

**MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT**

**THE HAGUE**

**1-2 DECEMBER 1969**

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*The Hague Summit* reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 1, 1970.

Background

Speech by Jean Rey, President of the Commission to the Parliament on 11 December 1969

Communiqué

Memorandum of the Commission to the Heads of State or Government of 19 November 1969

Report of the Dutch Government to the States General on the Progress and out-come of the conference of Heads of State or Government

Resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 3 November 1969 on the Hague Summit, Reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 12, 1969.

*The "Summit Conference" at the Hague*, Statements made by the Heads of State or Government on 2 December 1969, Reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 2, 1970.

## I. THE HAGUE SUMMIT

### I.

At the 76th session of the Council of the European Communities on 22 and 23 July 1969, the French Government laid before the other Governments represented "a proposal for a meeting by the end of the year in The Hague of a *conference of Heads of State or Government*, with a view to examining the problems arising for the Community, principally in the matter of its completion, its consolidation and its enlargement". This proposal met with the approval of the Council members. At a lunch on the occasion of the 79th session on 15 September 1969, the date of the Summit Conference was fixed for 17 and 18 November 1969. Subsequently, at a press conference held by M. De Koster, Netherlands State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and President-in-office of the Council, and by M. Maurice Schumann, French Foreign Minister, at a lunch in connection with the Council session of 10 November 1969 (86th session), the organization of the Summit and, more especially, the main items for discussion were specified. Ultimately, the date of the Conference was postponed to 1 and 2 December to enable the Foreign Ministers of all the member countries to take part. Prior to the Conference, the European Parliament met in extraordinary session on 3 November 1969 in Luxembourg to determine its attitude to the fundamental problems of European and Community policy. It adopted a resolution which it passed to the Community Governments and to the Council and Commission.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission of the European Communities, for its part, expressed its attitude to the decisions to be adopted in a memorandum to the Conference of Heads of State or Government, submitted to the Governments of the Member States on 19 November 1969.

The Summit Conference was opened on 1 December 1969 in the historic Ridderzaal in the centre of the Binnenhof by M. P.J.S. de Jong, Prime Minister of the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> The same hall had witnessed in May 1948 the European Congress which was the start of the Council of Europe and the European Movement, on 11 November 1967 the twentieth anniversary celebration of the foundation of the European Movement, and on 8 November 1968 the opening by Queen Juliana of the European Parliamentary Congress.

The delegations were led by M. Georges Pompidou, French President, M. Gaston Eyskens, Belgian Prime Minister, M. Willy Brandt, German Chancellor, M. Mariano Rumor, Italian Prime Minister, M. Pierre Werner, Luxembourg Prime Minister, and M. P.J.S. de Jong, Netherlands Prime Minister.

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin 12-69, Ch. VIII, "European Parliament".

<sup>2</sup> M. de Jong's opening speech and the declarations made by the other Heads of State or Government, and published, will be given in full in a chapter of Bulletin 2-1970.

The national delegations meeting only on the afternoon of 1 December and on 2 December, with the Commission, represented by M. Rey and M. Martino, in attendance, reached agreement on a number of items, which are indicated in the final communiqué. The results of the Summit Conference were analysed on 11 December in Strasbourg by M. Rey before the European Parliament, during the annual Joint Meeting between the Community institutions.<sup>1</sup>

M. Rey's address to the European Parliament, the final communiqué of the Conference specifying the elements of agreement between the representatives of the Six, and the Commission memorandum to the Governments on the eve of the Conference are given below.

*Address by M. Jean Rey to the European Parliament*

(11 December 1969)

In his address on 11 December 1969 to the European Parliament, the President of the Commission of the European Communities, M. Jean Rey, drew up a balance-sheet of the results of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the six member countries in The Hague. M. Rey stressed the positive achievements at The Hague and commented on the aspects of European policy on which progress will have to be made in future.

1. The leading positive factor is the spectacular declaration of the political aims of the Community. At a time when certain circles, mainly outside the Community, were tending to the opinion that it could be regarded as a mere trade preference area, it was essential to make clear to European and world opinion that after twenty years the Community had abandoned none of its political aims. In the three sectors with which it dealt, the Hague Conference gave the Community the means to proceed further.

