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Commemoration
Europe 2000
Chronology

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Commemoration

Extracts from speeches made at the formal celebration of the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome, on the Capitol on 25 March 1987

**Sir Henry Plumb,
President of the European Parliament**

'Thirty years is a generation. While we acknowledge the great progress made in this generation, it is also our duty to make the next generation even more remarkable. Let us make the next generation even more creative. Let us, indeed, create Europe.

Thirty years is hardly any time at all. My friends, we have hardly even started.

Five years ago, a common and often-heard phrase was "Europe is at a crossroads". Today we know that Europe has passed the crossroads, and is now striding firmly on the path of progress.

But what kind of progress do we want? Europeans have not always agreed on the aims and objectives. They have not always agreed on the means. We must not assume that good ideas will find universal acceptance, nor that bad ideas will always be rejected.

There are times—I could suggest five years ago, for instance—when optimism can be false, when genuine doubt, even fear, can disrupt the best-laid plans and threaten to demolish confidence in the future.

We know that Europe has survived its first wave of doubt. It has survived it well, and it has emerged stronger and better from the test.

There are particular reasons why I am much more hopeful and much more confident than I was just a few years ago.

Europe is becoming—some would say, has already become—a political superpower in world affairs. European political cooperation is not just a phrase—it is a structure and a reality. It is Europe's voice in the world. And that voice is talking about peace, and it is talking from a platform of strength and security.

There are few events which have shown the strength of this political identity more clear-

ly than the recent discussions between the Community and the Comecon States.

The possible establishment of relations between the Community and Comecon is broadly to be encouraged, but never let us forget that the nature of the two organizations is quite different.

Comecon is inspired by the Soviet Union. The Community is inspired by European Union.

The economies of Eastern Europe are centrally planned. In general, the economies of Western Europe are guided by the free market. The economic and political principles of Comecon are diametrically opposed to those of the Treaty of Rome, whose anniversary we are celebrating today.

But we are in the business of doing business. It is in Comecon's economic interest to recognize the Community. Eastern European countries need capital and they need economic cooperation with the West.

If we are going to be down-to-earth about it: the fact is, Gorbachev needs the trade. Comecon should know that it is on the wrong side of the classical capitalist equation: Comecon is in a seller's market, and it has to buy.

By all means, let us engage in economic cooperation: but let us participate as partners in a hard-nosed business deal, and not as actors in mutual political flattery.

Ladies and gentlemen, another encouraging development is happening on the institutional front.

The institutional progress of the European Parliament has been difficult to resist since the introduction of direct elections.

Altiero Spinelli himself noted—and I agree entirely with this—that European Union will not be brought about by diplomats, but by directly electing a European Parliament.

It is not just for governments to decide on the future political structure of Europe. Many of the practical ideas and plans that we are now discussing in the European Parliament are also 30 years old or more.

The Spaak report, on which the Rome Treaty was based, stressed the overriding need for a large home market if Europe was to

compete with the United States of America. We talk about this now in the context of the need to complete the internal market by 1992. We need to succeed if we are to compete with Japan.

The inaugural speech of Jean Monnet as President of the High Authority underlined the federal character of the European Coal and Steel Community, and drew attention to the need for the common application of direct laws and taxes. We talk about this now, in the annual budget procedure, when dealing with the Delors package, and in the discussions about future financing.

The mid-1950s nearly saw the creation of the European Defence Community, ahead of the Treaty of Rome. And this is being talked about now in the context of NATO. Discussions are taking place in other European contexts.

Europe is gaining in self-confidence month by month. And you can feel this spirit, this self-confidence, in Rome itself, that most European of all cities.

The role of the Council of Ministers has remained a matter of controversy for many years.

I rather think that Jean Monnet did not expect that the Council of Ministers would become so dominant in the institutional framework as it is now. Power has of course been transferred from the Member States to the Community. It is only the Parliament which can make this democratically accountable.

I repeat my view that European Union must be carried forward by the European Parliament acting in consultation and cooperation with the Council of Ministers.

We are learning more about this cooperation in our discussions about the implementation of the Single Act. I am delighted that the institutions are cooperating closely to ensure that the Act comes into effect smoothly.

I am particularly pleased to be chairing the Special Committee on the Commission communication on the success of the Single Act. It raises the key issues which will determine the future of the Community. The Parliament will make its voice heard, and I would be prepared to present, personally, our report to the June European Council.

I see this exercise as a preparatory exercise. A new impulse for European Union is being prepared by this Parliament, an impulse which I entirely endorse.

We will expect more in the way of an institutional result than we were able to gain from the Single Act.

The European Parliament is about representing people or it is nothing. I am proud to represent the people of Europe on this honourable and memorable day.

I know that a majority of the European people are in favour of greater unity. Indeed, they are in favour of European Union. They are patient, but they will not always be patient.

Happy birthday Europe, yes; and now let us get on with achieving the United States of Europe within the next 30 years.'

**Mr Leo Tindemans,
President of the Council
of the European Communities**

'... What were they seeking, those men who in 1957 signed the Treaty? What are we seeking, we here today who bear the responsibility? We had unquestionably pinned great faith in the first major attempt to amend or expand the Treaty of Rome, with 30 years experience behind us. The early proceedings of the Dooge Committee were full of promise. But the Intergovernmental Conference got off to a more difficult start. You all know the result: we christened it the "Single European Act".

As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, the Single Act has still unfortunately not come into force.

Yet I can point to very many positive features such as the achievement of a genuine large internal market, the possibility of vesting the Commission with the executive powers to do what has to be done, the reference to European monetary union, acknowledgement of the need for a new relationship with the European Parliament, the devising of a technology programme and an environment programme. All these undeniably constitute a major advance on the present position.

Most of us had certainly hoped for more and felt twinges of disappointment because the Luxembourg decisions sometimes reflected a lack of European conviction.

But they *were* taken and are now waiting to be carried into effect.

Some observers have on occasion waxed ironic about the substance of the communiqués issued after European summit meetings. Their content and wording have often been the focus of endless argument. Didn't they say there would be an economic and monetary union by the end of the decade? And what about that announcement of European Union itself—complete with deadline for achieving it?

The Single European Act must not meet the same fate as has befallen other grand designs.

Nor must it lose its originality or its impact because of the way it is implemented.

The dawn of a future so full of promise must not be clouded by ponderous procedures and the dissipation of new potential.

Honest application of the Single Act, in its entirety, is our first real opportunity to meet the European challenge of our age.

But the Act alone is not enough. Even without it the Community must take drastic measures. You all know what they are. They can be summed up under three headings: the Community's financial resources; the reform of the common agricultural policy; Community cohesion. ...

If we could manage to link the Single Act with the three reforms I spoke of a few moments ago, and to bring the whole thing off with the panache of our forbears of 1957, then the future of the European idea would look a whole lot brighter. We would be able to see a gleaming light at the end of the tunnel at least. ...

Europe could be built on a basis of intelligence. We can clearly see where our salvation lies; we know very well what we are unable to achieve individually; we proclaim what we should be doing together, but when the 12 of us are faced with a decision, it's sometimes hard for us to imagine a Europe like that.

The historians are already claiming that whatever Europe has done or has planned to do has been inspired by fear. The duress had to be great—and exerted from outside, of course—before any decisions were taken. So where do we find any intelligent European policy in the obvious absence of such pressures? Haven't we all heard it said that the existing European framework was not right for new ventures? If that's true, then surely it is our bounden duty to change it so that the construction and eventual completion of Europe are not impeded.

It is from our generation that that effort must come. We must not be—we must not allow ourselves to be—the generation of standstill or decline. Which means that we must be the generation of advance.

The historians will judge the mistakes and failings of the past. But as we celebrate this 30th anniversary it is a fair question to ask whether those pioneers of the European idea were right to launch such ventures as the ECSC and the EEC. Of course, they were! They probably chose the only possible way of achieving anything at the time. My countryman Paul-Henri Spaak said here 30 years ago: "This time the men of the West have not lacked boldness and have not acted too late". The imperfections are there because the Member States—and for long there were only six of them—found it impossible to accept more.

The Community's weaknesses were those of its Member States.

The only regret we can now have is that in those epic days, we did not accomplish more, that we did not go further along the road to integration.

The problems that we must face today concern our future: our economic future, our monetary stability and our security. ...

The Member States of the Community must now lay down the policies and foster the cooperation that will give more hope to Europeans, especially to our young people, and thus prepare a worthwhile future.

A democracy that ceases to inspire hope has no such future. That is the sad truth. We can never prepare for it, and certainly not to good purpose, if we try to go it alone. We are all now too interdependent, in a world

whose economic life is being internationalized, and the impact of smaller-scale ventures is too weak to make any real mark.

The ambitions of the pioneers still stand. Europe remains a concept whose specific identity emerges from the convergence of a variety of elements. Clearly this range of cultural, political, economic and social values must be sustained by a structure that can bind Europeans together. It must also be such as to allow all the positive elements gathered together under its protection to confirm its right to exist.

That is what European unification and European policy really mean. When Robert Schuman revealed his plan, times were no less hard than they are now. The wounds of war had not yet healed. Europe's economy was still living on foreign infusions. The political significance of the West had never been at such low ebb. The context in which Schuman had to work was disappointing, difficult and disheartening. And yet he never gave up, because he was, like others around him, convinced that the European idea was the emancipating force, that European unification was and would be the greatest and most exciting political crusade of the 20th century.

The authors of the Treaty of Rome sustained this drive, with the same inspiration and in the same spirit. The preamble to the Treaty of Paris states clearly that the Heads of the future Member States were:

“Resolved to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of their essential interests; to create, by establishing an economic community, the basis for a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared”.

The founding fathers of the Treaty of Rome understood this commitment and extended its scope. They laid the foundations and erected the pillars of the institutions that were to set us on course towards our shared destiny.

So as we commemorate together in Rome the Treaty signed here 30 years ago, our thoughts should be on that shared destiny and how we can best fulfil it.

