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The European Summit Conference

PARIS-OCTOBER 1972

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**THE EUROPEAN SUMMIT CONFERENCE
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**THE CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF
MEMBER AND ACCEDING COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITIES. PARIS 19 AND 20 OCTOBER, 1972**

PART I

INTRODUCTION

From the moment when it was agreed, after the Frascati meeting of Foreign Ministers on 11-12 September, that the European Summit would be held in Paris on the dates originally proposed, President Pompidou decided, without having any very great expectations that specifically French interests would be promoted, to do everything he could to make the Conference a success. That this would be the case seemed clear before the Conference opened and this impression was confirmed by the arrangements.

2. The arrival at the airport of the majority of the Delegations (list at Annex A), carefully organised within a set period on 18 October, was attended with full military honours and presided over by the French Prime Minister, Monsieur Messmer, and the Foreign Minister, Monsieur Schumann. No expense was spared on the facilities for the Conference itself and on the entertainment of the Delegations. The police authorities worked wonders in moving the various Delegations from one place to another through the Paris traffic with the minimum of disruption. Much to their relief, and as a result of the most careful preparation, there were no security problems and only one or two very minor incidents.

3. The Conference itself was held in the French Government Conference Centre (the old Hotel Majestic on the avenue Kléber). This sizeable complex which has been for the last four years, at considerable expense and inconvenience to the French, the exclusive home of the Viet-Nam Peace Talks, was at last put to the use for which it was intended; the Viet-Nam negotiators took the week off. The principal Conference Hall, a long room dominated by enormous chandeliers and decorated in that heavy nineteenth-century style which in Paris is still the usual background of high-level diplomacy, was in the event more grandiose than comfortable. (The air-conditioning system never fully recovered from the high temperature generated by the press of journalists and spectators and the glare of the television lights at the formal opening.) The Delegations sat round a long table at which each had four seats with 12 more for advisers behind. The seating had been so arranged that President Pompidou, who was in the chair throughout and whose urbane, if slightly cynical, direction of the proceedings was one of the more impressive features of the occasion, sat with the French Delegation in the middle of one side. On his left were the Germans and then the Danes and on his right the Irish and the Italians. Opposite there were four Delegations with a gap in the middle so that we were almost opposite the Germans with the Belgians on our right; on our left sat the Dutch and then the Luxembourg Delegation. The Commission were relegated to a place at the far end of the table where it was possible for President Pompidou, by ignoring the sometimes insistent demands of Dr. Mansholt for the floor, to demonstrate that their status was not the same as that of the Heads of Government. (This point had already

been made clear during the arrival ceremonies at the Airport when the Commission Delegation, having chosen to come at the same time as the Heads of Government, were received with an ostentatious lack of ceremony.)

4. Outside the Conference Room there was a profusion of offices, Committee Rooms, bars and restaurants which catered more or less efficiently for all the needs of the Delegations. On the debit side, the simultaneous interpretation, particularly into English, ranged from poor to incomprehensible and the secretarial services of the Conference were not equal to the demands placed on them. The translation of working papers and of the draft Communiqué into English had to be done almost single-handedly by the British Delegation who had been led to understand that the French would do this and were not therefore prepared.

5. The proceedings of the Conference began at 10.00 a.m. on 19 October with a short speech of welcome by President Pompidou in front of the journalists and television cameras to which Mr. Biesheuvel, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, as the current President of the Council of Ministers, replied. The hall having then been cleared of the journalists, the opening round of speeches took place. These produced no surprises; President Pompidou was reasonably forthcoming about steps towards greater unity and made a call for "Union" within 10 years. The Prime Minister's speech was well received. The texts of all these speeches are in Part II of this volume.

6. The Delegations split up for lunch on the first day. The Heads of Government went to the Elysée while the Finance Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs were entertained by Monsieur Giscard d'Estaing and Monsieur Schumann respectively. The officials were entertained by Monsieur Alphan. After lunch the meeting discussed economic and monetary union. The agreement reached at lunch between the Finance Ministers that the European Monetary Co-operation Fund should be set up by 1 April, 1973, and that the Central Bank Governors and the Monetary Committee should report on the possibility of increasing short term credit facilities and on the progressive pooling of reserves by 30 September and 31 December, 1973, respectively was endorsed. The day's programme, which ran late throughout, was ended by President Pompidou's gala dinner at the Elysée.

7. The meeting on 20 October began with a discussion of political co-operation. There was a general consensus that this had begun well and should be still further improved. It was agreed that the Foreign Ministers should in future meet four times a year. The Prime Minister said that the aim should be to formulate common, medium and long-term foreign policies and stressed the close relationship between political co-operation and the actions of the Community. This was favourably received. It was agreed that the Foreign Ministers should produce not later than 30 June, 1973, a second report on methods of improving political co-operation as laid down in the first Luxembourg report. The afternoon and early evening sessions on 20 October were devoted to external relations and institutions. Little progress was made on aid. As regards international trade, the tone was good and, though there was little progress on substance, it should be possible to represent the outcome to the Americans and others as going some way towards meeting them. The Dutch pressed hard for a forthcoming statement on direct elections to the European Parliament but were refused by the French. A summary record of all these discussions is in Part III of this volume.

8. Work on the draft Communiqué began after lunch on 19 October in a drafting Committee. As had been foreseen, its work was critical for the success of the meeting. President Pompidou had sent to the Prime Minister on 17 October

a draft of a solemn Declaration. Concerned lest President Pompidou should intend that this should be the only agreed document, the Prime Minister immediately replied accepting this draft, but suggesting that specific decisions should be recorded in a document to be added to it. A British draft of this document was sent by the Prime Minister to President Pompidou on 18 October and subsequently circulated to other Delegations. The French tabled their own draft on 19 October as did the Germans and Dutch. The drafting Committee started work at 4 p.m. on 19 October and adjourned briefly in the early hours of the morning of 20 October, after completing its work on the draft Declaration, which by then had some square brackets around disagreed passages in it. The drafting Committee, sometimes splitting into two groups, met throughout the day on 20 October, hammering out the text of the rest of the Communiqué. The monetary group managed to produce a text without any square brackets, but the main drafting group's work still contained, when it came to the plenary session, many passages on which no agreement had been reached.