Firstly, with regard to completion, the Commission sees in the events at the end of 1969 a proof that it was right not to propose any extension of the transitional phase. This decision was not easy for the Commission to take, nor was it easily accepted outside. Only recently, this or that member of the European Parliament was publicly asking whether the transition period should not be prolonged because certain tasks which should, in the normal way, have been completed by the end of 1969, would probably not be done with until the following year. Developments have shown that the Community was right not to delay the entry on the final phase.

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<sup>1</sup> See Part Two, Ch. IV, European Parliament.

Some of the decisions adopted had already been made before the Hague Conference. For instance, the regulation on the social security of migrant workers was definitively adopted after five or six years' work. The regulation on commercial policy will enable this to become truly common as from 1 January 1970. In the matter of external relations, a series of very important negotiations had been unblocked or opened in the cases of Austria, Yugoslavia, Spain and Israel, and a commercial agreement between the Community and Japan had been outlined. However, of all the progress achieved by the Council during recent weeks, the most spectacular in the view of European opinion is undoubtedly the decision adopted on Euratom, which, after several years of crisis, now has its future confirmed. The existing instrument is to be preserved and its conversion to a number of new activities has been approved by the Heads of State or Government themselves.

Few items in the Hague Conference communiqué are as spectacular or promising as that on strengthening the Community. The Heads of State or Government declare their agreement "that within the Council, on the basis of the memorandum presented by the Commission on 12 February 1969, and in close collaboration with the latter, a plan in stages will be worked out during 1970 with a view to the creation of an economic and monetary union". In addition, "they are agreed to arrange for the investigation of the possibility of setting up a European Reserve Fund which should be the outcome of a joint economic and monetary policy". Never in 12 years had the necessity for monetary solidarity in the Community, the absence of which was first spectacularly demonstrated by the events of 1969, been expressed so forcefully or with such authority. The impending activities of the Commission will concern a number of problems: the co-ordination of economic and monetary policies, the reform of agricultural structures in the Community (1970 will be the year of decisions in this field), industrial problems, research and technology (the present progress of work indicates that next year decisions will be reached in the Community with the collaboration of the non-member countries which have been invited to take part in this effort), the reform of the European Social Fund, cited explicitly by the Hague communiqué, regional policy, and energy policy.

In the matter of enlargement, the Community is on the eve of a great international negotiation. This time, unlike the unhappy procedure followed in 1961-63, it is no longer the Member States meeting in a mere intergovernmental conference which are to negotiate with Britain, Ireland, Norway and Denmark, but the Community as such. The Hague communiqué says explicitly: "The Heads of State or Government have indicated their agreement to the opening of negotiations between the Community on the one hand and the applicant States on the other". This is tremendous progress. It would be incomprehensible if negotiations concerning the common policies at present in operation in the Community were to be pursued other than by the Community as such, represented of course by the appropriate organs and institutions.

The Commission will play a considerable part in these negotiations, and it is actively preparing for them.

These results of the Hague Conference, M. Rey added, which are so important for the future and the development of the Communities, would suffice in themselves to justify the French President's initiative.

2. However, said M. Rey, along with this credit side, the Conference had not been able to solve all the problems. Some remained pending, and some factors were wanting in the decisions adopted; this might be called the debit side of the Conference.

Thus, Europe's role in the world was not raised at all. To be sure, this was not the subject of the Hague meeting and we should not be surprised that it was not discussed. This role, already so important in relations between the continents, will become even more so when the Community is enlarged and when its responsibilities towards the developing countries have increased. If these problems are mentioned only in passing in the Hague communiqué, it is because, as is well known, important debates are to be held on them in our institutions.

What is much more regrettable is that the Conference, like the communiqué, hardly mentioned political union at all. The fact that the Foreign Ministers were asked to make proposals in six or seven months is certainly not discouraging, but many had expected some important diplomatic initiative from this Conference on the part of one or other member country. In the memorandum submitted to the Governments and discussed at The Hague, the Commission had recommended progress towards political union. It had previously expressed the wish that, failing the establishment of institutions or the drafting of constitutional texts, agreement should at least be reached on a programme of action appropriate to a political Europe. In this way, Europe as such should try to help solve the economic and social problems which are partly responsible for the present drama in the Middle East. Similarly, if the Community as such were to attack the problem of easing the tensions between East and West, it could perhaps bring the solution nearer. Thirdly, repetition of the errors of the old national states at continental level must be avoided, and, at a time when the world is becoming organized in terms of continents, the establishment of relations of mutual trust between these is at least as important as the establishment of peaceful relations between the European states.