We can look back to 1957 almost with nostalgia or affection! But that's no way in which to build a future. If we let them get the better of us, such feelings can sap our determination to face up to the difficulties in the way of attaining European Union.

Were we to swear any oath here in Rome reflecting the ideals already partially embodied in the Treaty of 1957, it would be to assert that we shall not rest until European Union is accomplished. I would wish that our commemoration today might persuade us to take such an oath between ourselves—the Capitol oath.’

**Mr Jacques Delors,
President of the Commission
of the European Communities**

‘Although from time to time we hear doubts expressed about Europe's personality, to the effect that our cultures and our political customs are so diverse as to make Europe project the image of an abstract mosaic, devoid of meaning, these last three decades have in all truth proved the strength of our common European base.

Beyond the passing, and sometimes exotic, ideological fashions and trends of thought, an original model of civilization has asserted itself, one that rests on the balance of relations between the individual and society, on the preservation and communication of democratic values and an unremitting concern for human rights, on that special relationship that Europeans have with their natural environment. And we have become convinced of the now self-evident truth that no country of Europe can alone shape its own destiny or underwrite its own future.

We are a community, and we have a common destiny. And that must surely make nonsense of our technical controversies and delays over non-essentials that some would magnify into the crucial issues of the day.

The hazards we encounter seem to be part of Europe's own peculiar way of going about its business, with progress punctuated by crisis. The extraordinary thing is that we have moved forward, despite the barriers we have encountered and the self-imposed challenges we have had to face—the successive enlargements to welcome like-minded countries

into our midst, exemplifying the generosity and boldness of those concerned.

If Europe is still moving, we also owe it to the institutional machinery, a conception no less original than inspired, created by the authors of the Treaty of Rome. Alongside a decision-making body consisting of ministers from the Member States and a representative assembly, they decided to establish the strategic authority that is the Commission. Strategic, in that they had to ensure that there was some part of the institutional set-up that would guarantee the continuity of the project despite the political or geopolitical hazards, that would be a custodian of European interests, acting as a repository of past achievements and pointing the way to the goal ahead. Any description of the institutional machinery would be incomplete if it failed to emphasize the leading part played by the Court of Justice, which contributes to the development of a Community based on the rule of law.

It is the done thing, at times when the Community is lacking in vigour and confidence, to point the finger at the alleged failings of the institutions. But crises come and go, while the institutions remain, helping to weather the storms and often emerging all the stronger for that. No one today can fail to mark the vitality of a Parliament asserting itself and influencing the course of events, the reawakening of a Council of Ministers less hesitant to resort to majority voting, the determination of the Commission as seen in proposals that must be cogent and forceful so as to encourage further progress and provide ways and means of achieving it.

This new vigour has indeed been injected by the adoption of the Single European Act, which remodels and extends the Treaty of Rome, exactly 30 years after its signing. A radical reform that sets a new frontier for Europe, the Single Act will be the connecting link between the major challenges that our member countries will have to meet and the contribution that the European dimension can make to solving the problems involved. All the decisions that we shall be taking—and you can count on the Commission to set a steady pace—I repeat, all of those decisions will help the Community's producers to regain confidence and drive, and of course will provide more employment.

For what we must do now is find our way back to prosperity and full employment, make sure that we control the technological revolution, make Europe a force for stability and solidarity in the wider world, capable of responding to the many, frequently anguishing appeals from Third World countries, and capable, too, of rallying our youth.

Are we indeed listening hard enough to what the new generations are saying? Do we appreciate enough the concern and the generosity they are showing? Living with the crisis and with no short-term prospects, the young people of Europe might be expected to be introverted, self-centred, loath to get involved with the major issues of society. Yet here they are thinking and acting in Community terms, urging solidarity through a culture and modes of expression which to some extent perhaps we fail to grasp. Are we getting their message? I would most certainly not care to hear these young people one day rebuking us for our inaction or our blindness, as we have rebuked past generations for letting Europe drift into tragedy.

Like the founding fathers of the European Community in the 1950s, we today are in a position to determine our common future. But, remember, the world is moving faster than you think, and all too often Europe has given the sad impression of prattling away on the platform as the new trains of history pull out of the station. Who today is taking any initiatives in the vital area of security and strategy? Where are the new centres of economic growth, of scientific and technological discovery? Where lies the new balance of political forces? Who counts and who acts in today's world? We shall be judged, and so will you, on how successful we are in uniting the forces of Europe in a common grand design. Let's not delude ourselves: it is we, you, who will be blamed for dawdling over European integration, since that is the responsibility we share. History does not offer all that many second chances.

I fully appreciate the difficulties of this European endeavour. It will call for courage and sometimes self-denial on the part of our politicians. But to curry favour or construct, the choice is theirs. To curry favour by doing nothing or indulging in eloquent intellectual sparring. No! Better construct, always

on the alert and ready to counter any move that might weaken Europe or lower her status.

And we are not the only ones who count. We also bear a responsibility towards those young nations that are not happy with the way in which the world is now divided between the superpowers and who look to Europe as a source of balance, a Community with which a different kind of relationship is possible.

We also bear a responsibility towards our brothers in the East, to whom we are linked by many cultural ties. I would simply say to them here that we do not claim to be the only Europe.

Thanks to the drive of a handful of men and the labour of all, Europe has been able to rise and live again. Let us once more acclaim their deeds and their spirit: on this 30th anniversary we can do no better than wish that as we face our moments of truth we may be worthy of their example.'

**Lord Mackenzie Stuart,
President of the Court of Justice
of the European Communities**

'It was entirely appropriate that, 30 years ago, the Treaty founding the European Economic Community should have been signed at Rome. The Roman Empire throughout its long history was a community founded upon law. It is true that like most empires it suffered its period of anarchy, rebellion and decline but none the less from the Twelve Tables to the Institutes of Justinian the underlying structure was based on the concept of the lawmaker, the executant of those laws and of obedience to them. From Trebizond to Trier, from Leptis Magna to Newcastle-upon-Tyne the rescript of the Emperor ran.

The teaching of that great period is with us still. If it is to the University of Bologna, soon to celebrate its 900th anniversary, that we owe the dissemination of Roman law, none the less the inspiration was that of this city and the eastern capital of Constantinople.

The Community created by the Treaty of Rome is also a community based on law. In

that fact lies its unique quality in the sphere of international relations. It is a treaty which not only creates reciprocal rights and obligations between Member States. It is far more. It is a treaty which gives to the institutions which it has created lawmaking powers, powers which in the areas in which they operate transcend those of national parliaments and which affect not only the Member States themselves but each and every one of their 320 million inhabitants.

Power alone is not enough or, to put matters another way, it may be too much. "Power tends to corrupt", as the English historian and Italophile Lord Acton once said, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Power must be controlled in every well-organized society. Here again the creators of the Treaty of Rome, basing themselves on the earlier Coal and Steel Treaty, were aware of this truth and to that end installed a Court of Justice to ensure that the political institutions of the Community stayed within their proper bounds, that their powers were exercised fairly and in conformity with the law and that the many rights which the Community confers upon its individual citizens are properly and equitably safeguarded.

The Court of Justice of the European Communities, as befits a judicial body, traditionally keeps a low profile; it eschews public debates; it allows itself to be judged by the quality of its decisions.

There comes, however, from time to time a moment when our ingrained modesty must be put aside. Today, Mr President, is, I suggest, one such occasion.

The European Economic Community has much of which to be proud. It receives its quota of criticism, sometimes justified, and this in turn obscures the tremendous positive achievement. That there has been this positive achievement is in considerable part due, or so I like to think, to the work of the Court of Justice. By its judgments it has never permitted the Member States or the Community institutions to lose sight of what is at the heart of the Treaty of Rome. It has ensured that power is exercised according to the law and that the benefits of the Treaty are made fully available to the citizens of the 12 Member States.

More than that. The Court has played a role extending beyond the physical limits of the Community itself—to countries associated by agreement or treaty, to the Third World. Perhaps the most striking example of all is where it has had the trading agencies of the Eastern bloc appearing before it as litigants at a time when those beyond the Iron Curtain claimed not to recognize the Community's existence.

Lest this be thought vain, let me emphasize that the foundation of the Court's contribution to the Community was laid many years ago. I and my colleagues of today do no more than try to follow in their footsteps.

Moreover we are conscious that the Court is but a part of the greater whole; that we, together with our sister institutions and the Member States, are striving still to fulfil the primary aim of the Community—as the preamble to the Treaty puts it—that of promoting “an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”.

**Mr Bettino Craxi,
Prime Minister of Italy**

‘... Over the last three decades we have weathered storms and doldrums, but we have still inched forward on a course which must now be regarded as irreversible.

The Community is still an incomplete edifice, but it does emerge today as well balanced in its historical, geographical and cultural constituents. We are not unaware of, nor do we underestimate, the problems and hazards we shall still have to cope with; but we are more and more keenly aware of being bound by a shared destiny: we know that none of our member countries could, in the long term, attain to prosperity and power without developing together, without growing together with the others.

And it is this awareness, more than anything else, that must guide us as we give fresh impetus to the unification process, by resolving the conflicts of interests and ideas that so often arise.

We are going to have to take decisions on methods and strategies. The swiftness of change compels us to do so. The founding fathers were inspired by principles that must

now be adapted to the times we are living in and to the complexity of the new tasks we shall have to accomplish to keep the Community on course.

We have never believed and still do not believe in the immutability of the Treaties; but we have never thought in terms of renewing the institutions as opposed to improving them.

Let me remind you that at the Milan European Council we were moved by vital considerations, inescapable if Europe was to rise to its responsibilities. I am referring to the expansion of powers in the sectors of the future, to more effective action, more efficient institutions, to better guarantees of equity and democracy with the system. The advance of a genuine integration process and the strengthening of the institutions have always been inextricably linked.

The truth today is that the Community may well be on the brink of a new crisis.

