

MEETINGS OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT

**PARIS
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The First Summit Conference of the Enlarged Community
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Official Invitation
Communiqué
Reactions of the European Institutions

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I. THE FIRST SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE ENLARGED COMMUNITY

The first Summit Conference of the enlarged Community was held in Paris on 19 and 20 October 1972. An earlier number of the Bulletin¹ summarized the progress of the preparations up to 5 July 1972. This issue includes remarks on the conclusion of the preparatory work, the final Communiqué from the Conference and the early reactions published at Community level. The introductory speeches by the leaders of the ten delegations together with other texts bearing on the Conference will be published later in the Bulletin.

Conclusion of the Preparatory Work

As mentioned earlier, the preparations for the first Summit Conference of the enlarged Community were successfully carried out through a series of Foreign Ministers' Conferences attended by the Commission. These meetings were held on 29 February, 20 March, 24 April, 26 and 27 May, 26 June, 19 July and 12 September (the last one was preceded by a meeting of the Finance Ministers on 11 September). The Conferences of 19 July and 12 September were prepared through the work of an Ad Hoc Committee made up of Member States' Permanent Representatives, the Ambassadors of the new Members and Commission representatives. The preparations for the Summit also involved many bilateral meetings either between Ministers or government leaders. The preparatory work followed the wish of several Member States that no Summit be called unless it could be expected to yield practical results. After the Conference of Ministers at Frascati on 11 and 12 September, the governments were persuaded that this condition had been met.

The Chairman-in-Office of the Council, Mr *Westerterp*, the Dutch Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking on behalf of the Chair at the Frascati Conference, reviewed this final preliminary Conference² before the European Parliament during its September session:

“The talks which took place in Frascati near Rome on 12 September with Minister Schmelzer in the Chair, between the Foreign Ministers of the Ten to prepare for the European Summit were successful. The Finance Ministers contributed largely to these fruitful proceedings by agreeing (and I specially

¹ Bulletin EEC 8-1972, Part One, Chapter II. See also Information published every month by the Bulletin, Part Three (“Day by Day”).

² EP Debates 153, Appendix to OJ.

draw Parliament's attention to it) to form a European Monetary Cooperation Fund and take the offensive against inflation, which is perhaps Europe's greatest scourge today.

The method used at the Frascati meeting also seems to have been a sound one. There was no attempt to grind down all the differences of opinion still to be seen in the *Ad Hoc Committee's Report*, a group made up by the Permanent Representatives of the Six in Brussels and the Ambassadors of the new Members. There was certainly argument over the main items, but whenever it seemed impossible to agree in the short time available, the reservations were upheld.

The Report, which includes the remaining reservations and a summary of the Frascati discussion, will be submitted for approval at the Conference of Heads of State and Government. The items and documents not in dispute were explicitly accepted by the Ministers who considered that, barring entirely new contingencies, their work of preparation was thus completed.

The Ad Hoc Committee, which made a solid contribution, will include the decisions of 12 September in its Report and then fix the official agenda of the Summit Conference. The Chairman, Minister Schmelzer, stated explicitly several times without any opposition that it would be impossible, during the Summit, to insert completely new and unprepared items into the agenda. The deadlines scheduled in the Ad Hoc Committee's paper for the various proceedings of the European Institutions would be more closely coordinated. The Chairman would also be glad to receive any suggestions which governments might make to him for the text of a statement on general policy.

Let me mention now the discussions we have had based on the Ad Hoc Committee's Report which were attended on the afternoon of 12 September by the Finance Ministers and the Bank Presidents. The text on the formation of a *European Monetary Fund*, agreed by the Finance Ministers, will be inserted into the Report for the Heads of State. The same applies to their declared intentions concerning the anti-inflation campaign.

The Finance Ministers also agreed to ask through the Report the European institutions to take the necessary action to allow transition on 1 January 1974 to the second stage of the Economic and Monetary Union.

Despite the Chairman's efforts to reach a compromise, no agreement could be reached over a text on *regional policy* and especially on the *Community financing* of same. The Ad Hoc Committee will attack this problem again. One of the Groups suggested that in the paragraph of this document which deals with social questions, practical measures be indicated which should be

included in a social action plan desired by all. With the support of several delegations, it was decided to make the Ad Hoc Committee responsible for following up practical possibilities in this field. But it was emphasized on this occasion that it was vital for the Summit Conference to carefully weigh up the desiderata claimed in the social sphere and other sectors, considering their financial repercussions.

During a thorough discussion of the institutional paragraphs, it was agreed to record that owing to objections raised mainly by the new Members, no delegation wanted for the moment to insist on an amendment to the Treaty. Some groups, however, moved that the *election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage* did not imply amendment but rather application of the Treaty; namely, Article 138 and that the date of the elections should now be set. It was therefore suggested in Frascati that the enlarged European Parliament be asked to draw up a new proposal for the elections as under Article 138 for decision by the Council within a fixed deadline. This suggestion received qualified support; some delegations, while agreeing that Parliament submit a new proposal, still refused to be bound by a deadline over the Council's ruling. Needless to say, this matter will be shelved until the Conference of Heads of State.

