

II. CONFERENCE OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SIX AND THE TEN ON POLITICAL COOPERATION

(Third meeting)

A new conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States of the Community on political cooperation took place in Rome on 5 November 1971, under the chairmanship of Mr Aldo Moro, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministers were assisted by the Directors of Political Affairs at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs who constitute the "Policy Committee" created in 1970 by the Six¹. Mr Franco Maria Malfatti, President of the Commission, was invited to take part in a working party of Ministers, as on previous occasions.

This consultation conference on a certain number of problems of common interest, is the third to be organised since the official adoption by the Six Governments of the "Report of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States on the problems of political unification",¹ in application of the final communiqué from The Hague (para 15). This "Six" meeting was followed (from 6 November 1971), by consultations with the countries applying for membership, as were the preceding ones held on 19 November 1970 in Munich² and on 13-14 May 1971 in Paris³.

The Conference of the Six

The discussions of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the six Member States dealt with following items, according to the declaration read by Mr Moro at the end of the meeting, which took the form of an official communiqué:

"The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Six countries of the EEC met in Rome on 5 November 1971, under the chairmanship of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, for one of their periodic consultations concerning international policy, in accordance with the Luxembourg report.

The President of the Commission of the EEC, Mr Franco Maria Malfatti, contributed to a part of the meeting concerning certain problems which are within the field of the Community.

The Ministers expressed their satisfaction with the result of the vote of the British Parliament on the entry, in principle, of Great Britain into the EEC.

¹ See Bulletin 11-1970, Part One, Ch. I.

² See Bulletin 1-1971, Part One, Ch. I.

³ See Bulletin 6-1971, Part One, Ch. I.

They expressed the wish that the negotiations with the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland and Norway be completed as soon as possible, and the Accession Treaty signed before the end of this year.

The Ministers had an exchange of views on a future conference of Heads of State and Government. They were in favour of a meeting as soon as possible, in the course of 1972, after due preparation has been made, and based on the development aims of the Community, among which economic and monetary union ranks highly. They would also be based on the perspectives open to an enlarged Community with regard to both its internal organisation and its external relations and responsibilities.

The Ministers continued with a broad exchange of views on East-West relations and on the preparations of a conference on security and cooperation in Europe. They entrusted the Policy Committee with the responsibility of continuing its work on this point.

The Ministers approved a report from the Policy Committee on cooperation in the field of foreign policy developments over the past six months, and they expressed appreciation of the results achieved. They entrusted the Policy Committee with the responsibility of carrying out further studies of the most appropriate measures to improve this cooperation. The Ministers also gave it the task of continuing the studies already under way of the possibilities of a peace guarantee in the Middle East, and on the aid necessary to ensure the economic and social future of this area. They gave the Committee the task of studying Mediterranean problems.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands submitted a memorandum of certain political cooperation problems the examination of which was entrusted to the Policy Committee.”

On the basis of declarations to the press made by the various participants of the Conference, it seems that the following information may be given.

The discussion dealt with several essential items which can be classed under three headings:

- improvement of the political cooperation mechanism already in existence;
- strengthening of the Community, economic and monetary union, preparation of a new “summit” of Heads of State or Government;
- the Community’s place in the world, and the political problems associated with it: conference on security and cooperation in Europe, East-West relations, the entry of the People’s Republic of China into the United Nations, the Middle-East, the situation in the Mediterranean, Pakistan etc... All these problems have been examined in the context of enlargement.

The functioning of *political cooperation* between the Six, in the light of one year's experience, was the subject of several observations. The acting President of the Policy Committee, Mr Ducu, submitted the usual report on its activities, and presented several personal suggestions for the improvement of its working. The Netherlands delegation presented a memorandum on this subject which the Committee was requested to examine, proposing in particular the creation of "policy representatives" whose function would be to create a better coordination on Community activities in Brussels. Mr Walter Scheel, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Ducie asked that the Policy Committee have a permanent secretariat, like any multilateral organisation. Mr Scheel spoke in favour, both to the press and during the conference, of an intensification of political cooperation, which should be made more efficient, mainly by means of the infrastructure provided by the creation of a permanent secretariat. Also, he considered that ministerial meetings should be more frequent, and the procedures more rapid.