We are faced with problems and objectives of crucial importance, such as the reform of the common agricultural policy, the achievement of economic and social cohesion, the reform of the structural Funds, the increasing of budgetary resources. These matters are all connected, interdependent.

Reform of the agricultural policy is a must not only because of its internal anomalies but also because of the changed international background to European agriculture. Moreover, it is essential to curb agricultural spending if we are to have sound budgetary discipline and ensure that the new injections of own resources are indeed used to strengthen a consolidation process whose purpose is to eliminate regional imbalances and effectively help first and foremost our most vulnerable citizens, the unemployed and young people seeking their first jobs. I am expecting a strong political impetus in the areas crucial to the Community's future, like research, technological innovation, industrial development, transport and the environment. A real social area is essential if we are to improve job security; we must tighten monetary cooperation as part of a broader coordination of economic behaviour.

We must also strengthen the means of action, by giving a strategic dimension to the

Community spirit, by bringing the Europe of governments closer to a Europe of the people, with no more of the uncertainties and the wavering often prompted solely by national self-seeking.

The principal role of our men of government is to foster mediation, by balancing out and tempering the demands, sacrifices and advantages of each of the Member States, while trying to find appropriate responses to the problems of today and to the need to press on with Community integration.

This will make it possible, over and above the different socio-political and politico-institutional situations in the member countries, to develop a Community identity, to bridge the gap between "the ideal and the real", between "what is and what might be".

We feel an obligation not to thwart the expectations of the people of Europe and of the many countries which, confidently and hopefully, see Europe as a beacon of progress, development and world peace.

A growing number of citizens, from every walk of life, can now discern the effects that

decisions taken at Community level can have on their daily lives. European ideals and new aspirations are springing up among Europeans, especially among the younger generation, which compels us to press on towards a people's Europe. A people's Europe means the freedom for any European to travel, work or reside and have his formal qualifications recognized in any Community country. It means freedom to live as a citizen of Europe.

But we should not forget that the developments we want for a united Europe must serve not only to increase our internal well-being but also to meet more effectively the major world challenges—development of the less-advanced countries, constructive relations between East and West, the quest for peace.

Let us pay tribute to those who started this process of integration between our nations. Let us have the strength, the imagination, the motivation and the moral fibre needed to build a common European fatherland in which all our people can identify themselves and to go on playing the role in world history that the nations of Europe have played so gloriously for centuries.'

Extracts from speech made in Rome on 25 March at the opening of the Historians Symposium on 'The revitalization of Europe and the Treaties of Rome'

**Mr Francesco Cattanei,
State Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
on behalf of Mr Giulio Andreotti,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy**

'I particularly welcome this meeting because I feel it is highly appropriate that a gathering of such eminent historians is being held as we mark the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome. The truth is that judgments made on European integration do not always take sufficient account of the historical perspective behind the daily round and may even go as far as to undervalue the substantial results achieved over 30 years.

The birth of the Community marked the end of centuries of conflict. Let me remind you that we have de Gasperi to thank for expanding the original Franco-German project for a Rhenish Europe into a scheme for a Carolingian Europe, starting with the pooling of two commodities, iron and steel, which had long played a part in the divisions of Europe. De Gasperi was also to play an active role—not always given the recognition due to it—in that Franco-German reconciliation.

The Community of Six was formed and then enlarged as countries bound by interests and ties beyond our continent came to realize that if they were to retain their historical roles they must henceforth gear their policies to Europe.

For the first time Europe as constituted by the Community is strongly rooted in democratic values, and membership of the Community offers an additional guarantee. Political parties that were originally indifferent or hostile to it have since turned towards the Community, and some of them have had to come a long way to align themselves with our political and ideological options.

Although representative democracy is well entrenched in our national structures, it does not fit easily into the multilateral institutions set up over the last 30 years.

If Italy stresses the role of the European Parliament, it is precisely because it would like to see a gap bridged in the Community's democratic legitimacy and thus make the Community more like its constituent countries.

In economic and social terms, integration has helped to create a homogeneous society, at least more homogeneous than the society of the immediate post-war period. There is, so to speak, only one Europe of behaviour, values, lifestyles—a single civil society. The European citizen could very well exist even if Europe didn't, for the citizen is a product of society whereas Europe depends on the States. That is why we want a people's Europe to have a legal form that reflects its citizens' collective condition more accurately.

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Although economic Europe has made substantial progress, political Europe has fallen short of what was planned by the founding fathers.

All too often it has lacked the solidarity that is indispensable to a new venture inspired by the rejection of narrow particularism of all kinds—a venture into freedom for all, sustained by economic and social cohesion, within individual States and in their inter-relations.

Nor have the governments proved to be capable of making full use of the scope for supranationality offered by the Treaties of Rome. They have become the custodians of a concept of sovereignty that is ill-suited to the problems of today's world; they have held back Europe's progress while others were showing us a different way to meet the challenges of tomorrow, already really the challenges of today. It is to the pace set by the United States and Japan that Europeans must adjust their outlook and not to that of their own history.

We have seen a Community too often divided, inward-looking, wearing itself out trying to solve minor problems, unable to find the necessary inspiration. One sometimes gets the impression that integration works like a machine whose performance is diminishing: each advance is irreversible, but every step is smaller than the last and costs more and more. Some see integration as a

zero-sum game (in which any player can only win what another loses) and not as an organized process that can generate a new kind of progress. In the post-war period no one thought of Europe in terms of cost. And today the costs are being calculated in a miserly, bookkeeping fashion. But the sums done by Parliament's Institutional Affairs Committee put the cost of non-Europe for the consumer, the taxpayer and the businessman, because of the barriers raised by tax, monetary and administrative frontiers, at some 100 000 million ECU.

The Single Act intrinsically reflects this ambiguous and disappointing state of affairs. It represents the maximum that some countries are willing to concede to the European idea today. As you know, we accepted it reluctantly, but we still take the view that it must be fully implemented—chiefly through the single market; and we are still convinced that it can only be a stage towards more ambitious objectives.

Up to now, ostensibly because of successive economic crises and despite the original intention of creating an integrated and open market, we have frequently seen the Member States fall back on protectionist options hidden behind the nationalism of standards that ought to be eliminated by legal firmness and political foresight.

The single market is also an essential stepping stone to more sophisticated forms of political cohesion. But it is liable to plunge us into new hegemonies unless, in the next seven years, we at the same time strengthen the cohesion of the European Community and aid the less prosperous economies, failing which some of the member countries will suffer serious underdevelopment.

It would be dangerous for the future of the Community were there to arise a North-South divide, which is already becoming apparent in the budgetary problems that are robbing the Community of vital resources.

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The reasons for taking the European option are still what they have always been: a desire for wellbeing and concord; fear of marginalization. But the economic and social background has changed. Agriculture no longer occupies the position it once had;

steel no longer plays the same role in our defence, nor coal in our energy supplies.

It is for these reasons too that we must embark upon a process of redistribution of Community resources such as the Commission has been advocating. Agricultural policy has been a major factor for stability, and for employment and protection of the environment. It has sheltered the European consumer from the uncertainties of the world market, but our farmers now make up only 8% of the population while the agricultural policy is swallowing 64% of our resources and nearly all Europe's political energy—and, what is more, failing to prevent imbalances between Mediterranean produce and that of northern Europe! What is needed is not to dismantle it but to regear it so as to lessen its impact on the budget and spread the cost more evenly.

In scientific research and advanced technology, Europe is still too reliant on separate traditions and structures. This has resulted in duplication of effort and loss of drive. That is why we have long been asking in Brussels for an integrated, organic, permanent and systematic research policy. The fact that so many of our young people are out of work is partly due to the rigidity of our societies; unemployment stems from our countries' inability to coordinate their economic policies and equip themselves with means of coping with technical change and new production methods. The Community budget is still adjusting too slowly to this new reality.

In the longer term, economic Europe cannot be divorced from monetary Europe. The existence of so many currencies in the Community can be compared to the persistence of different weights and measures on a single market. The ECU has gradually become a currency that is retracing the path along which all the other currencies came into being: a measure of value, then a medium of exchange used spontaneously by traders before a central institution was given the right of issue.

Why not set 1992 as the deadline for establishing an integrated European monetary system as well, so that the ECU could play a major international role alongside the other European currencies? There would also be less opportunity for argument and misun-

derstandings in monetary talks if a European currency could act as a stabilizer against those of the other two major market-economy areas.

*

Integration calls for institutions which can successfully make up the leeway between the already real need for European unity and the rate at which we are actually achieving it, which can ensure that we do not lose sight of the original design as we go about our day-to-day business.

We must not confuse the substance of Europe with the production and movement of its goods. We have to know whether we are to continue to regard European integration as a confrontation between a number of separate sovereignties propped up by old national structures or whether instead we are to attain to a new, shared European sovereignty. We would like the second process, for which the European Parliament is at once the symbol and the natural channel, to be the preferred alternative.

The reforms of the Single Act failed to vest Parliament with the legitimate authority that is its due following its election by universal suffrage. And yet, the Strasbourg Parliament can take great credit for hammering out, from somewhat confused aims, the draft Treaty of February 1984. The third election by direct suffrage will be an opportunity to harry the politicians, insist that more attention is paid to the changes affecting us all, set their waverings against the new dynamic patterns of the contemporary world and highlight the contradictions between words and deeds.

The various suggestions to the effect that the next Parliament should be given constituent powers that would free it from the straitjacket in which it is still confined despite its seven years of democratic legitimacy should not go unheeded. Let us see to it that the European elections lead to a true European power being set up.

We should also like to see the links between Commission and Parliament strengthened. Why not, for example, pick the Commissioners from the floor of the House?

*

But there is more to be done if Europe is to appear as a fully fledged actor on the international stage. In the difficult circumstances of 30 years ago the founding fathers did not consider their economies too weak, their political weight too slight, the burden of history too heavy, for them to have great ambitions.

The Community must not only define itself: it must also define its relations with others. It is tied to the United States by a solidarity that is far more than a matter of defence capabilities but rests above all on a community of values.

