

**MEETINGS OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT**

**COPENHAGEN  
14-15 DECEMBER 1973**

Documents in the dossier include:

*Preparation for the Summit Conference*

Reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 11, 1973

*The Copenhagen Summit Conference*

Reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities No. 12, 1973

*Communiqué of the European Community "Summit" Meeting and Annexes*

European Community Background Information No. 29/1973

European Community Information Service

Washington DC

*Europe: EU Summit*

Mr. Edward Heath, Prime Minister in the House of Commons on December 18, 1973

British Information Services

New York, NY

## 4. Preparation for the Summit Conference

### The Initiative

1401. At his press conference of 27 September, President Pompidou had suggested that the Heads of State or Government of the EEC Member States should meet from time to time to discuss political cooperation. At that time Mr Pompidou had said, 'If, for instance, it is felt that, to develop more rapidly, political cooperation must from time to time—not too often but nevertheless regularly—be discussed between those with the highest responsibility and between them alone, then I support this and am prepared not to take the initiative but to talk about it with our partners.'

1402. Speaking at the Conservative Party Congress at Blackpool on 13 October 1973, the British Premier, Mr Edward Heath, also favoured regular meetings between Heads of Government, possibly twice a year. Mr Heath had this to say:

'I believe that already some of my colleagues as Heads of Government feel the need for us to get together regularly without large staffs so that we can jointly guide the Community along the path we have already set. I would like to see the Heads of Government of the Member Countries of the Community meeting together, perhaps twice a year, as I have said, alone and without large staffs, with the President of the Commission being present, as he was at the Summit, on matters which concern the Commission. I would hope that my partners would respond to an initiative of this kind.

Our purpose in meeting together would be to lay down the broad direction of European policy, to keep up the momentum towards greater unity in foreign policy, to help forward the working out of common internal policies within the Community: and so to agree upon the strategic issues facing the Community as to avoid the damaging controversies which so often appear to the public to dog the deliberations in Brussels...'

1403. In the wake of Middle East developments, President Pompidou on 31 October reiterated the idea he had put forward in September. He had asked his Government to suggest to the other Community Governments that a decision be taken on the principle of regular meetings between Heads of Government, the first of which should be held before the end of 1973. At the Ministers' council, President Pompidou made the following statement which was subsequently published:

'In the light of recent events, we are obliged to find that the cease-fire and the efforts towards opening negotiations were prepared and effected with no participation by Europe in any form whatsoever. This is a dangerous way of doing things since experience has shown that the tête-à-tête of the two major powers, the USA and the USSR, could both serve the easing of tension and lead to a comprehensive confrontation. Moreover, this approach does not tally with the role which should be taken by the European countries who are all the same directly affected by the Middle East both historically and geographically and through all kinds of ties with the Mediterranean countries concerned with basic economic interests. Because of this and many other reasons and in reaffirming the loyalty to our alliances and to cooperation with the East, it seems to me absolutely necessary to provide manifold proof of the solidarity behind the construction of Europe and of her capacity to help in settling world problems.

The French Government therefore intends to propose to its partners:

A. At political level:

(i) that a decision be taken on the principle, according to precise rules, of regular meetings between only the Heads of State or Government, with the aim of comparing and harmonizing their outlooks under the concept of political cooperation. The first of such meetings should be held before the end of 1973;

(ii) that, at this initial meeting, a procedure be finalized which lays down that when crises arise emergency meetings will be held between the representatives of the nine governments assigned to define and adopt as far as possible a joint attitude on the part of those governments.

**B. At economic and monetary level:**

(i) that a forthcoming meeting of Finance Ministers propose to the nine governments the vital measures to ensure the stability of their currency and enable it to resist the currents of speculation;

(ii) that a meeting of Economy Ministers draw up a concerted plan of resistance against inflation, now necessitated more than ever by the rising prices of energy. These two meetings should take place with the usual attendance of the European Economic Commission.'

