

Miss under study  
NATO - EEC

~~Practical~~ -  
Depth and content

Alphabetical list of participants in the conference on

NEW DEMOCRACIES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

European Studies Centre

St. Antony's College

Oxford

on Saturday, 2nd and Sunday, 3rd May, 1992

ANGELL, Mr. Alan  
Sub-Warden of St. Antony's College

AVERY, Mr. Graham  
Director, Task Force for Enlargement  
The European Commission  
Brussels

BROWN, Prof. A.H.  
Director of the Russian and East European Centre  
St. Antony's College

BRUS, Prof. W.  
St. Antony's College

BUCHLOVSKY, Mr. S.  
Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry  
currently St. Antony's College

BULLARD, Sir Julian  
formerly HM Ambassador to Bonn  
Honorary Fellow of St. Antony's College

CARR, Sir Raymond  
formerly Warden of St. Antony's College  
Honorary Fellow of the College

CEBRIAN, Mr. Juan Luis  
Chief Executive Officer of the PRISA Group  
and Chief Executive Officer of El Pais  
Madrid

CHAWLUK, Dr. A.  
Mansfield College  
Oxford

CLOGG, Mr. Richard  
St. Antony's College

COOPER, Mr. Robert  
The Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London

DAHRENDORF, Sir Ralf  
Warden of St. Antony's College

DAVIES, Prof. Norman  
School of Slavonic and East European Studies  
London

DAVIS, Dr. Christopher  
Wolfson College  
Oxford

DAVY, Mr. Richard  
Editorial Writer, The Independent

DEIGHTON, Dr. Anne  
St. Antony's College

DUNBABIN, Dr. John  
St. Edmund Hall  
Oxford

ELLIOTT, Prof. J.  
Regius Professor of History  
University of Oxford

FOREMAN-PECK, Dr. James  
St. Antony's College

GARTON ASH, Mr. Timothy  
St. Antony's College

GEREMEK, Prof. Bronislaw  
Parliamentary Leader of the Democratic Union  
Warsaw

HINE, Dr. David  
Christ Church  
Oxford

HOGYE, Prof. Mihail  
Budapest University of Economics  
currently St. Catherine's College  
Oxford

JENKINS OF HILLHEAD, The Rt. Hon. the Lord,  
Chancellor of the University of Oxford,  
Honorary Fellow of St. Antony's College

JOHNSON, Mr. Nevil  
Nuffield College  
Oxford

KASER, Mr. Michael  
St. Antony's College

LANNON, Dr. Frances  
Lady Margaret Hall  
Oxford

MORENA, DE LA, Mr. Felipe  
H.E. The Spanish Ambassador  
London

NICHOLLS, Mr. A.J.  
Director of the European Studies Centre  
St. Antony's College

O'NEAL, Ms. Molly  
Political Counsellor  
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
London

OREJA, Mr. Marcelino  
President, International Commission  
of the European Parliament

PEARCE, Ms. Joan  
European Commission  
Brussels

PELCZYNSKI, Dr. Z.A.  
Soros Office  
Oxford

PEÑA, DE LA, Mr. Jose Luis  
The Spanish Foreign Ministry  
Madrid

PEREZ-DIAZ, Prof. Victor  
Director, Centre for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences  
Juan March Foundation  
Madrid

POLLACK, Dr. Benny  
Department of Politics  
University of Liverpool

PORTES, Prof. Richard  
Director, Centre for Economic Policy Research  
London

POWELL, Dr. Charles  
St. Antony's College

PRAVDA, Dr. Alex  
St. Antony's College

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Director, Centre for Mediterrean Studies  
University of Bristol

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REINARES, Dr. Fernando  
UNED, University of Madrid  
currently St. Antony's College

ROSTOWSKI, Dr. Jacek  
School of Slavonic and East European Studies  
London

RUPNIK, Dr. Jacques  
Senior Fellow, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques  
Paris

SARYUSZ-WOLSKI, Dr. Jacek  
Under-Secretary of State for European Integration  
Warsaw

SMOLAR, Dr. Aleksander  
President, Stefan Batory Foundation  
Warsaw

SMOLAR, Mr. Eugeniusz  
Polish Section of the BBC  
London

STORY, Dr. Jonathan  
Department of International Relations  
INSEAD  
Fontainebleau  
France

SZUMOWSKI, Mr. Tadeusz  
Counsellor, The Polish Embassy  
London

VACHUDOVA, Ms. Milada  
St. Antony's College

WALLACE, Dr. Helen  
Director, European Programme  
The Royal Institute of International Affairs  
London