Europe should be able to help in reconciling, between the two sides of the Atlantic, interests that do not necessarily conflict, but are not always identical and quite often complementary.

This will enable us to refute more convincingly the repeated allegations that Europe is trying to make the Americans pay for her security, while America, thanks to currency fluctuations, is making Europe bear the cost of her economic difficulties. The way out of the dilemma is to enhance the profile of European currency and European security.

The need for Europe to define her own security, not autonomously but still within the Atlantic framework, is sometimes voiced in a mixture of resentment and disappointment, but there are many who perceive the need—especially as the prospects for agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union call for our participation. Italy has always advocated, and did so again in the Single Act negotiations, a commitment to joint defence more explicit than what was agreed at Luxembourg.

We can only restate our intention of working for greater homogeneity between the nations of Europe, bearing in mind that political integration and cooperation on defence must advance hand in hand.

The Community is linked to the United States by common values but borders geographically on the Soviet Union. It cannot turn a blind eye to the political fate of eastern Europe, given the spirit of tolerance that is the hallmark of our civilization and certainly does not aim to create or consolidate opposing blocs. Even in the East, the

Community is coming more and more to be recognized as a political entity. I was able to confirm this on my last visit to Moscow. Mr Gorbachev told me then that the Soviet Union had abandoned its mistaken view that Europe was no more than an economic entity or, worse still, an appendage of the United States.

It is time, I think, that we responded to these signals and established with the Com-econ countries as well—both individually and collectively—less precarious relationships leading to mutual recognition.

Elsewhere, the Twelve are concerned first and foremost with the regional crises, the trouble-spots like the Middle East; they cannot remain aloof to the tragedies of under-development, which the superpowers sometimes consider only in terms conditioned by their own global influence.

The Community was also born of a desire for justice and protection of the weak and the oppressed. The experience of our own tragedies, beginning with the violation of human rights, had prompted the original

plan. Let us always remember that, when we hear calls for political solidarity and material assistance from other parts of the world, especially when they are calls to support what are still frail democracies.

The political weight and moral authority of the Community will depend on the contribution we can make to the problems of development, a contribution which, more than in any other field, must be our own.

Such are the tasks before a Europe that has finally come to adulthood; tasks that the Twelve cannot accomplish separately if they are to be leading players on the international stage and more than just a geographical expression, inevitably fragmented and so unavoidably subordinate. They have set in place instruments like political cooperation that are still part of an intergovernmental scheme of things but are none the less effective. Perhaps we should go further than the present structures by setting up in Brussels some kind of permanent Council of the Member States, along the lines of what already exists for economic cooperation or, for defence, in NATO.'

Declaration adopted by the
Action Committee for Europe
at its meeting of
23 and 24 March in Rome

'Meeting in Rome, at the invitation of President Cossiga, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the signature of the Treaties of Rome, the members of the Action Committee for Europe express their admiration for those who, after 30 years of a European civil war that ravished all participating nations, broke the vicious circle of hatred and violence by laying the foundations for "an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe".¹

They acknowledged the achievements made in many areas over the past 30 years. To halt now would be to jeopardize European integration, whose very foundation depends on continuing solidarity between our nations in all areas. Consequently, in the longer term, there cannot be economic and social solidarity if it does not also extend to security through the implementation of a common defence policy.²

They welcomed the initiation of a policy to reduce nuclear arms of all ranges, which has found its first expression in the zero option. They expressed their hope for a successful outcome of the current negotiations and for their extension to cover all other forms of weapons, in particular conventional and chemical. They insisted that in order to succeed, account must be taken of the balance of forces, which thus far has provided the basis for peace in Europe. Finally, it was noted that the foregoing elements have underlined the necessity to establish a European pillar in the Atlantic Alliance to allow our nations to remain masters of their own destiny.

In addition to the solidarity required in peace and security issues, our nations must pursue more actively the objectives for economic and social progress which formed the basis of the Treaty of Rome.

At its Bonn meeting, the Committee emphasized the necessity for Community action in three areas and stressed their interdependent character:

- (a) to create a border-free domestic market by 1992;
- (b) to strengthen the European Monetary System;
- (c) to reinforce Community activity in research and development.

The urgent problems which are now facing the Community have convinced the Committee that the further development of the Community now requires an overall strategy incorporating the interrelationship of all its major policies: economic, monetary and social. This strategy ought, as a matter of priority, to include the essential elements of growth and economic and social cohesion. In addition it implies the strengthening of the now successfully launched social dialogue at a time when economic and technological circumstances render this indispensable.

The Single European Act provides a legal and political basis enabling the Community to implement this overall strategy. The members of the Committee call on the competent institutions to implement it fully without further delay.

They are of the opinion that the communication "Making a success of the Single Act: A new frontier for Europe", recently sent by the European Commission to the Council, represents an important step on the road to defining this strategy.

The Committee is aware of its duty, over and above the declaration of principles, to submit concrete proposals. To this end, it has decided to establish two working groups: one on the development of the Community, the other on the establishment of a European pillar in the Atlantic Alliance. Their conclusions shall form the basis of the forthcoming meeting on 19 and 20 January 1988 in Paris on the invitation of Mr Alain Poher and Mr Jacques Chaban-Delmas.'

¹ Preamble to the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community signed in Rome on 25 March 1957.

² The Irish members would like to point out that as their country is not a member of the Atlantic Alliance, they cannot accept the references in this declaration to a common defence policy.

Europe 2000

**Special edition of *Eurobarometer*
for the 30th anniversary of the
signing of the Treaties of Rome**

Special survey for the Commission

Of birthdays and anniversaries

At least during a period corresponding to the normal life span of a man or woman, there are analogies between a person's birthdays and a political institution's anniversaries. When a person celebrates her or his 75th birthday, one mainly looks back, remembers, strikes balances, sums up. When a person celebrates a 30th birthday this is different. Surely, one also does look back, briefly. After all, not every dream one had had at the age of 13 or of 18 has come true: one has become mature and adult. But, at 30, one looks ahead, before all. One is full of energies, full of ideas, full of projects and plans. And one knows: those projects which will not have become true by the time one is 50 or 60, never will.

In our special Eurobarometer survey carried out at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, we have adopted the same approach: we do look back, briefly, in order to sum up and strike a balance. But we look ahead, before all! We seize the occasion of asking the citizens of Europe about their expectations and their projects, about their plans and their desires, about their dreams.

Striking a balance of 30 years

A large majority of the citizens of the European Community consider their country's membership in this Community to be 'a good thing': 62% (67% of those who indicated an opinion, 72% in the original six Member States).

The Europeans have greatly assessed their country's membership in the European Community as important or even very important. 74% say so (80% of those who replied) and even 80% (86% of those who replied) in the six founding member countries.

Striking the balance ends up with a definitely positive result, at the European level (53% say that their country has benefited; two in three of those who replied). Among the citizens of the original six Member States, i.e. those who have actually gone through 30 years of experience, this score is even higher: 65% (three in four of those who answered the question). Ever since this

question has been put in the Eurobarometer surveys, the tendency of positive answers has been rising, people in the new Member States being slightly more reluctant.

Ten scenarios for January 2000

After this short but encouraging glance over their shoulders, we invited the respondents to look ahead. We presented them 10 scenarios about how we or our children might live in January of the year 2000 and invited them to tell whether they believe that these scenarios 'will have actually come about by then or not'.

In very concrete terms, the subject matters evoked dealt with everyday life (money, television, languages spoken, the freedom of movement across European Community internal borders), with common European action to increase security (fighting ecological catastrophes, fighting terrorism, common defence against possible external threats), the rank and status of Europe in intercontinental relations (e.g. *vis-à-vis* the USA or the USSR); and, finally, the possibility of voting in a referendum on a European constitution or in an election for the head of the government of Europe.

It should be underlined, first of all, that the number of those who think that none of the scenarios offered would have come true by the beginning of the next century is tiny (one in 30 interviewed) and that almost all scenarios are considered as probably realized, 13 years from now, by at least one European in two.

Nine out of 10 British expect the fight against terrorism in January 2000 to be fought at the European level of government. And, as we shall see below, they are in favour of a full grown European government, endowed with the necessary powers, in a United States of Europe. More than three in four Danes think alike as to fighting terrorism but are afraid of a loss of national identity with respect to political union.

The French National Assembly broke the dynamism of European political unification of the early 1950s, in August 1954, by rejecting the idea of a European Defence Community (among the six members of the Euro-

pean Coal and Steel Community) and a corresponding European Political Community.

In January 1987, 51% of the French (59% of those who replied) expect a European Defence Community to have come about by January 2000.

But more numerous yet are the British on that scenario: 58% of them think that, by the beginning of the next century, 13 years from now, 'our soldiers within the European Community have the same type of arms and equipment and assure together the security of the European Community against threats from outside'. This figure of 58% of those interviewed corresponds to 66% of those who answered the respective question (only 13% of those interviewed did not reply here).

Many very interesting details of the results on our scenario cannot be reported here, due to lack of space. Many also deserve additional, more sophisticated analyses, about which we shall report later. One way of summing up the global result of this series of scenarios is to compare the number of affirmative answers to the 10 scenarios presented, by member country.

France	6.47	Germany	5.85
Luxembourg	6.44	Spain	5.79
Italy	6.23	Netherlands	5.42
United Kingdom	6.15	Ireland	5.42
Belgium	6.08	Denmark	4.89
Greece	5.89	Portugal	4.23

Among the bigger member countries, it is France, Italy and the United Kingdom who expect Europe to be truly united, by 2000. Of all 12, France takes the lead.

The citizens of Europe want political union

Asking about the importance of EC membership and about the benefit of it for their country, we invited our respondents to give us an assessment of what they perceive to be present and past reality. Asking them whether they think that the various scenarios we had drawn up would have come about by January 2000, we invited them to tell us their expectations. In addition, we asked them about their own preferences with re-

spect to the future of European unification. For instance, we asked them about the idea of a 'United States of Europe'.