**Agreement to hold the Conference**

1404. Despite various reservations, Mr Pompidou's proposals were by and large welcomed.

But in Brussels the Commission intimated that it wanted to be brought into any debate between Heads of State or Government which might bear on issues under Community jurisdiction.

On 2 November, Mr Anker Jørgensen, the Prime Minister of Denmark, which is now holding Presidency of the EEC Council, decided to call a Summit Conference for mid-December. According to the Danish Premier, not only foreign policy might be discussed, the meeting should also tackle various economic problems arising in the Community such as oil supplies and the battle against inflation.

Belgium welcomed the move to hold a Summit Conference. But, it was recalled that it was only France who had replied in the negative to a letter from Mr Van Elsdale, the Belgian Foreign

Minister, to his counterparts in which on 13 October he had asked that the Nine get together on the Middle East problem.

In Germany, the spokesman of the Federal Government declared that Mr Pompidou's proposal to organize a Summit matched the ideas of the Federal Government. On 7 November Chancellor Brandt expressed his satisfaction that Mr Jørgensen had immediately proposed holding the meeting in Copenhagen. But the Chancellor recalled that Mr Heath and himself had advocated regular 'Summits' before Mr Pompidou's move. Mr Brandt also held that the Commission should not be left out of Community decisions. The Bonn Government further announced that it was ready to accept the regular holding of Summit meetings.

The Dutch Government, while accepting a meeting at Head of State or Government level before the end of 1973, had reservations to make concerning periodic Summits. These reservations mirror the Dutch misgivings over seeing, through such meetings, a 'directory' of major powers set up within the Community.

The proposal for a new Summit Conference was sympathetically received by the other Member States.

1405. Once all the Member States' governments had agreed to hold a new Conference, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine agreed on 5 November to set it for 14-15 December in Copenhagen.

During their Conference in Copenhagen on 20-21 November, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine reached agreement on the organization of the 'Summit'. As the President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Andersen, the Danish Foreign Minister, put it, the December Summit would not have the same 'ambitious and large-scale character' as the Paris and Hague meetings.

### **The European Parliament's View**

1406. During the sitting of 13 November 1973, the European Parliament passed a Resolution on the Summit Conference declaring itself 'profoundly convinced that the international situation and the situation within the Community itself call for the acceleration of the process of European unification which was solemnly decided by the Heads of State or Government at the Paris Conference of 19-21 October 1972 with a view to achieving European unity.' The House noted with satisfaction that a new Summit Conference would be held in December. It summons the Member States to recognize that the European Community must assert its position as a separate entity in the international context and to apply themselves without delay to the task of evolving, in a spirit of solidarity, a Community policy in all areas, including that of foreign policy' and 'emphasizes, in this connection, that the existing Community structures must be utilized effectively and demands that all efforts to achieve European Union shall find their place within the framework of their Community.'

### **Preparatory Work by the Commission**

1407. The Commission actively prepared the Copenhagen meeting with regard to all aspects involving the Community's authority. It made known its Opinions to the Heads of State or Government in two successive Communications; one covered the general development of Community work and the other dealt specifically with the Community's responsibilities in the field of energy.

# 1. The Copenhagen Summit Conference

Summit Conference

1101. The second Summit Conference of the Heads of State or Government was held in Copenhagen on 14-15 December. It was called on the initiative of President Pompidou who, in the light of developments in the Near East, had proposed that the Heads of State or Government should meet before the end of 1973. Mr Jørgensen, the Prime Minister of Denmark, the country now holding the Presidency of the Council, then decided to convene the Conference.

The Commission made strenuous preparations for it, covering all aspects involving the authority of the Community. Two successive Communications were sent to the Heads of State or Government. In one of them which dealt with the general development of Community work, the Commission recommended that the process of European union, initiated at the Paris Summit, be speeded up. The Commission held that this matter was so important that it justified organizing and fostering the association of the quickening force of the European peoples, especially of the political forces, with the preparation of the report anticipated in the Paris Communiqué. The other Communication bore specifically on the Community's responsibilities with regard to energy.

