

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

List of Questions

preparatory to a draft report
on the political aspects of relations
between the European Community
and the United States of America

Rapporteur: Mr FELLERMAIER

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Preliminary observation: This list of questions is intended to facilitate an initial exchange of views at the Political Affairs Committee's meeting of 13 September 1973. The rapporteur is chiefly concerned to stimulate discussion and would welcome any advice and suggestions that would help him to draft his report.

Such suggestions will have a twofold importance; firstly, in regard to the list of questions itself and secondly, in providing preliminary outlines for the content of the various sections.

The draft report is to be discussed at the committee's meeting of 9 October in the presence of Sir Christopher SOAMES; it is scheduled for debate in plenary sitting during the October part-session in Strasbourg. We must remember that at the end of October a delegation from the European Parliament will be in Washington for the next working meeting with the United States Congress.

I. Questions on the basic problem

A. The historic dimension of relations with the United States:

We must not take too narrow a view of relations between the European Community and the United States, especially in the political sphere. It is all too tempting to split up the entire complex into separate technical questions and thus fail to do justice to the dimensions of the problem. On the other hand, we must avoid looking at the matter from the global viewpoint only and lumping all the important individual problems together in a manner not very conducive to their practical solution. The draft report should make this dilemma very clear.

In order to avoid an over-technical approach, the problem of relations between the Community and the USA in its historical dimension could be outlined in an introduction which would include the following points:

1. The emergence of the European Community in the post-war era, characterized by the bipolar influence of the super-powers.
2. Unlimited support of the European Community as a constant factor in American foreign policy?

(According to the official American version, United States foreign policy vis-à-vis the European Community has been constant throughout. It has not always seemed so from the Community viewpoint, since at least some of the Community's integral elements, such as the agricultural policy and parts of the external trade policy, have been vehemently criticized by the Americans).

3. Developments in the policy of Member States vis-à-vis the USA (influence of trade and monetary problems; above all, predominance of security considerations; demands for the 'europeanization' of the European Community; the crucial question of the Community's identity; the frequently invoked spectre of an Atlantic free trade area).
4. Influence hitherto exerted by external factors (especially influence of third countries; Soviet policy; reconciliation between the EEC and EFTA through enlargement of the Community and hence lessening of possible tension in Western Europe; policy of the neutral countries, etc.).
5. Possible new factors (for example, pan-European cooperation; multi-lateral contacts with Comecon; increased influence of the developing countries, particularly on external relations).

B. Definition of the basic problem:

The report must delimit clearly those aspects of the basic problem which it intends to examine. It is obvious that the complex relations with the USA could be dealt with in many ways. Although the actual title of the report refers only to the political aspects, this should not be taken too literally. In fact, the problems are interlocked in such a way that an over-rigid separation could have only an adverse effect. It is clear, too, that appropriate mention will have to be made of the opinions of the other committees concerned (especially as regards external trade and monetary policy).

Questions:

1. Separate problems, global solutions?
(The United States, moved by short-term tactical considerations, is presently trying to initiate a global discussion of all Atlantic problems. Europe fears that this kind of discussion will not serve her best interests. In reaction, demands are being made for questions of trade, monetary policy, defence, etc. to be dealt with in isolation. This reaction, however, could result in throwing out the baby with the bath water. It is perfectly correct that individual matters be dealt

with by the appropriate international bodies responsible and that one should not run the risk of paying for concessions in one area with compensation in another. Nevertheless, it is clear that all these problems are politically interwoven. A Community which is trying to forge a political identity must openly acknowledge this).

2. The practical limitations on the Community's powers of action as a problem in relations with the USA.

(In this context we are faced with the problem of the limited nature of Community powers and particularly the fact that they do not include defense. This should at least be alluded to).

3. Political cooperation as an initial institutional framework for the discussion of Atlantic questions within the Community?

(As far as the Community is concerned, discussions with the USA must have an actual base. Could this base be the traditional Community institutions of Council, Commission and Parliament? Or do the Davignon formula or other solutions afford better possibilities? Are summit meetings, European or Atlantic, of any value in this context?).

II. Analysis of present relations

Present relations between the European Community and the USA, in the broader sense outlined at the beginning, can be dealt with under four main headings:

A. General foreign policy:

On the basis of our introduction, our questions at this point must chiefly concern mutual understanding between the USA and the European Community. The principal question would be whether we can now speak in general of an end to the era of the two super-powers. Should we not recognize - especially in the disarmament talks between Washington and Moscow - further potential long-term effects of this era? How can bilateral arrangements negotiated between the super-powers have a multi-lateral impact? Will the 'small' powers not be forced in practice to accept arrangements already negotiated, as in the case of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons? Or does the Helsinki Conference mean above all the advent of new negotiating procedures? What chance have the smaller powers of taking a more active part in shaping world policy in the event of a decrease in the dominating role of the super-powers? What demands are going to be made in this connection on the capacity to act of regional groupings such as the European Community?

How do Atlantic relations fit into the change of role which is being forced on the European Community in this changing world? Should we work out a new global concept or simply a new label giving these relations special status? What would be the advantages and disadvantages of such a decision?

If the European Community rightly rejects the view that it represents only regional interests, how can it refute this contention by pursuing an active world policy, in particular vis-à-vis the USA?

B. Defence:

Without going into details, the report should clearly set forth the principle that the defence of Western Europe is not a matter which, in the long-term, can be settled independently of, and completely outside, the Community. The present division of defence matters and economic questions among different organizations may have had definite advantages during a certain transition period; but in the current discussions they are **already outweighed by the disadvantages.**

C. Trade:

In this matter the committee can refer extensively to the opinion of the Committee on External Economic Relations¹. It is important to emphasize that questions of trade cannot be separated from questions of development policy.

Furthermore, the report could refer to certain aspects of external trade in agricultural products. As the so-called soya bean dispute proves, agricultural production is so intertwined on a world-wide scale that certain international agreements can no longer be avoided. The absolute minimum requirement is for a code of good conduct in the field of commercial policy, which would have to include agricultural products.

Similar medium- and long-term problems will also have to be faced in the energy sector.

¹ This opinion is being drafted by Mr BOANO

D. Monetary policy:

On this matter the committee can refer extensively to the opinion of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs¹. The Political Affairs Committee should, however, avoid being drawn into the dogmatic quarrels of the monetary policy experts on the reform of the international monetary system.

The report could also deal briefly with the problem of multi-national companies, whose development - since they are mostly American-dominated - is closely connected with monetary questions.

III. Outline of possible solutions

In its third section the report should submit specific proposals for the solution of outstanding Atlantic problems.

The rapporteur will work out this section after the discussion in committee. He suggests, however, that the following three main areas should be dealt with:

1. Questions of the future organization of relations between the Community and the USA.

(Separate solution of individual problems or the principle of a partial political fusion? Participants to be the same in all cases or different for the individual questions? The very important question of the chronology of the various solutions. In addition, the question of the institutions and the value of summit meetings; the question of whether a new overall concept is required for Atlantic relations).

2. Proposals for various specific questions.

(In this connection we have only to refer to the principal divisions:

- Foreign policy
- Defence
- Trade and development
- Monetary policy).

¹ This opinion was drafted by Mr JOHNSTON (Doc. PE 33.310/final) and has already been distributed to members.

3. The role of the European Community.

(It is clear that relations with the United States make particular demands on the Community's capacity for action. Unfortunately, there is at the moment no great agreement on the various questions at issue. Any proposals for an improvement in relations must take account of the important contribution which the parliaments can make to public debate, to the formation of a better climate of opinion amongst the political protagonists, and hence to the political decision-making process generally).