In recent years, few were the occasions where one could hear somebody speak or read somebody having written about the 'United States of Europe'. Those who were interested in furthering European integration took particular care to avoid this formula. It was considered to be unfashionable, archaic, representing a way of looking at things that was anything but up-to-date. At the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, we nevertheless thought it interesting to test these assumptions by presenting this 'formula' to the European public of 1986-87. The result was rather surprising.

'Are you personally for or against the European Community developing towards becoming a "United States of Europe"?''

Two in three Europeans are personally 'for' or 'rather for' the United States of Europe (three in four of those who replied). Among the peoples of the original six Community member countries, the respective figures are even higher: 70% are in favour of a USE (83% of those who replied).

'After what time would you entrust the government of Europe with the responsibility for the economy, foreign affairs and defence: immediately, in the next 10 years, over 10 up to 20 years, over 20 up to 30 years, after several generations or a longer period, never?'

Forty-seven per cent of the citizens of the European Community 'would entrust the government of Europe' with the responsibility in these important policy areas (65% of those who replied) within the next 20 years; 58% (78% of those who answered the question) would do so within 30 years, i.e. before the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome; 16% are against it, at least for the time of their own life span; 26% chose not to reply.

'In the case of an election for the head of government of Europe, is it possible that you would vote for a candidate who was not of your nationality or would you rule this out?'

Sixty-six per cent of the French say they could vote for a non-French candidate, that

is 70% of those who gave an answer to this question. An impressive figure in view of this country's position in former years.

Europe and the young: what future?

If we break the answers to our questions down by age group, a somewhat alarming evidence comes to the fore. For the young, 'Europe'—though seen as more important and more beneficial for their respective country—is less inspiring and appears to offer a lower potential for protection than for the older age groups. (The oldest group is slightly more reluctant, too.)

Those who were up to 24 years of age in 1957, when the Treaty was signed, are clearly more 'European' than the young! This is all the more disquieting as today's young receive more formal education than their parents did. And as it is a well-established finding that the more educated are more 'European', we must take even more seriously what the data collected in this survey reveal (see table on p. 23).

European unity and national identity

In order to measure the basic attitudes of our respondents towards the idea of European unification we asked them to define their position on a scale relating two 'extreme' opinions (see graph on p. 24).

As the analysis of all interviewed shows, the Europeans are clearly more oriented towards opinion B: 55% chose cases 5, 6 and 7 of the scale, while 15% placed themselves in the middle case 4, i.e. did not choose their camp. We may add to them those 9% who did not want to answer this question. Twenty-one per cent, that is one in five Europeans, believe that European unity implies the sacrifice of national identity and economic interests.

Reviewing the answers to the different questions of our survey in order to describe the

differences between the nationalities, we find a number of insights confirmed that have been found in many Eurobarometer surveys before.

Luxembourgers, for instance, are strongly in favour of more European unity. And the Danes are clearly sceptical, many of them even hostile to the idea. All new members are still somewhat less enthusiastic than 'the old Six'. But Spain and Portugal show more 'European orientation' than Greece and—particularly in the more recent years—Ireland. For quite some time, the Italians have been true partisans of European integration.

More surprising, however, are the British and the French on one side, and the Dutch and the Germans on the other.

The British disclose an impressive, steady evolution towards clearly 'pro-European' positions. They have not yet reached the average of the countries that signed the Treaties in Rome, 30 years ago, but they have totally reversed the basic trend in their public opinion towards the Community.

If we compare their answers to the 'United States of Europe' question of 17 years ago to their present-day replies, a dramatic change comes to the fore.

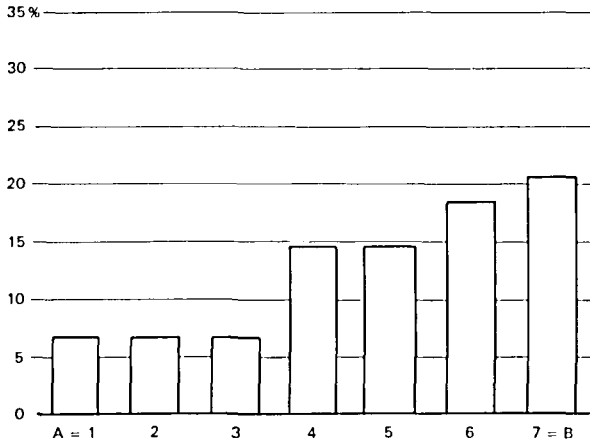
While, in 1970, 30% of the British were in favour of a 'United States of Europe', but 48% against, today 52% (that is 58% of those who replied) are in favour and only 37% remain hostile to this idea (i.e. 42% of those who replied).

At least part of the reason why the Dutch and the Germans are—more than in the past—sceptical and hesitating *vis-à-vis* the Community and plans for its development towards a European Union may be found in the fact that the German and Dutch public are deeply deceived about the slow pace of progress.

*Europe for the young: more important, more beneficial,
but less inspiring, less protecting*

	15-24	25-39	40-54	55 +	Still at school
<i>EC membership</i>					
Important	79	78	75	66	85
Not important	14	17	18	21	10
Don't know	7	6	7	13	5
<i>EC membership</i>					
Beneficial	59	56	54	46	62
Not beneficial	23	31	32	34	22
Don't know	18	14	14	20	16
<i>European government</i>					
Before 30 years	56	59	61	54	62
Later, never	18	18	16	13	15
No answer	26	23	23	33	23
<i>United States of Europe</i>					
For	62	65	68	60	62
Against	23	20	18	18	20
Don't know	15	14	14	21	13
<i>European unity and national identity</i>					
Contradictory	12	12	13	16	13
Undecided	43	41	35	32	40
Complementary	38	41	44	39	42
Don't know	7	6	8	13	5
Europe 2000 all 10 scenarios average 'yes'	57	61	62	59	58

European unity and national identity: contradictory or complementary? (percentage of people interviewed, EC 12 and by country)

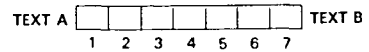


There is a lot of talk about what the countries in the European Community have in common and what distinguishes them from one another.

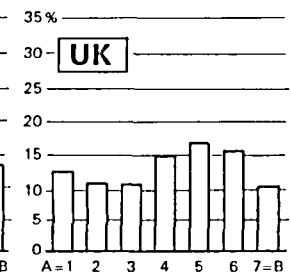
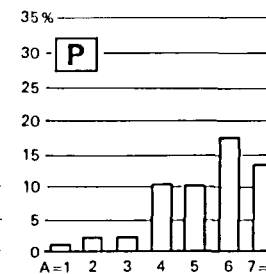
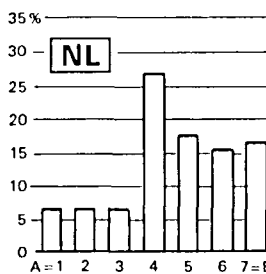
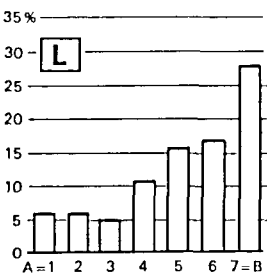
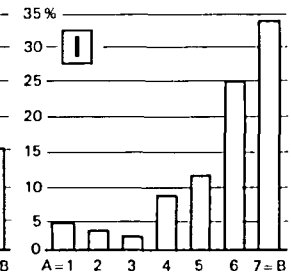
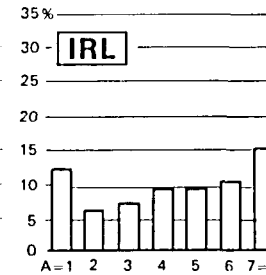
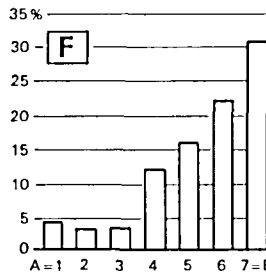
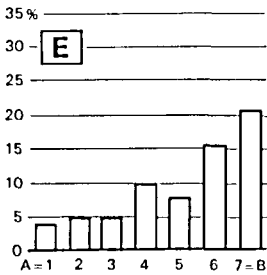
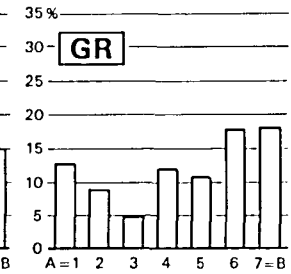
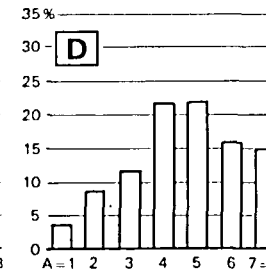
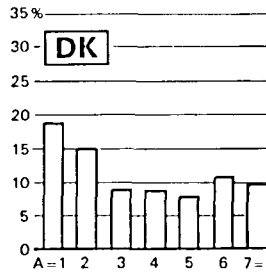
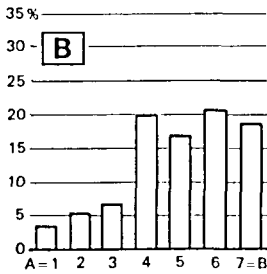
Some say (A): If one day the countries of Europe were really united, this would mark the end of our national, historic, cultural identity and our own national economic interests would be sacrificed.

Others say (B): The only way of protecting our national, historical, cultural identities and our national economic interests against a challenge put up by the Great World Powers is for the countries of Europe to become truly united.

Do you feel nearer to the first or the second of these opinions? Please indicate where you stand by choosing one of the boxes on this scale.



0 = Don't know



Chronology of the
European Community 1957-87

1957

25 March The Treaties establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) are signed at the Capitol in Rome. Both Treaties are ratified before the year's end by the Parliaments of all six member countries, with even larger majorities than when the ECSC Treaty was ratified.