The European Parliament took a position on the Copenhagen Conference in two Resolutions.<sup>1</sup>

## Resolution of the European Parliament

1102. During the sitting of 12 December the European Parliament passed the following Resolution<sup>2</sup> in view of the Conference of Heads of State or Government on 14-15 December in Copenhagen:

*'The European Parliament,*

On the eve of the Conference of Heads of State or Government on 14 and 15 December 1973:

— convinced that the present tensions in international relations, and their repercussions within the Community, make it even more essential to advance the deadlines for achieving European union,

— reaffirming the interdependence of economic and political integration,

— considering that the political identity of Community Europe should enable Europe to fulfil its world responsibilities and will facilitate more effective dialogue and cooperation with Europe's world partners and particularly with the United States of America,

## *Considers*

1. That the Community's increased responsibilities in regard to both internal matters and international developments call more and more for the establishment of a Community centre of policy decision making capable of assuming the functions of a true and proper European Government backed up by a Parliament to which election by direct universal suffrage must be provided for straightaway and the strengthening of whose powers of control and decision must be decided on immediately;

2. That occasional conferences of Heads of State or Government can provide desirable opportunities for stimulus, and that, in this context, they should make use of existing Community institutions and their valuable experience, particularly that of the Commission whose participation is essential in matters directly or indirectly concerning Community powers;

3. That the political determination expressed and the decisions taken by the Heads of State

<sup>1</sup> The preparations for the Conference were described in a Chapter of the previous Bulletin. Bull. EC 11-1973, points 1401 - 1407.

<sup>2</sup> OJ C 2 of 9.1.1974, p. 41.

or Government on 19 and 20 October 1972 must be implemented in practical terms and that the Community must therefore assert its cohesion and adapt its institutional structure to the needs of its new dimension and the tasks devolving on it;

#### *Requests*

4. That procedures be established and more effective and binding forms of common action agreed in the field of external policy and security, to enable the nine Member States to adopt a united position in response to international events and to enable Community Europe to develop its own identity, which is a necessary condition of greater world stability;
5. That all necessary commitments be undertaken to make up for lost time within the coming months in the achievement of Economic and Monetary Union and that the programmes of regional policy, social policy and industrial, scientific and technological policy be implemented without delay;
6. That there be implemented immediately and in full solidarity a common energy policy which, by adapting the existing Community structures to provide the essential coordination of information and programmes in the Member States and the Community, will ensure within the framework of international cooperation a better supply position in the medium and long term;
7. That a plan of coordinated action be drawn up by the Community for a united fight against inflation and its negative effects, with particular reference to the policy of full employment which the Community must pursue;
8. That urgent measures be decided on to reinforce Community structures both in regard to decision-making procedures and to places of work and the conditions under which the

mandates entrusted to the individual institutions are exercised;

9. Instructs its President to forward this Resolution to the Heads of State or Government of the Member States and to the Council and Commission of the European Communities.'

#### *The Conference Proceedings*

1103. The Conference of Heads of State or Government opened on 14 December 1973 at the Bella Centret, Copenhagen with an address by the Danish Premier, Mr Anker Jørgensen: 'It is both a pleasure and an honour for me to extend a cordial welcome to the President of France and the heads of government of the seven other members of the European Community and their delegations at this Conference in Copenhagen. For our part, we in Denmark have looked forward to this meeting as a welcome opportunity to discuss a number of important issues on the minds of all of us, and it is my hope that in the course of today and tomorrow we shall have a frank and fruitful exchange of views. A feature peculiar to this summit gathering is that it had been planned as an opportunity for an interchange of views by the heads of state or government of the nine EEC members. It is not a decision-making body for the Nine. There already exist several established institutions and procedures within which the nine Member States can debate specific issues and arrive at the necessary decisions.

