations between a Community Delegation and the CMEA in Moscow.

- 6-7 July European Council in Bremen: the Heads of State or Government instruct the Finance Ministers to formulate the necessary guidelines for the introduction of a European Monetary System. They confirm the objectives for 1985 in relation to energy.
- 16-17 July Fourth Western Summit in Bonn: Community participation is institutionalized.
- 24 July Opening in Brussels of the negotiations for a new ACP-EEC Convention.
- 25 July Council Decision that the first direct elections to the European Parliament should be held between 7 and 10 June 1979.
- 20-21 November First ministerial meeting between the Community and ASEAN.
- 4-5 December European Council in Brussels: decision to launch the EMS in 1979.
- 9-11 December Fourth meeting of the General Committee of the Euro-Arab Dialogue in Damascus.

## 2. Principal agreements concluded by the Community

### **Multilateral**

#### *General agreements on the mutual reduction of customs barriers under GATT and related arrangements*

Dillon Round (1960-62)  
Kennedy Round (1963-67)  
Tokyo Round (in progress)  
Anti-dumping code (1967).

#### *Sectoral or commodity agreements, aimed mainly at stabilizing the market for the products concerned*

International Grains Arrangement (GATT 1967)  
Arrangement concerning certain dairy products (GATT 1970)  
Long-term Agreement regarding International Trade in Cotton Textiles (GATT 1970)  
Multifibre Arrangement (GATT 1973, renewed 1978)  
International Tin Agreement (UNCTAD 1970, 1976)  
International Wheat Agreement (1971)  
International Coffee Agreement (1976)  
International Cocoa Agreement (1976).

#### *Association agreements involving the combination of various trade, industrial, financial and technical cooperation instruments*

Association Agreements between the EEC and the East African Community countries: Arusha (1968 and 1969)  
Conventions of Association, EEC-AASM: Yaoundé (1963 and 1969)  
EEC-ACP: Lomé (1975).

### **Bilateral**

#### *Association agreements concluded with a view to subsequent accession to the Community*

Greece (1961) — Turkey (1963).

#### *Free-trade agreements covering industrial products only and embodying consultation machinery (Joint Committees)*

Austria (1973) — Iceland (1973) — Norway (1973) — Portugal (1973) — Sweden (1973) — Switzerland (1973) — Finland (1974).

#### *Agreements in the context of the overall Mediterranean policy under which the Community's partners are granted free access to the Community market for their industrial products and advantages in respect of their agricultural products. Provision made for financial aid and for consultation machinery*

Israel (1975) — Algeria (1976) — Tunisia (1976) — Morocco (1976) — Malta (1976) — Egypt (1977) — Jordan (1977) — Syria (1977) — Lebanon (1977) — Cyprus (1978).

*Framework agreement for commercial and economic cooperation, designed as an instrument for the development of cooperation in all fields between the two partners, both at government level and between private undertakings. Establishment of a Joint Cooperation Committee*

Canada (1976).

*Preferential agreement aimed at the progressive elimination of barriers for the bulk of trade*

Spain (1970).

*Trade cooperation agreements aimed at promoting the development and diversification of mutual trade. A Joint Committee has the task of seeking the most appropriate means to this end*

India (1973) — Sri Lanka (1975) — Mexico (1975) — Pakistan (1976) — Bangladesh (1976) — China (1978).

*Trade agreements aimed mainly at facilitating imports into the Community of certain products*

Iran (1963) — Yugoslavia (1973) — Argentina (1971) — Uruguay (1973) — Brazil (1973).

*Agreements dealing with particular sectors*

(Textile agreements, agreements on fibres, steel and certain hand-made products, cooperation agreements concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, fisheries agreements, the Euratom-United States agreements, agreement guaranteeing Indian sugar exports.)

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