

## Statement by Pierre Werner ( The Hague, 1 December 1969)

**Caption:** At the opening of the Hague Summit, the Luxembourg Prime Minister, Pierre Werner, emphasises his country's concerns regarding the new Community developments.

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## Statement by M. Pierre Werner (The Hague, 1 December 1969)

I would like to thank the Netherlands Government for bringing us together here in The Hague — at the instigation, moreover, of the French President to whom I am also happy to pay tribute — to give us an opportunity of assessing the Community's present situation and providing the political impetus needed to press ahead with the construction of Europe. I was privileged to attend the three earlier conferences. It is true that the tangible progress made there fell short of expectations but, despite divergences of opinion as to the scale of a united Europe and means of achieving it, each of these Conferences showed that there was a willingness to push ahead towards the final goal of a strong, politically organized Europe.

The world expects more from this Hague Conference. It so happens that the Community is entering the definitive stage of its development as far as the precise, literal objectives of the Treaties of Paris and Rome are concerned. The transitional period laid down by the Treaty of Rome ends on 31 December of this year. Measures to implement the Treaty are not yet sufficiently advanced to meet this deadline. On the other hand, the dynamism inherent in pooling the energies and resources of advanced European countries is bound to lead to the expansion and development of the machinery and range of European co-operation and a widening of the geographic area in which it operates.

This advance is being frustrated by doctrinal quarrels and clashing national interests. Confusion and scepticism have gained ground over the years, particularly amongst the young, and have tainted the freshness and generousness of the European idea. Even quarrels about issues which are very real and very tangible to our people can admittedly be regarded as a form of European collaboration, albeit in terms of the conflict of interests. But I believe that we need to open up brighter, more striking and more hopeful prospects for the future. Not that we here, by waving a magic wand, can banish all the clouds, and produce formulae to deal with all the difficulties raised by the day-to-day working of the Communities. Far from it. The future pace of progress within the Communities will depend rather on our example, on our determination to give an unambiguous lead on a limited number of current issues charged with significance for the years ahead. Clear guidance is expected because international public opinion is beginning to wonder about the real strength of the European idea and the Community's place in the world.

The Hague Conference ought to go down in history as the meeting that confirmed the fundamental political and economic objectives of the Treaties and made further Community developments possible.

I would now like to review the three main issues facing us at this time, indicating the Luxembourg position on each of them.

### **A. Completion of the European Communities**

1. In the communiqué to be issued when our talks end, our Governments should reaffirm their willingness to change over from the transitional period to the definitive stage of the European Economic Community at the end of 1969, and to accept all that this implies.

2. The EEC Treaty and derived Community law impose a number of requirements which the Member States must meet before passing to the definitive stage of the Common Market.

We can note with satisfaction that most of these have been met already or are on the point of being so.

3. The main problem to be dealt with before this deadline is reached is finalizing the definitive farm financing regulation.

Two essential elements of this definitive regulation — Community preference and financial solidarity — have already been accepted.

4. To facilitate the adoption of definitive financing arrangements before the end of the year, we must lose no time in finding ways of reducing and eliminating farm surpluses which are jeopardizing the very existence

of the common agricultural policy. Market control is one of the essential elements on which the financial solidarity of the common agricultural policy must be based.

5. Secondly, and again with a view to smoothing the adoption of definitive farm financing arrangements, we must make headway with our studies and negotiations on the reform of European agriculture. This reform is imperative but it must be a gradual process to avoid unnecessary disturbances and to allow for the human and social factors involved.

6. Lastly, existing market organizations must be supplemented by arrangements for commodities such as tobacco and wine before the end of the year.

7. So far the Council of the European Communities has failed to agree on a new multiannual programme for Euratom. The uncertainty which has been hanging over this Community and the future of its research centres for a long time now cannot be allowed to continue. Scientific and technical research are as important for Europe's future and Europe's independence as the economic and customs union.

## **B. Enlargement**

We are very pleased that there now seems to be a general feeling that the enlargement of the Community is desirable and not synonymous with weakening.

Negotiations with the applicants should therefore open as soon as possible, the Community negotiating from a joint approach to the problems raised by their admission, as has been the practice in negotiations of all kinds between the Community and non-member countries.

A decision must be taken before the end of the year on the completion of the Common Market and the changeover to the definitive period. Once this has been done the Community should arrive at a joint position, based notably on the Commission's opinions, during the early months of the New Year.

The final communiqué of the Hague Conference should also affirm that we are determined to open negotiations as soon as the Community has fixed its attitude to the problems posed by the membership applications by approving a negotiating mandate.

## **C. Strengthening the existing Communities**

There is an urgent and pressing need for the Community to define policies to be implemented and action to be taken in a number of fields. If it fails to do so, there is a danger that the impact of the advantages of a large single market will be lost.

Such resolutions and directives, jointly drafted by the Six, could be referred to the applicants for membership so that common conclusions could be reached in conjunction with these countries.