The purpose of this particular meeting is to attempt to inject new momentum and fresh inspiration into the future development of Europe. It was in this spirit that we took up President Pompidou's invitation and convened this conference. I am convinced that I reflect the views of my colleagues on this point.

My welcome also embraces the many news media representatives. We consider the interest

of the media to be an extremely positive sign—an expression of the concern surrounding the problems with which we shall be dealing. It is after all through the press and other mass media that ideas and views are channelled out to a wider public. The media have an important job to do in the process of developing European co-operation on the open and democratic lines we would like.

I trust and believe that the media representatives will approach their work in this spirit.

After my brief introduction we shall move directly to our talks, which will be continued tomorrow morning. Tomorrow afternoon there will be a briefing at which the media will have the opportunity to put questions. At 15.00 hours today the Danish Foreign Minister—in his capacity as chairman of the Danish Foreign Relations Committee—will give a brief account of the European Identity Paper, which it has been agreed will be published in conjunction with this Conference.

I am certain that the Conference will serve a very useful function with regard to the continued development of European co-operation and the sense of a common European bond. It takes place at a time when a series of issues calls for—indeed demands—co-operation within Europe. The problems faced by the European nations as a consequence of the Middle East conflict indicate very clearly the relationship between the various aspects of international development. Co-operation at every level must proceed in gradual stages—it would be a reckless policy to endeavour to force the adoption of decisions for which there is no solid working basis. The art of politics lies in seeking out areas of mutual contact—defining those mutual interests in the widest sense which can provide a basis for co-operation. It is our intention with our talks today and tomorrow to continue this process, which is the very heart of European relations.

Immense progress has been made in Europe over the past 25 years. In practical terms, European co-operation has produced results no one would have thought possible in the light of experiences in the first half of this century. But the process must go on—stagnation would be tantamount to a reversal.

In the past our problems have been chiefly those of an affluent society—the problems of growth. We must however realise that there is a constant risk that growth cannot continue—that instead we should direct our attention to the task of maintaining full employment and making our society fit for human living.

But the factor common to all our problems—whether inflation, monetary instability, security and détente, relations with our allies and major trading partners—is that they require our wider co-operation. But this process should not be contrary to the interests of other nations or parts of the world. I want to stress that point. Our aim must be to solve our own problems while at the same time playing our appointed role in the international community.'

1104. The discussions of the national leaders took place on Friday 14 and Saturday 15 December. Except for the Friday afternoon session concerning the organization of political cooperation, the President of the Commission, Mr François Xavier Ortoli was present at all the talks and working lunches. Alongside the Conference a meeting of the Foreign Ministers was also held.

The first day of the Conference was highlighted by the unexpected arrival of the Foreign Ministers of several Arab countries, namely Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan and the Emirates. On the Friday night the Arab Ministers were received by the nine Foreign Ministers to whom the visitors gave a verbal message from the Arab countries for the Conference. The following day the Arab Ministers were received by

the Chairman of the Conference, Mr *Jørgensen* together with Mr *Andersen*, the Danish Foreign Minister who as President-in-Office for political cooperation, was briefed to inform the Arab Ministers of the Community's initial reactions to their message.

1105. The outcome of the deliberations of the Heads of State or Government emerged in a Declaration, made public at the close of the Conference by its Chairman, Mr *Jørgensen*, the Danish Premier. The Declaration on European identity, drawn up on the basis of political cooperation, was also published during the Conference.<sup>1</sup>

#### 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.

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-

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<sup>1</sup> Point 2501.



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.

#### Annex to the Summit Conference Final Communiqué

##### *Energy*

The Heads of State or Government considered that the situation produced by the energy crisis is a threat to the world economy as a whole; affecting not only developed but also developing countries. A prolonged scarcity of energy resources would have grave effects on production, employment and balances of payment within the Community.