WALLACE, Dr. William  
St. Antony's College

WALTER, Dr. Andrew  
St. Antony's College

WHITEHEAD, Mr. L.  
Nuffield College  
Oxford

ZALDIVAR, Mr. Carlos Alonso  
The Prime Minister's Office  
Madrid

ZEMAN, Prof. Z.  
St. Edmund Hall  
Oxford

# ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE

ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE, OXFORD OX2 6JF · TELEPHONE: (0865) 59651 · FAX: (0865) 310518

## European Studies Centre

Conference on "New Democracies and the European Community"

Saturday, 2nd and Sunday, 3rd May, 1992

- in the seminar room at 70 Woodstock Road -

### Saturday, 2nd May

09.30 Chair: Sir Raymond Carr  
(formerly Warden of St. Antony's)

Opening Address by Mr. Juan Luis Cebrian, PRISA  
(Spain)

### New democracies and the EC: the Spanish Model?

Dr. Charles T. Powell  
(St. Antony's College)

Prof. Victor Perez-Diaz  
(Director, Centre for Advanced Study  
in the Social Sciences, Juan March  
Foundation, Madrid)

11.15 BREAK FOR COFFEE

11.30 Spain

Mr. Jose Luis de la Peña  
(Spanish Foreign Ministry)

Mr. Carlos Alonso Zaldivar  
(Prime Minister's Office, Madrid)

Mr. Marcelino Oreja  
(Spanish Foreign Minister, 1976-1980)

13.00 BREAK FOR LUNCHEON

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## European Studies Centre

Saturday, 2nd May continued

14.30 Chair: Mr. A.J. Nicholls  
(Director, European Studies Centre)

### The new democracies of East Central Europe and the EC

Prof. Bronislaw Geremek  
(Parliamentary Leader of the Democratic  
Union, Warsaw)

Dr. Jacques Rupnik  
(Senior Fellow, Fondation Nationale  
des Sciences Politiques, Paris)

16.15 BREAK FOR TEA

16.30 Poland

Dr. Jacek Saryusz-Wolski  
(Under-Secretary of State for  
European Integration, Warsaw)

Dr. Aleksander Smolar  
(President of the Stefan Batory  
Foundation, Warsaw)

19.45 Dinner hosted by Sir Ralf Dahrendorf,  
for Warden of St. Antony's  
20.00 in the presence of the Chancellor of the University,  
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Jenkins of Hillhead

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## European Studies Centre

Sunday, 3rd May, 1992

10.00 Chair: Sir Ralf Dahrendorf  
(Warden of St. Antony's)

### Options and Implications for the EC

Mr. Graham Avery  
(Director, Task Force for Enlargement,  
European Commission, Brussels)

Prof. Richard Portes  
(Director, Centre for Economic  
Policy Research, London)

Dr. Helen Wallace  
(Royal Institute of International  
Affairs, London)

11.30 BREAK FOR COFFEE

Summing up by Sir Ralf Dahrendorf

The organizers wish to acknowledge with thanks the generous support of PRISA, Spain, without which this conference could not have been held.



The following summary of the new Association Agreements was prepared by Alan Mayhew, Chief Adviser, DG1, European Commission, for a conference co-sponsored by the Centre for Economic Policy Research. We are grateful to Professor Richard Portes for making it available for circulation here.

## Fact sheet on the Association (European) Agreements between The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, Poland and the European Community

These Agreements were negotiated during 1991 and were paraphed in Brussels in December 1991.

The trade part of the agreement enters into force on March 1st. 1992 (though there must be some question about the legality of this in one or other of the Central European countries.

The full agreements must await ratification in the 15 national parliaments concerned before they can enter into force.

These agreements follow on from treaties on trade and commercial and economic cooperation which were signed with the three Republics in 1990.

### The preamble

The preamble of the Association Agreements is important for two main points:

- it introduces a sort of conditionality for the Agreements by reaffirming commitments to pluralistic democracy based on the rule of law and to the market economy
- it says that the Hungary and Poland's objective is to become members of the Community; it does not say that the Community recognizes this or any right on the part of the Central European countries to join at a later stage.

### The Political Dialogue

The Europe Agreements introduce for the first time a structured political dialogue between the countries concerned and the European Community.

They establish this dialogue essentially within the Association Council which meets at Ministerial level and the Parliamentary Association Committee for the Parliaments.

In general no new customs duties or quantitative restrictions can be introduced after the signing of the agreement. There is an exception under strict limitations for the Central European countries in the case of infant industries and sectors undergoing restructuring.

Anti-dumping protection and a general clause in the case of domestic industry being seriously injured are included. These cases will be discussed in the Association Council; action against the offending imports can however be taken unilaterally before a decision has been reached.

