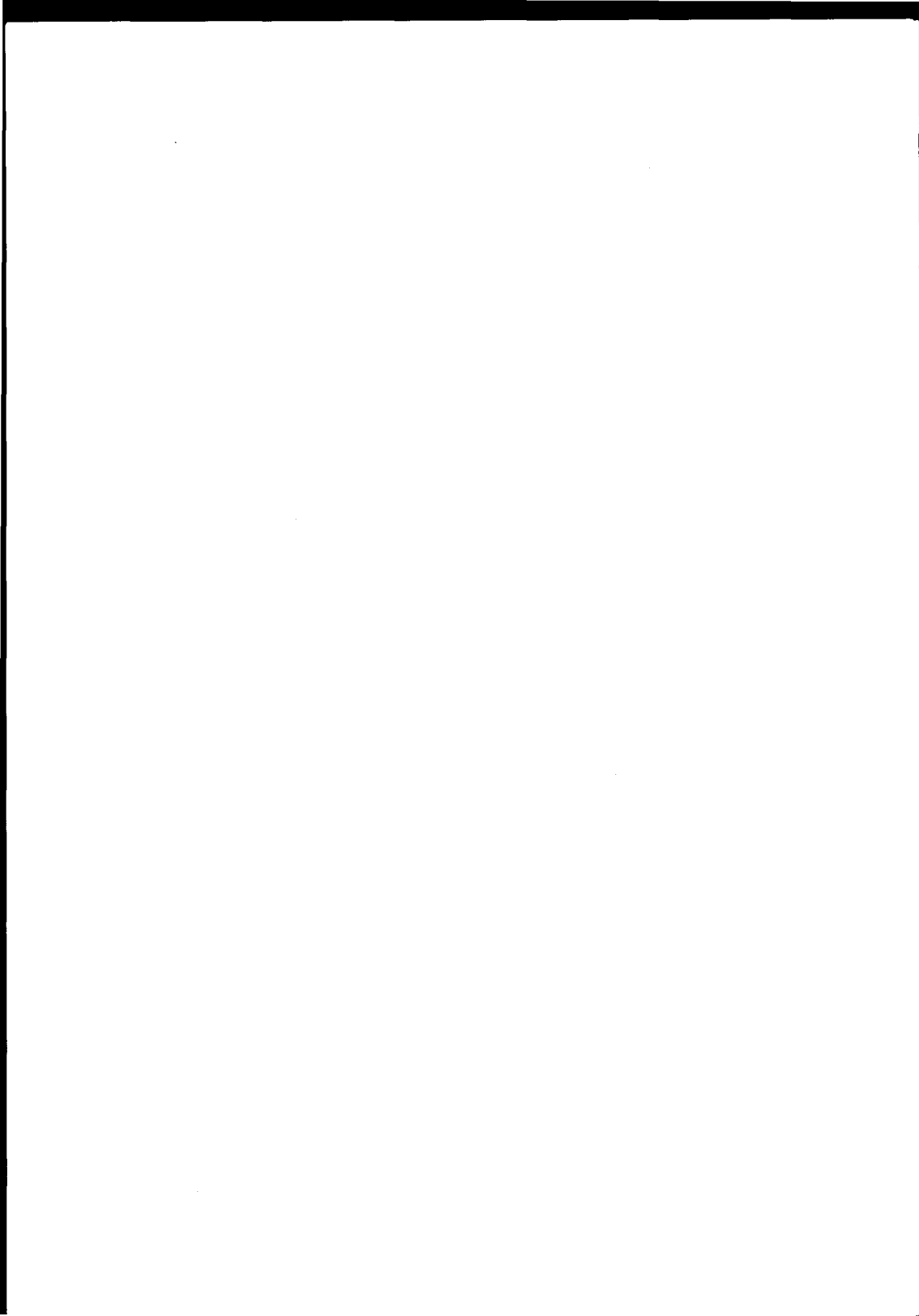


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# DOCUMENTATION 2



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## June 1981

(1) There does not exist an english version of these documents because they have been adopted before the entry of the U.K. and Ireland into the EC on 1st January 1973.



## **Preface**

Leo Tindemans, President of the European People's Party

For years the Christian Democrats of Europe, and in particular the nine member parties of the EPP, have been united and resolute in their support of progress on European unification.

They have not developed utopian plans, but have described in practical terms how progress can be made – step by step – along the right path.

We Christian Democrats feel we have a duty to the founders of the European Community: Robert Schuman, Alcide De Gasperi, Konrad Adenauer and Joseph Bech. They had a vision of a new Community for Europe torn apart and destroyed by bloody warfare.

The Treaties of Paris (18.4.1951) and Rome (25.03.1957) provided the foundation for the Community which has demonstrated its stability through one crisis after another.

Today the Community is in danger.

The political volition which inspired statesmen in its early years has drained away. The Community is no longer governed but at best administered. National feelings have come to the fore although it is evident that the major problems can only be solved together.

The citizens of the Community, most of whom are more European-minded than their rulers, are very disappointed. They know that the Heads of Government proclaimed at the Summit Conference in October 1972 that their chief aim was to transform the totality of relations between the Member States into a European Union before the end of this decade.

They have seen that nothing has been done in more than eight years to achieve this aim. They are wondering how credible their heads of government really are. Resignation is spreading.

In this precarious situation we Christian Democrats in the EPP want to give the Community a new impulse and launch a new campaign to achieve progress. This is why we submitted our plans for the creation of a European Union to the public on 10 June 1981, the second anniversary of European Direct elections.

We believed it would be useful to include this statement together with a number of official Christian-Democratic documents and important policy papers in a brochure testifying to our initiatives for European Union.

We hope that this information will encourage our friends in our member parties, parliaments and governments to support our activities.

*Leo Tindemans*



*At the press conference in Brussels of 10 June 1981, Leo Tindemans, President of the European People's Party (EPP), presented the "Declaration on the development of the European Community into a European Union" (rapporteurs Hans A. Lücker and Alfred Bertrand), adopted unanimously by the Political Bureau the day before and an "Appeal" of the presidents of the member parties "to the setting up of a European Union". The President made following introduction :*

The need to unite Europeans within a strong and interdependent Community is just as manifest now as it was at the very outset of the building of Europe. In the vanguard of the movement which rescued our peoples from the ruin and humiliation of the Second World War, the Christian-Democrats still believe, after 30 years' experience of the Community, that joint action is the only course which the countries of Europe can take. The ideals of freedom and social justice - values which these parties have made their own - can only so be achieved. Reconciling our nations, restoring hope to our peoples and rebuilding our cities was at that time our task. This we achieved. We have subsequently enjoyed decades of prosperity unequalled in our history.

Now, fears are growing again - fears fuelled at one and the same time by the military threat amassing up at our frontiers and by the deterioration in the conditions of economic and social life within the Community. Unemployment has reached an intolerable level. Combined with the damaging effects of inflation, it is gradually undermining the foundations of the system of responsibility and free enterprise on which the European economy is based.

It is essential that we realise that the crisis of employment and the general decline in living standards harbour the germ of the disillusionment of our citizens with the democratic and pluralist form of government. In the long term, what is at stake is the fundamental issue of the individual's place in society.

We must answer this challenge. We must demonstrate completely convincingly the intimate link which, more than ever, exists between material welfare and the moral values of Europeans in the progress of European unification.

Paradoxically, when most Europeans need to shoulder their collective responsibilities and to extend their field of joint action, this very field of action is apparently shrinking : the European Community, like our countries, is in crisis.

Although encouraged by the resolve of the post-war governments and the relative prosperity which lasted until the end of the 60's, the movement towards European unification seems to have been marking time for nearly ten years.

At the Summits of 1969, 1972 and 1974, ambitious plans were laid which were designed to bring about European Union within the decade, as the necessary transitional stage towards a federal Europe which remains our ultimate goal. However, tangible achievements are slow in coming and there seems to be a general unwillingness on the part of most of our governments to commit themselves. They come under strong sectional pressures from social groups and professions who fear for the future. The 'wood' of general interest is obscured by the 'trees' of individual concerns. Each individual is trapped within the confines of his own immediate preoccupations.

We must not allow the primeval law of 'everyman for himself' to supplant, within our societies and between the countries of our Community, the general interest. This is the only viable basis from which to rise above conflicting interests and promote the public good. By restoring the Community ideal and making Europeans realise what they share in common, beyond their own particular preoccupations, we will be helping to promote in every one of our societies a consensus without which they are condemned to disintegration.

In the economic and monetary fields, in employment, energy, agriculture, in high-technology as well as in declining industries, in the field of technological innovation, the lack of Community action is doing grave harm to each and every European. Europe seems often simply not to exist. When left to their own resources, our states are no longer able to measure up to the world's challenges. Having to contend with the same difficulties, the Member States' economies will not recover unless action by national governments is both better co-ordinated and, as far as possible, complementary. Above all, it must be directed towards a common goal instead of towards disparate and even conflicting objectives.

This lack of solidarity is costing Europe dear. It diminishes our ability to influence events. It casts a shadow over future generations. It is time for governments, political forces and representatives of the working population to face up to their respective obligations: bureaucratic inertia, administrative paralysis and group egoism can no longer be tolerated. Those who block decisions by abusing the power of veto, and who put off further and further into an indefinite future essential decisions, must now grasp the serious implications of their actions.

We Christian-Democrats, in whom the voters placed their trust on 10 June 1979 in the first European elections, are determined no longer to accept inaction when it means decline.

We issue a solemn appeal to national governments and parliaments, to the Community institutions and to each European citizen, to strive to replace the current tendency to question and denigrate the European ideal by a new spirit of initiative and a strength of conviction, without which European society will inevitably degenerate.

We call for priority in laying the foundations of an ambitious programme to revive employment throughout the European Community, backed up by the co-ordination of national resources and a strengthening of the Community.

We stress :

- that there can be no such thing as a lasting and solidly-based Europe unless the Community institutions set up by the Treaties are made more solid; this would enable the democratically-expressed will of the people to be heard at European level. Efficient and harmonious co-ordination could then be achieved between national and European administrations.



We believe :

- that new powers must be conferred upon Community institutions in the fields of monetary and economic policy;
- that the European Parliament must gradually assert its identity and extend its powers;
- that the European Council, the Council of Ministers and the Commission should mutually support each other in their respective policy and decision-making. This would establish a new relationship based on interdependence in place of the present conflict in their relations.

Europeans have achieved peace internally, but they must now find ways of guaranteeing their external security.

To banish resignation in the face of totalitarian threat, and under the aegis of the Atlantic Alliance, Europe must initiate the vital dialogue between its members on its common defence.

The dramatic deterioration in the international economic situation, the outcome of the most recent elections in Europe, the firm line of the new American administration, the growing expectations of the countries of the Third World, the arms superiority of the Soviet forces, the growing number of flashpoints in the Middle East and in Africa, are all factors which are transforming the international political scene. The EPP and the ECDU appeal to the governments of the Member States to confront these problems : only a dramatic new impetus in the building of Europe, backed up by a fresh determination, is capable of restoring the Europeans' confidence in their future and faith in their values.

## **DECLARATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INTO A EUROPEAN UNION**

The European People's Party (EPP)

- I. Notes the following facts regarding the need for further development of the European Community (EC) :

1. The increasing difficulties, which again came to the fore at the last meeting of the European Council in Maastricht, are largely due to the fact that the political goal of the European Community, as it finds expression in the Rome Treaties, has been doubted and indeed even directly challenged. But unless political action is decisively orientated towards this objective European Union cannot be realized, indeed the present state of European integration as it exists today cannot be preserved. The Community institutions, the Member Governments and the national parliaments must, in their decisions, give tangible evidence of the gradual attainment of this political goal; that is the precondition for overcoming indifference, doubt or even hostility.

To survive in freedom and peace the Community needs more freedom of manoeuvre and, at the same time, greater credibility; these seem to be diminishing however at the same rate as the internal difficulties and external vulnerability increase. The necessary updating of the legal bases of the Community, including the revision of the Treaties, requires that the responsible political and parliamentary, European and national bodies immediately commence work to this end ; the basis for this must be the clearly defined aims of the original Treaties, which are politically binding.

2. It is symptomatic of this malaise in the political state of the European Community that it was not able to carry out the declared intention of the European Council (1) at its October 1972 Conference in Paris 'to transform before the end of the present decade (i.e. by 1980) the whole complex of their (the Member States) relations into a European union'.

This objective, which was confirmed again and again in the following years, has unfortunately still not been realized in 1981. There have certainly been encouraging developments, in particular the direct election of the European Parliament, but their scope is far too narrow to enable the EC to govern and therefore to function adequately. The European Union should be viewed as a political union and an economic and monetary union with a joint decision-making body whose political counterpart is the directly elected European Parliament.

3. The situation in the EC increasingly reflects the prevailing lack of vision. Coordination between states in important areas of European domestic and foreign policy, which has become an increasingly decisive factor of development is not enough and cannot replace a common vision of the objectives to be pursued. Such a vision is necessary in view of the different situations of the Member States and particularly in view of the external problems and threats facing the Community.

4. Recent experience has confirmed that the governments represented in the Council of Ministers behave in a most paradoxical fashion; on the one hand they show themselves capable of overcoming deep-seated crises at the cost of large-scale financial intervention, in order to keep open the Community option as a way of building their own future, but at the same time they prove incapable of exploiting this opportunity to build the European Union which they so solemnly and repeatedly invoke.

5. We believe that in view of the internal and external challenges facing the Community, the time has come to make European Union a reality, if the Community is to exist in accordance with its own values and ideals.

II. Is convinced, in view of the internal and external challenges facing the EC, that :

1. Political European Union and Economic and Monetary Union can be attained only as a parallel and coordinated process which cannot be achieved without a European decision-making centre. The Community must return to the decision-making procedures according to the democratically balanced rules in the Treaty;

2. The EC must find means of transforming the European Monetary System (EMS) (2) into a viable economic and monetary union under the institutional system of the EC. It must remove economic, social and regional disparities by means of an appropriate convergence policy and establish a better balance within the Community if the political dimension of European Union is also to become a reality;

3. The Community must carry out its southward expansion successfully for all concerned - independent of the creation of the European Union - if it returns to the decision-making process as laid down in paragraph II. 1. Enlargement will give it a new political dimension and strengthen its role in international politics, an area in which the EC must assume greater responsibility both for its own security and for world peace in a time of increasingly open threats;

4. The Community must develop its political cooperation (EPC) (3) progressively into a common foreign policy incorporating a common security policy within the framework of the Western Alliance. Recent events around the globe and the potential further dangers to our material and physical survival require that the EC should acquire a power of action in both domestic and foreign affairs by endowing itself with the resources and institutions necessary for the definition and implementation of a common policy.

In this way the European Community could become a significant factor contributing to greater peace in Europe and in the world generally.

The world rightly expects more from Europe than it is offering today. Europe is called upon now to fulfil these expectations more fully by making a valid contribution to greater international social justice and to the safeguarding of peace in freedom.

III. Demands therefore that the following measures, which at this stage require no amendment of the Treaties, be implemented progressively and without delay :

1. In order to ensure the functioning of today's Community of Ten and to give a proper guarantee to tomorrow's European Union of Twelve, wider terms of reference must be given to the Community in accordance with the fundamental interests of the Member States, while at the same time strengthening the powers of the Community institutions, in so far as this is necessary to create an effective policy by collaboration between European and national structures, based on the principle of subsidiarity.

The traditional independence of the Member States is a key factor for European Union. They are not in conflict with but complement one another. European Union is a necessary answer to the conditions of our time. In this perspective economic and political development processes must run parallel and be functionally coordinated in order to ensure ability to act and efficiency for the Community as a whole.

This applies in particular to :

- a) Economic and monetary policy,
- b) Energy policy and the policy on raw materials supplies,
- c) Regional, structural and social policy,
- d) A policy on scientific research and technology,
- e) An EC budgetary policy which takes account of the future distribution of responsibilities between the Community and the Member States,
- f) A foreign policy which enables Europe to act and react more quickly and effectively as a Community and which takes account of the elements of European security within the framework of the Western Alliance. The experience of recent years provides abundant evidence of the need for such a policy.

2. As regards making the Community and its policies more democratic :

- a) In the political aftermath of direct elections, the EP must participate more decisively in the Community's legislative process, but without depriving the Council of Ministers of its right to the 'last work' under the Treaties;
- b) To this end, the conciliation procedure already applied between the EP, the Council of Ministers and the Commission for the establishment of the Community budget must be extended to cover all Community legal acts with financial implications, if only because the EP shares joint responsibility with the Council as the Community's budgetary authority;
- c) As part of the process of making the EC more democratic, the EP must be involved in the conclusion of international agreements by holding a guideline debate before negotiations are initiated and a ratification debate prior to the ratification procedure in the Member States;
- d) Within this general political framework, the EP should play a greater part than before in the gradual progression from European political cooperation to a common foreign policy, by holding ordinary parliamentary debates concluded by a resolution which will serve as a guide for the Community's executive.

3. As regards the decision-making procedure in the Council of Ministers:

- a) It is essential for the Council to return to the voting procedure laid down in Articles 148 ff of the Treaty of Rome (5) because :
  - aa) Experience has shown that since the conclusion of the Luxembourg 'agreement to differ' (6) of 1966, the development of the Community as laid down in the Treaties has become increasingly paralysed while at the same time the Community is backsliding towards inter-governmental cooperation, which is contrary to the objectives of the EEC Treaties, and thus towards renationalization.
  - bb) The Community will increasingly forfeit its international credibility if it expects its partners to observe treaties and agreements but does not observe its own internal Treaties;
- b) The Foreign Ministers in the Council of Ministers must take stronger action to coordinate the specialized Councils of Ministers;

4. As regards the Commission's role :

- a) The powers conferred on the Commission by the Treaties with a view to ensuring a balanced, democratic distribution of powers must be restored in full (7). The Commission is a Community institution, precisely defined in the Treaties, with its own terms of reference and political responsibility. Its role as guardian of the Treaties

and motive force behind the development of the Community in line with the objectives of the Treaties must remain inviolable;

- b) The executive and administrative powers which the Council has for some time assumed itself must again be transferred to the Commission with a view to improving the functioning and development of the Community pursuant to the fourth indent of Article 155 of the Treaty of Rome (8).

IV. Notes that the European Council is separate from but not incompatible with the Treaties establishing the Community. The political objectives and time-limits for the further development of the Community which it has repeatedly set were certainly helpful and useful. The European Council should in future devote more energy to laying down guidelines for the policy and development of the European Community and giving political directives to the Community institutions. The European Council must not become reduced to a mere appeal court for the Council of Ministers.

Yet it would be desirable and would help to make the Community more democratic if the President-in Office of the European Council agreed to a discussion with Parliament after every conference.

## **Conclusion**

1. All the proposals put forward here are consistent with the Treaties establishing the Community, the EP's decision to date, the declarations of the European Council, the Tindemans Report requested by the European Council and the report of the Three Wise Men, also requested by the European Council.
2. The European Union is an important step towards European unification. We are firmly committed to the final political objective of European unification : a European federation of the type described by Robert Schuman in his declaration of May 9, 1950.

## ANNEX

### List of sources quoted

#### Ad 1)

Quotation from the formal concluding paragraph of the final communiqué issued by the Conference of the Heads of State or Government (Summit Conference - later the European Council) held in Paris from 19 to 21 October 1972 :

'The Heads of State and Government, having set themselves the major objective of transforming, before the end of the present decade and with the fullest respect for the Treaties already signed, the whole complex of the relations of the Member States into a European Union, request the institutions of the Community to draw up a report on this subject, ...'

In his report of 29 December 1975, which was drawn up at the request of his colleagues at the Summit Conference, Leo Tindemans, Prime Minister of Belgium, gave the following definition of European Union - which is still valid today :

- a) European Union implies that we present a united front to the outside world. We must tend to act in common in all the main fields of our external relations whether in foreign policy, security, economic relations or development aid.
- b) European Union recognizes the interdependence of the economic prosperity of our States and accepts the consequences of this : a common economic and monetary policy, common policies in the industrial and agricultural sectors and on energy and research, a regional policy which will correct inequalities in development and counteract the centralizing effects of industrial societies with social action to mitigate inequalities of income.
- c) European Union requires the solidarity of our peoples to be effective and adequate and makes itself felt in people's daily lives.
- d) In order to achieve these tasks European Union is given institutions with the necessary powers to determine a common, coherent and all-inclusive political view, the efficiency needed for action, the legitimacy needed for democratic control.
- e) The development of the Union's external relations cannot occur without a parallel development of common policies internally. Neither can be achieved without consolidating the authority and effectiveness of common institutions.
- f) This cannot occur without a transfer of competences to common institutions and without a transfer of resources from prosperous to less prosperous regions. Finally, this cannot occur without obligations, which though freely accepted must then be enforced unreservedly.