The proposal to regularly convene the Council at the level of Secretaries of State for European Affairs appointed by governments was resisted by some delegations.

The overall reservation made by one country over the paragraph on political cooperation has been withdrawn. No delegation brought up the question of the political Secretariat.

During the debate on external relations, some delegations apparently did not want to institutionalize the EEC-USA discussions.

One delegation recommended that the Community clearly contract a fresh commitment towards the developing countries, asking among other things that an increasing share of development aid be routed via the Community. The Ministers did not feel able to make a statement on this matter in Frascati. But several warnings were uttered against the dangers of contracting new commitments which we could not honour thus provoking bitter disappointment. The Conference of Heads of State will have to rule on these proposals. On the positive side, it was agreed—concerning the paragraph on development aid—to refer to the international development strategy already accepted within the United Nations.

The question whether the Ministers felt that the *Summit Conference* could be held on the date scheduled; namely, 19 and 20 October, was reviewed at the

end of the meeting. I feel in this case that I am exonerated from having to mention any delegations by name since these have already been quoted in the press Communiqués issued after the Conference.

From the very start, Minister Schumann had clearly indicated that he could not say at Frascati whether the Summit Conference could be held on 19 and 20 October. In his introduction, Mr Schmelzer recalled the conclusion of the Council session of 19 July. On that date the Ministers had expressed the wish, shared by all, that the Summit be held on the scheduled date, provided an adequate basis for joint agreement emerged at the next meeting of Ministers in September. The job of the Frascati Conference was to ascertain this. Minister Schumann had said that his own conclusions and those of his financial colleague on the Ministerial talks would have to be referred to the French Council of Ministers and that the President of the Republic would then decide. It was then intimated that the decision could be taken in the next few days and Minister Schumann added that he had enough data to enable him to form his own opinion. The question whether to hold the Summit on the scheduled date was finally answered by the other Ministers as follows: Norway, Luxembourg, Italy, Ireland and Denmark were unreservedly in favour; Germany and Belgium were also in favour but still had to get the formal agreement of their Cabinets. Then, as Head of the Dutch delegation, I made the following statement: "The Netherlands delegation considers that insofar as progress made over economic and monetary union and the Community's external relations is concerned, there exists an adequate joint basis for agreement for us to favour holding the Summit in Paris on the proposed date; namely, on the eve of enlargement. Nevertheless, the Netherlands delegation is sorry to find that during the preparatory work not enough progress has been made towards strengthening the Community institutions. Under these circumstances, we feel bound to submit the conclusions of the Frascati meeting to our Government for it to make a final decision this week (it was the previous week) on participating in the Summit Conference bearing in mind the chances of making fresh progress there".

The two governments who had not announced their decision; namely, the French and Netherlands Governments, had said that they would inform the Chairman, Minister Schmelzer, of their decision after their Councils of Ministers had met.

In the afternoon of Friday, 15 September 1972, Mr Schmelzer as Chairman of this preparatory Conference officially announced to his colleagues from the countries attending the Summit that all the governments who had made reservations at Frascati had withdrawn them. The Chairman was able to make this announcement when he had been officially informed on the Friday afternoon of the French Government's positive decision. The Netherlands

Government had then also decided that the conditions it had put on holding the Summit in Paris as scheduled were met, although it was still convinced that progress should also be made there towards strengthening the Community institutions. After Mr Schmelzer, as Chairman, had transmitted the results to the ten capital cities, the President of the French Republic on the very same evening sent a letter to the Heads of State and Government of the Six and the four new Members officially inviting them to share in the Summit Conference on 19 and 20 October in Paris. This letter has since been published.”

The Official Invitation

When the preparatory stage had been concluded, the President of the French Republic, Mr Georges Pompidou, on 15 September officially invited the Heads of Government of the other Member States and the four new Members to share in the Summit Conference on 19 and 20 October in Paris. There follows the text of President Pompidou's letter:

“After the Meeting in Rome of our Foreign and Finance Ministers, chaired by Mr Schmelzer, it is, I think, clear to us all that we must hold, as I suggested in August 1971, a Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Ten countries, Members and future Members of the Community.

This Meeting is the fitting occasion for a new and important phase in the history of the European Economic Communities. It will allow us to consolidate and pursue an economic and social development which over the last fourteen years the countries of the Six have enjoyed. We shall be able to define some new line of concerted action for our ten countries. It will also help us to make our contribution to solving the economic and monetary problems besetting the western world today, by means of decisions on practice or principle concerning our inter-Community relations. I keenly hope that it will promote awareness by the Community Members of their solidarity and the need to affirm Europe's role in the world. In this way we shall respond to the deeply-felt aspirations of the European peoples and to their noblest interests.

I am glad to confirm my invitation to come to Paris on 19 and 20 October for the first Summit Meeting of the Ten Members of the enlarged Economic Community.”

On 6 October, President Pompidou sent the following invitation to Mr Sicco Mansholt, President of the Commission:

“After the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Rome on 12 September, the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Community feel it is necessary to hold, as I suggested in August 1971, a Summit Conference.