The Heads of State or Government therefore agreed on the necessity for the Community of taking immediate and effective action along the following lines.

The Council should adopt at its session of 17-18 December 1973, the Community instruments which will enable the Commission to establish by 15 January 1974, comprehensive energy balance sheets covering all relevant aspects of the energy situation in the Community.

The Commission should on this basis proceed to examine all present or foreseeable repercussions of the energy supply situation on production, employment, prices and balances of payments, as well as on the development of monetary reserves.

The Heads of State or Government ask the Commission to present by 31 January 1974, proposals on which the Council will be invited to decide as quickly as possible and in principle before 28 February 1974, to ensure the orderly functioning of the common market for energy.

In this context the Commission is asked to submit to the Council as quickly as possible for rapid decision proposals aimed at resolving in a concerted manner the problems raised by the developing energy crisis.

For the same reasons they asked the Council to adopt provisions to ensure that all Member States introduce on a concerted and equitable basis measures to limit energy consumption.

With a view to securing the energy supplies of the Community the Council will adopt a comprehensive Community programme on alternative sources of energy. This programme will be designed to promote a diversification of supplies by developing existing resources, accelerating research in new sources of energy and creating new capacities of production notably a European capacity for enrichment of uranium, seeking the concerted harmonious development of existing projects.

The Heads of State or Government confirmed the importance of entering into negotiations with oil-producing countries on comprehensive arrangements comprising cooperation on a wide scale for the economic and industrial development of these countries, industrial investments, and stable energy supplies to the member countries at reasonable prices.

They furthermore considered it useful to study with other oil-consuming countries within the

framework of the OECD ways of dealing with the common short and long term energy problems of consumer countries.

The Council should establish at its session of 17-18 December 1973 an Energy Committee of Senior Officials which is responsible for implementing the energy policy measures adopted by the Council.

### The Commission's Reactions

1107. Immediately after the Conference of Heads of State and Government, Mr Ortoli, the President of the Commission made the following statement:

'The conclusions reached by the Heads of State or Government on the Community attitude towards the energy crisis are a significant step forward which I welcome.

The Commission has in the past worked unremittingly to promote a common energy policy. It has also submitted proposals for the creation of a European uranium enrichment capacity, by developing side by side the two existing projects. Since the beginning of the energy crisis, it has put before the Council proposals for maintaining the unity of the common market and the de facto solidarity developed by the Treaties between economies which are henceforward interdependent.

The conclusions reached by the Heads of State or Government clear the way for genuine Community action. On the two key points of 'ensuring the orderly functioning of the common energy market' and of 'solving by concerted action the problems raised by developments in the present energy crisis', the Commission intends to act with the greatest diligence in submitting the proposals requested; these will be largely based on the studies it has already carried out and the proposals it has already put before the Council.

The Commission also notes the will of the Heads of State or Government to develop a European uranium enrichment capacity which will help make the Community more independent as regards energy. The offer of cooperation agreements with oil-producing countries also corresponds to positions that the Commission has constantly upheld.

The Copenhagen Summit has given Europe, at a vital moment, the impulse for which it was waiting.'

1108. The Commission, meeting on 16 December to prepare for the action to be taken on the conclusions of the Copenhagen Summit Conference, issued the following Communiqué on 17 December:

'The conclusions which the Heads of State or Government have reached with the help of the Commission mark a significant progress which the Commission welcomes.

The Commission considers that the leaders of Europe at the highest level have clearly shown their will to continue to advance rapidly in the building of Europe.

In the energy field particularly, the conclusions of the Heads of State or Government open the way for a genuine community action in the direction that the Commission, both in the past and in recent weeks, has attempted to define and promote.

The 'Summit', as was its role, has laid down the principal guidelines and has provided the expected momentum. Now it is up to the Community Institutions to take the decisions which European opinion is awaiting.