Quotation from the Summary by the President of the meeting of the European Council in Venice on 12 and 13 June 1980 :

"A key feature of the agreements thus reached is the Community commitment to enable each Member State to become more closely involved with the fate of the Community and with the deepening process of European integration.

This commitment is a fundamental prerequisite, especially bearing in mind the prospect of enlargement, if the Community is to be able to meet its internal and international responsibilities authoritatively and effectively; to promote greater con-

vergence and the harmonious development of their economies, help to reduce the disparities between the various regions; in short, to realize in full the objectives enshrined in the Treaties, in total compliance with the ideals underlying the grand design of European unification'.

**Ad 2)**

Quotation from the Conclusions of the Presidency following the meeting of the European Council of 5 December 1978 :

"The purpose of the European Monetary System is to establish a greater measure of monetary stability in the Community. It should be seen as a fundamental component of a more comprehensive strategy aimed at lasting growth with stability, the harmonization of living standards and the lessening of regional disparities in the Community. The Monetary System will facilitate the convergence of economic development and give fresh impetus to the process of European Union."

**Ad 3)**

Quotation from the final communiqué of the Paris Summit Conference of 9 and 10 December 1974 :

Point 2

"Recognizing the need for an overall approach to the internal problems ... and the external problems facing Europe, the Heads of Government consider it essential to ensure progress and overall consistency in the activities of the Community and in the work on political cooperation".

Point 3, paragraph 2

"In order to ensure consistency in Community activities, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, meeting in the Council of the Community, will act as initiators and coordinators. They may hold political cooperation meeting at the same time."

Point 4

"With a view to progress towards European unity, the Heads of Government reaffirm their determination to adopt common positions and coordinate their diplomatic action in all areas of international affairs which affect the interests of the European Community. The President-in-Office will be its spokesman and will act as its representative in international diplomacy.

In view of the increasing role of political cooperation in the construction of Europe, the European Parliament must be more closely associated with this work, for example through replies to questions put to the Presidency by its Members."

**Ad 4)**

Quotation from the final communiqué of the Paris Summit Conference of 9 and 10 December 1974 :

**Point 5**

"The Heads of Government consider it necessary to increase the solidarity of the Nine both by improving Community procedures and by developing new common policies in areas to be decided on and by granting the necessary powers to the EC institutions'.

**Point 9**

"Cooperation between the Nine in areas outside the scope of the Treaty will be continued where it has already begun. It should be extended to other areas ..."

**Ad 5)**

Quotation from the final communiqué of the Paris Summit Conference of 9 and 10 December 1974 :

**Point 6**

"In order to improve the functioning of the Council, they (the Heads of State and Government) consider that it is necessary to renounce the practice which consists of making agreement on all questions conditional on the unanimous consent of the Member States ..."

**Ad 6)**

In the Luxembourg compromise of January 1966 (Vedel Report of 25 March 1972), the Member States put an end to the institutional crisis which had lasted throughout the whole of 1965 by agreeing that 'on matters where a decision that could be taken by majority vote on a proposal from the Commission would affect very important interests of one or more partners, the members of the Council will endeavour to reach a unanimous decision, within a reasonable time'. The French Government felt, however, that the discussion must be continued until unanimous agreement is reached.

This difference of opinion is noted but not resolved through the compromise.

This means that Commission proposals lose the privileged status granted them by Article 149 of the Treaty of Rome. This in turn leads to distortion of the powers and roles of the institutions contrary to the clear provisions of the Treaty of Rome.

**Article 148 of the Treaty of Rome :**

1. Save as otherwise provided in this Treaty, the Council shall act by a majority of its members.
2. Where the Council is required to act by a qualified majority, the votes of its members shall be weighted as follows :

Belgium .....	5
Denmark .....	3
Germany .....	10
France .....	10
Ireland .....	3
Italy .....	10
Luxembourg .....	2
Netherlands .....	5
United Kingdom .....	10
Greece .....	5



For their adoption, acts of the Council shall require at least :

- forty-five votes in favour where this Treaty requires them to be adopted on a proposal from the Commission;
- forty-five votes in favour, cast by at least six members, in all other cases.

3. Abstentions by members present in person or represented shall not prevent the adoption by the Council of acts which require unanimity."

Article 149 of the Treaty of Rome :

"Where, in pursuance of this Treaty, the Council acts on a proposal from the Commission, unanimity shall be required for an act constituting an amendment to that proposal.

As long as the Council has not acted, the Commission may alter its original proposal, in particular where the Assembly has been consulted on that proposal."

Artikel 150 of the Treaty of Rome :

"Where a vote is taken, any member of the Council may also act on behalf of not more than one other member."

#### **Ad 7) and 8)**

Article 155 of the Treaty of Rome :

"In order to ensure the proper functioning and development of the common market, the Commission shall :

- ensure that the provisions of this Treaty and the measures taken by the institutions pursuant thereto are applied.
- formulate recommendations or deliver opinions on matters dealt with in this Treaty, if it expressly so provides or if the Commission considers it necessary;
- have its own power of decision and participate in the shaping of measures taken by the Council and by the Assembly in the manner provided for in this Treaty;
- exercise the powers conferred on it by the Council for the implementation of the rules laid down by the latter."

## APPEAL OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE MEMBER PARTIES TO THE SETTING UP OF A EUROPEAN UNION

In the final document of the Summit Conference held on 19-21 October, 1972, the Heads of State and of Government solemnly assured the people of the Community that it was their 'foremost objective to transform into a European Union before the end of this decade the totality of the Member States' relations.

In the 8 1/2 years which have passed since then the Community has not, however, made any decisive progress towards that objective. The Governments of the Member States have not proved strong enough to achieve a European Union. What is more, there is today a real danger that it may not be possible to preserve the level of integration already achieved within the European Community. Everywhere the idea of a united Europe is in jeopardy.

Consequently the EPP calls on the European Council, on the basis of the integration reports drawn up by Luxembourg's Prime Minister Werner and the former Belgian Prime Minister Tindemans, to exploit to the full - before any further enlargement of the Community - the existing Treaties in order to achieve European Union or to complement those Treaties with the aspects mentioned below. No more time must be lost. A bold step must now be taken to preserve and further develop that which has been achieved.

.....

### **We want economic stability and full employment**

Community cohesion is seriously endangered by inflation and unemployment since there are increasing attempts to combat them by means of national, protectionist measures. The Member States are bound to fail if they continue to adopt a policy of 'each against the other'. History has shown that such a policy invariably leads to a general breakdown. For that reason we are in favour of economic, labour-market and structural policies oriented towards convergence.

In the Community today we have a number of other effective means at our disposal :

- rewarding to will to work,
- improving occupational training at ordinary and advanced levels,
- promoting industries of the future,
- giving assistance for restructuring and for regions with weak structures.
- strengthening small and medium-sized enterprises,
- giving entrepreneurs incentives to invest
- allowing workers co-decision and co-responsibility

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED.

.....

### **We want economic and monetary union**

Inflationary trends are a threat to the Community's social structure, reduce international competitiveness and increase further unemployment. Their economic interdependence make it impossible for the individual Member States, if left to their own devices, to achieve an adequate degree of monetary stability. For this reason close coordination of Member States' economic, financial and monetary policies is essential. When this is achieved the European Monetary System can also be further developed to become a component of the economic and monetary union, within which a decision Centre would

define the binding policies. A long-term aim will be the creation of an autonomous European central bank.

The irreversible and unshakable union of the Member States is an essential requirement for this development.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED

.....

**We want an effective policy for the regions of the Community**

Europe cannot live at peace with itself unless its citizens are able to participate on an equal footing in economic and social progress.

We are therefore in favour of an effective regional policy, especially the 'Mediterranean Plan' initiated by the Christian Democrats. The extensive measures needed for this purpose will be possible only in a firmly established Community, not in a loose federation of states.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED.

.....

**We want to consolidate the democratic system in Europe.**

After having endured authoritarian regimes for many decades, Portugal and Spain have endowed themselves with democratic constitutions and have applied for membership of the Community.

The difficult financial and economic problems associated with accession are not insoluble if only we can find the political resolve.

We are in favour of their early accession, also because this will serve the reinforcement of democracy in the new Member States.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED

.....

**We want a functional Community**

We are fully aware that the enlarged Community of the Twelve will be quite ungovernable if the Council of Ministers continues to block its own path with the unanimity rule. We wish for a Community of greater cohesion that shoulders its full responsibility in both Council and Commission and in which the European Parliament, as the directly elected representative body enshrining the will of Europe's citizens is able to exercise its rightful powers.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED.

.....

**We want peace projects on behalf of the Third World.**

The European Community must bring under its management a larger part of the development aid programme, which is still mainly being implemented by Member States individually and establish a clear-cut design for the aims of its assistance to the third world. The principles underlying the Lomé Treaty should also serve as a model for cooperation between the developing countries and the European Community.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED.

**We want peace and justice in freedom and security**

The European Community - the strongest trading power on earth - is not adequately fulfilling its role in world politics. The Member States' fragmented foreign policy activities are having too little effect. Only when the Community of the Ten speaks with one voice and pursues a common and cohesive foreign policy will it have an influence on international developments and be able to take effective action to preserve peace and freedom in Europe.

In the face of threats from the outside the Community must pursue an external policy which would allow it to act and react more rapidly and effectively, as a community, taking into account the elements of European security within the Western Alliance. On this basis the Community must work to bring about controlled and balanced disarmament in the field of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

The Community will not be capable of action at worldwide level and in the field of its own security unless it equips itself with a decision Centre with the necessary powers.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED.

.....

**We want to make the young generation's future secure**

A Community, stuck in the rut of routine and no longer able to cope with today's urgent tasks of the future, will have no attraction for the young generation.

We wish for a regenerated European Community that has the political strength to project the image of an attainable future, a Community that affords a young generation the opportunity to help shape that future and gives it the hope that it will tomorrow be able to seek its happiness in peace and security, a Community which is a proper home for all its citizens.

THAT'S WHY WE URGE THAT A EUROPEAN UNION BE ESTABLISHED

.....

The European Union is for us an essential step towards the European Federal State on which we staked our 1978 Programme.

*The Political Bureau of the European People's Party (EPP), meeting in Brussels on 30 June 1981 under the chairmanship of Leo Tindemans, unanimously adopted the following statement.*

## **STATEMENT ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION (EPC)**

It is becoming increasingly clear that the international political situation is creating a need for closer political cooperation between the Member States of the European Community.

A major feature of the situation is the large number of areas of tension; some of these are of vital importance to the Community : Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, instability in Iran, the war between Iraq and Iran, the Middle East conflict, the Lebanon crisis, the threat to the Gulf States, the situation in Poland, the situation in central America.

In addition, there is the growing military supremacy of the Soviet Union in Europe, both in the conventional and nuclear sphere, and the stationing of its naval forces throughout the world which threatens the European countries' lines of communication and supply.

At the same time we need to formulate an approach to certain extremely important international negotiations and conferences, e.g. the dialogue with the Third World, the new world economic order, the Conference on the Law of the Sea. These affect our vital interests as do the talks between the USA and the Soviet Union on arms limitation and troop reductions.

No member State in the Community, however large, should be deceived into believing that it could play any decisive role in international politics on its own. The effects of national foreign policy are at best felt in peripheral areas and simply follow the well-trodden paths of routine diplomacy.

There is no doubt that only a strong and unified Europe speaking firmly and with authority on the international scene will be able to make its views heard and respected so as not only to represent its own interests but also to play a more effective role in promoting international cooperation and peace.

The form of European Political Cooperation (EPC) envisaged in the Luxembourg report of July 1970 consists simply of voluntary cooperation between governments at the diplomatic level and is therefore outside the Community's machinery of integration.

The Copenhagen report of 1973 improved EPC by

- providing for more frequent meetings,
- setting up working parties,
- creating a network of specialized contacts.

In the just over ten years of its existence, EPC has yielded some striking successes :

- community statements, principally in the spheres of particular interest to Europe, e.g. the situation in the Middle East
- a joint approach at the Conference on Security and Cooperation (CSCE)
- statements combined with specific measures, e.g. on the hostages in Iran, the invasion of Afghanistan or in relation to Poland
- independent diplomatic initiatives, such as the European-Arab dialogue and the Middle East initiative.

A major point is that the tradition of secret diplomacy has been breached and some progress made towards reducing foreign policy rivalry between the Member States and that these have been increasingly replaced by a feeling of European unity.

But it is important to recognize the weaknesses of EPC :

- the purely voluntary nature of cooperation with the result that hesitation on the part of just one Member State can paralyze the Community
- the cumbersome, purely inter-governmental structure of EPC, which is almost exclusively confined to reactions to external events which in addition often appear to come too late
- the restricted nature of the EPC which, for example, excludes issues relating to security and defence policy.

Overall it appears that EPC, with its disparate, in some cases provisional, in some cases improvised machinery, which furthermore is totally lacking in continuity, has reached the limits of its capacity.

The European People's Party (EPP) therefore calls upon its group in the European Parliament to support the following improvements \* to EPC :

- a) a binding obligation to consult together before any decision is taken and an undertaking to seek to arrive at a Community position on urgent problems of major importance; (1)
- b) consultation among the Community institutions on **all** matters affecting European interests;
- c) elimination of the distinction between meetings of ministers within the framework of the EPC and meetings of the Council of Ministers;
- d) within the Council, development of a system of consensus on the basis of negotiations, that is to say that a minority of Member States would agree to waive their objections where a large majority of the Member States was in favour of a particular position or decision;
- e) increase in the number of exploitable instruments by pooling or harmonizing national resources and by further developing those which already exist at Community level;
- f) setting up of a special unit in the Council of Ministers to act on a permanent basis as a centre for the preparation of decisions and as an operational centre in the event of an international emergency.

We simply cannot accept the condition of immobility into which the Community has sunk.

We are not prepared to adopt a pose of sullen resignation because the Community is neglecting all those areas in which it has a role to play.

We are not prepared to accept that so many things which are necessary and desirable in terms of a secure coexistence of the nations in the Community in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, are only conceived and not put into practice.

**We want action at last from those responsible.**

We Christian Democrats wish to make it entirely clear that we possess the political will to undertake new initiatives to enable the Community to flourish and become a symbol of hope for all its citizens.

**Remarks :**

\* The proposals from a) to d) figured already in the Tindemans-Report on European Union in December 1975.

1) The Tindemans-Report reads as follows :

"A very short protocol taking up paragraph 11 of the Copenhagen Report ought to give competence to the Council and thus clarify the legal framework in which it is to operate.

This paragraph reads as follows :

Governments will consult each other on all important foreign policy questions and will work out priorities, observing the following criteria :

- the purpose of the consultation is to seek common policies on practical problems;
- the subjects dealt with must concern European interests whether in Europe itself or elsewhere where the adoption of a common position is necessary or desirable.

On these questions each State undertakes a general rule not to take up final positions without prior consultation with its partners within the framework of the political cooperation machinery".

**WORKING PAPER**  
**STRENGTHENING POLITICAL COOPERATION**  
**AMONG THE TEN**

**Leo Tindemans**

**1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

From its inception the construction of Europe has been perceived as a political undertaking, intended to lead to political unification of the participating countries. The failure of the European Defence Community and of the various attempts towards political cooperation (such as the Fouchet plans) led the partner countries in the Coal and Steel Community to focus their efforts by priority in the direction of economic integration.

When the customs union and the agricultural policy were completed, and free movement was insured within the Common Market, the need was felt for closer diplomatic positions.

The Luxembourg report of July 1970 laid down the aims and framework of what is being called political cooperation. The latter, in fact, is an inter-governmental, voluntary diplomatic cooperation, as distinct from the European Communities which are both supra-national, and mandatory in legal terms. The aims selected were harmonization of positions, concertation in attitudes, and, whenever possible and desirable, common actions.

To achieve those aims, provisions were made for two annual meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and four meetings by high civil servants responsible for foreign policy in the Departments of Foreign Affairs. The undertaking was kept outside of the community integration mechanisms, because some feared the latter's dilution, while others were opposing a too "integrating" concept in political cooperation.

The Copenhagen report of November 1973, while maintaining the approach, substantively strengthened the available mechanisms by increasing the number of meetings, opening the possibility for setting up working groups, and eventually establishing a network of special contacts whereby information needed for the common work could be rapidly and confidentially exchanged. In addition, the Copenhagen report provides for a more explicit, although not totally compulsory commitment for consultations prior to establishing national positions. If the distinction between political cooperation and economic integration has been maintained, a more flexible approach developed as time went by. In this context meetings can be held after other ones on the same working premises, but under the former's own procedures.

The third major document on political cooperation is the report, presented in December 1975 to the European Council on European Union by Mr. Tindemans, at the time Prime Minister of Belgium.

The document particularly underscored the necessity for the European countries "of speaking with one voice", and submitted a number of suggestions, some of which were later implemented. The report, however, was approved by the European Council at the Hague in 1977 only for its chapters describing the goals to be achieved, its more specific proposals for achieving those goals being referred to subsequent, annual consideration.



## **2. BALANCE : POSITIVE ASPECTS.**

Political cooperation since then has developed, and nobody disputes that it responded to real needs. Results may be called largely satisfactory.

- Community mechanisms have not been weakened, but their operations even have been facilitated as common views developed. The initial fears lest European integration would be diluted in an inter-governmental political cooperation have proved to be unfounded, although it must be admitted that the inter-governmental character in European construction tends to take precedence over actual integration. This trend, however, is not due to political cooperation, but should be viewed as a possibly inevitable stage in the process of rapprochement between the European populations.
- Specific results have been booked in the framework of political cooperation, such as :
  - an impressive series of common statements related primarily to sectors such as the Middle East which command Europe's attention by priority;
  - a systematic common approach on some international fora (At the Conferences on European Security and Cooperation the Nine, and subsequently the Ten, have from the outset succeeded in maintaining a common front, - such is not yet the case, e.g. in the United Nations);
  - positions well beyond mere declarations (as was the case recently, following the seizure of hostages in Iran, or about Poland);
  - certain specific diplomatic initiatives taken in common, such as the Euro-Arab dialogue, and more recently the European initiative in the Middle East.
- For completion's sake, the more lasting links developed over the years between the Nine, and later the Ten, also ought to be mentioned.

Political cooperation implies not only consultations and discussions between high civil servants from the capitals, but also exchanges between bilateral and multi-lateral diplomatic missions.

This - still imperfect - pooling of efforts and means by the national chanceries plays havoc with solidly ingrained traditions of secrecy and rivalry, and therefore is undoubtedly one of the main achievements in political cooperation.
- It should also be mentioned that the European Commission has played an active role, even if its participation in specific sectors remains under contestation by some delegations. Equally fundamental is the fact that a dialogue has been started with the European Parliament.

Encounters are scheduled between the President of the Council and members of the European Parliament's committees involved. A written procedure makes it possible for Parliamentarians to raise questions and obtain replies through the Presidency. This, still imperfect, dialogue should be intensified as political cooperation develops.

## **3. WEAKNESSES IN POLITICAL COOPERATION**

The balance, which in no way is negligible, also shows less positive elements.

- First : cooperation as currently functioning with its multiple wheels has reached its "ceiling". It must be developed and strengthened if it is to face present needs.
- A second weakness is without any doubt in the purely voluntarist nature of political cooperation, based solely on political texts without any really mandatory character.

It is enough that one Member State should be wavering for Europe's voice to be paralysed, even in moments which are crucial for its future.

- Because of its mere inter-governmental structure, political cooperation can hardly move beyond reacting to outside events. In addition, those reactions frequently come after considerable delay, and the Ten have no other choice but either to accept, or turn down initiatives taken by third countries, and which of necessity do not tally with the former's profound aspirations, or real interests.
- An additional weakness in political cooperation without instruments or implementing means, is in its essentially rhetorical character, which does hardly go beyond statements, or positions. A certain evolution has been noted, however, in several cases where the Ten have been able to develop initiatives of their own, or to conduct, in a continuous manner, actions with a certain duration and scope.
- Another serious handicap in political cooperation is in its limited field. Because of this the Ten are unable to react in a global manner to developments, and crucial issues in international affairs, such as security and defence, are being isolated from common approach and action.

The above remarks pertain to the functioning of political cooperation as it developed over the years. Lacunae and weaknesses are caused by factors at a deeper level.

- There still and undoubtedly are significant divergences between the Ten on the role, and the very concept of action to be conducted by the Ten in international affairs.
  - More specifically : should Europe conduct a "power policy", or be satisfied with a more modest role, defending the individuals, economic development, and a rapprochement between States and populations?  
How, in this context, do the Ten define their relations with the U.S.A. and, more generally, with the other major powers, and the Third World ?
  - The Member States equally are divided on the nature of the links they want to establish among themselves in the long term. The debate between the proponents of either a Federal, or a Confederal Europe never has been settled. For several years now, the question has been carefully avoided, since prospects for an accord in a near future are not available.
  - The lack of a common external policy prompts some Member States to claim a broad freedom of movement, particularly in such essential issues as defence, and their relations with the major powers. This concern for maintaining autonomy in action is being reflected in Western Summits, in which the main Member States are participating in their own right, leaving only to the Community and those who represent it a mere "folding-chair" unworthy of Europe's position in international affairs.
  - The concern of the major Member States for holding a privileged position when major international affairs are being discussed is matched by an equally deplorable inclination in the other Member States towards considering that, since they have but little influence in major decisions, they do not have to shoulder, or share, corresponding responsibilities at world level. Such a reaction, while understandable, does not incite the major Member States to consider their partners as valid interlocutors in discussions on major problems with a world-wide impact on foreign policy.