#### Movement of workers, establishment and services

The three countries and the Community will provide treatment for the other party's workers legally resident in their territory roughly equivalent to the treatment each gives its own workers (insurance, pensions, family allowances etc.).

The Community will not guarantee any access to workers from the three countries to its labour market beyond what is guaranteed bilaterally by its member states.

On establishment there are some important differences between the three agreements depending on the concerns of the individual countries. However in general the two parties agree to give the other's enterprises the same treatment as its own companies or nationals. Exceptions to this rule of a temporary nature permit Poland for instance to delay giving the right to purchase land automatically to foreign enterprises for a period of 10 years. Freedom of establishment can be limited if it affects restructuring efforts, infant industries or could create social problems in the three countries.

Freedom of establishment is however limited by the restriction on the Community side placed on the free movement of labour e.g. a Hungarian transport firm can be established in the Community but must employ with only a few exceptions staff recruited within the Community.

#### Competition policy

"Treaty of Rome" competition law will be introduced into the three countries within three years of the entry into force of the Agreements.

The basis of judgements on competition will be the practice of the Community competition and legal instances since the Treaty of Rome was signed.

Over the first three years GATT rules will apply.

*Spain*  
*equity*  
*international union in*  
*world affairs*

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(Prime Minister's Office, Madrid)

Mr. Marcelino Oreja  
(Spanish Foreign Minister, 1976-1980)

13.00 BREAK FOR LUNCHEON





## ST. ANTONY'S COLLEGE CONFERENCE DINNER

SATURDAY, 2 MAY, 1992.

Mrs. L. Dean	Dr. A. Pravda	Dr. A. Deighton	Mr. S. Buchlovsky
Dr. Z. Pelczynski	Mr. E. Smolar	Prof. Z. Zeman	Dr. F. Reinares
Dr. J. Rostowski	Dr. B. Pollack	Dr. J. Dunbabin	Mrs. Cebrian
Mr. G. Avery	Mr. N. Johnson	Mr. R. Cooper	Sir Raymond Carr
Prof. A. Brown	Mr. R. Davy	Prof. J. Elliott	Mr. M. Oreja
Dr. J. Rupnik	Mrs. M. O'Neal	Prof. B. Geremek	The Chancellor
Mr. C. A. Zaldivar	Mr. A. J. Nicholls	Mr. J. L. Cebrian	The Warden
Prof. W. Brus	Dr. A. Smolar	Mr. Z. Rapacki	H.E. The Spanish Ambassador
Dr. C. Powell	Mr. J. L. de la Peña	Prof. R. Portes	Dr. J. Saryusz-Wolski
Dr. J. Story	Dr. W. Wallace	Mr. T. Garton Ash	Prof. V. Perez-Dias
Dr. C. Davis	Ms. J. Pearce	Prof. R. Clogg	Sir Julian Bullard
Ms. M. Vachudova	Mr. T. Szumowski	Mr. M. C. Kaser	Dr. J. Foreman-Peck

## Basic chronology of Spanish-EC Relations.

### 1962

9 February - Franco government requests negotiation on membership in light of the impending first enlargement.

### 1963

June - Spanish opposition groups meet at Munich under auspices of European Movement and condemn Spanish-EC relations, in keeping with Birkelbach Report.

### 1970

29 June - Preferential Trade Agreement between Spain and EC signed.

### 1971

November - In view of Council of Ministers' disagreement over Spain's place in a "Global Mediterranean Policy", Spanish government opts for a re-negotiation of 1970 Preferential Trade Agreement.

### 1973

July - Spain and the EC open negotiations for a new Preferential Trade Agreement which will take into account the First Enlargement (UK, Eire, Denmark).

### 1975

October - EC Council of (Foreign) Ministers halts negotiations on a new Preferential Trade Agreement in the wake of 5 executions carried out in September by Spanish government.

20 November - Death of General Franco.

22 November - Proclamation of King Juan Carlos I.

### 1976

January - EC Council of (Foreign) Ministers agree to resume talks with Spain in light of early moves towards democracy.

July - First Suárez government formed.

### 1977

June - First democratic elections since 1936. Second Suárez government formed (UCD).

28 July - Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja submits Spain's application for EC membership.

### 1978

December - Spanish Constitution approved by referendum.

### 1979

February - First formal negotiating session on enlargement. Spain expresses intention to accede by January 1983.

### 1981

February - Attempted military coup Spain. New government under Calvo Sotelo (UCD).

### 1982

May - Spain joins NATO.

October - Felipe González forms first Socialist (PSOE) government.

