

INFORMATION

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS

71/74

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603/X/74 - F (E)

12/74

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1. The European Community and the events in the summer of 1974 in Cyprus and Greece.

Greece, Turkey and Cyprus are all associate countries of the European Community, to which therefore the Cyprus crisis in the summer of 1974 was a matter of direct concern. On July 17, 1974 the Commission recalled that the association is founded on "the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus". The accent was put upon "the principle that the advantages of association should be for the benefit of the entire population of the island". It was further stated that "any development which may impugn these principles could not fail to affect the association itself, and the prospects for its further development". The representations made by the Nine in Athens and Ankara were an important moderating influence.

On July 25, 1974, too, the Commission welcomed the formation of the new Greek government headed by Mr. Caramanlis.

On August 14, 1974 the Nine member States of the Community held an emergency meeting in Paris at the level of Ambassadors, and transmitted to Athens and Ankara a pressing appeal for a negotiated solution of the Cyprus conflict. At the end of August a meeting was held of the Ambassadors in Athens of the Community member countries, for the purpose of studying the situation with special reference to the political problems raised by the Cyprus crisis and the possibility of financial aid to Greece.

The ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Community held a meeting in Paris on September 17, 1974 in furtherance of the arrangements for political cooperation. On this occasion they expressed their gratification at the efforts made by the government of Mr. Caramanlis to create democratic conditions, and especially to restore the democratic constitution of 1952. These measures should enable Greece to return to its place in democratic Europe as early as possible, and parliamentary elections are to take place on November 17, 1974. In regard to Cyprus, the Nine recalled that negotiation is the only path to the restoration of peace and the reaching of a solution which will be equitable for all parties concerned.

On September 12, 1974 the Council of Ministers of the European Community adopted a proposal of the Commission, dated September 3, for the granting of emergency Community food aid to the displaced cypriot populations, to consist of the supply of 3,000 tons of cereals, 200 tons of butter oil and 200 tons of powdered skim milk. This is additional to the assistance normally given by the Community under its 1974 food aid programmes, consisting of the supply of 5,000 tons of cereals and 250 tons of butter oil.

At the meeting of the European Parliament in Luxembourg on September 25 and 26 last, speakers from all political parties and representatives of the Council and the Commission, emphasised the Community's short-term and long-term political and economic responsibility in regard to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.

2. Community relations with Greece, Turkey and Cyprus

Greece was the first european country to be associated with the European Community (1)

The agreement of association is of unlimited duration. It was signed in Athens on July 9, 1961 and came into effect on November 1, 1962.

The association provides :

- 1) the setting up of a customs union;
- 2) the development of joint activities and the harmonisation of the policies of the Community and Greece in fields determined by the agreement;
- 3) the making available to the greek economy of resources calculated to facilitate the quicker development of the country.

A Council of Association is provided to secure the attainment of these objectives. Political control is to be exercised through a mixed parliamentary Committee.

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- (1) Article 238 of the EEC Treaty provides that : "The Community may conclude with any non-member country, union of countries or international organisation, agreements setting up an association characterised by reciprocal rights and obligations, joint activities or special procedures".

The association Agreement also provides, that the possibility of greek membership of the Community may be considered as soon as the operation of the association Agreement makes it possible to envisage the integral acceptance by Greece of the obligations of membership arising through the EEC Treaty.

Since July 1, 1968 Greece has enjoyed intra-Community treatment -- i.e. customs franchise -- for all its industrial exports to the Community and almost all its agricultural exports.

Greece has, for its own part, undertaken to eliminate its customs duties on imported goods of Community origin over a period of 12 or 22 years. The duties applicable to certain products were completely withdrawn as from November 1, 1974. For products under the 22-year duty-removal schedule, the rate of tariff reduction as of May 1, 1974 was 36 %.

Following the greek coup d'état of April 21, 1967, the Community decided to "limit" the association Agreement to its "current operation". The limitation was to continue for "so long as the democratic and parliamentary structures in Greece have not been reestablished." In practice the current operation of the Athens agreement covered the tariff systems and commercial relations between the EEC and Greece. Negotiations in relation, inter alia, to the harmonisation of agricultural policies and the conclusion of a new finance protocol for the period 1967-77, were suspended; and no start was made on the harmonisation of economic policies. The granting of loans by the European Investment Bank was also suspended. Before this loans of \$ 69 million had been granted, but a further \$ 56 million remained frozen.