#### **4. THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT.**

This state of affairs is the more worrying, since the international context more than in the past requires a greater presence of Europe on the international scene.

- A climate of increasing insecurity is noticeable in international affairs, primarily in the Middle East, but also in the area of the Persian Gulf where, in less than two

years, several serious crises have taken place (destabilisation in Iran; Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and more recently the conflict between Irak en Iran). All these events have occurred in a highly unstable area, but which at the same time is of primary importance for the world economy largely dependent upon it for its energy supplies.

More recently the climate of insecurity has extended to the European continent, with as visible symptoms the events in Poland, but with a background of disequilibrium in the armed forces in Europe. (At issue are mainly the conventional forces and the medium-range theatre nuclear weapons, together with the deployment world-wide of U.S.S.R.'s maritime power, threatening the European countries communication and supply lines).

- The increased international tension probably has been a contributing factor in inciting the United States to a more decided foreign policy. It indeed is being expected that the new American administration will display more resoluteness, primarily towards the countries of the Eastern block, but also towards Western Europe, which will have to take account of it, and organise itself accordingly if it wishes to present its views, and uphold its interests.
- Europe itself is facing a profound mutation, together with economic challenges, and an internal climate of insecurity. Its increasing economic significance also will entail shouldering increasing responsibilities, world-wide.
- The normal evolution in European integration, indeed, calls for a more concerted and dynamic diplomatic action on the part of the Ten :
  - in order to exert a moderating influence in détente, and the fragile equilibrium between East and West;
  - or vis-à-vis areas of primary importance for Europe, such as e.g. the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Africa, but also, in a broader context, in relations with the developing countries which, in the long term, will determine the Community's economic growth;
  - or in terms of leadership which the European countries can exert world-wide. Europe undoubtedly holds special potentialities in cultural human, and spiritual terms, and has to play its own part at world level. This frequently is being better felt by third countries, which are more aware than the European countries themselves of the need for an influential Europe;
  - or in terms of upholding their own interests in times when difficulties are mounting on all fronts, in energy, economics, finance and politics.

## 5. RECOMMENDED APPROACH

- a) Only a strong and united Europe, obviously, acting with authority and determination in international affairs, can, in such a context, speak and uphold its views, in order both to defend its own interests, insure its influence, and promote international cooperation and peace.

Several recent statements have underscored the desirability of rapid and substantial progress on the road towards political unification. References here include declarations by Minister Genscher in Stuttgart, by Minister Colombo in Rome, and by the new President Thorn during the Commission's investiture debate in the European Parliament.

- b) Nothing, however, is indicative of a weakening in the substantive reticences held in some Member States on real progress towards European, political unification. Trends in public opinion in Britain certainly are not favouring a pro-European approach. Hestitations, in more legal terms, as existing in Denmark have not been lifted. The concept of a "Europe of States", in which precedence for the major ones over the small ones would be somehow established on a lasting basis, is deeply rooted in some minds. In a first stage, therefore, a cautious, evolving approach is

imperative. Any rather ambitious project, indeed, would run the risk of being turned down, or simply ignored.

- c) The best solution, therefore, would be in taking the existing political cooperation as a starting point, trying to improve and consolidate it, in order to obtain support from all the governments. A pragmatic approach, however, makes sense only in a dynamic context, and in the direction of specific commitments, becoming legally mandatory in a subsequent stage, and accompanied by institutional rules and appropriate instruments leading to the proposed goals.

It would serve no useful purpose, on the other hand, outlining at the start the institutional set-up required for conducting a real European foreign policy, but it ought to be clear from the outset that such is the result which the Ten want to achieve.

## 6. SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS

The first step, therefore, is in re-defining the goals which the Ten want to reach by re-inforcing their political cooperation. In parallel with such an exercise seeking to determine the action they want to conduct in world affairs, ways and means to this end should be scrutinized.

- First, mandatory consultation, prior to taking up any position should be introduced, in line with the necessity for developing common views on current, international problems, primarily in sectors of fora which are priorities for Europe (e.g. the Middle East on the one hand, security and disarmament on the other land).
- Second, formulas should be elaborated in a pragmatic manner by which in each case, and within the appropriate length of time, a "consensus" be obtained. It would be unrealistic to think that the Ten could settle, at an early date, compulsory voting or abstaining rules in political cooperation. It should nevertheless be possible gradually to favour a system of consensus implying the renunciation of reticences by a clear minority of Member States when a substantial majority is favouring common options. It could well be imagined that, in a first stage, smaller countries in an isolated position would accept to make a special effort in such a direction, on condition that the major States, in a subsequent stage, would accept to follow suit by precise commitments. Such an approach offers the serious inconvenience of establishing a "Directory of the Major Ones", without the slightest guarantee that the latter, at a given moment, would accept the discipline agreed upon by their partners.
- Equally necessary is the establishment of regular, organized "channels" with the U.S.A., Japan, and the nearby European countries. The approach in such contacts should be of a global nature, covering not only economic problems, but also other, now neglected ones, such as security, and defence. It follows that links between political cooperation and the Communities ought to be tightened, and that the field of political cooperation ought to be extended to such priority sectors as security, and defence.
- Such an evolution is the more necessary, since it should provide the Ten's action with the indispensable means and instruments for reaching the proposed goals. Those means, in a first stage, could be those existing in the framework of the Community, such as the trade policy, agricultural policy, financial aid, economic and monetary cooperation, etc... In a latter stage the panoply of available instruments should be widened by juxtaposition and harmonisation of means available at national level, or by developing what exists at Community level.
- Finally the very procedures for political cooperation ought to be developed and strengthened. First, a small and flexible cell should be created for secretariat purposes which now are an overload for the Member States at times of increased res-

possibilities carried by the Presidency. In addition, a team should be set up, possibly composed, in a first stage, by diplomats from the capitals selected in such a way that they would cover all Europe's priority problems. Such a team should gradually elaborate a European concept in foreign relations, and give the Ten the possibility of taking initiatives, instead of running after the events.

In the present stage of European construction this centre for preparing decisions would operate in the framework of political cooperation, reporting to the European Council and, between sessions of the European Council, to the ministerial meetings for political cooperation.

This set-up should be attached, in administrative terms, to the Community's existing institutions, while insuring the required discretion as a pre-condition of efficient political cooperation. It is important that European thinking should regularly benefit from highly confidential information, and adequate measures should be taken in this context (for instance by regular provisions of reports from the Ten's diplomatic missions, possibly elaborated in common, or alternatively under the responsibility of the Presidency, and reflecting majority views).

## **7. CONCLUSIONS**

a) Every progress on the road to a rapprochement between European countries presupposes at the outset an adequate political determination. Such an effort is needed within a relatively short period of time in the present international context. The European Parliament can, and should play a decisive role in this. Current conditions undoubtedly favour some results in the issue. Most major Member States, indeed, are realizing that their influence in the world is subject to common views among the European countries. It should, however, also be understood that increasing influence in world affairs will imply shouldering larger responsibilities, a development for which public opinion, particular influence in world affairs willy in the smaller countries, is unused to.

b) At a certain moment political cooperation ought to lead on to a fully-fledged European diplomacy. This stage can only be reached inasmuch as the structures of a really unified Europe gradually be elaborated.

In such a prospect consideration ought to be given to entrusting in a more lasting form the responsibility for defining European policy to a first-rank personality who could harmoniously be absorbed when the European government will be constituted.

c) Since it seems difficult to consider from the outset the creation of a federal Europe, a sectoral approach seems the best direction, starting from what exists, but with the ultimate unification of Europe in mind.

Such an approach carries its own limitations, as shown by the process of economic and monetary unification, launched in 1970, and discontinued a few months later. It therefore would be important that the various sectoral approaches which may emerge be set side by side, so as to provide them with mutual support. Consideration also could be given to a re-activation of the European monetary system so as to transform it into a European monetary order; to a strengthening of political cooperation aimed at leading on to a foreign policy; to the gradual introduction of an European dimension in matters of security and defence — all of it accompanied by supplementing initiatives leading to the creation of European Union.



# **Chronology**





*In our first DOCUMENTATION we pointed out that Christian-Democratic politicians have for decades advocated the unification of Europe.*

*To begin at the beginning :*

*Don Luigi STURZO, General-Secretary of the Partito Popolare Italiano, the fore-runner of the Democrazia Cristiana, drew up a model for a 'Mercato commune', a common market for Europe, in 1921.*

*The Christian-Democratic parties took up his ideas at congresses in 1925 and 1926. Their endeavours foundered on the emergence of dictatorship and the outbreak of the Second World War.*

*They were revived by Christian-Democratic politicians in the 'Nouvelles Equipes Internationales (NEI)', which called for 'the establishment of an economic and political union of free democratic Europe' soon after the end of the war, in 1948, at their Congress in Den Haag.*

*In this issue, "DOCUMENTATION 2", we describe developments since 1972, when the concept of EUROPEAN UNION was mentioned in the final declaration of the Paris summit conference.*

*The Christian Democrats were ready for the new phase that was beginning : in september 1971 they had formed a joint working group, whose members included members of the CD-group under its chairman Hans A. LÜCKER and leading figures in the European Union of Christian Democrats under the president, Mariano RUMOR.*

*This working group was given the task of drawing up plans 'for the constitutional and institutional further development of the European Community'.*

*Their proposal was adopted on 4 April 1972.*

## RESOLUTION by the ECDU/European Parliament CD Group working group on the constitutional and institutional development of the European Community

The working group :

- A. having regard to the period of validity of the treaties in their current form (1)
1. Stresses the need to extend the competence of the European Community in line with
    - its geographical, and also qualitative, expansion;
    - its process of progressive economic and monetary integration and
    - its increasingly important role in the world.This implies a need constantly to redefine those policies which must be considered a concern of the Community and for which the Community has exclusive or outline powers. This applies particularly to economic and monetary union as a whole, including the regional policy, and to the social, agricultural, trade, technology and transport policies.
  2. Emphatically expresses its belief in the need to make the decision-making procedure more effective between the Commission, Parliament and the Council and, in particular, within the Council itself.  
The procedure employed hitherto would inevitably entail the risk of making the Community of Ten "ungovernable" (2).
  3. Urges that the European Parliament's powers be increased in line with this development and to protect the democratic balance and democratic legality. This applies not only to its budgetary powers but also to its legislative participation in the creating of Community law in general, and legal acts with financial implications in particular.  
Moreover, Parliament must be granted a say in the nomination and appointment of the Commission (3).
  4. Reiterates its recommendation that the political, constitutional and institutional development of the Community must be directed towards universal balance based on :
    - a) the progressive realisation of economic and monetary union,
    - b) the progressive extension of the Davignon procedure.These two developments must at some stage coalesce to form a single conception of the future Community.
  5. Solemnly declares that this process must lead progressively to a "sui generis" Community of a federal nature.
  6. Assumes that the new member countries of the Community will naturally be fully entitled to participate in the review and adaptation of the treaties in force to the growing requirements of the Community, such changes to enter into force on 1 January 1975 at the earliest.
- B. having regard to a second period based on new, revised treaties :
7. Considers it appropriate and opportune that a **Conference of the Heads of State and Government** of the Community Member States should appoint the European Government in which all the Member States of the Community would be appropriately represented (4).
    - the European Parliament would be entitled to put forward proposals on the appointment of the President of the European Government. However, the Conference of the Heads of State and Government would not be bound by these proposals (4a).

8. Deems it necessary that the **European Government** should be dependent on the confidence of the European Parliament. Once the Government has been formed, the President of the European Government would submit its programme to the European Parliament, which would then vote on it.
  - membership of the European Government would be incompatible with membership of a national or even regional government or with the pursuit of any other occupation.
  - the legislative period would be five years.
9. Declares itself in favour of a **Chamber of States** (Chambre des Etats) composed of Ministers of the Governments of the Member States and forming, with the European Parliament, the democratic supervisory and legislative institution of the Community.
  - Votes would be weighted. Each Member State would cast its votes only collectively, and not split them up (5).
  - Laws would be adopted only when majority votes are obtained in both the Chamber of States and the European Parliament (6).
  - The Chamber of States would be responsible for the regulations implementing Community laws, except where other provisions are expressly laid down by agreement with the European Parliament.
10. Declares its support for a **European Parliament** composed of representatives of the peoples of the Member States elected by direct, universal and secret ballot.
  - The legislative period of the European Parliament would be five years (7).
  - Elections to the European Parliament would be held on the basis of a European electoral law.
  - During a transitional period the Members of the European Parliament could be elected in accordance with a Community procedure and the electoral laws of the Member States.
  - The European Parliament, together with the Chamber of States, would constitute the supervisory and legislative institution of the Community.
  - Community laws would be adopted only when majority votes are obtained in both the European Parliament and the Chamber of States (8).
  - By a two-thirds majority of its members the European Parliament may pass a vote of no confidence in the President of the European Government, which would oblige him and his government to resign.
  - Membership of the European Parliament would be incompatible with membership of another parliament. Rules allowing for deviations from this principle could be laid down for a transitional period.

#### FOOT-NOTES

- (1) *The resolution assumes that any institutional structure which differs substantially from that provided for in the treaties in force requires an amendment of those treaties. But since any amendment of the treaties requires the agreement of the new Member States, the treaties in force may not be reviewed and adapted until after 1 January 1973; this concurs with the Council's decision of 9 February 1971, chapter 4, in its resolution on economic and monetary union, which states that :*
- *the Commission is to submit a report before 1 May 1973 on the distribution among the institutions of the Communities and the Member States of the powers and responsibilities necessary for the smooth running of an economic and monetary union,*
  - *acting on the Commission's proposal, the Council, and possibly the representatives of the governments of the Member States should, before the end of the first three-year phase (author's note : before the end of 1973), lay down measures leading to full economic and monetary union after the transition to the second phase, based on :*
  - *the existing provisions of the Treaty or*
  - *Article 235 (additions to the Treaty) or*
  - *Article 236 (amendment of the Treaty).*

*In accordance with these decisions and procedures the resolution distinguishes between :*

- **a first phase**, covering the drafting of the new version of the treaties and the procedure for its ratification, and lasting at least until 31 December 1974.

*During this phase the treaties in force incorporating the rights and obligations of the Community institutions must be fully respected. They should, however, also be exploited to the full with a view to*

- *extending the competence of the Community in line with its progressive development and*
  - *making the decision-making process within the institutions of the Community more effective.*
- **a second phase** beginning, according to this projection on 1 January 1975 at the earliest, and in implementation of the new version of the Treaties.

*The same applies to the Davignon procedure, which is to lead the political union. The Foreign Ministers of the Community Member States are committed to submitting a second report by the end of 1972 within the framework of the Davignon procedure and in the light of experience gained in the interim. This report will deal with the necessary intensification, increased efficiency and improved institutionalisation of the Davignon procedure on cooperation in foreign affairs between the Member States of the Community.*

- (2) *At the end of May 1972, the Commission, with due regard to the Vedel group's recommendations but acting on its own responsibility, will submit proposals on the problems raised here.*
- *It should be pointed out that the Commission's **right to plan, right of initiative and right to put forward proposals**, being original Treaty rights, would remain inviolate.*
  - *Moreover, the Commission should have greater powers in implementing Community laws and Council decisions.*
  - *The Commission's competence as Community mediator should also be extended.*

*The decision-making procedure in the Council itself raises the question of the voting procedure, but this presents no real problem if the "vital interests" of a Member State are understood to refer only to questions of really essential importance.*

- (3) *See the report by Professor Furler for the European Parliament's Political Affairs Committee, which approved the report by a large majority on 23 March 1972.*

*The report contains three overall demands with regard to the extension of the European Parliament's powers :*

1. *Parliament's participation in decisions on the normative legal acts of the Community, and therefore in legislative procedure in its broadest sense, is a particularly urgent priority.*
2. *The beginning of the final phase from 1975 onwards should mark an increase in the European Parliament's powers in the budgetary procedure in accordance with the demands made by the Parliament in 1970; moreover, these powers should be adjusted to developments in the legislative procedure in general.*
3. *Parliament should participate, in a manner yet to be determined, in the nomination and appointment of the members of the Commission.*

(Detailed comments on and explanations of the above points may be found in the Furler report).

(4) Appropriate representation here means that the smallest Member State of the Community should supply at least one Member of the European Government.

(4a) In this transitional stage in the process of development of the Community, the Conference of the Heads of State and Government should symbolise the legitimacy of the Community and should exercise its sovereign rights jointly, inasmuch as they are transferred to the Community by the Member States.

(5) The votes of the ten Member States would be distributed as follows :

Federal Republic of Germany	10 votes
France	10 votes
United Kingdom	10 votes
Italy	10 votes
Belgium	5 votes
Netherlands	5 votes
Denmark	3 votes
Ireland	3 votes
Norway	3 votes
Luxembourg	2 votes
Total	61 Votes

Qualified majority : 43 votes

(6) The procedure for this may be established later.

(7) For at least this first legislative period the number of Members of the European Parliament should be doubled to 416 representatives. From 1 January 1973 the European Parliament will have 208 Members, broken down as follows :

Federal Republic of Germany	36
France	36
United Kingdom	36
Italy	36
Belgium	14
Netherlands	14
Denmark	10
Ireland	10
Norway	10
Luxembourg	6
Total	208

(8) The relevant procedure can be established at a later date.

*The parliamentary group adopted the proposals of the resolution of 4 April 1972 in their entirety.*

*Christian Democrat Josef MÜLLER tabled a resolution based on the ideas and demands contained in the working group's proposal, which he put to the European Parliament on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee.*

*On 5 July 1972 the resolution was adopted by a large majority (with opposition from the Gaullists and Communists).*

RESOLUTION

à l'intention de la prochaine conférence au sommet des chefs d'États ou de gouvernement des États membres des Communautés européennes

*Le Parlement européen,*

- se référant à la précédente conférence au sommet que les Six ont tenue à La Haye en décembre 1969 à l'initiative du président de la République française et qui peut être considérée comme une réussite; rappelant que cette conférence au sommet a ouvert la voie à l'achèvement, l'approfondissement et l'élargissement de la Communauté, qu'elle a réaffirmé les finalités politiques de la construction européenne et qu'elle a esquissé les grandes options de la politique européenne;
- convaincu qu'en se fondant sur les résultats de la conférence de La Haye, la Communauté élargie doit être mise à même de s'acquitter de ses responsabilités dans le monde; que ses compétences doivent être élargies et sa structure institutionnelle adaptée à cette fin;
- constatant que la Communauté européenne se trouve face à des événements et développements fondamentaux, tels que:
  - l'élargissement, à la suite de l'adhésion de la Grande-Bretagne, du Danemark, de la Norvège et de l'Irlande;
  - la réalisation par étapes de l'union économique et monétaire,
  - le développement progressif de l'union politique,
  - les conséquences de l'introduction d'un régime de ressources propres à partir de 1975;
- invitant les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement à s'inspirer des considérations fondamentales suivantes:
  - la Communauté européenne doit éveiller la conscience de leur commune appartenance politique en tous ses 260 millions de citoyens, pour lesquels il faut tendre à un maximum de liberté et d'égalité des chances, en particulier pour les personnes et les groupes défavorisés;
  - la Communauté européenne, une des grandes puissances économiques et commerciales du monde, doit prendre sa part des responsabilités à l'égard des peuples du tiers monde et doit tout mettre en œuvre pour réduire d'une manière décisive l'écart si préoccupant entre les pays riches et les pays pauvres;
  - la Communauté européenne doit, par une action commune, s'employer à améliorer la qualité de la vie et, consciente de cet objectif, prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires à la protection de l'environnement dans son sens le plus large;

— la Communauté européenne doit voir dans les préoccupations et le malaise qui ont saisi la jeune génération, à la suite de maintes évolutions manquées dans les trois domaines évoqués, le signe d'un engagement et d'une attitude solitaire à l'égard des faibles, signe qu'il importe de considérer de manière positive. Cette constatation doit se traduire par une participation consciente et appropriée de la jeunesse à la poursuite du développement de la Communauté; ce n'est qu'ainsi qu'elle fera siens les objectifs de la Communauté et continuera à les réaliser;

1. est par conséquent d'avis que le moment est venu de tenir une nouvelle conférence au sommet des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement au niveau des Dix, et attend de cette conférence des impulsions décisives pour un développement dynamique de la Communauté européenne;

2. lance un appel aux gouvernements des États membres pour que soient éliminés les obstacles à la tenue de cette conférence, dont la préparation approfondie doit garantir le succès.