A second subject of regret is that the strengthening of the Community institutions, so essential for the progress of the Community, was not discussed at The Hague. The construction of the economic and monetary union, like enlargement, demands the strengthening of the institutions. Enlargement of the Community is inconceivable with distorted institutional machinery such as we have at present. How is it possible to imagine that all decisions,

even minor ones, could be adopted unanimously in a Community of ten states? In the coming months the Commission will do its utmost to get the Council to consider this matter of the strengthening of the Community at institutional level with all the attention it merits, since it is so absolutely essential. A third matter for regret as regards the institutions is that the Conference did not see fit to make any positive pronouncement on direct election by universal suffrage to the European Parliament. The Commission said at the Conference that since, although not able to begin discussion of the renewed project for political union, the Conference wished to demonstrate the political nature of the Community, it could at least declare its readiness to have the European Parliament elected by universal suffrage. The Conference did not take this decision and the final communiqué simply says that the work in hand will be continued, and there is no question of a favourable attitude. The communiqué does, however, come out for strengthening the budgetary powers of the European Parliament.

3. In conclusion, M. Rey said, 1970 was not only the first year in the final period, the period when Community affairs will cease to be of a transitional nature, but also a year which will be marked by two great anniversaries. The first is the centenary of one of the great armed conflicts of modern times, one of the civil wars which have set against each other European States today reconciled and members of our Community. But 1970 will also see the twentieth anniversary of the declaration by Robert Schuman. On 9 May 1970, twenty years will have elapsed since Robert Schuman made the memorable declaration in the Salon de l'Horloge of the Quai d'Orsay which launched the Community enterprise. The recent events will enable us all to celebrate this great anniversary without a feeling of remorse towards the great figure and the political initiative of Robert Schuman, since the Community is on the way to recover the creative drive which had been missing in recent months. On 9 May 1970 the Parliament, Council and Commission will together demonstrate, with a better conscience and renewed energy, their will to hasten the building of Europe.

### *Final communiqué of the Conference*

(2 December 1969)

1. "On the initiative of the Government of the French Republic and at the invitation of the Netherlands Government, the Heads of State or Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Member States of the European Communities met at The Hague on 1 and 2 December 1969. The Commission of the European Communities was invited to participate in the work of the Conference on the second day.

2. Now that the Common Market is about to enter upon its final stage, they considered that it was the duty of those who bear the highest political responsibility in each of the Member States to draw up a balance-sheet of the work already accomplished, to show their determination to continue it and to define the broad lines for the future.

3. Looking back on the road that has been traversed, and finding that never before have independent States pushed their co-operation further, they were unanimous in their opinion that by reason of the progress made the Community had now arrived at a turning point in its history. Over and above the technical and legal sides of the problems involved, the expiry of the transitional period at the end of the year has, therefore, acquired major political significance. Entry upon the final stage of the Common Market not only means confirming the irreversible nature of the work accomplished by the Communities, but also means paving the way for a United Europe capable of assuming its responsibilities in the world of tomorrow and of making a contribution commensurate with its traditions and its mission.

4. The Heads of State or Government therefore wish to reaffirm their belief in the political objectives which give the Community its full meaning and scope, their determination to carry their undertaking through to the end, and their confidence in the final success of their efforts. They have a common conviction that a Europe composed of States which, in spite of their different national characteristics, are united in their essential interests, assured of its internal cohesion, loyal to its friendly relations with outside countries, conscious of the role it has to play in promoting the relaxation of international tension and rapprochement among all peoples and, first and foremost, among those of the entire European continent, is indispensable for preserving an exceptional seat of development, of progress and culture, for world equilibrium and for peace.

The European Communities remain the original nucleus from which European unity sprang and developed. The entry of other countries of this continent into the Communities — in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties of Rome — would undoubtedly help the Communities to grow to dimensions, still more in conformity with the present state of economy and technology. The creation of special links with other European States which have expressed a desire to that effect would also contribute to this end. A development such as this would enable Europe to keep up its traditions of an open attitude to the world and increase its efforts on behalf of developing countries.

5. As regards the completion of the Communities, the Heads of State or Government have reaffirmed the will of their Governments to pass from the transitional period to the final stage of the European Community and, accord-