There was much discussion on the preparation of a new *Summit Conference of the Six Heads of State or Government*. The Conference was presented with a note on this subject from the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, regarding the basic aims of this "summit". Mr Harmel stressed the necessity for such a meeting at a time when the Community, in the process of enlargement, must define its actions with regard to the outside world and face up to monetary difficulties. The Belgian Minister considered that the agenda of a conference of this kind—with the task of confirming Community cohesion—should include: the promotion of economic and monetary union, the defining of a Community programme for developing countries, the laying down of constructive bases for Community-United States relations, the adoption of a common policy towards the European Security Conference (ESC), the future of the different European Institutions not set up under the Treaty of Rome or Paris (Council of Europe, Western European Union etc.), institutional problems of the enlarged Community. Regarding the date of the "summit", Mr Harmel suggested March 1972, in Luxembourg, as that country would then have the "rotating" Presidency of the Council of the European Communities.

In a declaration to Mr Moro by Mr Franco Maria Malfatti, the Commission also stresses the necessity for this "summit" at a time when the Community is threatened by problems of a political nature, and suggests "as soon as possible in 1972", once decisions have been reached enabling an orderly monetary situation in the Community to be re-established. The President of the Commission remarked that the lines of discussion desired by the Commission (economic and monetary union, the position of the Community in the world, strengthening of institutions) seemed very close to those of the six Member States. This was made clear in the final declaration read by Mr Aldo Moro. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs gave their assent for the Commission to take

part in the work at the "summit", in those matters which came within its field, and to be associated with the preparation work on these points.

The other subjects discussed in Rome by the Ministers are concerned basically with the *position of the Community in the World*. An in-depth discussion took place, in the presence of Mr Malfatti, on a report of the Policy Committee relating to the objectives and procedures of a European Security Conference (ESC). The President of the Commission noted with satisfaction, on the latter's behalf, that the report acknowledged that the purpose of the Conference is to lead East European countries to recognise the presence of the Community and for them to negotiate with it on matters within its competence. The Conference would obviously be unable to discuss the development of the Community and its enlargement, strengthening and political union. Mr Malfatti remarked particularly that, "It is impossible for us to be a Community in the West and a non-Community in the East". This point of view was approved by several participants. Mr Scheel in particular, emphasised that integration must not be held up by a pretext of economic cooperation.

Another item discussed was the *situation in the Mediterranean*; the Policy Committee is to examine the priorities to be established. Regarding the Middle East, the Ministers remarked that it was difficult at the moment to make any further proposals, but they considered it necessary to continue activities designed to produce guarantees of peace. A working party was moreover, entrusted with the making of a report on the calamities in *Pakistan*.

The meeting of "The Ten"

The information meeting of 6 November 1971 took place at Brussels, in the Orsini Odescalchi château, under the chairmanship of Mr Aldo Moro, between the Six and the representatives of the four candidate countries—Sir Alec Douglas Home (United Kingdom), Mr Andersen (Denmark), Mr Hillery (Ireland), Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Stoltenberg (Norway), Secretary of State. Mr Emilio Colombo, President of the Italian Council, joined his hosts.

The results of the exchanges of views were summarised by Mr Aldo Moro. The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed the satisfaction of the Six at the favourable vote in the House of Commons. The candidate countries had been kept in touch with the previous day's debates on political cooperation and on their own participation in this cooperation. Having also received information on the debates of the Six on the "summit" conference, they had been invited to take part in the present conference. The candidate countries registered their agreement on the content and objectives of the "summit" conference. This conference noted "the desire expressed by some countries to take part in the conference after completion of accession, and to be associated in any case with its preparation in the appropriate forms."

Finally, an exchange of information and opinions took place on the various problems concerning international policies which had already been discussed by the Six: East-West relations, European Security Conference, the entry of China into the United Nations, Pakistan, the Middle East, Malta.