As to the areas in which the Community could be strengthened, the first that comes to mind is monetary and financial co-operation. Recent monetary developments — and the repercussions and consequences of these for the common agricultural policy in particular — have proved that any common policy is likely to become precarious at a moment's notice until such time as the Member States take a decisive step towards monetary co-operation and the alignment of financial policies.

To create the conditions for economic union, economic planning and the co-ordination of short-term economic policies must develop side by side. Many people consider that the attainment of these objectives is the essential preliminary to monetary integration.

I am not convinced of this and I am very much afraid that if we refuse to accept a modicum of financial discipline of a Community nature a co-ordinated short-term economic policy will never see the light of day.

Recent events on the monetary scene threw the common agricultural policy into disarray and proved that economic and monetary policy form one indivisible whole. This is why my delegation advocates a programme which would lay greater emphasis on our willingness to advance in this field, which has both political and economic overtones.

A first step in this direction was taken with the Council's approval in principle of short-term monetary assistance between the Member States.

In addition, the Commission's proposals for medium-term financial co-operation and increased co-ordination of medium-term economic policies are to be discussed within the Council as soon as possible.

But, if we are to succeed, we must go much further than this. It is not for a meeting like ours to define the technical details of a programme for future monetary union. A number of possible and more or less daring approaches have been suggested.

Be that as it may, the Luxembourg delegation would be happy to see a reference in the final communiqué to our willingness to create a monetary union before a specified date by introducing a series of appropriate arrangements, mechanisms or agencies backed by the co-ordination of economic policies which these will be expected to stimulate.

#### **D. Strengthening the institutions**

Almost all our national Parliaments have made it clear that they are prepared to ratify the financial regulation and the allocation of the own resources to the Community only if the powers of the institutions are adjusted at the same time. Public opinion is running along the same lines.

Of course it can be argued that there is a close link between increased powers for the European Parliament and the election of its members by direct universal suffrage. I have no wish to deny this link but I cannot believe that its existence should prevent us from acting in either field.

We must progress on these issues in a realistic way, in step with advances achieved in other areas of European integration.

To sum up then, our final communiqué should affirm:

- that our Governments are ready to change over to the definitive period of the Common Market at the end of the year;
- that they are prepared to shoulder on that date all the obligations imposed by the Treaty and derived Community law, and in particular to put the final touches to the definitive financing arrangements;
- that the Community should lose no time in producing a mandate for negotiations with the applicants for membership, these negotiations to begin once the mandate has been approved;
- that, side by side with the production of a negotiating mandate and parallel with the negotiations themselves, decisions will be taken in those areas in which the Community needs to be strengthened, including scientific and technical research, the gradual realization of monetary union and a common economic policy;
- that this economic, monetary and financial strengthening is to be matched by a reinforcement of the institutional provisions of the Treaties to increase the powers and competence of the European Parliament and make provision for a first step towards the election of its members by direct universal suffrage.

#### **E. Final remarks**

Has the time also come to reopen the dossier on political co-operation as such? The Luxembourg Government is not opposed to this, since in the long run it is impossible to conceive of economic union coming to full flower without minimum co-ordination of foreign, cultural and defence policies. We feel, however, that in the early months the stress should be on strengthening the economic and political aspects of collaboration between the Six, using existing agencies to solve urgent problems.

This meeting of the leaders of our member countries, which is being attended by the institution we created to provide the inventiveness and objectivity which all communities must have if they are to advance, is taking place as the period allowed us in 1957 to take the decisive step towards the future we have decided to share draws to a close.

1. United by geography, our countries then wished to meet a challenge of the post-war years — an ideological challenge which threatened our humanist and individualistic civilization, a technological and economic challenge which threatened to reduce Europe to utter and complete dependence. We wished to take up this challenge with our inner strength and faith in our own destiny.

A page of history was turned in 1951 when our Governments met in Paris to sign the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community and declared that they were resolved “to lay the bases of institutions capable of giving direction to their future common destiny”.

2. This political objective, which led us to the road we have been travelling ever since, was confirmed in 1957 with the signing of the Treaties of Rome.

3. In the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, this political objective finds expression, not only in provisions mainly aimed at ensuring economic and social progress and a constant improvement in the living and working conditions of our people, but also in the introduction of genuine common policies.

4. The solid foundation on which our action is based is, like its final objective, an expression of our political readiness to advance towards an integration in which no-one loses his identity but which gives us new values, wider dimensions, increased power and more responsibility.

5. What we have created, and what still remains to be done, will only work smoothly and develop if we move steadily ahead. Recent years have taught us that any halts by the wayside or slackening of pace are dangerous and may even jeopardize what seemed to have been accomplished.

This is why we feel that our faith in this Community, a Community which our people wanted yesterday and still want today, should find concrete expression in a continuous process of creation which, without disregarding natural or economic laws, would stamp events with the indelible imprint of our Community resolve.