1958

1 January The EEC and Euratom Treaties enter into force.

7 January The Members of the EEC and Euratom Commissions are appointed by the governments of the Member States. Walter Hallstein becomes President of the EEC Commission and Louis Armand President of the Euratom Commission.

19 March Robert Schuman is elected President of the European Parliament.

3 to 11 July The Agriculture Conference in Stresa lays the foundations for the common agricultural policy.

1959

1 January The first steps are taken in the progressive elimination of customs duties and quotas within the EEC.

1960

13 February The EEC Council approves the common customs tariff on which the Member States are gradually to align their own tariffs during the transitional period.

3 May The Convention establishing the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) enters into force.

12 May The EEC Council decides to speed up the implementation of the Treaty.

17 May The European Parliament approves a draft convention on direct elections (based on a report by Fernand Dehousse).

30 June On the basis of the conclusions reached by the Stresa Conference and following discussions on the initial guidelines put forward in November 1959, the Commission sends to the Council its proposals for implementing the common agricultural policy.

20 September The European Social Fund Regulation enters into force.

19 and 20 December The EEC Council approves the basic principles governing the common agricultural policy.

1961

10 and 11 February The Heads of State or Government of the Six decide at a summit meeting in Paris to work towards political union.

18 July The Heads of State or Government at a summit meeting in Bonn issue declarations on cultural and political cooperation. They agree to closer political cooperation by the Six and undertake to hold regular meetings to concert their policies.

July/August	Ireland (31 July), the United Kingdom (9 August) and Denmark (10 August) apply to join the EEC.
1 September	The first regulation on the free movement of workers within the Community enters into force.
2 November	The French Government submits a draft treaty establishing a political union of the Six (Fouchet Plan).
November	Accession negotiations begin with the United Kingdom (8 and 9 November) and Denmark (30 November).
6 and 7 December	At a ministerial meeting between the EEC Member States and Council, and the Associated African States and Madagascar (AASM: formerly dependent territories associated with the EEC which had gained their independence since the signing of the Treaty of Rome), the objectives and principles of an association convention are defined.
December	Sweden (12 December), Austria (12 December) and Switzerland (15 December) ask that negotiations be started with a view to agreements with the EEC that will be compatible with their neutrality.
1962	
14 January	The Council finds that the objectives set out in the EEC Treaty for the first stage in the establishment of the common market have been achieved in the main. The second stage begins with effect from 1 January. The Council adopts the basic regulations for a common market in agriculture (common organization of the markets in a number of products, European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund set up).
18 January	The French Government produces a new version of the Fouchet Plan.
1 February	France's five partners advance an alternative proposal for political union.
9 February	Spain seeks to open negotiations for association with the EEC.
17 April	At a meeting of Foreign Ministers, negotiations on political union are abandoned, chiefly because no agreement can be reached on the United Kingdom's participation.
30 April	Norway applies for membership of the Community.
15 May	The Six decide a second time to speed up the establishment of the common market.
1963	
14 January	The French President, General de Gaulle, declares at a press conference that the United Kingdom is not ready to join the EEC.
22 January	France and the Federal Republic of Germany sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Paris.
29 January	The accession negotiations with the United Kingdom are broken off at the insistence of the French Government; negotiations with the other countries which have applied for membership or association are suspended too.

- 2 April** The EEC Council declares its readiness to conclude association agreements with other African countries comparable with the AASM in terms of economic structure and production.
- 11 July** The EEC Council proposes regular contacts with the United Kingdom through Western European Union (WEU).
- 20 July** The Association Convention between the EEC and 17 African States and Madagascar is signed in Yaoundé, Cameroon.
- 1964**
- 15 April** On a proposal from the Commission, the EEC Council agrees to a medium-term economic policy programme being prepared for the Community.
- 4 May** The Kennedy Round of multilateral tariff negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) opens in Geneva.
- 1 June** The Yaoundé Convention enters into force.
- 1 July** The regulations establishing the first common agricultural market organizations and the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) enter into force.
- 1 October** In a memorandum entitled 'Initiative 1964' the EEC Commission proposes a timetable for speeding up customs union.
- 15 December** The EEC Council for the first time determines common prices for cereals.
- 1965**
- 31 March** The EEC Commission puts before the Council its proposals for financing the common agricultural policy and proposals for replacing the Member States' contributions to the Community budget by the Community's own resources and reinforcing the European Parliament's budgetary powers.
- 8 April** The Six sign the Treaty merging the Executives of the EEC, the ECSC and Euratom, thereby establishing a single Council and a single Commission of the European Communities.
- 30 June** Maurice Couve de Murville, French Foreign Minister and President of the EEC Council, breaks off the Council discussions on the Commission's proposals on financing the common agricultural policy, own resources and Parliament's budgetary powers, noting that the Council has failed to reach agreement on financing arrangements by the appointed time (the January 1962 decisions were taken on the understanding that the new Financial Regulation would take effect on 1 July 1965).
- 1 July** The French Government issues a communiqué stating that the Community is undergoing a 'crisis'.
- 6 July** The French Government informs the Member States that it is recalling its Permanent Representative and that the French delegation will not be taking part in meetings of the Council or the Permanent Representatives Committee nor in proceedings of committees and working parties which were preparing for economic union or the resumption of earlier negotiations.

- 26 and 27 July** The EEC Council meets for the first time without France, affirming that it is not prevented from meeting and deliberating by the absence of one delegation.
- 9 September** At a press conference General de Gaulle voices his concern at the workings of the Community institutions, especially with regard to majority voting in the Council and relations between the Council and the Commission.
- 26 October** In a statement from the Council, France's five partners reaffirm their continuing respect for the Treaties and call on France to resume her place in the Community institutions. They propose that the Council hold a special meeting, without the Commission, to attempt to resolve the Community's problems.
- 1966**
- 1 January** The EEC enters the third and final stage of the common market transitional period: one consequence of this is the replacement of unanimity by majority vote for many Council decisions.
- 17 and 18 January** The Council holds a special meeting in Luxembourg without the Commission; France takes part.
- 28 and 29 January** Resuming its special meeting in Luxembourg, the Council issues the statements on relations between the Council and the Commission and on majority voting which are commonly called the 'Luxembourg Compromise'. France resumes her place in the Community institutions.
- 11 May** The EEC Council sets a firm date (1 July 1968) for the completion of customs union and the introduction ahead of schedule of the Common Customs Tariff for industrial products. It also adopts a timetable that will bring about free movement of agricultural products by the same date.
- 1967**
- 9 February** By adopting Commission proposals for a common system of value-added tax and the procedure for applying it (first and second VAT Directives), the EEC Council embarks on the harmonization of turnover taxes.
- May** The governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland (10 May) and Denmark (11 May) make fresh applications to join the Communities.
- 30 June** The Final Act of the Kennedy Round is signed in Geneva by the Commission (for the Community) and the other GATT contracting parties.
- 1 July** The Treaty merging the Executives of the European Communities enters into force.
- 6 July** The 14-member Commission of the European Communities takes office, with Jean Rey as President.
- 25 July** Norway makes a second application to join the Communities.
- 26 July** The Swedish Government asks the Six to open negotiations to enable Sweden to take part in the Community in a form which would be compatible with her neutrality.

- 29 September** The Commission delivers an Opinion expressing itself in favour of opening negotiations with a view to the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway joining the Communities.
- 27 November** General de Gaulle gives a press conference and declares that the United Kingdom is not in a position to join the Community.
- 19 December** The Council fails to reach agreement on the reopening of negotiations with the applicant countries.
- 1968**
- 1 July** Customs union is completed 18 months ahead of the Treaty schedule: customs duties between Member States are removed, and the Common Customs Tariff replaces national customs duties in trade with the rest of the world.
- 29 July** The regulation securing complete freedom of movement for workers within the Community is adopted (more than a year ahead of the Treaty schedule).
- 18 December** The Commission lays before the Council the 'Mansholt Plan' for the reform of agriculture in the Community, which aims to modernize farm structures.
- 1969**
- 23 July** The Council resumes examination of the applications for membership from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway.
- 15 October** The Commission sends the Council a proposal to provide the Community with the instruments it needs to implement a regional development policy.
- 1 and 2 December** Conference of the Heads of State or Government at The Hague, where they agree to lay down without delay a definitive financial arrangement for the common agricultural policy, to allocate to the Community its own resources and to strengthen the budgetary powers of Parliament. They also agree to open negotiations with the four applicant countries, to press forward with economic and monetary union and to introduce a system of cooperation in foreign affairs.
- 31 December** The 12-year transitional period provided for in the EEC Treaty for the establishment of the common market ends.
- 1970**
- 9 February** The Governors of the Central Banks sign an agreement establishing a system of short-term monetary support within the Community. This takes effect the same day.
- 21 and 22 April** Honouring the undertakings made at The Hague, the Council adopts definitive arrangements for financing the common agricultural policy and makes a decision on the replacement of financial contributions from Member States by the Communities' own resources. The Ministers sign a Treaty amending certain budgetary provisions of the Treaties establishing the European Communities which gives the European Parliament wider budgetary powers.
- 30 June** Negotiations with the four countries applying for membership formally open in Luxembourg.