### I. *La réalisation de l'union économique et monétaire*

3. Les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement sont invités à confirmer à dix leur volonté de parvenir à la réalisation de l'union économique et monétaire, selon les étapes prévues, notamment dans la résolution du Conseil du 21 mars 1971 et de l'accélérer dans la mesure du possible. Cette réalisation constitue, en effet, l'objectif prioritaire à atteindre pour asseoir l'indépendance économique de l'Europe, en dehors de tout esprit d'autarcie, et lui permettre de demeurer maîtresse de son destin.

4. Les mécanismes nécessaires au fonctionnement de l'union économique et monétaire doivent être judicieusement insérés dans les institutions communautaires existantes, afin d'éviter que se créent des structures de décision parallèles.

5. Il doit être fait en sorte que, lors des négociations destinées à la réorganisation du système monétaire mondial, la Communauté se présente en tant qu'entité et ait pleine capacité de négociation.

6. La réalisation de l'union économique et monétaire doit s'accompagner logiquement de la mise en œuvre des autres politiques de la Communauté, par exemple de la politique sociale, de la politique de l'emploi, de la politique conjoncturelle, de la politique industrielle, de la politique des transports et de la politique régionale.

### II. *Amélioration de l'équilibre entre les institutions et de leur capacité de fonctionnement*

7. Il est nécessaire de parvenir à bref délai à une meilleure participation du Parlement européen à l'œuvre législative de la Communauté.

A cet effet, il convient de prévoir

— l'obligation de saisir de nouveau le Parlement lorsque le Conseil rejette son avis («deuxième lecture»);

— l'effet suspensif du rejet d'une proposition par le Parlement (par exemple, en cas de rejet à deux reprises successives par le Parlement, blocage d'un projet pendant une période d'au moins six mois);

— l'introduction d'un droit de codécision du Parlement pour la conclusion d'accords internationaux, l'admission de nouveaux membres, la modification des traités, l'application de l'article 235 du traité CEE, l'adoption de règlements ayant des incidences financières;

— que, ultérieurement, la codécision du Parlement soit de règle, l'adoption des actes communautaires de caractère normatif nécessitant alors l'accord du Parlement;

— le renforcement des pouvoirs budgétaires du Parlement avec le passage à la phase définitive, c'est-à-dire du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1975, conformément aux demandes formulées par le Parlement en 1970;

8. La demande présentée par le Parlement européen en 1960, et reprise plusieurs fois avec beaucoup d'insistance, au sujet de l'élection au suffrage universel direct de ses membres en vertu de l'article 138 paragraphe 3 du traité de la CEE, est maintenue. La recherche des solutions destinées à écarter les obstacles d'ordre pratique et d'ordre

politique qui ont jusqu'ici retardé l'application de cette mesure doit être immédiatement entreprise et résolument poursuivie.

L'élargissement des pouvoirs du Parlement est indépendant de l'élection directe et ne peut être reporté jusqu'à la mise en œuvre de cette dernière.

9. Il convient de parvenir à une amélioration profonde de la procédure de décision entre la Commission, le Conseil et le Parlement, en particulier en ce qui concerne les procédures au sein du Conseil, dans le respect de la lettre et de l'esprit des traités, y compris des traités d'adhésion.

10. Au moment du passage à sa deuxième étape, l'union économique et monétaire s'acheminera vers une Communauté politique. Pour les modifications au traité qui devront être décidées par les États membres, prochainement au nombre de dix, pour la période s'ouvrant en 1975, la conférence au sommet devrait fixer les orientations fondamentales et présenter un plan par étapes définissant les durées et le contenu de ces étapes.

La Communauté devrait être composée des institutions suivantes :

- un centre de décision unique, qui puisse prendre des décisions ayant force obligatoire pour tous les États membres et qui, par conséquent, doit avoir le caractère d'un gouvernement européen. Ce gouvernement doit projeter et mettre en œuvre les politiques qui relèvent de la compétence de la Communauté européenne en vertu du traité révisé;
- dans l'esprit d'une légitimation démocratique, à ce gouvernement doit faire face un Parlement européen doté des pouvoirs réguliers d'un parlement;
- le président et les membres du gouvernement européen sont nommés au début de la législature par une conférence des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement. Si la nomination d'un nouveau président du gouvernement est nécessaire, la conférence se réunit pendant la législature;
- le Parlement européen doit être dûment associé à l'investiture du gouvernement. Il a le droit de provoquer la démission du gouvernement;
- la participation inéluctable des États membres au processus de décision de la Communauté s'effectue au sein d'une chambre des États qui partage avec le Parlement européen les droits législatifs et de contrôle, selon une procédure restant à élaborer.

11. Dès maintenant, la coopération politique doit être progressivement renforcée en vue de dégager une politique extérieure commune à tous les États membres de la Communauté élargie. Si des mécanismes étaient rendus nécessaires par ce renforcement, ils devraient être conçus en étroite liaison avec les institutions de la Communauté.

12. Le Parlement attend de la conférence au sommet une prise de position sur l'implantation définitive des institutions de la Communauté.

### III. *La Communauté dans le monde*

13. Les peuples en quête de paix, de sécurité, de détente et de solidarité attendent de l'Europe des Dix qu'elle prenne avec une personnalité propre la place dans le monde que requièrent ses possibilités et ses responsabilités accrues.

14. La collaboration de l'Europe avec les autres puissances industrielles doit s'adapter à l'avènement de cette identité européenne. Leurs relations doivent être précisées et améliorées à l'occasion des conférences décisives sur le commerce mondial, sur la poursuite du désarmement douanier et sur le système monétaire mondial. L'Europe s'y fera le soutien des intérêts et des besoins du tiers monde.

15. La conférence au sommet doit, sur la base d'une politique coordonnée des États membres, promouvoir les éléments d'un ordre de relations entre l'Europe élargie et les États de l'Est. La Communauté, en tant que telle, doit, dans les domaines de ses compétences et de ses responsabilités, participer à la future conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe. Elle réussira d'autant mieux dans la mesure où elle y parlera d'une seule voix.

16. Au moment où la Communauté élargie se propose de réaffirmer les motivations profondes de l'action européenne et de fixer les objectifs concrets que l'Europe des Dix s'assigne pour les années à venir, elle se doit, tout



en faisant valoir l'acquis communautaire en matière d'aides régionales, d'édifier un projet ambitieux et à long terme qui arrête un nouveau type de rapports avec les pays de l'hémisphère sud. Il s'agit d'arrêter sur le plan politique, en accord avec les décisions prises pour la deuxième décennie des Nations unies pour le développement, une stratégie globale de l'Europe en matière d'aide aux pays en voie de développement. Comme pour l'union économique et monétaire et les problèmes de sa croissance interne, la Communauté devrait, à l'occasion du sommet, fixer dans ce domaine un objectif communautaire avec les différentes étapes de sa réalisation.

17. Le Parlement attend de la Commission des Communautés européennes qu'elle apporte son plein appui à ses revendications lors de la conférence au sommet.

18. Le Parlement charge son président de transmettre la présente résolution aux gouvernements des États qui participeront à la prochaine conférence au sommet, ainsi qu'au Conseil et à la Commission des communautés européennes.

*Based on this parliamentary resolution, following resolution was adopted by the Political Bureau of the European Christian Democratic Union (ECDU) on 10/11 July 1972 :*

## **RESOLUTION ON THE FORTHCOMING SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT**

At its meeting in Paris on 10 and 11 July 1972, the Political Bureau of the ECDU under the chairmanship of Mr Mariano Rumor, following detailed discussion of the problems raised by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of the member states of the European Community :

**notes** with satisfaction that this Summit Meeting will be attended by the new Member States whose political contribution it regards as essential for progress and real development of the Community;

**considers** economic and monetary union as a fundamental requirement of a lasting unification for the process of Community integration and, in particular, to respond forthwith and in a concerted manner to the difficult problems of international monetary readjustment;

**stresses**, however, that true economic and social progress in the Member States, one of the aims of the Treaty of Rome, can only be achieved by constantly improving the qualitative conditions of life and employment of our peoples, and by eliminating the imbalances which exist between the different regions by means of a clearly-defined common regional and social policy which must be accompanied by effective measures to defend the natural and human environment;

**considers** that the requirements, which are not abstract but realistic, for achieving such far-reaching goals, appropriate to a democratic and effective Community, capable of playing a world role, are :

- the gradual transfer of national powers to the Community level;
- the creation of a single decision-making center endowed with the characteristics of a genuine European Government which is responsible in turn to a European Parliament possessing legislative and monitoring powers;
- popular representation guaranteed by direct elections to be held at specified intervals.

The Political Bureau

**reaffirms** that the European Community can only assert its special and new identity and its international personality by means of a common foreign and defence policy. Within the global framework it should therefore define a new strategy in the spirit of solidarity and constructiveness with the United States, towards the countries of Eastern Europe - also with a view to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe - and adopt a new and responsible approach to the problems of the developing countries, particularly those in Latin America, the dramatic nature of which was recently illustrated at the UNCTAD Conference. Europe should assume its full responsibility for helping to reduce the growing gap between rich and poor countries;

**observes** that the political cooperation which is essential to tackle such far-reaching problems must be achieved within the framework of the Community and also during the period of its development towards its final institutional structure.

**stresses** the responsibility incumbent upon cultural and social movements in the Community - particularly the Christian Democratic parties - to give the citizens of Europe the feeling of a common future; to pave the way for this future by fostering the conditions and appropriate structures to ensure the maximum liberty and equality of opportunity -especially for the most under-privileged people and areas; to stimulate the political awareness of the people and their political leaders responsible for a joint commitment to establish in the world the conditions for peace based on development;

**recognizes** in the concern and unease shown by the young generation after a series of ill-considered approaches in various sectors evidence of a sensitivity which merits a positive assessment. This observation needs to be translated into initiatives to encourage active participation by the young in the development of the Community.

The Political Bureau of the ECDU noted with great satisfaction the resolution adopted on the Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government by the European Parliament on 5 July 1972 and concurs with the views expressed in this document.

The leaders of the Christian Democratic parties in Europe

**whereas** political and institutional progress depends on the level of true commitment of political movements genuinely interested in the construction of Europe,

**appeal** urgently to political, social and cultural movements to seize every political initiative jointly to encourage the national governments and parliaments to attain the above goals.

*On 19 and 20 October 1972 the Heads of State and Government held their first summit conference of the enlarged Community.*

*The decision which they took that attracted the most interest from an attentive public, and particularly in parliamentary circles, which was their promise to establish the EUROPEAN UNION, will be found at the end of the following document.*

## **THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN PARIS ON 19 AND 20 OCTOBER 1972**

### **DECLARATION (extract)**

The Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the enlarged Community meeting for the first time on 19 and 20 October in Paris at the invitation of the President of the French Republic solemnly declare that :

At the time when the enlargement, decided under the Rules fixed by the Treaties and respecting the work already accomplished by the six original Member States, is about to become a reality and give the European Community another dimension;

At a time when world events are radically changing the international situation;

At a time when hopes for détente and cooperation are emerging, which satisfy the interest and deeply-felt desire of all nations;

At a time when disquieting monetary or trade problems are obliging us to seek lasting solutions for promoting expansion with stability;

At a time when many developing countries, seeing the gap widening between them and the industrialized nations, are legitimately claiming increased aid and a more equitable utilization of wealth;

At a time when the Community's tasks are magnifying and new responsibilities are being assigned to it;

The time has come for Europe to realize the unity behind her interests, the scope of her capabilities and the importance of her obligations;

Europe must be capable of making her voice heard in world affairs and making a creative contribution in proportion to her human, intellectual and material resources and affirming her own concepts in international relations in line with her role in initiating progress, peace and cooperation.

### **To this end**

1. The Member States reaffirm their resolve to base their Community's development on democracy, freedom of opinion, free movement of men and ideas and participation by the people through their freely elected representatives;

2. The Member States have resolved to strengthen the Community by forming an Economic and Monetary Union, as a token of stability and growth, as the indispensable basis of their social progress and as a remedy for regional disparities;

...

7. In line with its political aims, the construction of Europe will allow the continent to assert its personality in the loyalty of its traditional friendships and in the alliances of its Member States and to make its mark in world affairs as a distinct entity determined to promote a better international balance which respects the United Nations Charter. The Member States of the Community, the driving wheels of European construction, declare their intention of converting their entire relationship into a European Union before the end of this decade.

### **Political Cooperation**

14. The Heads of State and Government consider that political cooperation between Member States in the area of foreign policy has got off to a good start and should be further improved. They agreed that consultation would be intensified at all levels and that the Foreign Ministers would henceforth meet four times instead of twice a year. They considered that the goal of this cooperation was to deal with current questions and as far as possible to work out joint medium and long-term positions bearing in mind the implications and effects in the field of international policy of Community policies in preparation. For affairs which impinge on Community activity close contact will be kept with the Community Institutions. They agreed that the Foreign Ministers would compile by 30 June 1973 a second report on methods for improving political cooperation as had been anticipated in the Luxembourg Report.

### **Strengthening the Institutions**

15. The Heads of State and Government found that the Community Institutions were proving themselves but considered that the decision procedures and the running of the Institutions ought to be improved to boost their efficiency.

...

Wishing to strengthen the supervisory powers of the European Parliament apart from when under Article 138 of the Rome Treaty it will be elected by universal suffrage and in wanting to improve the terms of its function, the Heads of Government confirm the decision of 22 April 1970 by the Council of the Community. They ask the Council and the Commission to implement promptly the practical measures to strengthen Parliament and improve the relations of both the Council and Commission with the Parliamentary Assembly.

Before 30 June 1973 the Council will take practical measures to improve its decision procedures and the consistency of Community action.

...

They agreed that in order to accomplish the tasks laid out in the different action programmes, it was advisable to use as widely as possible all the provisions of the Treaties including Article 235 of the EEC Treaty.

### **European Union**

16. The Heads of States and Government have assigned themselves the key objective of converting, before the end of this decade and in absolute conformity with the signed Treaties, all the relationships between Member States into a European Union. They are therefore asking the Community Institutions to prepare before the end of 1975 a report to be submitted to a further Summit Conference.»

*On 15 November 1972 the European Parliament discussed the outcome of the Paris summit conference in a resolution tabled by Josef MÜLLER on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee, paragraph 22 of which states that the European Parliament regards the EUROPEAN UNION as a 'political union'.*

*This resolution was adopted by a large majority.*

11. 12. 72

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#### RÉSOLUTION

sur les résultats de la conférence au sommet des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement des États membres de la Communauté élargie qui s'est tenue à Paris les 19 et 20 octobre 1972

*Le Parlement européen,*

- vu la déclaration publiée à l'issue de la conférence que les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement des pays membres de la Communauté élargie ont tenue à Paris les 19 et 20 octobre 1972,
- étant donné que tant la réunion de la première conférence au sommet des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement des neuf États de la Communauté élargie que l'harmonie des points de vue qui a régné entre les six anciens et les trois nouveaux États membres représentent un événement de grande portée pour la construction de l'Europe,
- corroborant la volonté des États membres, soulignée dans cette déclaration, de fonder le développement de la Communauté sur la démocratie, la liberté des opinions, la libre circulation des personnes et des idées, la participation des peuples par l'intermédiaire de leurs représentants librement élus,
- rappelant sa résolution du 5 juillet 1972
- vu le rapport de la commission politique (doc. 194/72),

*se félicite:*

1. que la conférence au sommet de Paris constitue une confirmation de la volonté déjà manifestée lors de la conférence de La Haye de parvenir, dans une Communauté élargie, avec la participation des institutions existantes, à un renforcement des liens qui unissent les États démocratiques de l'Europe;
2. que des délais précis aient été fixés en ce qui concerne la réalisation irréversible de l'union économique et monétaire prévue par les décisions du Conseil des Communautés et des représentants des États membres des 22 mars 1971 et 21 mars 1972;
3. qu'une décision ait pu être adoptée de créer, avant le 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1973, un Fonds européen de coopération monétaire, au fonctionnement duquel, une participation efficace des organes communautaires reste souhaitable;

4. que des principes aient été fixés et une procédure arrêtée en vue de parvenir à une attitude commune des États membres en ce qui concerne la réforme du système monétaire international, dans le but de garantir un ordre plus équitable et durable;
5. que la volonté se soit manifestée d'accompagner, — dans un parallélisme d'actions indispensable que le Parlement européen a toujours réclamé — les mesures relatives à la réalisation de l'Union économique et monétaire par des mesures concrètes dans les autres domaines de la vie économique;
6. qu'une date ait été fixée (1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1974) pour laquelle les institutions communautaires doivent arrêter un vaste programme d'action sociale, consacrant la participation des partenaires sociaux et l'amélioration du niveau de vie, et dont l'existence contribuera à souligner la finalité humaine de la Communauté et à renforcer l'adhésion populaire à l'idéal européen;
7. qu'ait été reconnue comme objectif prioritaire de la Communauté, l'élimination de déséquilibres structurels et régionaux et, qu'en vue de réaliser cet objectif, un Fonds de développement régional doit être créé avant le 31 décembre 1973;
8. qu'un programme précis ait été élaboré de nature à permettre à la Communauté de disposer des moyens nécessaires à la mise en œuvre d'une véritable politique industrielle, scientifique et technologique;
9. que la volonté se soit affirmée d'établir, avant le 31 juillet 1973, un programme d'action qui, assorti d'un calendrier précis, sera le fondement d'une politique communautaire de l'environnement;
10. qu'ait été reconnue finalement la nécessité de faire élaborer par les institutions communautaires — et cela dans les meilleurs délais — une politique énergétique qui garantisse un approvisionnement sûr et durable dans des conditions économiques satisfaisantes, tout en souhaitant que l'adoption de dates précises pour la mise en œuvre de cette politique donne plus de poids à cet engagement;
11. que la volonté se soit manifestée d'aboutir, grâce à une conscience grandissante de la personnalité propre de l'Europe, à la rendre capable de faire face aux responsabilités croissantes qui devront lui incomber dans le monde, notamment en ce qui concerne:
  - la nécessité de définir des positions communes face aux événements fondamentaux de la politique mondiale;
  - la volonté de contribuer de façon coordonnée au développement harmonieux du commerce mondial en entretenant — dans les formes les plus appropriées — un dialogue constructif avec les États-Unis d'Amérique, le Japon, le Canada, et les autres partenaires commerciaux industrialisés et, dans ce contexte, de définir, au niveau communautaire, une conception d'ensemble avant le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1973;
  - la confirmation d'une politique d'association ouverte à l'égard des autres pays européens et d'une politique globale et équilibrée à l'égard des pays du bassin méditerranéen avec lesquels des accords sont conclus ou à conclure;
  - l'importance accordée à une politique de coopération, fondée sur la réciprocité, avec les pays de l'Est, envers lesquels une politique commerciale commune doit être réalisée par les États membres de la Communauté à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1973;
  - la nécessité d'une contribution concertée et constructive de la Communauté et des États membres à la préparation et au déroulement de la conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe;

*déplore:*

12. que l'accord sur la mise en œuvre d'une politique globale de coopération à l'aide au développement à l'échelle mondiale n'ait pu déboucher sur la définition d'actions précises telles que, entre autres, la fixation d'un montant de 0,7 % du produit national brut de la Communauté qui serait destiné à cette aide et l'accroissement annuel de 15 % des importations en provenance des États intéressés;

13. qu'aucune décision n'ait été prise en ce qui concerne le renforcement des structures démocratiques de la Communauté;
14. que pour la mise en œuvre de l'élection au suffrage universel direct des membres du Parlement européen non seulement des dates précises n'aient pas été arrêtées, mais qu'aucun mandat n'ait été donné pour résoudre les difficultés existantes;
15. que seules des observations d'ordre général aient été énoncées pour une participation plus efficace du Parlement européen à l'œuvre législative de la Communauté;
16. que la Communauté ne puisse disposer d'un centre de décision unique, capable de prendre des décisions ayant force obligatoire pour les États membres et auquel, dans l'esprit d'une légitimation démocratique, doit faire face un Parlement européen doté des pouvoirs réguliers d'un parlement;
17. que la réalisation de l'union politique soit uniquement envisagée sur la base d'une intensification des procédures de coopération entre les gouvernements des États membres;
18. que, dans le domaine de la coopération politique et de la politique étrangère, n'ait pas été reconnue aux institutions communautaires — Commission et Parlement — la place qui leur revient, notamment quant aux conditions et aux effets des activités communautaires sur la scène internationale;
19. que la nécessité d'une amélioration profonde de la procédure de décision entre la Commission, le Conseil et le Parlement, dans le respect des traités, n'ait pas trouvé de solution concrète et immédiate;

*Le Parlement européen,*

20. rappelle une fois de plus que les traités de Rome (article 138 CEE et article 108 CEEA) ainsi que les résolutions de Luxembourg du 22 avril 1970 concernant le renforcement des pouvoirs du Parlement et de la concertation politique doivent être intégralement respectés;
21. prend acte de ce que les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement se sont donné comme objectif majeur de transformer, avant la fin de l'actuelle décennie et dans le respect absolu des traités déjà souscrits, l'ensemble des relations des États membres en une « union européenne », et qu'ils ont demandé aux institutions de la Communauté d'élaborer sur ce sujet, avant la fin de 1975, un rapport destiné à être soumis à une conférence au sommet ultérieure;
22. est convaincu que l'expression « union européenne », employée pour la première fois dans la déclaration de Paris recouvre également les objectifs retenus par le Parlement européen dans ses prises de position précédentes sur l'« union politique »;
23. estime que seule la participation des peuples et de leurs représentants élus peut permettre la réalisation de cet objectif dans la démocratie et la liberté;
24. souligne à nouveau que l'on ne peut parvenir à une participation active de la jeunesse à la construction européenne que si l'« union européenne » est fondée sur un renforcement de la structure démocratique de la Communauté et sur la pleine participation du Parlement européen aux décisions qui engagent l'avenir des peuples;
25. en appelle au Conseil et à la Commission des Communautés européennes pour que, dans le respect des délais indiqués par la conférence de Paris, des décisions soient adoptées afin de donner une nouvelle impulsion à la construction communautaire;
26. estime important que la conférence au sommet des chefs d'État et de gouvernement ait confié aux institutions de la Communauté des mandats importants concernant la mise en œuvre des différentes politiques qui constituent la réalité concrète de la construction de l'Europe, et se déclare prêt, pour sa part, à assumer à cet égard toutes les responsabilités qui découlent pour lui tant du traité que du communiqué de Paris;



27. invite la Commission à lui présenter, à l'occasion de son programme d'action, des propositions concrètes dans l'esprit de la présente résolution;
28. soumettra après le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1973 des propositions propres en vue de préparer des mesures pour l'amélioration de la procédure de décision et des méthodes de travail des institutions;
29. se réserve en outre d'élaborer des propositions propres en vue de contribuer par l'initiative parlementaire, au développement ultérieur des objectifs politiques de la Communauté contenus dans les traités;
30. charge son président de transmettre la présente résolution aux gouvernements et aux parlements des États membres de la Communauté élargie ainsi qu'au Conseil et à la Commission des Communautés européennes.