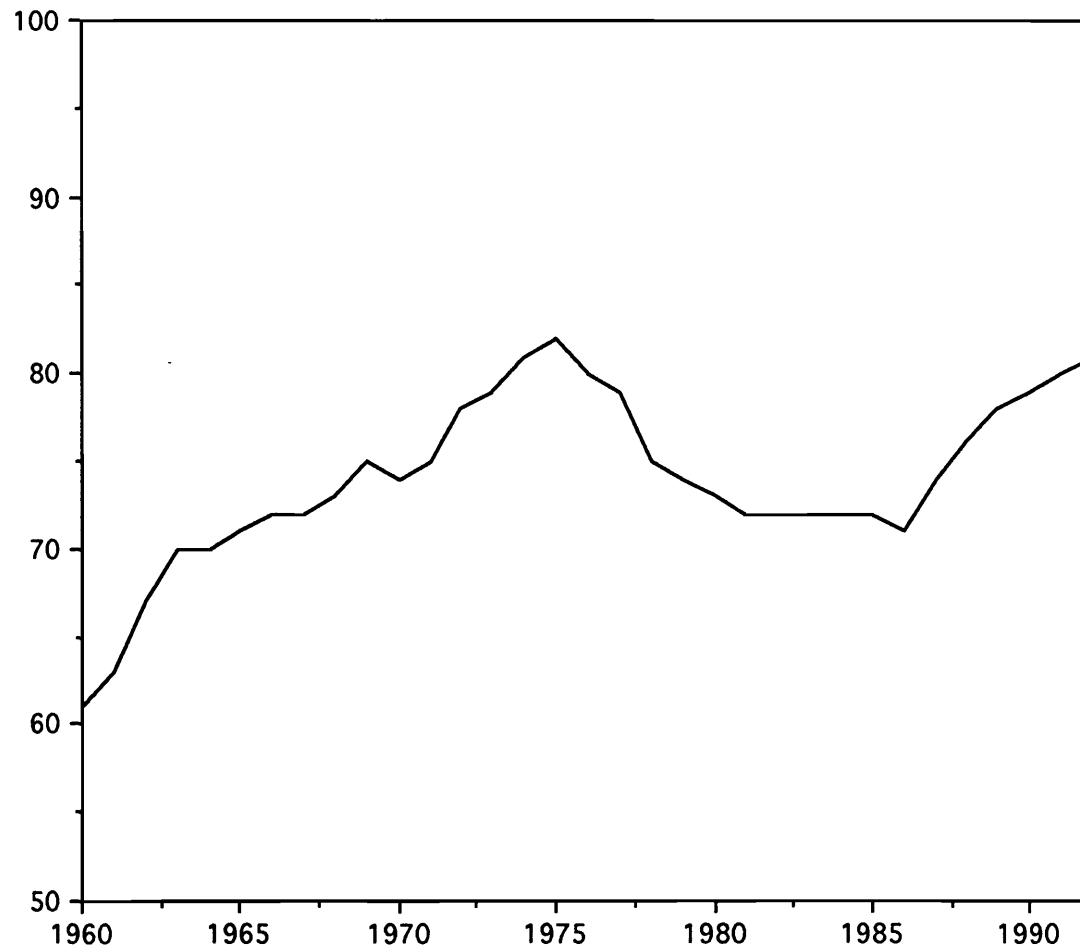
### 1985

March - Accession negotiations completed.

June - Accession Treaties signed.



### Spain's GDP per head as % of EC average\*



\* adjusted to purchasing-power parities

	1975-1982	1982-89
Spanish Government expenditure on social policy:		
% growth	47.9%	94%
As % of GDP	9.9% (1975) 14.6% (1982)	17% (1989)

### Pensions

Growth in real terms:		
- in millions of pesetas (at 1975 value)	99,516	243,806
- % growth	29.3%	55.5%
- as % of GDP	3.5% (1975) 6.3% (1982)	8.7%
Overall increase in number of pensioners	1.4m.	1.2m.

### Health

Growth in real terms:		
- in millions of pesetas (at 1975 value)	18,887	75,370
- % growth	8.3%	30.6%
- as % of GDP	4% (1982)	5%(1989)
Increase in number of patients treated	3.7m.	6.3m.

### Education

Growth in real terms:		
- in millions of pesetas (at 1975 value)	67,104	158,072
- % growth	66.4%	94%
- as % of GDP	2.5% (1982)	5%(1989)
Increase in number of students (beyond compulsory education)	0.75m.	0.74m.
- as %	45.1%	30.4 %

Source: José María Maravall, Democracia y socialdemocracia. Quince años de política en España. Sistema 100, January 1991.