9. The Foreign Ministers had meanwhile been asked at the last moment to join the Heads of Government at lunch at the Elysée and they were subsequently invited by the French to have another look at the Declaration. The way in which French officials had been handling the Communiqué drafting had led us to suspect that the French might wish to get agreement on the Declaration and then block any agreement on the rest of the Communiqué, so that their own document would be the only concrete result of the meeting. The appearance of the draft Declaration in "Le Monde" heightened this suspicion. The Secretary of State was therefore obliged to insist at some length that (a) no agreement could be reached on the draft Declaration until we knew the content of the draft Communiqué containing the decisions of the Conference, since the wording of the former would have to be adjusted if that of the latter was not satisfactory; and (b) he could not be expected to work on any draft until an English translation was available. He also pointed out that the text of the Declaration had been leaked to the Press, which made it all the more important that it should be accompanied by a list of decisions. Monsieur Schumann was profusely apologetic about the leak (which he said came from the Commission Delegation) and assured the Secretary of State that any agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers on the Declaration was only *ad referendum*. But the Secretary of State was given strong support by Herr Scheel and the meeting adjourned without making any progress.

10. The discussion of the Communiqué in the plenary session, the salient points of which, together with the text of the Communiqué, are set out in Part IV of this paper, was therefore prolonged and often confused. Some of the discussion was of considerable importance, especially that on regional policy, during the course of which the Prime Minister received some useful assurances about the meaning of the words "structural under-employment". The Press, who were waiting impatiently in an adjoining room, naturally began to prepare tales of a fundamental disagreement. But in fact there was never a moment when it seemed conceivable that the Conference would break down. The Dutch pushed their demand for a decision on a date for direct elections to the European Parliament rather further than expected. But this was mainly for the record—and for the benefit of the Dutch Parliament. Agreement was finally reached after midnight, an hour which could have been a good deal later but for President Pompidou's brisk management of the proceedings. The President then presided, with his colleagues, over a brief press conference at which he was able to assert that the Conference, despite a certain number of difficulties and disagreements, had worked well and had produced a document which contained precise engagements and timetables for future joint action.

PART II

TEXTS OF THE OPENING SPEECHES

- (a) President Pompidou
- (b) The Prime Minister of the Netherlands (Mr. Biesheuvel)
- (c) The Prime Minister
- (d) The Chancellor of the Federal German Republic (Herr Brandt)
- (e) The Prime Minister of Denmark (Mr. Jørgensen)
- (f) The Prime Minister of Belgium (M. Eyskens)
- (g) The Prime Minister of Italy (Signor Andreotti)
- (h) The Prime Minister of Ireland (Mr. Lynch)
- (i) The Prime Minister of Luxembourg (M. Werner)
- (j) The President of the Commission (Dr. Mansholt)

(a) SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Within these walls, calm once again, I should like to express anew France's satisfaction at welcoming you, who bear the major responsibility of the expanding Community, and especially the Heads of Governments of Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain. It will surprise no one to hear me declare to Mr. Heath that his nation's entry adds a new dimension to our Community, and that I am particularly happy at the successful outcome of negotiations that were marked by many vicissitudes. The faith and resoluteness that you showed, Mr. Prime Minister, finally triumphed, and you know how pleased I am at this. It goes without saying that my welcome is also extended to the President and Vice-Presidents of the Commission.

None the less, we meet not merely to exchange compliments, but to act; to propose and decide. To my mind, any hesitancy now would be doubly dangerous. It would risk delaying the construction of Europe. It might also lead Governments to allow their determination to lag behind events so that, imperceptibly, the Europe created would be a purely mercantile one, which is not and cannot be our goal.

It is fitting that, within the framework of the agenda drawn up by our Ministers of Foreign Affairs, we determine accurately our points of agreement, the decisions that accrue, the manner and time-table of their application, the new paths that we wish to follow and their general implications. I shall attempt to provide you with a brief review of French positions, following which each of you will undoubtedly wish to expose the arguments of his own Government.

At the Conference of The Hague, the Community selected, as a priority objective, the step-by-step establishment of an economic and monetary union. Circumstances call for our meeting to make substantial progress towards this end. I do not think that this is the moment to go into the details of the measures proposed by our Ministers and I will do no more than recall certain general principles.

Our aim is to proceed beyond a customs union and free trade to a situation in which our States pursue concerted, harmonious and, eventually, united economic and monetary policies.

The Community must consequently be determined to protect the currencies of Member Countries against speculation, to fight against inflation (and the rising prices which symbolise it), to advance towards the creation of a distinctive European monetary zone, and to contribute to the reform of the international monetary system.

In the economic sphere, our primary concern must be the fight against inflation. On this occasion, we can only touch lightly on the means to be employed, but we must instruct our Finance Ministers to produce a cohesive plan of action within an agreed deadline.

In the monetary sphere, we must take all measures conducive to the pursuance of a common policy by our Governments and central banks, aimed at turning Europe into an integrated zone demonstrating stability and growth. We have been presented with concrete proposals which I believe we should approve and, in some aspects, reinforce. I allude, for example, to the European Monetary Co-operation Fund. This afternoon, we shall have the opportunity to examine this matter in detail. I should like to express forthwith my impression that this

