

The Beginning of European Integration 1945–1963: "the Europe of the Six" in the International Trading Order

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France, West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952 and the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958. In the traditional view of European integration history, the formation of these Communities represents the beginning of the European integration process. However, this view is quite simplistic, as both before and after they were established, there were various international organizations in Western Europe whose activities overlapped those of the two Communities. Indeed, without negotiations with the outside world, these Communities could not have existed and European integration would have been impossible. Through an examination of the negotiations that took place among the six countries and, perhaps more importantly, those that took place with other European countries and the United States, this book reexamines the formative years of European integration and explains how and why the European Communities organized by the six countries became the core of European integration.

The first chapter of the book revisits the process from World War II to the declaration of the Schuman Plan. Although previous studies have repeatedly addressed this subject, they have tended to concentrate on the evolution of Franco-German relations and to underestimate the cooperative relationships structured under the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). In this chapter, the focus is on the failure of other "plans" following the Schuman Plan—the Bonnefous Plan, Pflimlin Plan, Mansholt Plan, and Ribeyre Plan—and the success of trade liberalization among Western Europe's countries through the establishment of the European Payment Union (EPU) in 1950.

Chapter 2 examines the establishment of the ECSC and its activities, with an emphasis on its relationships with non-ECSC members, especially the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and Austria. The ECSC is thought to represent the first step towards European integration since it had a supranational character embodied by the High Authority. However, at the time it was established, it was not at all certain that the ECSC would develop as the core of European integration and today's European Union. An analysis of the ECSC's external relations makes it clear that the six member states needed American and British support to advance activities that privileged the member states rather than other Western, non-member states such as Switzerland and Austria.

Chapter 3 reconsiders the process by which the EEC was established, emphasizing the importance of parallel negotiations regarding a Free Trade Area (FTA) and the debate on the EEC among signatories of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It was apparent that the establishment of the EEC would bring about a change in international trade relations, as the Community intended to liberalize trade only among its six members. Thus, for the six countries to establish the EEC, negotiations with non-members would inevitably be needed; in the absence of such

negotiations, the six countries would find it impossible to establish the Community. When the French government rejected the FTA plan in November 1958, the EEC began its activities with the elimination of internal tariffs, while simultaneously introducing discriminatory policies against non-member countries. Although this decision, which caused the relationship between the six EEC member states and other European countries to deteriorate, is considered crucial to the establishment of the Common Market, Chapter 3 shows that when the six countries signed the Treaty to establish the EEC, and even after France rejected the FTA plan, the EEC's relationship with non-member states was far from obvious, and whether the Common Market would be limited to the six countries or be integrated into broader trade zones was uncertain

Chapter 4 describes the changing relationship between the six countries and the non-member countries of Western Europe between 1959 and 1960, when the EEC began working towards establishing the Common Market. From January 1959, as the six countries removed tariffs and quotas among themselves, they did the same for non-members in Western Europe as a provisional measure to replace the FTA plan. The decision in May 1960 to shorten the timeline to complete the Common Market and introduce common external tariffs defined the EEC's external relations and discriminatory character. Through this "acceleration," the six countries established for the first time since the formation of the ECSC a preferential trade system that was to be a principle of European integration. Chapter 4 examines how and why this turning point in the history of European integration took place.

Chapter 5 examines the EEC's "association" agreements with Greece in 1961 and Turkey in 1963 through which the two countries were allowed to establish customs unions with the EEC member states and participate in the Common Market. By establishing the associations, the EEC showed its willingness to extend its preferences to particular non-member states despite becoming a preferential community for members through the "acceleration." Thus, there is a need to consider how the associations of Greece and Turkey related to the Community's preferential character. In this chapter, it is recognized that while the association with Greece strengthened the EEC's legitimacy in imposing discriminatory measures on other non-member states, the association with Turkey was considered a precedent for the EEC's relations with Western European countries such as Austria and Switzerland.

As the book establishes, the European integration launched by the six countries was not initiated with a clear goal in mind; rather it was the result of various smaller choices. In other words, European integration, with the EU at its core, can be historically viewed as one of the possible forms of integration that might have emerged. From this viewpoint, it can be argued that today's European integration is not necessarily in crisis but rather is going through a natural process of change.