An additional protocol to apply the relationship of association to the Community as now enlarged is still in course of negotiation.

With Turkey, an Agreement of association was signed in Ankara on September 12, 1963 and came into force on December 1, 1964.

During a preparatory period of 5 years, the Community aided Turkey in the strengthening of its economy, by granting it loans on special terms through the European Investment Bank to a total of U.A. 175 million (1). On the commercial side the Community opened annual tariff quotas for turkish tobacco, dried grapes, dried figs and nuts, which amount to 40 % of turkish exports to the EEC.

An additional protocol, signed on November 23, 1970, and which came into force on January 1, 1973, defined the arrangements for the transitional period of the association Agreement, one of the objectives of which is the setting up of a customs union between Turkey and the Community.

The commercial provisions of the additional protocol were brought into operation by an interim agreement as from September 1, 1971.

Since 1971, the Community has wholly withdrawn its customs duties and quantitative restrictions applicable to all turkish industrial goods, except for various textile products and petroleum products still subject to quota restrictions. Preferential customs duties are now applicable to 90 % of turkish agricultural exports to the Community (tobacco, grapes, figs, nuts, citrus fruits, wine, various cereals and other items).

Turkey is eliminating customs duties on 55 % of its imports from the EEC over a period of 12 years, and for the remaining 45 % over a period of 22 years.

The reconciliation of economic policies and the progressive provision of free movement for goods and services will be carried out over the period 1976-86.

A finance protocol covering the period up to May 23, 1976 provides for loans on special terms by the European Investment Bank up to a total of U.A. 195 million, and possible additional loans of U.A. 25 million.

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(1) U.A. is the European Community/^{unit} of account. It is currently equivalent to about 50 belgian francs, or 1 pre-1972 american dollar.

The enlargement of the EEC by the adhesion of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, as from January 1, 1973, made it necessary to sign an additional protocol extending the provisions of the association Agreement to the new member countries. This protocol was signed in Ankara on June 30, 1974. It provides that the quotas for petroleum products shall be raised from 200,000 to 340,000 tons. The tariff quotas for cotton yarns and piecegoods and certain agricultural products are also raised.

The loans from the European Investment Bank are raised to U.A. 242 million. An interim agreement made it possible for the trade clauses of the additional protocol to be brought into force as from January, 1974.

The definite (post transition) period of the association Agreement, the duration of which has not yet been fixed, will be used for the intensive coordination of economic policies and should lead to Turkey's adhesion as a full member of the Community.

On June 10, 1974 the Council of Ministers determined the Community attitude on the extension to Turkish workers of the social security rights enjoyed by citizens of Community countries, which is on the agenda of the Association Council.

The agreement setting up an association between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Cyprus, with the additional protocol defining the adjustments to be introduced into the agreement to take account of the enlargement of the Community, were signed in Brussels on December 19, 1972.

It came into effect as from May 14, 1973. It provides for the association to pass through two stages.

The first stage is to continue until June 30, 1977. Cyprus enjoys a reduction of 70 % in Community customs duties on its industrial goods, except for petroleum products.

In regard to agricultural products Cyprus has duty-free access for its carob-beans, and a 40 % cut in the Community common external duties for

citrus fruit, subject to a schedule of minimum sale prices. A special transitional arrangement has also been brought forward for exports to the british market of new potatoes and "Cyprus sherry".

Cyprus undertook to cut its tariffs on goods from the Community under the following timetable :

- 15 % on the entry into force of the agreement (May 14,1973)
- 25 % at the beginning of the third year (1976)
- 35 % at the beginning of the fifth year (1978)

For a number of products there is to be a total or partial derogation of the duty reductions. This is intended to safeguard sectors which are not yet competitive and to allow for the maintenance of duties of a fiscal character. .

The agreement includes a special safeguard clause to deal with industrialisation requirements. This gives Cyprus the right to restore or increase its customs duties in order to facilitate the execution of subsequent industrial projects.

The removal of quantitative restrictions is to be subject to the right functioning of the Cyprus economy.

The second stage of association will in principle continue for five years. Its objective will be, to complete the elimination on both sides of the obstacles to the essential part of the trade, and to set up a customs union.

3. Closer links with the Community as seen by the three associates

Renewed links with the Community are now a primary objective of greek diplomatic policy.