- 2 July** A new Commission, composed of nine members and presided over by Franco Maria Malfatti, takes office.
- 7 and 8 October** The working party chaired by Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner adopts the report on the attainment by stages of economic and monetary union which it had been instructed to draw up by the Council following The Hague Summit.
- 27 October** The Foreign Ministers, meeting in Luxembourg, adopt the Davignon report on 'the best way of achieving progress in the matter of the political unification of Europe'.
- 19 November** First 'political cooperation' meeting of Foreign Ministers is held in Munich.
- 1971**
- 1 January** The second Yaoundé Convention and Arusha Agreement enter into force.
- 22 March** The Council and representatives of the member governments adopt a resolution on the attainment by stages of economic and monetary union, the first stage to start on 1 January 1971. The Council also decides to strengthen coordination of Member States' short-term economic policies and cooperation between the central banks, and to set up machinery for medium-term financial assistance.
- 12 May** Following the floating of several Member States' currencies, the Council introduces a system of monetary compensatory amounts for trade in agricultural products between Member States, with the aim of maintaining the unity of the common agricultural market.
- 21 and 22 June** The Council adopts the Commission's proposals to grant generalized tariff preferences to 91 developing countries.
- 15 August** The United States Government suspends the convertibility of the dollar into gold.
- 1972**
- 22 January** The Treaty and related documents concerning the accession of Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom to the European Communities are signed in Brussels.
- 21 March** Introduction of the currency 'snake': the Council of the Communities and the governments of the Member States decide to limit the spread between the Member States' currencies to a maximum of 2.25%. The applicant countries also join the 'snake'.
- 24 March** The Council adopts three Directives on the modernization of agricultural structures, following Commission proposals for the reform of agriculture.
- 19 April** The Convention setting up a European University Institute is signed in Florence.
- 23 June** The pound sterling and the Irish pound leave the 'snake'.
- 25 September** In Norway's referendum on joining the Community, 53.5% vote against. The Norwegian Government asks to negotiate a free-trade agreement with the Community.

- 19 to 21 October** The nine Heads of State or Government of the enlarged Community hold a summit conference in Paris. They define new fields of action for the Community (concerning environmental, regional, social and industrial policies, etc.) and ask the Community institutions to draw up the appropriate programmes. They reaffirm the determination of Member States irreversibly to achieve economic and monetary union. They undertake to transform by 1980 'the whole complex of their relations into a European union'.
- 1973**
- 1 January** Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom formally join the European Communities.
Free-trade agreements with Austria, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland come into force. Agreements with the other three non-applicant EFTA countries take effect later (Iceland on 1 April, Norway on 1 July, Finland on 1 January 1974).
- 16 January** The European Parliament convenes for its first session since enlargement. The British Labour Party sends no representatives to Parliament, and the British trade unions do not take the seats allocated to them on the Economic and Social Committee.
- 13 February** The Italian lira leaves the 'snake'.
- 11 and 12 March** The Council holds a meeting on the monetary situation. The United Kingdom, Ireland and Italy having decided to let their currencies float independently, the 'snake' is retained by the other Member States (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands) and now floats against the dollar.
- 3 to 7 July** The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) opens in Helsinki.
- 23 July** The Foreign Ministers present their second report on political cooperation (Copenhagen report), calling for more active cooperation. The report is subsequently approved by the Heads of State or Government.
- 25 and 26 July** A ministerial conference is held between the Community and the AASM, the Commonwealth developing countries referred to in the Act of Accession and certain other African countries, as a prelude to negotiations for what will be the Lomé Convention with the African, Pacific, and Caribbean (ACP) countries.
- 12 September** The Tokyo Round of multilateral trade negotiations in GATT opens.
- 6 to 27 October** Yom Kippur War. The Arab oil-producing countries announce that oil exports to certain Western countries will be cut or stopped. The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decides to raise oil prices substantially.
- 6 November** The Nine issue a declaration setting out principles on which to base a peace settlement in the Middle East; this is to guide their policy in the years ahead.
- 14 and 15 December** The Heads of State or Government of the Member States confer in Copenhagen. On instructions from the Arab Summit in Algiers (26 to 28 November), the Foreign Ministers of four Arab countries deliver a message to the Conference. The decision is taken to put together the initial components of a common energy policy and set up a European Regional Development Fund by 1 January 1974. The Council then fails to act on these directives, which puts the Community under strain.

1974

- 21 January** The French franc leaves the 'snake'.
- 8 February** During Britain's election campaign, the Labour Party announces that it will ask for 'renegotiation' of the United Kingdom's membership of the Communities.
- 18 February** The Council fails to decide on transition to the second phase of economic and monetary union.
- 1 April** The newly formed British Government asks for 'renegotiation' of the United Kingdom's membership.
- 25 April** Portugal's dictatorship, in power since 1928, is overthrown.
- 24 July** The Greek Colonels' junta falls.
- 31 July** The Euro-Arab Dialogue opens in Paris. The Community is represented by the Presidents of the Council and the Commission. It is agreed to set up a Euro-Arab General Committee and a number of working groups.
- 22 August** Greece asks the Community to 'unfreeze' the Association Agreement (confined to routine business since the Colonels' *coup d'état*).
- 14 September** At the invitation of French President Giscard d'Estaing, the Heads of State or Government of the Nine and the President of the Commission meet for informal talks at the Elysée. France drops her objections to direct election of Parliament and presents a package of proposals on the political organization of Europe.
- 17 September** The Council reactivates the Association Agreement with Greece.
- 11 October** The United Nations General Assembly grants the Community observer status.
- 9 and 10 December** At the Paris Summit Conference the Heads of State or Government take a number of important decisions concerning the Community's institutions:
- (i) Parliament to be elected by direct universal suffrage from 1978 onwards;
 - (ii) the Heads of State or Government to hold regular meetings 'in the Council of the Communities and in the context of political cooperation' (subsequently baptized 'European Council');
 - (iii) Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Prime Minister, to compile a report on European Union by the end of 1975.
- The meeting also produces many policy decisions, including one on the structure and endowment (for the next three years) of the European Regional Development Fund.

1975

- 14 January** Parliament adopts the new draft convention on the election of its members by direct universal suffrage from 1978 onwards.
- 4 March** A joint declaration is signed by Parliament, the Council and the Commission instituting a conciliation procedure between Parliament and the Council, with the active assistance of the Commission, for Community acts of general application which have appreciable financial implications.

- 10 and 11 March** The European Council holds its first meeting in Dublin. On the basis of a Commission proposal it works out a solution to the problems raised by the United Kingdom in connection with her contribution to the Community budget, thus paving the way for the conclusion of the 'renegotiation' exercise.
- 18 March** Following the conclusion of the renegotiations the British Government announces its intention in the House of Commons to organize a referendum on UK membership of the Community.
- 5 June** The referendum results show a large majority in favour of the United Kingdom remaining a member of the Community: 67.2% vote 'yes' (68.7% in England, 64.8% in Wales, 58.4% in Scotland and 52.1% in Northern Ireland) in a 64.5% turn-out.
- 12 June** Greece applies to join the European Communities.
- June/July** Reports on European Union are adopted by the Commission on 25 June and by Parliament on 10 July, the two reaching similar conclusions.
- 7 July** Following the positive outcome to the referendum, 18 British Labour Members take up their seats in the European Parliament. British trade unionists also take their places on the Economic and Social Committee.
- 10 July** The French franc rejoins the 'snake'.
- 22 July** The Treaty strengthening the budgetary powers of Parliament and setting up a Court of Auditors is signed in Brussels.
- 1 August** In Helsinki the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is signed by the 35 States taking part. Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro, acting in his capacity as President of the Council, signs on behalf of the Community.
- 16 September** Official relations are established with China and a Chinese ambassador is accredited to the Community.
- 18 November** The first Tripartite Conference on the economic and social situation is held, attended by Community representatives (Commission and Council), the ministers responsible for economic policy and employment in the Member States and representatives from both sides of industry.
- 29 December** Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans transmits his report on European Union to the other Heads of State or Government of the Community and to the President of the Commission.
- 1976**
- 28 January** The Commission endorses Greece's application for Community membership but expresses the view that there should perhaps be a waiting period before accession in view of the structural changes that will have to take place.
- 9 February** The Council comes out in favour of Greece's application to join the Community; it is agreed that negotiations will open on 27 July.

- 16 February** The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) proposes an agreement between CMEA and its members, and the Community and its members.
- 14 March** The French franc leaves the 'snake' again.
- 1 April** The ACP-EEC Convention between the Community and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific States, signed at Lomé on 28 February 1975, enters into force.
- 25 to 27 April** The Community signs comprehensive agreements with the Maghreb countries (Tunisia on 25, Algeria on 26 and Morocco on 27 April).
- 20 September** The instruments concerning election of Parliament by direct universal suffrage are signed in Brussels.
- 30 October** Foreign Ministers meeting in The Hague decide that Member States will extend fishing limits to 200 miles off their North Sea and North Atlantic coasts from 1 January 1977 and agree a number of common guidelines and procedures. These decisions, formally adopted by the Council on 3 November, mark the beginnings of the common fisheries policy.
- 29 and 30 November** Meeting in The Hague, the European Council publishes a statement on the Tindemans Report and calls on the Foreign Ministers and the Commission to report to it once a year on the results obtained and the progress which can be achieved in the short term towards European Union.
- 1977**
- 18 January** Cooperation agreements are signed with three Mashreq countries (Egypt, Jordan and Syria), to be followed by the agreement with Lebanon on 3 May.
- 28 March** Portugal applies for Community membership.
- 5 April** The European Parliament, the Council and the Commission sign a joint declaration on the respect of fundamental rights.
- 7 and 8 May** At the third Western Economic Summit in London (the 'Downing Street Summit') the Community participates, as such, for the first time in some of the discussions.
- 17 May** The Council adopts the sixth VAT Directive (establishing a uniform basis of assessment for value-added tax), thus enabling Community own resources arrangements to be operated in full.
- 1 July** Customs union is achieved in the enlarged Community.
- 28 July** Spain applies for Community membership.
- 25 October** The Court of Auditors of the European Communities, replacing the EEC and Euratom Audit Board and the ECSC Auditor, holds its inaugural meeting in Luxembourg.
- 27 October** Commission President Roy Jenkins makes a statement in Florence on the prospects for monetary union.
- 1978**
- 3 April** The Community and China sign a trade agreement which comes into force on 1 June.

