

De Gaulle's departure transformed the political environment, and his successor, Georges Pompidou quickly moved to obtain a meeting of Heads of State and Government. French standing was diminished by the events of 1968, when the regime came close to collapse. In Germany, in the autumn of 1969, the Christian Democrats were ousted from office, for the first time since the foundation of the German State. The new German Government, with the Social Democrats as the senior partner, was less willing to be subservient to the French.

The message from the meeting of the Heads of State and Government in

The Hague rang out for many years in the three words (drafted by M. Jean-Pierre Brunet, Head of the Economic Department of the French Foreign Office actually during the meeting) -completing, deepening, widening. They were not at the time seen as working against each other, as 'deepening' and 'widening' came to be seen twenty-five years later.

'Completing' came to mean the single market programme. From The Hague there came two reports on 'deepening'. The Davignon Report on the problems of political unification (whose author was then the Political Director of the Belgian Foreign Office, later a charismatic Commissioner) delicately picked up some of the aims of earlier and abortive ventures towards cooperation among the member States on foreign policy, such as the Fouchet Plan (See Document 27). It was a 'light' regime, without Treaty basis and without the entanglement of the classical Community method (Commission proposes, Parliament advises, Council decides, Court upholds the law). It took fifteen years for European Political Cooperation to find its way into a Treaty, in the 'Single European Act'.

The Werner Report (Chairman, Pierre Werner, Prime Minister of Luxembourg) concerned economic and monetary union, a concomitant to a Common Market. At the request of his colleagues, M. Werner brought out a plan to reach EMU in ten years. But he was well ahead of his time. His report was never endorsed. It was initially a casualty of disagreements between the oil price shocks which disrupted member States' economies in the 1970s. At their meeting in Paris in June 1972, the Heads of State and Government called for EMU by 1980, later restated, notably by M. Francois-Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission 1973-76 and a member of it until 1984, as happening 'in the 1980s'.

'Widening' is strictly the process of acquiring more members. although some commentators also use it to describe the enlarging network of agreements of different kinds between the Community and other European States. The Hague meeting of 1969 removed the primary obstacles which the Government of President de Gaulle had placed in the way of British negotiation for membership.

42 The Hague Summit

Final communiqué of the meeting of heads of state or government of the EC countries

The Hague, 2 December 1969

'The European Communities: Text of the Communiqué issued by the Heads of State or of Government at their Meeting in The Hague', December 1969

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1 On the initiative of the Government of the French Republic and at the invitation of the Netherlands Government, the Heads of State or Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Member States of the European Communities met at The Hague on 1 and 2 December 1969....

the heads of state or government wish to reaffirm their belief in the political objectives which give the Community its full meaning and scope.

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

5. As regards the completion of the Communities, the Heads of State or Government have reaffirmed the will of their Governments to pass from the transitional period to the final stage of the European Community and accordingly, to lay down a definitive financial arrangement for the common agricultural policy by the end of 1969.

They agree to replace gradually, within the framework of this financial arrangement, the contributions of member countries by the Community's own resources, taking into account all the interests concerned, with the object of achieving in due course the integral financing of the Communities' budgets in accordance with the procedure provided for in Article 201 of the Treaty establishing the EEC and of strengthening the budgetary powers of the European Parliament.

The problem of direct elections will continue to be studied by the Council of Ministers.

6. They have asked the Governments to continue without delay, within the Council, the efforts already made to ensure a better control of the market by a policy of agricultural production making it possible to limit the burden on budgets.

7. The acceptance of a financial arrangement for the final stage does not exclude its adaptation by unanimous vote in an enlarged Community, on condition that the principles of this arrangement are not watered down.

8. They have reaffirmed their readiness to expedite the further action needed to strengthen the Community and promote its development into an economic union. They are of the opinion that the integration process should result in a Community of stability and growth. To this end they agreed that, within the Council, on the basis of the

memorandum presented by the Commission of 12 February 1969, and in close collaboration with the latter, a plan in stages will be worked out during 1970 with a view to the creation of an economic and monetary union.

The development of monetary cooperation should be based on the harmonization of economic policies.

They agreed to arrange for the investigation of the possibility of setting up a European reserve fund which should be the outcome of a joint economic and monetary policy . . .

[...]

13. They reaffirmed their agreement on the principle of the enlargement of the Community, in accordance with Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome.

In so far as the applicant States accept the Treaties and their political aims, the decisions taken since the entry into force of the Treaties and the options adopted in the sphere of development, the Heads of State or Government have indicated their agreement to the opening of negotiations between the Community on the one hand and the applicant States on the other.

They agreed that the essential preparatory work for establishing a basis of negotiation could be undertaken as soon as practically possible. By common consent, the preparations are to take place in the most positive spirit.

14. As soon as negotiations with the applicant countries have been opened, discussions on their position in relation to the EEC will be started with such other EFTA members as may request them.

15. They instructed the Ministers for Foreign Affairs to study the best way of achieving progress in the matter of political unification, within the context of enlargement. The Ministers are to make proposals to this effect by the end of July 1970.