On August 22,1974 an aide-mémoire was sent forward to the french Minister for Foreign Affairs, as President for the time being of the Council of Ministers, and to the President of the Commission of the European Community.

It proposed the "unblocking" of the association,for which the first step would be the calling of a meeting of the Association Council at the ministerial level.

On August 27, 1974 Athens sent in to the Community a second document, asking for the grant of exceptional financial aid of \$ 800 million.

After the reestablishment of civilian government in Greece, the first members of the new greek Cabinet to visit the Commission were Mr. Mavros, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, and Mr. Pesmazoglou, Finance Minister, who came to Brussels on September 10, 1974. Mr. Mavros informed President Ortolí of his government's intention to submit to the Community, at an early date, a request for the hastening of the integration of Greece into the Community, with a view to full membership as early as possible. The discussions between the two greek ministers and the President and members of the Commission continued until September 12, the main subject being the revival of the association.

There are two reasons underlying the desire of Greece for closer links with the Community. The first is economic, because "greek external trade is principally into the european market". The second is political, because "Europe is committed to integration and Athens desires to be present and to contribute her own efforts to what will assuredly be the great event of our century". Athens sees no objection to the adhesion of Greece hastening also the adhesion of Turkey. "The presence of the two countries in the Community would facilitate their relationships with one another, and give them the opportunity of overcoming their problems".

From the standpoint of Turkey, the events in Cyprus do not imply any repudiation of the country's aim to cooperate with Community Europe.

The turkish government has several times emphasised its desire to intensify its cooperation with the Community, and more especially to be associated with the political consultations between its members. This was one of the questions raised when President Ortolí paid his visit to Ankara on April 25, 1974 and when the turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Ecevit, visited Brussels on June 24. In the legislative elections on October 14, 1973, Turkey confirmed its fidelity to the democratic principles which lie at the basis of the European Community. The Ankara view is that economic co-operation is the principal instrument for securing political integration.

In a press conference in Brussels on September 20, 1974 the turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gunes, stated his view that neither Greece nor Turkey could, in the present stage of their economic development, become full members of the Community in an early future. He laid special emphasis on the political motives underlying the greek request. If Greece should request admission into the Community, Turkey would do the same; but Ankara takes the view that over-precipitate action is to be avoided.

The Cyprus crisis came to a head just as the EEC-Cyprus Association Council was about to hold its meeting on July 22. The Cypriots also desire to strengthen their relationships with the Community. In particular they wish to broaden the terms of the association Agreement and settle the problems of cooperation and technical assistance.

4. Economic conditions in the three associate countries

Greece covers an area of 133,000 sq. km, and has a population of 9 million. The total gross national product in 1972 was U.A. 10,700 million, equivalent to \$ 1,400 per head. For the period 1970-72 the mean annual growth-rate was between 7.5 and 8 %.

In the Six-nation Community the GNP per head is \$ 2,478 and in the Nine-nation Community \$ 2,385.

Though only 39 % of the surface of Greece consists of cultivable land, 46 % of the active population is engaged in agriculture.

Industry consists for the most part of firms of small or medium size.

The liquid resources available increased in 1972 by 20 %. This is considerably greater than the mean growth-rate in production and in the GNP.

In the first half of 1974, the rate of inflation in Greece was 30 % by comparison with the corresponding period in 1973.

The deficit in the 1973 balance of current payments was \$ 1,175 million, or three times as much as the average of 1971-72. In the first half of

1974 the balance of current payments shows a deficit of \$ 716 million compared with \$ 564 million in the first six months of 1973, thus showing an increase of 25 %.

Greek external trade for current account shows a chronic deficit, with only 37 % of the cost of imports covered by the revenue from exports. Inward remittances from Greeks abroad and the income from the tourist trade are the chief invisible items serving to bring the payments balance into equilibrium.

There is a growing trend in the trade between Greece and the European Community, but the balance remains considerably in favour of the EEC.