*At the summit conference of 14 and 15 December 1973 in Copenhagen, the final declaration stated that the definition of EUROPEAN UNION should be speeded up.*

**Final Communiqué issued  
by the Conference Chairman**

1106. *The Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the European Community met in Copenhagen on 14 and 15 December 1973 at the invitation of the Prime Minister of Denmark. The President of the Commission participated actively in their work on Community questions. They agreed as follows:*

1. The nine countries affirm their common will that Europe should speak with one voice in important world affairs. They adopted the declaration on the European identity, which defines, with the dynamic nature of the Community in mind, the principles which are to underlie their action.

2. They decided to speed up the work required to define the European Union which they had set themselves as their major objective at the Paris Summit. They asked the Presidency to make the necessary proposals without delay.

3. They decided to meet more frequently. These meetings will be held whenever justified by the circumstances and when it appears necessary to provide a stimulus or to lay down further guidelines for the construction of a united Europe. They also agreed to meet whenever the international situation so requires.

Bull. EC 12-1973

It will be for the country providing the President to convene these meetings and to make detailed proposals concerning their preparation and organization.

The Heads of State or Government attach the greatest importance to the Institutions of the Community playing their full role and to the necessary decisions being taken there in good time.

4. It was agreed that the Foreign Ministers of the Member States should, at their next meeting, decide on the means by which a common position should be worked out quickly in times of crisis. The development of political cooperation will also enable them to make joint assessments of crisis situations, with the aim of foreseeing them and of taking the measures needed to deal with them.

5. They confirmed their support for the policy of international détente which respects the independence and security of each State and the rules laid down in the Charter of the United Nations for the prevention and settlement of conflicts.

They agreed that the growing unity of the Nine would strengthen the West as a whole and will be beneficial for the relationship between Europe and the United States.

6. The Heads of State or Government welcome the convening of a peace conference in Geneva and call on the participants to make every effort to achieve a just and lasting settle-

ment at an early date. The Nine Governments are ready to assist in the search for peace and in the guaranteeing of a settlement. They will inform the Secretary General of the UN thereof.

The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed the united stand of their Governments on the Middle East question embodied in the Declaration issued on 6 November. Recent events have strengthened them in their view that the security of all states in the area, whether it be Israel or her Arab neighbours, can only be based on the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 in all its parts taking into account also the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

The Heads of State or Governments are convinced that the requirements of sovereignty and the requirements of security can be met by the conclusion of peace agreements including among other arrangements international guarantees and the establishment of demilitarized zones.

7. As regards the European Communities, the Heads of State or Government reaffirmed the importance they attach to what the Community has already achieved and their will to see it develop. After examining the progress already made in implementing earlier decisions they agreed:

(i) to invite the Community institutions to take measures to achieve more rapid progress towards the full establishment of economic and monetary union building on the decisions already taken;

(ii) to seek actively the definition of a common position on reform of the international money situation, to increase the instruments at the disposal of the European Monetary Cooperation Fund and to strengthen the coordination of their action to deal with de-stabilizing capital movements, in order to create an area of stability in Europe;

(iii) the Heads of State or Government agreed that the Regional Development Fund should be established on 1 January 1974. As an expression of their positive attitude to the establishment of the Fund agreed to recommend to their Foreign Ministers that the Council of the European Communities at its next session shall take the necessary decisions concerning the size and the distribution of the Fund and the criteria for the Fund's operations;

(iv) to implement a social action programme having as its aims the achievement of full and better employment in the Community, the improvement of living and working conditions in a way which makes possible their harmonization while the improvement is being maintained, and growing participation by the social partners in the Community's economic and social decisions and by workers in the activities of enterprises;

(v) to make the functioning of the Community's institutions more effective by improving cooperation between the Council, the Commission and the Parliament, by a more rapid procedure for the settlement of questions submitted to the Community authorities and by reinforcing its financial control, involving *inter alia* the establishment of an independent Community Audit Board and the strengthening of the role of the European Parliament in Budgetary matter;

(vi) that the Foreign Ministers at the next session of the Council of the European Communities find a solution to enable the Faroe Islands to postpone their decision concerning membership of the European Communities until the result of the Conference on the Law of the Sea is known;

(vii) the Heads of State or Government, mindful of the importance they attach to problems arising from international trade in primary products and raw materials, asked the Com-

mission to prepare a detailed study and to put proposals to the Council;

(viii) to develop more actively between them a common policy on industrial, scientific and technological cooperation in all fields.

8. The Heads of State or Government have considered the question of energy in a separate paper, attached to this declaration.

9. The Heads of State or Government are convinced that a united Europe will be able to play a role consonant with its history and its abilities in the service of economic and social progress in the Community, of the growth and industrialization of developing countries and of peace between all nations.

Bull. EC 12-1973

*At the same summit conference the Heads of State and Government adopted a declaration on European identity.*

#### **Declaration on European identity**

The Nine member countries of the European Communities have decided that the time has come to draw up a document on the European Identity. This will enable them to achieve a better definition of their relations with other countries and of their responsibilities and the place which they occupy in world affairs. They have decided to define the European Identity with the dynamic nature of the Community in mind. They have the intention of carrying the work further in the future in the light of the progress made in the construction of a United Europe.

Bull. EC 12-1973

Defining the European Identity involves:

- (a) reviewing the common heritage, interests and special obligations of the Nine, as well as the degree of unity so far achieved within the Community,
- (b) assessing the extent to which the Nine are already acting together in relation to the rest of the world and the responsibilities which result from this,
- (c) taking into consideration the dynamic nature of European unification.

*I. The Unity of the Nine Member Countries of the Community*

1. The Nine European states might have been pushed towards disunity by their history and by selfishly defending misjudged interests. But they have overcome their past enmities and have decided that unity is a basic European necessity to ensure the survival of the civilization which they have in common.

The Nine wish to ensure that the cherished values of their legal, political and moral order are respected, and to preserve the rich variety of their national cultures. Sharing as they do the same attitudes to life, based on a determination to build a society which measures up to the needs of the individual, they are determined to defend the principles of representative democracy, of the rule of law, of social justice—which is the ultimate goal of economic progress—and of respect for human rights. All of these are fundamental elements of the European Identity. The Nine believe that this enterprise corresponds to the deepest aspirations of their peoples who should participate in its realization, particularly through their elected representatives.

2. The Nine have the political will to succeed in the construction of a United Europe. On the

basis of the Treaties of Paris and Rome setting up the European Communities and of subsequent decisions, they have created a common market, based on a customs union, and have established institutions, common policies and machinery for cooperation. All these are an essential part of the European Identity. The Nine are determined to safeguard the elements which make up the unity they have achieved so far and the fundamental objectives laid down for future development at the Summit Conferences in The Hague and Paris. On the basis of the Luxembourg and Copenhagen reports, the Nine Governments have established a system of political cooperation with a view to determining common attitudes and, where possible and desirable, common action. They propose to develop this further. In accordance with the decision taken at the Paris conference, the Nine reaffirm their intention of transforming the whole complex of their relations into a European Union before the end of the present decade.

3. The diversity of cultures within the framework of common European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a united Europe, all give the European Identity its originality and its own dynamism.

4. The construction of a United Europe, which the Nine member countries of the Community are undertaking, is open to other European nations who share the same ideals and objectives.

5. The European countries have, in the course of their history, developed close ties with many other parts of the world. These relationships, which will continue to evolve, constitute an

assurance of progress and international equilibrium.

6. Although in the past the European countries were individually able to play a major role on the international scene, present international problems are difficult for any of the Nine to solve alone. International developments and the growing concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a very small number of great powers mean that Europe must unite and speak increasingly with a single voice if it wants to make itself heard and play its proper role in the world.

7. The Community, the world's largest trading group, could not be a closed economic entity. It has close links with the rest of the world as regards its supplies and market outlets. For this reason the Community, while remaining in control of its own trading policies, intends to exert a positive influence on world economic relations with a view to the greater well-being of all.

8. The Nine, one of whose essential aims is to maintain peace, will never succeed in doing so if they neglect their own security. Those of them who are members of the Atlantic Alliance consider that in present circumstances there is no alternative to the security provided by the nuclear weapons of the United States and by the presence of North American forces in Europe: and they agree that in the light of the relative military vulnerability of Europe, the Europeans should, if they wish to preserve their independence, hold to their commitments and make constant efforts to ensure that they have adequate means of defence at their disposal.

## II. *The European Identity in relation to the world*

9. The Europe of the Nine is aware that, as it unites, it takes on new international obli-

gations. European unification is not directed against anyone, nor is it inspired by a desire for power. On the contrary, the Nine are convinced that their union will benefit the whole international community since it will constitute an element of equilibrium and a basis for co-operation with all countries, whatever their size, culture or social system. The Nine intend to play an active role in world affairs and thus to contribute, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to ensuring that international relations have a more just basis; that the independence and equality of states are better preserved; that prosperity is more equitably shared; and that the security of each country is more effectively guaranteed. In pursuit of these objectives the Nine should progressively define common positions in the sphere of foreign policy.

10. As the Community progresses towards a common policy in relation to third countries, it will act in accordance with the following principles:

(a) The Nine, acting as a single entity, will strive to promote harmonious and constructive relations with these countries. This should not however jeopardize, hold back or affect the will of the Nine to progress towards European Union within the time limits laid down.

(b) In future when the Nine negotiate collectively with other countries, the institutions and procedures chosen should enable the distinct character of the European entity to be respected.

(c) In bilateral contacts with other countries, the Member States of the Community will increasingly act on the basis of agreed common positions.

11. The Nine intend to strengthen their links, in the present institutional framework, with the member countries of the Council of Europe,

and with other European countries with whom they already have friendly relations and close cooperation.

12. The Nine attach essential importance to the Community's policy of association. Without diminishing the advantages enjoyed by the countries with which it has special relations, the Community intends progressively to put into operation a policy for development aid in a worldwide scale in accordance with the principles and aims set out in the Paris Summit Declaration.

13. The Community will implement its undertakings towards the Mediterranean and African countries in order to reinforce its long-standing links with these countries. The Nine intend to preserve their historic links with the countries of the Middle East and to cooperate over the establishment and maintenance of peace, stability and progress in the region.

14. The close ties between the United States and Europe of the Nine—who share values and aspirations based on a common heritage—are mutually beneficial and must be preserved. These ties do not conflict with the determination of the Nine to establish themselves as a distinct and original entity. The Nine intend to maintain their constructive dialogue and to develop their cooperation with the United States on the basis of equality and in a spirit of friendship.

15. The Nine also remain determined to engage in close cooperation and to pursue a constructive dialogue with the other industrialized countries, such as Japan and Canada, which have an essential role in maintaining an open and balanced world economic system. They appreciate the existing fruitful cooperation with these countries, particularly in OECD.

16. The Nine have contributed, both individually and collectively to the first results of a policy of detente and cooperation with the USSR and the East European countries. They are determined to carry this policy further forward on a reciprocal basis.

17. Conscious of the major role played by China in international affairs, the Nine intend to intensify their relations with the Chinese Government and to promote exchanges in various fields as well as contacts between European and Chinese leaders.

18. The Nine are also aware of the important role played by other Asian countries. They are determined to develop their relations with these countries as is demonstrated as far as commercial relations are concerned, by the Declaration of Intent made by the Community at the time of its enlargement.

19. The Nine are traditionally bound to the Latin American countries by friendly links and many other contacts; they intend to develop these. In this context they attach great importance to the agreements concluded between the European Community and certain Latin American countries.

20. There can be no real peace if the developed countries do not pay more heed to the less favoured nations. Convinced of this fact, and conscious of their responsibilities and particular obligations, the Nine attach very great importance to the struggle against underdevelopment. They are, therefore, resolved to intensify their efforts in the fields of trade and development aid and to strengthen international cooperation to these ends.

21. The Nine will participate in international negotiations in an outward-looking spirit, while preserving the fundamental elements of their



unity and their basic aims. They are also resolved to contribute to international progress, both through their relations with third countries and by adopting common positions wherever possible in international organizations, notably the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

III. *The dynamic nature of the construction of a United Europe*

22. The European identity will evolve as a function of the dynamic of the construction of a united Europe. In their external relations, the Nine propose progressively to undertake the definition of their identity in relation to other countries or groups of countries. They believe that in so doing they will strengthen their own cohesion and contribute to the framing of a genuinely European foreign policy. They are convinced that building up this policy will help them to tackle with confidence and realism further stages in the construction of a united Europe thus making easier the proposed transformation of the whole complex of their relations into a European Union.

On 17 October 1974 the European Parliament again considered EUROPEAN UNION.

Christian Democrat Alfred BERTRAND was the author of a draft resolution adopted by the Political Affairs Committee which again emphasized the political content of EUROPEAN UNION and accordingly called for the establishment of a decision-making centre as a fore-runner of a European Government.

Parliament adopted the resolution.

**RESOLUTION**  
**on European union**

*The European Parliament,*

- recalling the major objective expressed in the Paris communiqué of October 1972 regarding the transformation of the whole complex of the relations of the Member States into a European Union before the end of the present decade and with the fullest respect for the treaties already signed<sup>(1)</sup>,
- pointing out that the Community institutions were requested to draw up a report on European union before the end of 1975<sup>(1)</sup>,
- conscious of the role conferred on by it by the Treaties and by the will of the peoples of the Community,
- having regard to the motion for a resolution of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 300/74),

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1. Undertakes to draw up and submit by 30 June 1975 its report on European union;

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<sup>(1)</sup> Paragraph 16 of the communiqué issued after the Paris summit conference of October 1972.

2. Strongly urges the Commission and Council of the Communities to give the same undertaking;
3. Declares its readiness to draw up, in close cooperation with the other Community institutions, a single report on European union by the date set by the Heads of State or Government at the October 1972 Paris summit conference;

## II

4. Stresses that European Union, as the practical embodiment of the principles and objectives laid down in the Treaties establishing the European Communities and the joint declaration on European identity, must enable the European Community to emerge and establish itself as an economic and political union;
5. Declares that this transformation can be achieved only with the support of the Community institutions, the Member States and the peoples, the aim being to give a new shape to the political resolve to act in concert in a Community of shared risks and opportunities which is constantly evolving towards a closer union between the European peoples, while respecting their traditions;

## III

6. Points out that efforts to transform the present Community into a European union must aim at the following:

- extension and strengthening of existing Community powers and the creation of new Community powers, not only in the field of monetary, economic, social and cultural policy, but also in that of foreign policy and security;
- democratization of the institutions which will be responsible for Community activities while respecting the specific interests of the Member States.

7. Considers that European union must comprise the following basic institutions:

- a political decision-making centre with the appropriate terms of reference to cover the areas mentioned in paragraph 6, and destined to form the European government;
- a Parliament comprising at least a chamber elected by direct universal suffrage;
- a Court of Justice to ensure observance of the law in the interpretation and application of the Treaties, Agreements and Decisions, and to guarantee the primacy of the law of the union over national legislation in the matters covered by the Treaties or any extension or amendment thereof;
- a Court of Auditors;
- an Economic and Social Committee;

## IV

8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Governments of the Member States, to the Council and Commission of the European Communities and to the Presidents of the Parliamentary assemblies of the nine States with a request that it be notified to the Members thereof.

*At the summit conference in Paris of 9-10 December 1974 the Heads of State and Government announced that the first direct elections to the European Parliament would take place in 1978.*

*They entrusted the Belgian Prime Minister, Leo TINDEMANS, with the task of drawing up a summary report on EUROPEAN UNION.*

## Communiqué

1. The heads of Government of the nine States of the Community, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the President of the Commission, meeting in Paris at the invitation of the French President, examined the various problems confronting Europe. They took note of the reports drawn up by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and recorded the agreement reached by these Ministers on various points raised in the reports.

2. Recognizing the need for an overall approach to the internal problems involved in achieving European unity and the external problems facing Europe, the Heads of Government consider it essential to ensure progress and overall consistency in the activities of the Communities and in the work on political cooperation.

3. The Heads of Government have therefore decided to meet, accompanied by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, three times a year and, whenever necessary, in the Council of the Communities and in the context of political cooperation.

The administrative secrétariat will be provided for in an appropriate manner with due regard for existing practices and procedures.

In order to ensure consistency in Community activities and continuity of work, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, meeting in the Council of the

Community, will act as initiators and coordinators. They may hold political cooperation meetings at the same time.

These arrangements do not in any way affect the rules and procedures laid down in the Treaties or the provisions on political cooperation in the Luxembourg and Copenhagen Reports. At the various meetings referred to in the preceding paragraphs the Commission will exercise the powers vested in it and play the part assigned to it by the above texts.

4. With a view to progress towards European unity, the Heads of Government reaffirm their determination gradually to adopt common positions and coordinate their diplomatic action in all areas of international affairs which affect the interests of the European Community. The President-in-Office will be the spokesman for the Nine and will set out their views in international diplomacy. He will ensure that the necessary concertation always takes place in good time.

In view of the increasing role of political cooperation in the construction of Europe, the European Assembly must be more closely associated with the work of the Presidency, for example through replies to questions on political cooperation to him by its Members.

Bull. EC 12-1974

5. The Heads of Government consider it necessary to increase the solidarity of the Nine both by improving Community procedures and by developing new common policies in areas to be decided on and granting the necessary powers to the Institutions.

6. In order to improve the functioning of the Council of the Community, they consider that it is necessary to renounce the practice which consists of making agreement on all questions conditional on the unanimous consent of the Member States, whatever their respective positions may be regarding the conclusions reached in Luxembourg on 28 January 1966.

7. Greater latitude will be given to the Permanent Representatives so that only the most important political problems need be discussed in the Council. To this end, each Member State will take the measures it considers necessary to strengthen the role of the Permanent Representatives and involve them in preparing the national positions on European affairs.

8. Moreover, they agree on the advantage of making use of the provisions of the Treaty of Rome whereby the powers of implementation and management arising out of Community rules may be conferred on the Commission.

9. Cooperation between the Nine in areas outside the scope of the Treaty will be continued where it has already begun. It should be extended to other areas by bringing together the representatives of the Governments, meeting within the Council whenever possible.

10. A working party will be set up to study the possibility of establishing a passport union and, in anticipation of this, the introduction of a uniform passport.

If possible, this draft should be submitted to the Governments of the Member States before 31 December 1976. It will, in particular, provide for stage-by-stage harmonization of legislation

affecting aliens and for the abolition of passport control within the Community.

11. Another working party will be instructed to study the conditions and the timing under which the citizens of the nine Member States could be given special rights as members of the Community.