- 7 and 8 April** The European Council, meeting in Copenhagen, agrees that the first direct elections to the European Parliament will be held between 7 and 10 June 1979. These dates are endorsed by Parliament and formally approved by the Council on 25 July.
- 19 May** The Commission adopts a favourable Opinion on Portugal's application for Community membership. The Council comes out in favour of the application on 6 June, and negotiations formally open on 17 October.
- 6 and 7 July** The European Council, meeting in Bremen, agrees on a common strategy to achieve a higher rate of economic growth and approves the plan to set up a European Monetary System.
- 16 October** The Council agrees to create a new Community borrowing and lending instrument. The Commission is empowered to contract loans of up to 1 000 million EUA and on-lend the proceeds to finance energy, industry and infrastructure projects contributing to priority Community objectives.
- 29 November** The Commission adopts a favourable Opinion on Spain's application for Community membership. The Council comes out in favour of the application on 19 December, and negotiations formally open on 5 February 1979.
- 4 and 5 December** The European Council, meeting in Brussels, decides to set up a European Monetary System based on a European currency unit (the ECU). The EMS comprises an exchange and intervention mechanism, credit mechanisms and a mechanism for the transfer of resources to less prosperous Community countries. Eight Member States—Ireland and Italy after a period of reflection—decide to become full members of the EMS. The United Kingdom opts to remain outside the EMS for the time being (despite a limited involvement in some of the credit mechanisms). Because of the link subsequently established by the French Government between the EMS and the phasing-out of monetary compensatory amounts under the common agricultural policy, introduction of the EMS is deferred from the initial target date of early January 1979 to 13 March 1979.
- The European Council also decides to set up a three-man committee to consider essential adjustments to institutional mechanisms and procedures in the context of enlargement. The 'three wise men' are Mr Barend Biesheuvel, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mr Edmond Dell, former UK Minister, and Mr Robert Marjolin, former Vice-President of the EEC Commission.
- 1979**
- 4 April** The Commission adopts a memorandum on the accession of the European Communities to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.
- 28 May** The Treaty and related documents concerning Greece's accession to the Communities are signed in Athens.
- 7 to 10 June** The first elections to the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage in accordance with electoral procedures adopted by each of the national parliaments.
- 17 to 20 July** The European Parliament holds its first part-session in Strasbourg following direct elections.

- 31 October** The second ACP-EEC Convention governing cooperation between the Community and 58 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries is signed in Lomé.
- 29 November** The 'Committee of Three Wise Men' submits to the European Council meeting in Dublin a report making suggestions for improving the efficiency of the Community institutions.
The British Government asks for special measures to narrow the wide gap between the amounts the UK pays in its own resources and the amounts received under Community policies.
- 13 December** Parliament rejects the draft budget for 1980, which will not be adopted until July.
- 17 December** The Community signs the agreements reached in the GATT multilateral trade negotiations (Tokyo Round).
- 1980**
- 30 May** The Council reaches agreement on a provisional and pragmatic solution to the problem of the British contribution to the Community budget. With an eye to a final solution to the problem, by means of structural changes, the Council instructs the Commission to carry out a study, by 30 June 1981, of the development of Community policies so as to prevent a recurrence of such unacceptable situations.
- 1 October** The EEC-Ascan Cooperation Agreement comes into force.
- 6 October** The Commission finds that the Community's steel industry is in a state of 'manifest crisis' (Article 58 of the ECSC Treaty) and asks for the Council's assent to the introduction of a system of production quotas. Assent is given on 30 October, and the Commission adopts its decision introducing production quotas on 31 October.
- 1981**
- 1 January** Greece becomes the 10th member of the Community. The second ACP-EEC Convention, signed in Lomé on 31 October 1979, comes into force.
- 16 March** The Council adopts Community borrowing and lending arrangements enabling up to 6 000 million ECU to be raised to support the balances of payments of Member States. This adjusts the smaller-scale mechanism introduced in 1975.
- 23 June** The Representatives of the Governments of the Member States adopt a resolution providing for the introduction of a European passport with a uniform format.
- 24 June** The Commission sends the Heads of State or Government its report on the mandate it was given on 30 May 1980, centred on three elements: revitalization of the common policies, reform of agricultural policy and budgetary matters.
- 7 to 9 July** The European Parliament decides, on the initiative of Altiero Spinelli and a large number of MEPs (the 'Crocodile Club'), to set up a 'permanent institutional committee', chaired by Mr Spinelli, responsible for drafting amendments to the existing Treaties.
- 13 October** The Foreign Ministers approve a report setting out a number of practical improvements in the existing procedure for European political cooperation.

6 and 12 November The German and Italian Governments submit to the other Member States and to the European Parliament and the Commission a draft 'Economic Act' and a draft statement on economic integration.

1982

23 February In a referendum held in Greenland, a narrow majority is in favour of seeking withdrawal from the Communities and negotiating a new type of relationship.

22 March The Greek Government sends the Presidents of the Council and the Commission a memorandum on relations between Greece and the Community, requesting the Community to introduce special provisions in favour of Greece.

30 June The Presidents of Parliament, the Council and the Commission sign a joint declaration on improving the budgetary procedure.

16 September Parliament avails itself for the first time of the provisions of Article 175 of the EEC Treaty and threatens the Council with an action before the Court of Justice for failure to act in the field of transport policy. The action is brought before the Court in January 1983.

1983

25 January After six years of negotiations, agreement is reached on a common fisheries policy.

29 March In its response to the Greek memorandum the Commission proposes that the Community should contribute to the development of the Greek economy and the solution of problems specific to Greece through policy measures, rather than through derogations from the Treaties. Specific measures are subsequently introduced, mainly under integrated Mediterranean programmes.

17 to 19 June At the European Council meeting in Stuttgart the Heads of State or Government sign the Solemn Declaration on European Union in response to the draft European Act. The European Council produces a working programme to secure general agreement on issues that have been blocking the Community for several years: enlargement, financing, adjustment of the common agricultural policy, new policies.

4 to 6 December Despite intensive preparations the Athens European Council meeting fails to reach agreement on the vital issues facing the Community: financing, adjustment of the common agricultural policy, improving the effectiveness of the structural Funds and the development of new Community policies.

1984

14 February The European Parliament adopts by a large majority the draft Treaty establishing European Union, prepared by its Committee on Institutional Affairs (rapporteur/coordinator: Altiero Spinelli).

28 February The Council adopts a Decision setting out a European strategic programme for R&D in information technology (Esprit).

- 25 and 26 June** At the Fontainebleau European Council meeting substantial progress is made on a number of difficult issues, notably the reform of the common agricultural policy and the overall solution to the budgetary and financial dispute. The European Council also decides to set up two *ad hoc* committees, one on institutional affairs (Dooge Committee) and one on the preparation and coordination of action on 'a people's Europe' (Adonni-
no Committee).
- 8 December** The third ACP-EEC Convention on cooperation between the Community and 65 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries is signed in Lomé.
- 1985**
- 1 February** Greenland leaves the Community but remains associated with it as an overseas territory.
- 9 March** The Dooge Committee recommends the convening of an intergovernmental conference to negotiate a draft Treaty for European Union.
- 29 and 30 March** Meeting in Brussels, the European Council reaches agreement on the integrated Mediterranean programmes, thus facilitating agreement on the accession of Spain and Portugal.
- 22 May** In its judgment in Parliament's action against the Council, the Court of Justice finds that the Council is in breach of the Treaty for having failed to ensure freedom to provide services in the sphere of international transport. This judgment is of exceptional importance at two levels: (i) it provides an impetus for progress in transport policy and (ii) it confirms Parliament's right to take action in the Court if it considers that any other institution is not fulfilling its obligations under the Treaties.
- 12 June** The instruments of accession of Spain and Portugal are signed.
- 14 June** The Commission publishes its White Paper on completing the internal market, which gives details of the measures to be taken to remove all physical, technical and tax barriers between the Member States by 1992. It is welcomed by the European Council, meeting in Milan.
- 20 June** In its final report to the European Council, the Adonnino Committee presents both specific immediate proposals and longer-term objectives to make the Community more of a reality for its citizens.
- 28 and 29 June** The European Council, meeting in Milan, holds a wide-ranging discussion on the convening of an intergovernmental conference to draft a treaty on a common foreign and security policy and to draw up the amendments to the EEC Treaty required for improving the Council's decision-making procedures and extending Community activities into new areas. At the end of the meeting the President concludes that the necessary majority for calling such a conference has been obtained.
- 9 September** First meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference. The Conference meets six times at Foreign Minister level. The Commission takes an active part; Spain and Portugal are also represented. The Commission presents a series of proposals that form the centrepiece of the Conference proceedings.

2 and 3 December The European Council, meeting in Luxembourg, reaches agreement on a reform of the Community's institutions designed to improve its efficiency and extend its powers and responsibilities, and to provide a legal framework for cooperation on foreign policy. This agreement is finalized in the form of a Single European Act by the Foreign Ministers meeting in the Intergovernmental Conference on 16 and 17 December.

1986

1 January Spain and Portugal join the Community.

17 and 28 January The Single European Act is signed by the Representatives of the Governments of the 12 Member States.

1 May The third ACP-EEC Convention, signed in Lomé on 8 December 1984, comes into force.

29 May The European flag adopted by the Community institutions is hoisted for the first time in Brussels to the sound of the European anthem. The flag and the anthem were initially adopted by the Council of Europe and now represent the Community as well.

15 to 20 September In Punta del Este, Uruguay, Ministers of 92 nations agree to a new round of multilateral trade negotiations.

17 September The Commission adopts a report on voting rights in local elections for Community nationals.

15 and 16 December The Council agrees to amend its Rules of Procedure so as to facilitate majority voting. Since the Council took a vote on a hundred or so issues in 1986, this constitutes a considerable advance on previous practice.

1987

15 February In its communication entitled 'The Single Act: A new frontier for Europe' the Commission sets out the conditions for attaining the objectives of the Single Act with proposals for completing the reform of the common agricultural policy, the structural instruments and the Community's financing rules.

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25 March 1987 — Thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome

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On 25 March 1987 the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome was formally celebrated on the Capitol in Rome. This booklet contains extracts from the speeches made on that occasion, a summary of the results of a special survey made for the Commission (Europe 2000) and a chronology of the last 30 years.