Greek trade with EEC countries 1971-73

	1971	1972	1973
	(million units of account)		
(i) <u>With the Six</u> :			
Exports	387.9	471.7	774.5
Imports	1,008.7	1,158.8	1,418.2
Balance	- 629.8	- 687.1	- 643.7
(ii) <u>With the Nine</u> :			
Exports	422.1	527.4	794.4
Imports	1,196.2	1,139.3	1,701.2
Balance	- 774.1	- 611.9	- 906.8

Source : Statistical Office of the European Communities (SOEC)

Greece's five-year economic development plans began in 1964

The plan for 1968-72 sought to bring the greek economy into harmony with the new conditions in the Community. One of the main objectives was to secure a growth in industrial and agricultural productivity.

The third five-year plan for the greek economy is currently in operation. Three further plans will follow, carrying the development to 1987.

Turkey has an area of 780,000 sq. km, and a population of 40 million. The GNP in 1972 was U.A. 11,800 million, equivalent to \$ 327 per head, which had risen in 1973 to \$ 500. No less than 71.5 % of the population lives from agriculture.

The rate of inflation is over 20 % per annum. Turkey is obliged to seek foreign funds for the partial cover of its payments deficit; and with its insufficient reserves of foreign currencies, it depends on external aid to finance its purchases of capital goods. The external debt, which amounted to \$ 1,600 million in 1964, had risen to \$ 3,400 million in 1970.

The growth in industrial production has for some years been proceeding apace, reaching a rate of 12.9 % in 1973.

Remittances by turkish workers in foreign countries make a useful contribution to the balance of payments, amounting to \$ 8 million in 1964 and \$ 1,200 million in 1973. Including also the tourist receipts, the trade deficit is fully offset, and the total payments balance shows a surplus. About 54 % of turkish exports consist of agricultural and food products. Most of the heavy goods are imported; and the deficit in turkish trade with the European Community is on the increase.

Turkish trade with EEC countries 1971-73

	1971	1972	1973
(i) <u>With the Six</u> :	(million units of account)		
Exports	312.3	348.1	498.1
Imports	467.7	615.5	791.8
Balance	- 155.4	- 267.4	- 293.7
(ii) <u>With the Nine</u> :			
Exports	367.8	409.3	605.7
Imports	568.9	766.9	995.0
Balance	- 201.1	- 357.6	- 389.3

Source : SOEC

Turkey's five-year economic expansion plans began in 1963, the State organisation responsible for the planning having been formed in the previous year. The third of these plans, covering 1973-77 is currently in progress. Its target is a mean growth-rate of 7.7 % annually compared with 6.7 % and 6.9 % in the first two plans.

The share of agriculture in the country's total economic production is to be brought down from 28.1 % to 10 %, while the shares of industry and the service trades are to be increased respectively from 20 to 25 % and from 40 to 50 %.

The target growth-rate for agriculture is still at the modest figure of 4.5 %.

Cyprus is 9,251 sq. km in area, and the population of 645,000 consists approximately of 80 % greek Cypriots and 20 % turkish Cypriots.

The Cyprus GNP in 1972 was around \$ 740 million, equivalent to \$ 1,060 per head.

Agriculture is still the chief economic sector, accounting for 20 % of the GNP, 35 % of the gainful activity and 60 % of the exports. Since 1969 the government has been aiming at a more intensive use of the country's resources, by encouragement to the growth of small industries and the development of a mixed agricultural-industrial economy.

Over the years 1972-73, which were the first two of the five-year plan, the economic growth scheduled was 7.3 %, but in practice it amounted only to 4.5 % in 1972 and 5 % in 1973.

In agriculture the growth-rate in 1978 fell by 3.8 % compared with the previous year, and in 1973 it fell by 23 % compared with 1972.

The industrial growth-rate secured in 1973 was 9.4 %, which compares with an 11.1 % target in the (third) five-year plan.

The requirements arising through increased mechanisation of agriculture and increased industrial activity have resulted in a steady growth in imports and a continued increase in the deficit shown by the trade balance.

Since 1968 Cyprus has been seeking capital from foreign sources. The support thus obtained, coupled with other invisible items, has brought the balance of payments back into equilibrium. The tourist trade, in particular, is an important credit item.

Cyprus imports from the European Community more than twice as much as she exports to it.

Trade of Cyprus with EEC countries 1971-73

	1971	1972	1973
	(million units of account)		
(i) <u>With the Six</u> :			
Exports	30.9	31.8	30.2
Imports	78.2	92.9	116.8
Balance	- 47.3	- 61.1	- 86.6
(ii) <u>With the Nine</u> :			
Exports	88.3	86.3	102.7
Imports	152.3	177.4	220.7
Balance	- 66.0	- 91.1	- 118.0

Source : SOEC

The first economic development plan for Cyprus covered the years 1962-66. It had two main targets -- the promotion of economic growth by bringing unused resources into operation; and provision of the necessary infrastructure.