12. The Heads of Government note that the election of the European Assembly by universal suffrage, one of the objectives laid down in the Treaty, should be achieved as soon as possible. In this connection, they await with interest the proposals of the European Assembly, on which they wish the Council to act in 1976. On this assumption, elections by direct universal suffrage could take place at any time in or after 1978.

Since the European Assembly is composed of representatives of the peoples of the States united within the Community, each people must be represented in an appropriate manner.

The European Assembly will be associated with the achievement of European unity. The Heads of Government will not fail to take into consideration the points of view which, in October 1972, they asked it to express on this subject.

The competence of the European Assembly will be extended, in particular by granting it certain powers in the Communities legislative process.

13. The Heads of Government note that the process of transforming the whole complex of relations between the Member States, in accordance with the decision taken in Paris in October 1972, has already started. They are determined to make further progress in this direction.

In this connection, they consider that the time has come for the Nine to agree as soon as possible on an overall concept of European Union. Consequently, in accordance with the requests made by the Paris meeting of Heads of Government in October 1972, they confirm the importance which they attach to the reports to be made by the Community institutions. They request the European Assembly, the Commission and the Court of Justice to bring the submission of their reports forward to before the end of June 1975. They agreed to invite Mr Tindemans, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, to submit a comprehensive report to the Heads of Government before the end of 1975, on the basis of the reports received from the Institutions and of consultations which he is to have with the Governments and with a wide range of public opinion in the Community.

#### **Economic and monetary union**

14. The Heads of Government, having noted that internal and international difficulties have prevented in 1973 and 1974 the accomplishment of expected progress on the road to EMU, affirm that in this field their will has not weakened and that their objective has not changed since the Paris Conference.

Bull. EC 12-1974

*In a 'Joint Declaration' by Parliament, Council of Ministers and Commission, a conciliation procedure was established, to be applied in the case of legislative acts with financial implications.*

*Parliament's powers were thereby enlarged.*

I

*(Information)*

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

COUNCIL

COMMISSION

JOINT DECLARATION

of the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL AND THE COMMISSION,

Whereas from 1 January 1975, the Budget of the Communities will be financed entirely from the Communities' own resources;

Whereas in order to implement this system the European Parliament will be given increased budgetary powers;

Whereas the increase in the budgetary powers of the European Parliament must be accompanied by effective participation by the latter in the procedure for preparing and adopting decisions which give rise to important expenditure or revenue to be charged or credited to the budget of the European Communities,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

1. A conciliation procedure between the European Parliament and the Council with the active assistance of the Commission is hereby instituted.
2. This procedure may be followed for Community acts of general application which have appreciable financial implications, and of which the adoption is not required by virtue of acts already in existence.
3. When submitting its proposal the Commission shall indicate whether the act in question is, in its opinion, capable of being the subject of the conciliation procedure. The European Parliament, when giving its Opinion, and the Council may request that this procedure be initiated.

4. The procedure shall be initiated if the criteria laid down in paragraph 2 are met and if the Council intends to depart from the Opinion adopted by the European Parliament.
5. The conciliation shall take place in a 'Conciliation Committee' consisting of the Council and representatives of the European Parliament. The Commission shall participate in the work of the Conciliation Committee.
6. The aim of the procedure shall be to seek an agreement between the European Parliament and the Council.

The procedure should normally take place during a period not exceeding three months, unless the act in question has to be adopted before a specific date or if the matter is urgent, in which case the Council may fix an appropriate time limit.

7. When the positions of the two institutions are sufficiently close, the European Parliament may give a new Opinion, after which the Council shall take definitive action.

Done at Brussels, 4 March 1975.

*For the  
European Parliament*

C. BERKHOUWER

*For the Council*

G. FITZGERALD

*For the Commission*

François-Xavier ORTOLI



RESOLUTION

on European Union

*The European Parliament,*

- recalling the hope repeatedly expressed since the Bonn summit conference in July 1961 and the concrete indications concerning the transformation of the Communities established by the Treaties of Paris and Rome into a single and real economic, social and political Community,
- desirous of seeing practical effect given to all the undertakings solemnly entered into by the Heads of State or Government of the Member States on 1 and 2 December 1969 at The Hague, 19 to 21 October 1972 in Paris, 14 to 15 December 1973 in Copenhagen and 9 to 10 December 1974 in Paris,
- emphasizing its essential role and its responsibilities as an institution representing the peoples joined together in the Community in the efforts to transform all the relations of the Member States into a European Union,
- recalling in particular its resolutions of 5 July 1972, 14 November 1972 and 14 October 1974,
- firmly convinced that the progressive achievement of the Union must be based on the active and conscious participation of the peoples, whose interests it must reflect, and that the European Parliament will, therefore, have to take at all times, with the assistance of the national Parliaments, all initiatives likely to foster and ensure such participation,
- in answer to the desire expressed by the Heads of State or Government for the Community institutions to contribute to the work on European Union and, in particular, to the drawing up of a summary report by Mr Leo Tindemans,

*Declares that:*

1. The European Union must be conceived as a pluralist and democratic Community whose priority aims are as follows:
  - to ensure strict respect for liberty and human dignity,
  - to promote social justice and solidarity between the Member States and the citizens of the Community, through the establishment of an economic order ensuring full employment and the equitable distribution of incomes and wealth;
  - to oppose resolutely any cause of conflict or tension, in order to contribute towards the maintenance of peace and freedom,
  - to take part in efforts to reduce tension and settle disputes by peaceful means throughout the world and, in Europe, to develop cooperation and security between States;
2. The European Union must be brought about progressively by means of more rational and efficient forms of relations between Member States, taking existing Community achievements as its point of departure through the introduction of a single organization undertaking duties which the Member States can no longer effectively carry out alone, thus avoiding wastage of effort or actions contrary to the cohesion of the Union;
3. The Union must be based on an institutional structure which will ensure its coherence:
  - on a body, within which participation by the Member States in the decision-making process of the Union will be guaranteed,
  - on a Parliament having budgetary powers and powers of control, which would participate on at least an equal footing in the legislative process, as is its right as the representative of the peoples of the Union,
  - on a single decision-making centre which will be in the nature of a real European government, independent of the national Governments and responsible to the Parliament of the Union,

- on the European Court of Justice,
- on an Economic and Social Council, as a consultative body,
- on a European Court of Auditors.

4. The dynamic character of the present Community must be preserved in full, the powers and responsibilities of the Union must be progressively widened, respecting the essential interests of Member States, in particular:

- (a) foreign policy, for which the existing coordination procedures must be further strengthened. New procedures must be developed to enable the Community to speak with a single voice in international politics;
- (b) security policy;
- (c) social and regional policy;
- (d) educational policy;
- (e) economic and monetary policy;
- (f) a Community budgetary policy;
- (g) policy on energy and supplies of raw materials;
- (h) a scientific and technical research policy.

The Union, based on the collective exercise of common responsibilities, must remain open to new tasks.

5. The Union can only be achieved through a process of continuous political development, which must make full use of all the provisions and possibilities of the present treaties and the other procedures which link the Member States, in order to bring about quickly and effectively the degree of solidarity necessary to transform the present Community into an organization whose decisions are binding on all parties.

6. Achievement of the Union therefore necessitates immediate action to ensure real progress in the various Community policies and in the institutional structure, which must take place in parallel.

*The European Parliament therefore asks*

7. That an immediate start be made on the procedures necessary to allow the election of its Members by direct universal suffrage not later than in 1978, the date indicated by the Heads of Government of the Member States, thus giving proof of the political resolve to advance towards the construction of Europe with the active participation of the peoples;

8. That in the course of 1976 the Commission of the European Communities should submit an overall programme of priority action which will enable the main aims of the Community policies on which the future European Union is based to be achieved before the end of the present decade;

9. That this programme should be submitted to the urgent consideration of Parliament and the Council for such amendment or modification as may be jointly agreed between the two institutions and then for approval and implementation by the Council;

10. That the links which exist between Economic and Monetary Union and European Union, making desirable a parallel development in the two fields, should be recognized, without, however, allowing the lack of progress in one field to be used as a pretext for taking no action in the other;

11. That adjustments to the institutional structure necessary to adapt it to its task in the European Union should now be made, in particular,

- (a) that, in accordance with the Treaties, the Council should abandon the principle of unanimity and meet in public in its legislative capacity;
- (b) that the role of the Commission should be extended to include the primary responsibility for all multilateral relations between Member States; this decision would enable these relations to be simplified and coordinated, while putting an end to the distinction between Community procedures and inter-governmental procedures;

- (c) that the Community decision-making process should be organized in accordance with the following procedure:
- the Commission, where appropriate on a proposal from Parliament, draws up a draft proposal;
  - this draft is submitted to the Council and Parliament at the same time;
  - the Council proceeds to give consideration to the proposal only after having received the text of Parliament and in the light of that text;
  - until the Council has adopted its conclusions with regard to the proposal the Commission retains the right to amend it in accordance with the provisions of the second paragraph of Article 149 of the EEC Treaty;
  - if the Council feels it has to make changes in the text of the proposal as approved or amended by Parliament, a conciliation procedure must be set up within time limits to be specified, before the Council takes its decision, and the procedure will continue until Council and Parliament have reached agreement;
- (d) that all the European Parliament's powers should be substantially reinforced by 1980 and that, above all, in the transfer of new powers to the Communities the European Parliament should be given corresponding powers of legislation and control, since this is the only way to ensure that decisions of the European Communities are democratically legitimate;
- (e) that Parliament, in accordance with the wish solemnly affirmed by the Heads of Government of the Member States, should participate fully in the work concerning political cooperation and in all the procedures for coordination and consultation between the Member States;
- (f) that Parliament should participate in the appointment of the Members of the Commission of the Communities to emphasize their democratic legitimacy.

*The European Parliament,*

- emphasizes that these adjustments — provided for in paragraph 8 *et seq.* — do not involve formal modifications to the existing treaties but are necessary if there is a desire to make real progress towards European Union and give proof of the existence of a political resolve capable of affirming and strengthening the solidarity between the peoples of the Community and between their Governments;
12. Hopes that, with a view to giving the peoples of the Community a sense of common destiny, a 'Charter of the rights of the peoples of the European Community' will be drawn up and that practical measures capable of contributing to the development of a European Community consciousness, which have been requested for some time, will be adopted;
13. Appeals to the national Parliaments to associate themselves with the efforts towards the progressive achievement of European Union capable of responding to the legitimate hopes of the peoples and in particular of youth;
14. Expects the Governments of the Member States, the national Parliaments, the Council and the Commission of the European Communities to act on this resolution and undertake the necessary practical steps to achieve European Union within the time limits laid down;
15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to Mr Tindemans, to the national Parliaments, to the Governments of the Member States, the Council and Commission of the European Communities.

*The resolution is accompanied by the following explanatory statement of the rapporteur, Alfred BERTRAND.*

B

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

The report on the European Union has its origin in the final declaration of the Conference of Heads of State or Government held in October 1972 and again in the final communiqué of the Conference of the Heads of Government of December 1974 inviting Mr Tindemans to draw up a summary report. The report of the Political Affairs Committee represents the fruit of continuous intense consideration over the last two years. The conclusions of the Political Affairs Committee largely stem from contributions from the different political forces within the European Parliament. Other contributions have come from various organizations such as the European Movement, the European Union of Federalists and the Council of European Municipalities and, in the form of resolutions and petitions, from numerous citizens of the Community. The Political Affairs Committee wished to make its report to Parliament an original contribution, free of any dogmatism. It is indeed convinced that European Union must be an entirely original structure comprising certain federal elements, as far as necessary, while preserving the character of its components.

At the present stage it is impossible to give any idea of the final form of European Union since it must be allowed to develop progressively. On the other hand, as the major objective of the Heads of Government meeting at the Paris Conference in October 1973 was to transform before the end of the present decade the whole complex of the relations of Member States into a European Union, the Political Affairs Committee has been principally concerned with the question of the progress which has to be achieved to make European Union possible. It therefore considered it too early to conceive in full detail the final form of European Union - this would have produced a purely doctrinaire debate. At this initial stage it has outlined the broad features of European Union as it should be and have given priority to consideration of the progress which has to be made between the present time and the end of the decade. As reaffirmed by the Heads of Government the establishment of European Union must be based on the Treaties already accepted and on Community achievements so far. At all events it is necessary to develop all the possibilities offered by the present Treaties and the common policies introduced so far by extending them to other areas where possible and desirable in order to ensure real, rapid achievement of the degree of solidarity which is indispensable for the transformation of the present Community into a new, genuinely unitary organization. This requires a parallel development of the institutions. With regard to the responsibilities of the Union it has become clear that provision must be made for progressive expansion fully exploiting the dynamic elements already to hand. At the same time it seems normal and

reasonable to respect the essential interests of Member States since their contribution and support are indispensable for the realization of the Union.

The Political Affairs Committee has emphasised the following areas of competence for the future European Union:

Foreign policy is one of the primary elements of the Union since this alone will enable it to affirm its identity in international relations. This implies first of all substantial strengthening of the existing cooperation as well as institutional adjustments. It is with this in mind that the Committee proposes, as a first step towards transforming this political cooperation into a Community activity within the framework of European Union, that the Council secretariat should be responsible for organizing the work of the Conference of Foreign Ministers.

Security policy is clearly the necessary corollary to foreign policy at least as long as there is no international organization capable of ensuring effective and enduring peace.

The committee considers that social, regional, economic and financial policies should be among the basic responsibilities of the Union.

The unitary nature of the Union should not automatically lead to standardization in the realization of its objectives. The committee particularly emphasises the principle of parallel development of political and institutional aspects.

Its proposals with regard to the institutions are based on the distinction mentioned above between a transitional, or rather preparatory, stage which would not require any modification of the Treaties and a later stage which would culminate in the drawing up of a genuine European constitution.

At the transitional stage there would be a strengthening of the role of the Commission, under the democratic control of Parliament, and of decision-making procedures. The Council's activities would cease to be secret.

In contrast, the final stage would call for the institution of a European Government accountable to a Parliament of at least one chamber elected by direct universal suffrage, representing the peoples of the Member States. The participation of Member States in the Community's legislative function must be assured in an appropriate manner. This unitary institutional organization shall not exclude the pluralism without which democratic conditions would be impossible, and which would be manifest in participation in the decision-making process by all currents of political thought, representing the various national, regional, ethnic and cultural

communities. Structurally, it will be based on a flexible distribution of responsibilities between the different levels of decision (Community, national and regional) avoiding any federal or confederal dogmatism. This is the reason for the use of such expressions as 'solidarity' and 'the joint exercise of sovereignty.' For the Political Affairs Committee, the joint exercise of sovereignty is not an abstract concept: the Union will be competent for those areas which are attributed to it expressly or by reason of the commitment to solidarity arising from interdependence between the Member States in any particular area.

The Political Affairs Committee has also underlined particularly the original nature of the European Union as an evolutionary process respecting the character of its various constituent parts, especially at regional level.

On 29 December 1975 Leo TINDEMANS presented his 'Report on European Union' to the European Council which has strongly influenced the debate since then. (Extract).

## I. A common vision of Europe

### A. Europe today

Why has the European concept lost a lot of its force and initial impetus? I believe that over the years the European public has lost a guiding light, namely the political consensus between our countries on our reasons for undertaking this joint task and the characteristics with which we wish to endow it. We must first of all restore this common vision if we wish to have European Union.

In 1975 the European citizen does not view the reasons for the construction of Europe in exactly the same way as in 1950. The European idea is partly a victim of its own successes: the reconciliation between formerly hostile countries, the economic prosperity due to the enlarged market, the *détente* which has taken the place of the cold war, thanks particularly to our cohesion, all this seems to have been achieved and consequently not to require any more effort. Europe today is part of the general run of things; it seems to have lost its air of adventure.

Our peoples are concerned with new problems and values scarcely mentioned by the Treaties. They realize that political union does not automatically follow from economic integration; too many fruitless discussions cast doubt on the credibility and topicality of our joint endeavour: to this extent the European idea is also a victim of its failures.

In this state of mind we plunged into a crisis and are experiencing rates of inflation and unemployment the likes of which have never been seen by the present generation. It is therefore hardly surprising if the Community is crumbling beneath the resurgence, which is felt everywhere, of purely national preoccupations. Especially as the Community, in its present state, is unbalanced: in some fields it has been given far-reaching powers, in others nothing, or practically nothing, has been done, very often because our States were too weak to undertake anything new: the fragile

nature of Europe in some ways also reflects the powerlessness of our States.

An unfinished structure does not weather well: it must be completed, otherwise it collapses. Today Community attainments are being challenged.

Basically, however, Europeans are still in favour of closer links between our peoples as laid down in the Treaties of Paris and Rome, first between the Six, later between the Nine. They even take this *rapprochement* as a matter of course and regret not having more evidence of it in their daily lives. A return to selfish national attitudes, to national barriers, and to the antagonisms which they have frequently engendered would be seen as a historic defeat, the collapse of the efforts of a whole generation of Europeans.

If this extensive will for *rapprochement* is to take on a political dimension vital to ensure that action is taken, Europe must find its place again among the major concerns of public opinion thus ensuring that it will be the focal point of the political discussions of tomorrow. We must listen to our people. What do the Europeans want? What do they expect from a united Europe?

### 1. A voice in the world

During my visits I was struck by the widespread feeling that we are vulnerable and powerless. This is a new experience for our peoples in recent history. Inequality in the distribution of wealth threatens the stability of the world economic system; exhaustion of resources weighs heavily on the future of industrial society; the internationalization of economic life makes our system of production ever more dependent. Our States seem very weak to face these challenges alone. What weight do isolated voices have unless they are those of the super powers?

And yet the will to make an active contribution is still very strong as we can see from the 100 000 young Europeans who are working in cooperation programmes throughout the world. Our peoples are conscious that they embody certain values which have had an inestimable influence on the development of civilization. Why should we cease to spread our ideas abroad when we have

always done so? Which of us has not been surprised to see the extent to which the European identity is an accepted fact by so many of the foreigners to whom we speak? It is not only from within that there is a call to the countries of Europe to unite.

Our peoples expect the European Union to be, where and when appropriate, the voice of Europe. Our joint action must be the means of effectively defending our legitimate interests, it must provide the basis for real security in a fairer world, and enable us to take part in this dialogue between groups which clearly characterizes international life. How can we reconcile these requirements in today's world if we do not unite?

Europe must guard against isolation, against turning inwards on itself which would reduce it to a footnote in history, and also against the subjection and narrow dependence which would prevent it from making its voice heard. It must recover some control over its destiny. It must build a type of society which is ours alone and which reflects the values which are the heritage and the common creation of our peoples.

## **2. A new society**

We all feel that our society is in the state of anxious expectancy and conflict which is the forerunner of major changes. New and sometimes contradictory scales of values are making their appearance in all fields of social life. The task of the present generation is to seek a transition to a post-industrial society which respects the basic values of our civilization and reconciles the rights of the individual with those of the community. If we fail our democracies will be at risk and our children will inherit a decadent society.

Despite the sometimes radical divergencies in the solutions advocated there does exist a minimum consensus of opinion between the democratic forces in Europe on the nature of the changes required. A new type of economic growth displaying more respect for the quality of life and the physical and human environment and better able to reconcile economic and social objectives. Growth which is oriented towards highly special-

ized activities and makes full use of the skills available in Europe, management and organizational capacities in the most advanced and complex fields of human activity; this is our one specific advantage in the international economy: Europe's 'grey gold'. Finally, the development of individual personal responsibility in the social and economic sphere by associating workers with the decision making, the management or profits of undertakings, by greater freedom in the organization of work, by more openness, decentralization and consultation in public administration.

Our peoples wish European Union to embody and promote the development of our society corresponding to their expectations, to provide a new authority to compensate for the reduced power of national structures and to introduce reforms and controls which often cannot be implemented at State level, to give an organic form to the existing solidarity of our economies, our finances and our social life. Europe can and must identify itself with the concerted and better controlled pursuit of the common good with economic resources being reoriented towards the collective interest, a reduction in regional and social inequalities, decentralization and participation in decision making. We will then have created a new type of society, a more democratic Europe with a greater sense of solidarity and humanity.

## **3. A positive solidarity**

No one wants to see a technocratic Europe. European Union must be experienced by the citizen in his daily life. It must make itself felt in education and culture, news and communications, it must be manifest in the youth of our countries, and in leisure time activities. It must protect the rights of the individual and strengthen democracy through a set of institutions which have legitimacy conferred upon them by the will of our peoples. The image of Europe must be in line with its motivations and opportunities, it must demonstrate to those within and without the solidarity of our peoples and the values of our society. I am convinced that this Europe, a progressive Europe, will lack neither power nor impetus.



## B. European Union

The basic choice made by the Founding Fathers of Europe and embodied in the Treaties of Rome and Paris was to bring about an ever closer union between our peoples. This option is still ours. In the face of the internal and external challenges of our society, felt by the whole of Europe, six countries initially and then nine decided to fight back by joining forces.