The Council of 17 and 18 December will be the first opportunity to put into practice the political will expressed in Copenhagen.'

The Commission has in fact taken the necessary steps to initiate action on the Summit requirements concerning energy.

# EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

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BACKGROUND NOTE

No. 29/1973

December 20, 1973

### COMMUNIQUE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY "SUMMIT" MEETING AND ANNEXES

Danish Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen issued the following statement on December 15, 1973, after the December 14-15 meeting of Heads of State and Government of the European Community in Copenhagen. Because Denmark currently holds the rotating office of presidency of the EC Council of Ministers, the Danish Prime Minister was spokesman for the "Nine."

The Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the European Community met in Copenhagen on December 14 and 15, 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 [Annex 11], 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.

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 detente 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 confusion.

6.) 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.

7.) 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 settlement at an early date. The nine Governments are ready to assist in the search for peace and in the guaranteeing of a settlement.

The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed the united stand of their Governments on the Middle East question embodied in the declaration issued on November 6. Recent events have strengthened them in their view that the security of all states in the area, whether it be Israel or her Arab neighbors, 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 Government 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.

They will inform the Secretary General of the UN thereof.

8.) 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:

● 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.

- To seek actively the definition of a common position on reform of the international monetary 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 destabilizing capital movements, in order to create an area of stability in Europe
- The Heads of State and Government agreed that the Regional Development Fund should be established on January 1, 1974. As an expression of their positive attitude to the establishment of the Fund they 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
- 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 matters
- 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 in the European Communities until the result of the Conference on the Law of the Sea is known
- To implement a social action program having as its aim 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

● 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 Commission to prepare a detailed study and to put proposals to the Council

● To develop more actively between them a common policy on industrial, scientific, and technological cooperation in all fields.

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

10.) 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.



ANNEX TO THE COMMUNICATION OF THE PRESIDENCY

ENERGY

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The Heads of State or Government therefore agreed on the necessity for the Community to take immediate and effective action along the following lines:

The Council should adopt at its session of December 17-18, 1973, the Community instruments, which will enable the Commission to establish by January 15, 1974, comprehensive energy balance sheets covering all relevant aspects of the energy situation in the Community.

The Commission should on this basis proceed to examine all present or foreseeable repercussions of the energy supply situation on production, employment, prices, and balances of payments, as well as on the development of monetary reserves.

The Heads of State or Government ask the Commission to present by January 31, 1974, proposals on which the Council will be invited to decide as quickly as possible, and in principle before February 28, 1974, to ensure the orderly functioning of the Common Market for energy.

In this context the Commission is asked to submit to the Council as quickly as possible for rapid decision proposals aimed at resolving in a concerted manner the problems raised by the developing energy crisis.

For the same reasons they asked the Council to adopt provisions to ensure that all Member States introduce on a concerted and equitable basis measures to limit energy consumption.

With a view to securing the energy supplies of the Community the Council will adopt a comprehensive Community program on alternative sources of energy. This program will be designed to promote a diversification of supplies by developing existing resources, accelerating research in new sources of energy, and creating new capacities of production, notably a European capacity for enrichment of uranium, seeking the concerted harmonious development of existing projects.

The Heads of State or Government confirmed the importance of entering into negotiations with oil-producing countries on comprehensive arrangements comprising cooperation on a wide scale for the economic and industrial development of these countries, industrial investments, and stable energy supplies to the member countries at reasonable prices.

They furthermore considered it useful to study with other oil-consuming countries, within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), ways of dealing with the common short- and long-term energy problems of consumer countries.

The Council should establish at its session of December 17-18, 1973, an Energy Committee of senior officials which is responsible for implementing the energy policy measures adopted by the Council.

DECLARATION ON EUROPE'S IDENTITY

The following text was issued in Copenhagen by the Heads of State or Government of the European Community's nine member countries on December 14, the opening day of their two-day "Summit" meeting.