The second plan, (1967-71) put the accent on speeding up the growth process, and securing a better distribution of the prosperity.

The third plan for the years 1972-76, together with the association of Cyprus with the European Community, is aimed to secure improved competitive capacity, quicker modernisation and reconstruction.

5. Current EEC relations with the three associates

Greece : Revival of the Athens Agreement.

On August 30, 1974, in response to the Greek government's aide-mémoire of August 22, the European Commission decided to propose to the Council that the association Agreement be put back on a normal footing, and suggesting an early meeting of the Council of Association at ministerial level. The Commission also suggested, for approval by the Council, a series of immediate measures. These were :

- signature of a supplementary protocol to take account of the enlargement of the Community ;
- negotiation and signature of an interim agreement regarding the advance operation of the trade clauses contained in the supplementary protocol ;
- consideration by Council of the possibility of putting at Greece's disposal loans from the European Investment Bank of U.A. 55.75 million, which had been blocked in 1967, and the opening of negotiations for a further finance protocol ;
- assent to the greek request that the final elimination of customs duties, scheduled to take place on November 1, 1974 in respect of products for which the transition period was 12 years, should be postponed ;
- engagement of greek trainees in Commission departments ;
- opening in Athens of a Community press and information Bureau.

For the longer-term measures, the Commission considers it necessary to allow a period for consideration.

On September 17, the Council of Ministers met in Brussels and recorded its determination that the process of developing the association should be re-started without further delay, thus facilitating Greece's eventual membership of the Community.

The effect of this statement was to bring an end to the "association freeze" imposed after the coup d'Etat of April 1967.

On the practical side, the Council decided to give effect to the Commission proposals for reviving the association. A meeting of the EEC-Greece Association Council, at the level of ministers, which has not been held since 1967, is to take place at the end of the year.

The Commission is continuing its work on the "revival" questions. Greece desires a separate negotiation for wine and has asked for the immediate resumption of negotiations on agricultural harmonisation and a return to 1967 conditions for its exports of fruit and vegetables.

Turkey :

The 20th meeting of the EEC-Turkey Association Council was held in Luxembourg on October 14, 1974 at the ministerial level.

The meeting was an occasion for a wide exchange of views on the state of the association, and a survey of its development since the preceding meeting in Ankara in June 1973.

The Community delegation expressed the considered hope that, so soon as the operation of the Agreement has made it possible to envisage the integral acceptance by Turkey of the obligations arising under the Treaty setting up the Community, the contracting parties, after an examination of the possibility of Turkish adhesion to the Community, as provided in Article 28 of the Ankara Agreement, will be able to record that Turkey is in a position to take its due place in the Community.

The Turkish delegation expressed its concern regarding the progressive contraction in the margins of preference which Turkey enjoys in the markets of Community countries. It commented that though this followed logically from the broadening of the Community's external relationships, it was important not to lose sight of its implications in the equilibrium of the Association. There should therefore be a convergence of the efforts of the two contracting parties in finding a Community solution for this problem.

Cyprus :

At the beginning of September, the Cyprus government stated its wish that the Association Council should meet as soon as possible.

One of the economic problems under consideration in the relationships between the Community and the Republic of Cyprus is the question of "Cyprus sherry", the arrangements for which will have to apply to the Community as a whole.

There was a danger that the application of the reference price to this product after February 1, 1973 would keep it out of the British market. The remedy was the extension for one year of the existing system governing the importation of "Cyprus sherry" in order to allow for the marketing of the 1974 production.

6. Conclusion : The Community in the Mediterranean

The position was summarised on October 16, 1974 by Mr. Bertrand, rapporteur for the political Standing Committee of the European Parliament. "All the countries of the Mediterranean basin", he said, "aspire towards the unity of Europe, so that they may become part of it and escape from the bi-polar system prevailing in the world".

The Community institutions have played an important part in the return of Greece to democracy. According to a declaration made by Mr. Gundelach, speaking on behalf of Sir Christopher Soames in the European Parliament on September 26, 1974 : "the time for speeches has past, and the time for action has come".

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