The 1972<sup>1</sup> and 1974<sup>2</sup> Paris Conferences decided that European Union was the best means of doing this at the present stage of the construction of Europe.

As the aims and nature of European Union are not today clearly understood the first task of our governments is to decide within the European Council what precisely are the scope and consequences of these choices. It is now up to the European Council to decide in which general perspective the joint endeavour will be pursued during the Union phase. The time to enshrine in a legal text all the changes which have been gradually made to the European structure will be when the process of building the Union has acquired its own momentum.

As a result of my consultations in all our countries, I propose that the European Council should define the different components of European Union as follows:

(1) *European Union implies that we present a united front to the outside world. We must tend to act in common in all the main fields of our external relations whether in foreign policy, security, economic relations or development aid. Our action is aimed at defending our interests but also at using our collective strength in support of law and justice in world discussions.*

(2) *European Union recognizes the interdependence of the economic prosperity of our States and accepts the consequences of this: a common economic and monetary policy to manage this prosperity, common policies in the industrial and agricultural sectors and on energy and research to safeguard the future.*

(3) *European Union requires the solidarity of our peoples to be effective and adequate. Regional policy will correct inequalities in development and counteract the centralizing effects of industrial societies. Social*

*action will mitigate inequalities of income and encourage society to organize itself in a fairer and more humane fashion.*

(4) *European Union makes itself felt in people's daily lives. It helps to protect their rights and to improve their life style.*

(5) *In order to achieve these tasks European Union is given institutions with the necessary powers to determine a common, coherent and all-inclusive political view, the efficiency needed for action, the legitimacy needed for democratic control. The principle of the equality of all our States continues to be respected within the Union by each State's right to participate in political decision making.*

(6) *Like the Community whose objectives it pursues and whose attainments it protects European Union will be built gradually. So as to restart the construction of Europe straight away and increase its credibility its initial basis is the political commitment of the States to carry out in different fields specific actions selected according to their importance and the chances of success.*

The different facets of European Union described above are closely connected. The development of the Union's external relations cannot occur without a parallel development of common policies internally. Neither can be achieved without consolidating the authority and effectiveness of common institutions. In this vast scheme everything goes together and it is the sum of the progress achieved in parallel which constitutes the qualitative change which is European Union. The rest of this report will examine in each of the fields referred to the aim and the first positive actions which need to be and can be taken.

The general framework which I propose should be adopted by the European Council must serve as guidelines for our efforts to build Europe. The will of our States, expressed in this way, is based on the deep-seated motivations of public opinion and can convey to it the guiding light of our common action.

The political consequences of these choices must be carefully assessed. They cannot occur without a transfer of competences to common institutions. They cannot occur without a transfer of resources from prosperous to less prosperous regions. They cannot occur without constraints, freely accepted certainly, but then enforced unre-

servedly. This is the price of Union. But what price would we pay for inaction? The crumbling away of the Community, voices isolated and often going unheard on the world stage, less and less control over our destiny, an unconvincing Europe without a future.

...

## II. Europe in the world

Our States' reasons for presenting a united front in world discussions are convincing from an objective point of view: they stem from power relationships and the size of the problems. From a subjective point of view they are felt very strongly by our peoples: our vulnerability and our relative impotence are in the thoughts of everyone. The convergence of these two factors means that external relations are one of the main reasons for building Europe, and make it essential for the European Union to have an external policy.

### A. A single decision-making centre

The examination of our possibilities for action in the world should be based on one obvious fact: the increasing intermeshing of different sectors of international activity.

In the framework described in the preceding chapter the European Union should not only be concerned with foreign policy in the traditional sense, including security aspects, nor solely with tariff and trade policies which are already common policies by virtue of the Treaty of Rome, but also with all external economic relations. The traditional distinctions maintained by diplomatic chancelleries in this field make increasingly less sense in the modern world. Recent developments of international life show that economic, industrial, financial and commercial questions will all in the future be the subject of negotiations, the significance of which will be highly political. If the European Union did not have the means to cover all aspects of our external relations it would not be equal to its task. The Union must have a comprehensive and coherent outlook, and act accordingly. *I propose that the European Council should now decide:*

(a) *to put an end to the distinction which still exists today between ministerial meetings which deal with political cooperation and those which deal with the*

## V. Strengthening the institutions

The preceding chapters have described the content of European Union, a stage which will both prolong and extend to new areas the efforts which have been made over the last 25 years. We must now examine how it should work:

From the consultations which I have had in each of our countries, I have drawn the following conclusions:

— European Union can and must be built upon the institutional bases already accepted by the Member States within the framework of the existing Treaties:

— Provided we improve the performance of the institutions, whose authority has deteriorated, as is too often shown by the absence or tardiness of decisions. In certain cases this may well necessitate Treaty amendment.

Strengthening the institutional machinery is all the more necessary since the tasks which our institutions will have to undertake are difficult. The European Community has integrated markets. The European Union must integrate policy. The qualitative change which this evolution demands hinges on the decision-making process, that is to say upon the institutions.

A return to intergovernmental cooperation would not help to solve European problems. Such cooperation tends to underline the differences of power and interests between our countries and does not meet our collective needs. It is therefore the common institutional machinery which must be reinforced.

To achieve European Union we must henceforth be able to find in the different European institutions the authority needed to define a policy, the efficiency needed for common action and the legitimacy needed for democratic control. It also implies that the institutions should have that coherence of vision and of action which alone will allow them to define and then pursue a policy. It is with these four criteria of authority, efficiency, legitimacy and coherence in mind that we must

determine what changes should be brought about in the functioning of European institutions.

### A. The Parliament

Direct elections to the Parliament will give this Assembly a new political authority. At the same time it will reinforce the democratic legitimacy of the whole European institutional apparatus.

#### 1. The powers of the Parliament

A consequence of the Parliament's new authority will be an increase in its powers, which will take place gradually in the course of the progressive development of the European Union, notably through a growing exercise of the legislative function. It goes without saying that the Parliament should assume an important responsibility in the construction of the Union.

*I propose that:*

— *the Council should immediately allow the Parliament to take initiatives by undertaking to consider the resolutions which Parliament addresses to it. This will permit the Assembly to make an effective contribution towards defining common policies.*

— *in the course of the progressive development of the European Union this practice should be given legal value through a Treaty amendment which would accord to the Parliament a real right of initiative.*

— *Parliament should be able, from now on, to consider all questions within the competence of the Union, whether or not they are covered by the Treaties.\**

#### 2. General policy debates

The elected Parliament should influence the general direction of the Union's activities and focus

\* The extension of the competences of the European Union and consequently those of the European Parliament to matters hitherto discussed in the Assembly of the Western European Union, leads one to question the need to maintain the activity of the parliamentary institution of the WEU.

public attention by holding large scale political debates. To enhance the authority of these debates it is highly desirable that the leaders in each of our countries should be able to take part in them, even if the function that they fulfil at the national level does not in fact allow them to stand for election to the European Parliament.

To this end, I submit for the Parliament's consideration the following two proposals:

(a) *The Parliament should organize at least once a year (that is to say, according to the proposals set out below, once under each Presidency) a debate on the state of the Union and the functioning of the institutions.*

(b) *Invitations to take part in this debate and other debates of comparable importance should be extended, both to the President of the European Council, and to a limited number of leading politicians who are not members of the European Parliament, chosen according to criteria to be decided. These invited politicians would be able to address the Parliament.*

## B. The European Council

The institutional structures set up by the Treaties have shown themselves in practice to be too weak to give the continuing political momentum needed for the construction of Europe. This is what led the Heads of Government to meet, initially occasionally, and then regularly under the name of 'European Council'.

So that the European Council should really bring something new to the functioning of the institutions by strengthening the Union's decision-making capacity, I submit to it the following propositions defining its role and its method of working:

1. *The European Council is to give coherent general policy guidelines, based on a comprehensive vision of problems. This is an indispensable precondition for an attempt to produce a common policy.*

2. *Within this framework the Heads of Government will collectively use the authority which they have at the national level to give from within the European Council the impetus which is needed for the construction of Europe, and to search together for that political*

*agreement which will allow dynamic progress to be maintained, in spite of difficulties.*

3. *To ensure that it functions as an efficient institution while maintaining a large measure of flexibility, the European Council:*

— *will, when it takes decisions on Community matters, act in accordance with the forms and procedures prescribed by Treaties. The presence of the Commission at European Council meetings is to be the guarantee of this;*

— *in other cases will formulate its decisions or general policy statements in such a way that they can serve as guidelines for those to whom their execution is entrusted;*

— *the European Council will always indicate the institution or the organization entrusted with executing its decisions;*

— *will at the same time indicate, if necessary, the time-scale for the execution of the decision;*

— *and the preparation of its meetings is to be the responsibility of the Council of Ministers (Foreign Affairs).*

## C. The Council

The Treaties lay down the powers and the procedures of the Council in the Community field. When it acts in fields of Union activity not covered by the Treaties, the competence of the Council will derive from the present from the political commitment of the Member States and will later be confirmed by a juridical instrument.

To reinforce the authority and efficiency of the Council its activity must become more coherent, speedier and more continuous.

To this end I formulate the following proposals.

### 1. Coherence

(a) *The Council of Ministers (Foreign Affairs) should be entrusted by a decision of the European Council with coordinating in the most appropriate manner the activities of the specialist Councils.*

(b) *The distinction between ministerial meetings devoted to political cooperation and meetings of the Council should be abolished. The abolition of this distinction would not however affect the current procedures for preparing the diplomatic discussions of the Ministers.*

## 2. Speed

*Speeding up the decision-making process requires greater use of majority mechanisms.*

(a) *Recourse to majority voting in the Council should become normal practice in the Community field.*

(b) *In those sectors of external relations where the Member States have undertaken to pursue a common policy, they must be able speedily to reach decisions and to act when faced with a crisis. This implies that by analogy with the institutional mechanism of the Treaties, minority opinion should, in these sectors, rally to the view of the majority at the end of the discussion.*

## 3. Continuity

(a) *A Treaty amendment should extend to a whole year the term of the Presidency of the European Council and the Council in order to:*

- *strengthen the authority of the Presidency,*
- *permit a more coherent dialogue between the Parliament and the Council,*
- *lend more continuity to its activity.*

(b) *The European Council and the Council should entrust special or temporary tasks, like a negotiation or study, to the Commission, to a single country or to one or more persons independently of changes in the Presidency. This should in no way diminish the powers which the Commission derives from the Treaties.*

# D. The Commission

## 1. Role of the Commission

Under the terms of the Treaties the Commission can considerably influence the determination of common policies by the proposals which it submits to the Council. It must do this unreservedly by regularly making the Council face its responsibilities.

It must not, however, restrict itself to making proposals. It must reassert its freedom of action within the framework of agreed Community policies, in order to add its own brand of dynamism to the building of the European Union. This freedom of action was best expressed by the powers conferred on the High Authority of the Coal and Steel Community. We must follow this example.

*I propose that:*

— *For the execution and administration of common policies within the Community greater use should be made of Article 155 of the Treaty which makes provision for such powers to be conferred on the Commission.*

— *The European Council should ask both the Commission and the Council to prepare a report for it on instances where this provision could be applied today or in the near future.*

## 2. The cohesion of the Commission

*In order to give the European Commission increased authority and cohesion I propose that the Treaties be amended as follows:*

(a) *The President of the Commission will be appointed by the European Council.*

(b) *The President when appointed will have to appear before the Parliament to make a statement and have his appointment confirmed by vote.*

(c) *The President of the Commission will then appoint his colleagues in consultation with the Council and bearing in mind the number of Commissioners allocated to each country.*

*While we are waiting for this amendment to be made to the Treaty I suggest that the President of the Com-*

*mission which is to come into office on 1 January 1977 should be appointed by the European Council at its second meeting in 1976, that he appear before the Parliament and then help the Member States to prepare for the Council meeting which will appoint the other members of the Commission.*

## E. The Court of Justice

The Court of Justice stressed in its report on European Union that the Community constitutes a 'state of law' and that this characteristic must be maintained within the Union. *This is an essential factor conferring legitimacy upon our undertaking which leads me to formulate the following:*

- (a) *In the new sectors covered by the Union, the Court must have powers identical to those which it has at present, so as to be able to interpret the law of the Union, to annul the acts of the institutions not in accordance with the Treaties and to point out when the Member States fail to comply with their obligations;*
- (b) *Individuals must also be able to appeal directly to the Court of Justice against an act of one of the institutions of the Union infringing their basic rights;*
- (c) *Once European Union has gained its own momentum we should examine whether the Community's current legal system can be improved or extended: the Court has made proposals about this.*

## F. Other Community bodies

1. In Chapter III of this report I indicated how the activities of the *Standing Committee on Employment* should develop. This development is in line with the need to introduce into the institutions of the Union elements of concertation and worker participation in decision making with which we are familiar in all our States.

2. The *Economic and Social Committee*, which is made up differently, must carry on its work. This is of considerable service to the Community, since it draws representatives from various socio-professional categories into common policy making. It must be regularly consulted on the development of economic and social policy, on con-

sumer protection and on the abolition of technical barriers to trade.

3. The important role played by the *Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper)* in the decision-making machinery of the Community must be officially recognized in the European Union. *I suggest that when at Coreper level there is a consensus between the member countries and the Commission on a decision to be taken it should be taken at this level on the authority of the Council.* Today these decisions are passed up to the next Council meeting which approves them without discussion (in the form of 'A points'; this procedure is legal red tape which we can do without.

The Permanent Representatives must be effectively involved in proposals on European policy in their own countries, so as to become the indispensable bond between the formation of national points of view and the process of joint decision making.

4. The *Political Committee* has proved how effective it is in preparing the diplomatic discussions of Ministers. The creation of a single decision-making centre in the form of the Council must not change either its powers or its composition.

I find however that the pragmatic development of the organs of political cooperation has chiefly been designed to work out common positions on topical problems. We are equipped to react rather than to act. In order to adapt to a situation where there will be much scope for joint action on external policy the Ministers of Foreign Affairs will have to see that the existing machinery is improved.

5. The construction of Europe must take into account the general trend towards *administrative decentralization* which exists in all our countries. The institutions of the Union will have to make sure that specialized executive bodies are set up as required to take on specific tasks. These bodies will require flexible rules enabling them to operate individually and responsibly under the aegis of the institutions.

## G. The delegation of executive power

The effectiveness of an institutional system does not just depend on the powers which are conferred on the institutions but also on the way in which they are exercised.

In this field there is one principle which I feel is essential if we are to have European Union: that of the *delegation of executive power*. Delegation must become the general rule if we wish to develop that degree of efficiency which is vital to the institutional system. It is both necessary as a tool of common action and as a visible external sign of our solidarity.

*As to the principle of delegation I propose that we should act as follows:*

- (a) *All policy worked out in common should normally be implemented by a body or a person empowered to do so;*
- (b) *Consequently every decision should specify the appropriate executive body;*
- (c) *This executive body should have at its disposal, within the framework of a common policy, the necessary freedom of action to carry out its mandate properly.*

*The practice of delegation should apply particularly to the Council. Because of the increase in common tasks the Council, if it is to be efficient, must concentrate on its decision-making role and adopt the following measures:*

- (a) *in the Community sector:*
  - *use Article 155 of the Treaty as described in D. above;*
  - *delegate some of its power to Coreper as described in F. above;*
- (b) *in the non-Community sector:*
  - *grant real delegation of power, going beyond the role of a mere spokesman, for the daily application of policies worked out together;*
  - *enhance the role of the Presidency for this purpose;*
  - *use, when circumstances so dictate, the States and their diplomatic machinery as authorized agents of the Union;*

— *make considerable use of the Community institutional machinery which Europe already possesses.*

The distinction between what does and what does not fall within the scope of the Community cannot be maintained in an absolute fashion at the executive stage nor at the decision-making stage.

The existence of a single decision-making centre supplemented by the principle of the delegation of executive power will enable us politically to make the best use of the available executive bodies, while still adhering to the Treaties, and will give our action the flexibility necessary to deal with complex situations.

## Conclusion

The qualitative change connected with European Union and emphasized in each of the chapters of this report is also found in the institutional field. It does not imply an upheaval of the existing institutional framework. But it does mean increasing its authority, its efficiency, its legitimacy and its coherence.

Much that is already under consideration within the Community points in this direction, in particular direct elections to the Parliament and the completion of the system of own resources which will be in force before 1980. As provision has already been made for these I did not think there was any point in dealing with them here, but I want to emphasize their significance and the need for them.

The enhancement of the role of the European Council and the Parliament, the extension of the use of majority decision-making and the coordination of the Council's activities, the increased influence and cohesion of the Commission, the delegation of executive power, are essential measures which must be taken immediately if European Union is to progress.

In the last resort the institutional framework will reflect the spirit behind it. It is the political consensus of our States described in the first chapter of this report which must give new life to the common institutions. The belief that the Union

is vital and necessary will enable us to overcome conflicts of interest and differences of opinion. The resolve to achieve Union will bring us to give the necessary powers to the common institutions. Without this political kiss of life the institutions of the Union will always lack substance and force.

## VI. General conclusion

This report attempts to give an overall picture of the European Union and of the means of achieving it. The conclusions reached therein have been given in the preceding chapters.

*The task of our Governments and of the European institutions consists:*

— *in the first place, in arriving at a political consensus on the aims and main features of the Union in terms which give expression to the deep aspirations of our peoples;*

— *then, in determining the consequences of this choice in the various areas of the Union's internal and external activities;*

— *in setting in motion, by positive action in each of those fields, the dynamic process of attaining the Union under conditions which give new credibility to the European undertaking;*

— *in strengthening the institutional machinery to enable it to cope with the tasks awaiting it.*

The progress achieved as a result will gradually transform the nature and intensity of relations between our States. It is foreseeable that other European democratic States will want to join the undertaking. This will be open to them, on condition that they accept the overall view of the European Union as well as the constraints imposed by its gradual creation. New accessions must not slow down the development of the Union nor jeopardize it.

The attainment of the European Union will certainly not be easy. It is, however, essential and deserves the support of everyone.

For thirty years the relative weight and influence of our States in the world has been continually reduced. In step with this, the national governments' hold over the means that make it possible to influence the future of our societies has constantly diminished. Both internally and externally, the room for manœuvre of the individual States has decreased. They attempt to maintain their balance in the face of pressúres and factors, internal as well as external, which are outside their control. The danger of the effects of this two-fold spiral of impotence is great; it leads



from weakness to dependence, which itself is a source of further losses.

The construction of Europe is the only all-inclusive answer to this challenge; it derives spontaneously from the will of our peoples as embodied in the work of the Founding Fathers of Europe. It is the only answer which seeks everywhere to regain some of the control and power which is slipping from us, and to enable us to build the society in which we want to live.

The establishment of the Community was the first stage of this historic undertaking. The European Union which will extend our joint action to new sectors and reveal more clearly the concept of society that it implies is the stage that follows. This is how it must be understood and achieved.

At a time when unemployment and inflation are rampant in all our countries, where everyone questions the causes of the weakness of our economic and political structures, and when the prosperity of Europe depends on factors outside our control, the European effort must leave no one indifferent. Each of us must participate in the common effort in order that we may together regain an adequate grip on the economy and on inflation to ensure orderly growth, that we may together shape a more just society in which our common values are observed, and make our voice heard in the world with the power of union behind it. On that, in the end, will depend tomorrow our way of life and that of our children.

## II

*(Acts whose publication is not obligatory)*

# COUNCIL

## DECISION

(76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom)

THE COUNCIL,

composed of the representatives of the Member States and acting unanimously,

Having regard to Article 21 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community,

Having regard to Article 138 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community,

Having regard to Article 108 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community,

Having regard to the proposal from the Assembly,

Intending to give effect to the conclusions of the European Council in Rome on 1 and 2 December 1975, that the election of the Assembly should be held on a single date within the period May/June 1978,

Has laid down the provisions annexed to this Decision which it recommends to the Member States for adoption in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

This Decision and the provisions annexed hereto shall be published in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*.

The Member States shall notify the Secretary-General of the Council of the European Communities without delay of the completion of the procedures necessary in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements for the adoption of the provisions annexed to this Decision.

This Decision shall enter into force on the day of its publication in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*.

## ACT

concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal  
suffrage*Article 1*

The representatives in the Assembly of the peoples of the States brought together in the Community shall be elected by direct universal suffrage.

2. Representatives shall enjoy the privileges and immunities applicable to members of the Assembly by virtue of the Protocol on the privileges and immunities of the European Communities annexed to the Treaty establishing a single Council and a single Commission of the European Communities.

*Article 2*

The number of representatives elected in each Member State shall be as follows:

Belgium	24
Denmark	16
Germany	81
France	81
Ireland	15
Italy	81
Luxembourg	6
Netherlands	25
United Kingdom	81

*Article 3*

1. Representatives shall be elected for a term of five years.

2. This five-year period shall begin at the opening of the first session following each election.

It may be extended or curtailed pursuant to the second subparagraph of Article 10 (2).