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.

Defining the European identity involves:

- Reviewing the common heritage, interests and special obligations of the Nine, as well as the degree of unity so far achieved within the Community.
- 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.
- 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 insure the survival of the civilization which they have in common.

The Nine wish to insure that the cherished values of their legal, political, and moral orders 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, or 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 a 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 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 insure that they have adequate means of defense 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 obligations. 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 cooperation 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 insuring that international relations have a more just basis, 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 toward 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 on 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 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

16.) The Nine have contributed, both individually and collectively, to the first results of a policy of detente and cooperation with the Soviet Union 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 favored 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 toward 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.



# BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

## POLICY AND REFERENCE DIVISION

December 19, 1973

POLICY STATEMENTS

84/73. EUROPE: EEC SUMMIT --- MIDDLE EAST, ENERGY AND CONSULTATION  
MACHINERY

Mr. Edward Heath, Prime Minister,  
in the House of Commons on Dec-  
ember 18, 1973:

On December 18 the Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, reported to the House of Commons on the EEC Summit meeting in Copenhagen.

"The Heads of State or Government of the European Community met in Copenhagen on December 14 and 15. The Middle East crisis and its serious consequences for the industrialized world were in the forefront and the meeting concentrated on these issues. A statement was issued after the meeting and will appear in the Official Report."

The Community had restated its position that a Middle East settlement should be within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, said the Prime Minister.

"On the Middle East, the Nine reaffirmed their declaration of November 6. They are ready to assist in the search for peace and in the guaranteeing of a settlement, on the basis of the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 in all its parts, taking into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

"Four Arab Foreign Ministers visited Copenhagen at the time of the meeting and were received by the nine Foreign Ministers. The Danish Prime Minister drew their attention to the adverse effects of the oil cuts for both developed and developing countries."

/Both ...

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Both short-term and long-term action had been agreed, Mr. Heath told the House.

"We also agreed that the Community should take immediate action to review the facts of the energy crisis and to analyse the consequences for production, employment, prices, balance of payments and monetary reserves in all member states. The Commission will present proposals by January 31 1974 to ensure the orderly functioning of the Common Market for energy.

"For the longer-term the Council will adopt a comprehensive Community program on alternative sources of energy.

"The Conference agreed on the importance of negotiating cooperative arrangements with oil-producing countries and of consultation with oil consumers."

There was no attempt to define action in detail, said the Prime Minister, but rather to reach an agreed position on energy policy guidelines and deadline. He went on to list several other areas in which agreement had been reached.

"It was agreed that the Regional Fund should be established on January 1 without any link with the passage to the second stage of Economic and Monetary Union. It is now for the Council to take the necessary practical decisions.

"We also agreed on the need for the Nine to work out common positions quickly in times of crisis. Foreign Ministers will settle the detailed arrangements at their next meeting in February.

"Finally we agreed to meet more frequently, whenever the international situation so requires, and probably at least once in each six month Presidency."

In reply to supplementary questions, Mr. Heath gave an explanation on the Community approach to the energy crisis.

"What we have done is to set down the arrangements for the Community to create the machinery to deal with both the short-term and the long-term... A comprehensive energy policy in this situation means that the Community should develop all of its resources of energy to the utmost extent where that is economically justifiable."

"As for the developing countries, we have made our position clear to the Arab countries -- that they are not only damaging the Western industrialized

/world ...

world and putting a standstill on the standard of living, or even depressing it, but are also affecting the developing countries, particularly India, for example. We have put a proposal to them to take that into account in their present arrangements.

"What we did as Heads of Government was to ask the Community immediately to set up machinery which will be able to discuss this with the oil-producing countries as well as with the developing countries. The balance sheet is one of information. First and foremost, the Community countries will be dealing with information at this present time on shortages of energy of various types; they will then move on to the longer-term objectives as to what will be possible in the Community."

(Prev. Ref. 79/73)

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