3. The term of office of each representative shall begin and end at the same time as the period referred to in paragraph 2.

*Article 4*

1. Representatives shall vote on an individual and personal basis. They shall not be bound by any instructions and shall not receive a binding mandate.

*Article 5*

The office of representative in the Assembly shall be compatible with membership of the Parliament of a Member State.

*Article 6*

1. The office of representative in the Assembly shall be incompatible with that of:

- member of the Government of a Member State,
- member of the Commission of the European Communities,
- Judge, Advocate-General or Registrar of the Court of Justice of the European Communities,
- member of the Court of Auditors of the European Communities,
- member of the Consultative Committee of the European Coal and Steel Community or member of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Economic Community and of the European Atomic Energy Community,
- member of committees or other bodies set up pursuant to the Treaties establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community for the purpose of managing the Communities' funds or carrying out a permanent direct administrative task,
- member of the Board of Directors, Management Committee or staff of the European Investment Bank,
- active official or servant of the institutions of the European Communities or of the specialized bodies attached to them.

2. In addition, each Member State may, in the circumstances provided for in Article 7 (2), lay down rules at national level relating to incompatibility.

3. Representatives in the Assembly to whom paragraphs 1 and 2 become applicable in the course of the five-year period referred to in Article 3 shall be replaced in accordance with Article 12.

#### *Article 7*

1. Pursuant to Article 21 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, Article 138 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community and 108 (3) of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, the Assembly shall draw up a proposal for a uniform electoral procedure.

2. Pending the entry into force of a uniform electoral procedure and subject to the other provisions of this Act, the electoral procedure shall be governed in each Member State by its national provisions.

#### *Article 8*

No one may vote more than once in any election of representatives to the Assembly.

#### *Article 9*

1. Elections to the Assembly shall be held on the date fixed by each Member State; for all Member States this date shall fall within the same period starting on a Thursday morning and ending on the following Sunday.

2. The counting of votes may not begin until after the close of polling in the Member State whose electors are the last to vote within the period referred to in paragraph 1.

3. If a Member State adopts a double ballot system for elections to the Assembly, the first ballot must take place during the period referred to in paragraph 1.

#### *Article 10*

1. The Council, acting unanimously after consulting the Assembly, shall determine the period referred to in Article 9 (1) for the first elections.

2. Subsequent elections shall take place in the corresponding period in the last year of the five-year period referred to in Article 3.

Should it prove impossible to hold the elections in the Community during that period, the Council acting unanimously shall, after consulting the Assembly, determine another period which shall be not more than one month before or one month after the period fixed pursuant to the preceding subparagraph.

3. Without prejudice to Article 22 of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, Article 139 of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community and Article 109 of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, the Assembly shall meet, without requiring to be convened, on the first Tuesday after expiry of an interval of one month from the end of the period referred to in Article 9 (1).

4. The powers of the outgoing Assembly shall cease upon the opening of the first sitting of the new Assembly.

#### *Article 11*

Pending the entry into force of the uniform electoral procedure referred to in Article 7 (1), the Assembly shall verify the credentials of representatives. For this purpose it shall take note of the results declared officially by the Member States and shall rule on any disputes which may arise out of the provisions of this Act other than those arising out of the national provisions to which the Act refers.

#### *Article 12*

1. Pending the entry into force of the uniform electoral procedure referred to in Article 7 (1) and subject to the other provisions of this Act, each Member State shall lay down appropriate procedures for filling any seat which falls vacant during the five-year term of office referred to in Article 3 for the remainder of that period.

2. Where a seat falls vacant pursuant to national provisions in force in a Member State, the latter shall inform the Assembly, which shall take note of that fact.

In all other cases, the Assembly shall establish that there is a vacancy and inform the Member State thereof.

*Article 13*

Should it appear necessary to adopt measures to implement this Act, the Council, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Assembly after consulting the Commission, shall adopt such measures after endeavouring to reach agreement with the Assembly in a conciliation committee consisting of the Council and representatives of the Assembly.

*Article 14*

Article 21 (1) and (2) of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, Article 138 (1) and (2) of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community and Article 108 (1) and (2) of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community shall lapse on the date of the sitting held in accordance with Article 10 (3) by the first Assembly elected pursuant to this Act.

*Article 15*

This Act is drawn up in the Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Irish and Italian languages, all the texts being equally authentic.

Annexes I to III shall form an integral part of this Act.

A declaration by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is attached hereto.

*Article 16*

The provisions of this Act shall enter into force on the first day of the month following that during which the last of the notifications referred to in the Decision is received.

Udfærdiget i Bruxelles, den tyvende september nitten hundrede og seksoghalvfjerds.

Geschehen zu Brüssel am zwanzigsten September neunzehnhundertsechundsiebzig.

Done at Brussels on the twentieth day of September in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy-six.

Fait à Bruxelles, le vingt septembre mil neuf cent soixante-seize.

Arna dhéanamh sa Bhruiséil, an fichiú lá de mhí Mhéan Fómhair, míle naoi gcéad seachtó a sé.

Fatto a Bruxelles, addì venti settembre millenovecentosettantasei.

Gedaan te Brussel, de twintigste september negentienhonderd-zesenzeventig.

*The European Council (the former summit conference), meeting in Copenhagen on 7 and 8 April 1978, fixed the timing for direct elections and adopted a 'Declaration on Democracy'.*

*Christian Democrat Emilio COLOMBO, President of the European Parliament, regarded direct elections as a way to change the Community into a Europe of nations.*

Meeting in Copenhagen on 7 and 8 April, the European Council issued the following statements on the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage and on democracy.

## Date of the election to Parliament

'The Heads of State and of Government note with satisfaction that the legislative procedures in the member countries for the holding of direct general elections to the Assembly are now nearing completion. After examining dates suitable for the election they have reached agreement that the election to the Assembly shall be held from 7 to 10 June 1979.'

\*

The President of Parliament, Mr Emilio Colombo welcomed the decision with the following statement:

'It is with great satisfaction that I learn that the European Council, meeting today in Copenhagen, has given the commitment that the definitive date for the direct elections by universal suffrage to the European Parliament will be fixed for the period 7 to 10 June 1979.'

This commitment meets the wish which the European Parliament has on several occasions communicated to the governments.

I should like to emphasize the importance of this commitment which will transform the European Community into the Europe of the people.

Europe, with a Parliament elected by direct universal suffrage, will have received a new stimulus towards its union. This will help to solve the grave problems we are at present facing in the economy and the social sector.

The commitment made today will set in motion the procedure and the European Parliament will deliver its opinion at the earliest opportunity.'

## Declaration on democracy

'The election of the Members of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage is an event of outstanding importance for the future of the European Communities and a vivid demonstration of the ideals of democracy shared by the people within them.

The creation of the Communities, which is the foundation of ever closer union among the peoples of Europe called for in the Treaty of Rome, marked the determination of their founders to strengthen the protection of peace and freedom.

The Heads of State and of Government confirm their will, as expressed in the Copenhagen Declaration on the European identity, to ensure that the cherished values of their legal, political and moral order are respected and to safeguard the principles of representative democracy, of the rule of law, of social justice and of respect for human rights.

The application of these principles implies a political system of pluralist democracy which guarantees both the free expression of opinions within the constitutional organization of powers and the procedures necessary for the protection of human rights.

The Heads of State and of Government associate themselves with the Joint Declaration by the Assembly, the Council and the Commission whereby these institutions expressed their determination to respect fundamental rights in pursuing the aims of the Communities.

They solemnly declare that respect for and maintenance of representative democracy and human rights in each Member State are essential elements of membership of the European Communities.'

*Quotation from the political program of the European People's Party (EPP), adopted unanimously at the 1st Congress of 6/7 March 1978 in Brussels*

**CHAPTER IV  
THE COMMUNITY'S INSTITUTIONAL  
FRAMEWORK**

The unity of Europe must be based on the determination of its peoples, which means that this unity must be truly and unequivocally democratic.

- democracy is based on the institutions which, in conformity with the law, ensure that the population can express its political wishes freely ;
- on the formation of an authority founded on these wishes ;
- and on the democratic control of this authority by the democratically elected representatives of the people.

At present, national thinking and patterns of behaviour continue to impede the dynamic development of the Community's institutions.

In the transitional period leading up to political union and economic and monetary union, it is crucially important for the Community to move towards the establishment of a single Community decision-making centre, the true partner of which will be the democratically elected European Parliament.

The direct election of the European Parliament heralds a new state in the process of European unification. We expect the directly elected and democratically legitimated Parliament to provide a new constitutional and institutional impetus for the achievement of European union and progress towards a European federation, the ultimate political aim of unification.

Thus, the citizens of Europe, the political and social forces, the parliaments of the Member States and in particular the European Parliament, must increasingly bring their influence to bear in order to ensure that national governments adopt the decisions essential to the success of this historic enterprise.

Youth must take an active part in the construction of Europe. Recognised European youth organisations must be listened to by the Community institutions when their interests are involved. In this regard, the European Youth Forum should play an increasingly important role as suggested by the Heads of State and Government at The Hague in 1969.

**1. European Union**

1.1. It is particularly important that existing Community regulations should now be made fully effective. The Community's decision-making procedures in the Council leave much to be desired. Thus, the considerable international and domestic difficulties besetting us cannot be dealt with efficiently. The Community's institutions must therefore be given more

powers so that they are in a better position to cope with the requirements of authority, effectiveness, internal cohesion and double (national and Community) responsibility. The European Parliament must exercise a genuine influence, the Council must be able to take the necessary decisions and, in particular, the Commission must be able to make full use of its independent powers of initiative.

1.2. In this way we can prepare for the transition to the next phase of the process of European integration, in other words the achievement of European Union as described in the TINDEMANS Report. This central aim must be achieved in the directly elected European Parliament's first term of office.

1.3. To this end :

- the existing Treaties must be applied in full and maximum use must be made of their potential ;
- the authority and powers of the European Parliament and Commission, principal guarantors of the interests of the Community, must be developed ;
- the functions of the European Parliament must be extended at least to the extent that National Parliaments transfer them to the Community ;
- new powers facilitating the qualitative improvements essential to the realisation of European union as the only adequate democratic answer to the challenges of our time must be transferred to the Community on the basis of proposals submitted by the Commission in agreement with the European Parliament.

1.4. The *European Council* must stimulate and encourage European unification by defining the various stages involved and in particular those new fields which are to be incorporated in Community policy and legislation. Its decisions must take the form of instructions to the organs of the Community on the implementation of such measures.

**2. The Community Organs**

**2.1. The European Parliament**

The European Parliament's powers must be extended ; it should have unlimited budgetary and supervisory powers and should also be endowed with increased legislative powers.

Moreover :

- every Commission should be installed in office by Parliament ;
- the President of the Council should appear regularly before Parliament and report to it on the activities of the Council ;
- consultation between Parliament and the Council should be extended to embrace all the activities of the Council ;



- Parliament should have the right to take decisions instead of the Council in cases where the latter - within a given period after the conclusion of the conciliation procedure - has twice declined to take decision on matters falling within the terms of reference of the Treaties.

## 2.2. *The Commission*

The Commission should be the motive force behind European unification. To this end it should represent the political powers of the European Parliament more fully and become much less technocratic. This will mean that :

- each new Commission President should be appointed only after consultation with the European Parliament ;
- the European Parliament should hold a debate on the constitution and programme of each new Commission as it enters into office ; this debate should be followed by a vote of confidence ;
- since it is responsible to the European Parliament, the Commission should be placed under an obligation to adopt Parliament's proposals and to submit its own proposals to Parliament for consideration.

## 2.3. *The Council of Ministers*

The Council must improve its effectiveness and authority as a Community institution by :

- making its work more coherent. As a Community institution, the Council is responsible for all activities including consultations and decisions on foreign policy in the context of „political co-operation“ ;
- by speeding up its activities. It should apply the practice of majority decisions on Community matters in accordance with the Treaty. In the field of „political co-operation“ minority opinion should rally to

the view of the majority, as proposed in the TINDEMANS Report ;

- by concentrating more on its legislative function. In this context it should leave detailed implementing provisions to the Commission.

## 2.4. *The European Court of Justice*

The European Court of Justice will be the guardian of the constitution of the European Union. It will ensure that the Treaties on European Union are fully applied in every respect.

So that the Community can continue to function as a „constitutional state“, the Court of Justice must extend its powers to the new fields which fall within the Union's terms of reference. Individuals must be able to appeal directly to the Court of Justice against an act of one of the institutions of the Union infringing their rights.

## 2.5. *The European Court of Auditors*

The Community's growing budget and the increasing number of cases of abuse and fraud call for the permanent supervision and strict control of Community funds. Thus, the European Court of Auditors, while fully maintaining its independence, will have to work in close collaboration with the executive institutions and the European Parliament.

## 3. **Other Community bodies**

3.1. The Economic and Social Committee, which draws representatives from various economic and social circles, must increasingly assume the role of an advisory body for the definition of Community economic and social policy.

3.2. The regions must - through their responsible representatives - participate adequately in the adoption of decisions affecting them.

**CHAPTER V**  
**OUR GOAL :**  
**A UNITED EUROPE**

For the Christian Democrats, the European Union, as described in the TINDEMANS Report and formally proclaimed by the Heads of State or Government meeting the European Council, will represent an important step towards European unification.

We are firmly committed to the final political objective of European unification, that is the transformation of the European Union into a unique European federation of the type described, many years ago, by Robert SCHUMAN in his declaration of May 9, 1950. This Europe will not be able to manifest its capacity for dynamic and unequivocal action until the necessary institutions have been created :

- a directly elected *European Parliament*, which gives expression to the free will of the people ;
- a *Chamber of States* which represents the legitimate interests of the Member States ; and
- a *European Government* which is willing and able to govern effectively.

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**Together towards a Europe for free people**

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*One of the first moves by the Group of the EPP was to table a motion for a resolution ("van Aerssen resolution") in the European Parliament on 17 September 1979.*

### **MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION**

Mr. Van Aerssen, Mr. Klepsch, Mr. Colombo, Mr. Tindemans, Mr. Simonnet, Mr. Benner, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Spautz, Mr. Aigner and others.

on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Party)

pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure  
on the extension of the legal bases of the European Community

#### **The European Parliament.**

- having been legitimized by the citizens of the Community and constituted as the representation of all the citizens of the European Community following the first European direct elections pursuant to Article 138 of the EEC Treaty, Article 21 of the ECSC Treaty and Article 108 of the EAEC Treaty and the legal instruments adopted in accordance therewith, and conscious of representing the expectations of the European citizens;
- having regard to the plans and intentions to attain European Union by 1980, as set forth in particular in the 1976 Tindemans report, the European Parliament's resolution on Political Union (Bertrand report) of 11 July 1975, the Scelba report on special rights of 16 November 1977 and the decisions of the 1972 and 1974 Summit Conferences;
- having the intention to create the necessary conditions for the completion of Economic and Monetary Union and to provide the legal and financial framework for the enlargement of the European Community,

#### **Resolves :**

1. To take the initiative in supplementing the existing Community Treaties with a new treaty based on the following principles :
  - Any departure from the common principles of representative democracy and the separation of powers to be incompatible with membership of the Community,
  - Charter of fundamental rights to be drawn up which is binding on both the Community and national bodies in the conduct of national affairs and is based on the principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood and which perpetuates the tradition of historical declarations of fundamental rights in Europe,
  - An absolute guarantee of legal protection against violations of fundamental rights before the national and Community courts,
  - Fundamental national rights, including civil rights, to be safeguarded for all Community citizens irrespective of their nationality,
  - Organizational framework to be set up for European political cooperation,
  - Electoral guidelines to be established for elections to the European Parliament.
  - Settlement of problem of the seat of the Community organs.
  - The European Parliament to have a say in the appointment of the Commission as well as in the appointment of the members of the Court of Justice and other Community organs,
  - Results of the conciliation procedure to be binding on the Council of Ministers,
  - International agreements entered into by the Community to be ratified by the European Parliament,

- Financial provisions to be introduced to regulate the powers exercised by the Community in relation to the Member States with regard to income and expenditure, including the power to make financial adjustments,
  - Functions and responsibilities of the Community to be modified in accordance with the principles of subsidiarity.
2. Instructs the Bureau to lay down the necessary procedure.

*On 4 March 1980, before the appointment of the new Commission which was due to assume office at the beginning of January 1981, the EPP proposed a procedure for its investiture in which the European Parliament would have a decisive role.*

## **RESOLUTION**

At its meeting of 4 March 1980 under the Chairman, Mr. Tindemans, the EPP Bureau issued the following recommendation to the EPP-Group on appointments to the Commission of the European Community on 1 January 1981 :

- a) Membership of the Commission is governed by Article 10 of the Merger Treaty; as far as possible account should be taken of the relative strength of political groupings in the European Parliament.
- b) The President shall be nominated by the Council.
- c) This nomination shall be made six months before the Commission is appointed; the President shall then present himself to the European Parliament.
- d) After the President designate has been given a hearing, the European Parliament shall deliver a favourable or unfavourable opinion.
- e) The President designate shall contact the governments to discuss appointments to the Commission whose members shall then be nominated by the governments in the Council.
- f) The President shall be appointed for a four-year term of office.
- g) The President must be given the final say in the allocation of portfolios to members of the Commission.
- h) At the first part-session of the European Parliament following the appointment of the Commission an investiture debate shall be held followed by a vote of confidence.

**RESULTS OF THE FIRST DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HELD  
ON 7-10 JUNE 1979**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Seats</b>
EPP	32.783.000	29,5	106
Socialists	29.506.000	26,6	111
Conservatives	6.862.000	6,2	63
Communists	14.943.000	13,5	44
Liberals	11.760.000	10,6	41
European Progressive Democrats	3.867.000	3,5	21
Others	11.247.000	10,1	24
	<b>110.968.000</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>410</b>

111 million (61%) of the 180 million citizens entitled to vote actually voted in the first direct elections to the European Parliament.

The constituent parties of the EPP received 32,8 million votes (29,6%). The Socialist and Social Democratic parties received 29,5 million votes (26,6%).

The EPP gained nearly a 3,3 million vote (2,9%) advantage over the Socialist.

It has to be borne in mind that the EPP is not represented either in the United Kingdom or in Denmark, whereas the Socialist parties put up candidates in all nine Member States of the Community.

The differences both in electoral law and in the number of votes required to obtain a seat in the different Member States have led to the curious situation where - despite the clear electoral victory of the Christian Democrats - the EPP Group, with 106 seats, is the second largest group after the Socialist Group (111 seats)

With Greece's entry the number of Members of the European Parliament increased to 434.

Of the 24 Greek Members, seven have joined the Socialist Group; one has joined the Communist and Allies Group.

Sixteen Members, including 14 from the Nea Dimokratia, have decided to wait for the elections to be held in Greece in the autumn of 1981 before deciding which group they wish to work with. (a)

**STRENGTH OF THE GROUPS IN THE EUROPEAN  
PARLIAMENTS BY MEMBER STATE  
(position as at June 1981)**

	SOC	PPE	LIB	COM	DEP	ED	CDI	NI	TOTAL
Deutschland	35	42	4	-	-	-	-	-	81
Italia	13	30	5	24	-	-	5	4	81
United Kingdom	18	-	-	-	1	61	-	1	81
France	22	9	16	19	15	-	-	-	81
Nederland	9	10	4	-	-	-	-	2	25
Belgique Belgie	7	10	4	-	-	-	1	2	24
Hellas	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	16 <sup>(a)</sup>	24
Danemark	4	1	3	1	1	2	4	-	16
Ireland	4	4	1	-	5	-	1	-	15
Luxembourg	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9(+16)</b>	<b>434</b>

SOC = Socialist Group

PPE = Group of the European People's Party

LIB = Liberal and Democratic Group

COM = Communist and Allies Group

DEP = Group of European Progressive Democrats

CDI = Group of the Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members

NI = Non-attached

**Mitgliedsparteien und anerkannte  
Vereinigungen der EVP und EUCD**

**Partis membres et associations reconnues  
du PPE et de l'UEDC**

Land/Pays	Partei/Parti		Anschrift/Adresse	Mitglied in Membre
Belgien Belgique	Christelijke Volkspartij	C.V.P.	Tweekerkenstraat 41 B-1040 Brussel Tél. 219 10 70 Télex : 63501 b	PPE / UEDC
	Parti social-chrétien	P.S.C.	41, Rue des Deux Eglises B-1040 Bruxelles Tél. 219 10 73 Télex : 63501 b	PPE / UEDC
Deutschland Allemagne	Christlich Demokratische Union	CDU	Konrad-Adenauer-Haus D-5300 Bonn Tél. 54 41 Télex: 886804 d - 886863 d	PPE / UEDC
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