

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.¹

Resolution of the European Parliament

1102. During the sitting of 12 December the European Parliament passed the following Resolution² 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

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

² OJ C 2 of 9.1.1974, p. 41.

made in Europe
practical terms,
duced results no
ible in the light
of this century.
agnation would

ve been chiefly
he problems of
ealise that there
cannot continue
ct our attention
employment and
man living.

our problems—
stability, security
allies and major
quire our wider
should not be
her actions or
stress that point.
own problems
our appointed
unity.'

national leaders
aturday 15 De-
afternoon ses-
on of political
e Commission,
present at all
Alongside the
reign Ministers

was highlighted
f the Foreign
ntries, namely
l the Emirates.
Ministers were
isters to whom
sage from the
e. The follow-
re 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.¹

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-

¹ 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
propos

(viii) t
a comm
technol

8. The
consider
paper, a

9. The
convinc
play a
abilities
progress
industri
of peace

Annex to

Energy

The He
that the
is a thro
affecting
ing coun
resource
tion, er
within t

The He
agreed
taking i
following

The Co
17-18 D
ments v
establish
energy
aspects
community.

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.

5. Political cooperation

— a loan of 500 million LFr. i.e. the equivalent value of 10 million u.a. This is a bond issue over 15 years underwritten by a consortium of Luxembourg Banks. It carries interest at 7.25% p.a. and was offered to the public at an issue price of 98.50%;

— a loan of 250 million LFr. i.e. the equivalent value of 5 million u.a. This is a private issue over 8 years at 7.50% p.a.

With these transactions the total sum of loans contracted by the ECSC since it started activities now amounts to the equivalent value of 1 505.6 million u.a.

2486. Durings its sitting of 11 December 1973, the *European Parliament* passed a Resolution on the ECSC Auditor's report for the financial years 1971 and 1972 in which it approved the ECSC accounts for 1971 and 1972.

The European Identity

2501. Following the Paris Summit Conference¹ the Member States of the Community agreed in July 1973 to define the European identity in a Declaration based on the principles of the unity of the Nine, on their position and responsibilities with regard to the rest of the world and on the dynamic nature of the construction of Europe.²

The paper on the European identity, prepared on the basis of political cooperation, was finalized and approved by the Foreign Ministers at their Copenhagen meeting of 20 November 1973.³

The Declaration, the full text of which is reproduced in the following pages, was published in Copenhagen, on 14 December 1973, during the Conference of Heads of State or Government.

Declaration on European identity

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.

¹ Cf. the Paris Declaration, Bull. EC 10-1972, Part 1, Chap. I.

² Bull. EC 9-1973, point 1202.

³ Bull. EC 11-1973, point 2505.

Defining t

(a) review
and special
the degree
Communi

(b) assess
already ac
of the w
result from

(c) taking
nature of

I. *The Uni
Community*

1. The M
pushed to
by selfish
they have
have deci
necessity
ation whic

The Nine
values of
are respect
of their n
the same
mination
to the nee
mined to
democrac
—which i
gress— an
of these
European
enterprise
ations of
its realizat
representa

2. The M
in the con

Defining the European Identity involves:

- (a) reviewing the common heritage, interests and special obligations of the Nine, as well as the degree of unity so far achieved within the Community,
- (b) 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,
- (c) taking into consideration the dynamic nature of European unification.

1. 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 ensure the survival of the civilization which they have in common.

The Nine wish to ensure that the cherished values of their legal, political and moral order 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, of 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 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

mit Confer-
Community
ne European
he principles
position and
rest of the
ture of the

ty, prepared
ration, was
eign Minis-
20 Novem-

f which is
pages, was
December
ads of State

e European
e time has
e European
o achieve a
with other
es and the
fairs. They
an Identity
munity in
arrying the
ght of the
f a United

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 economic 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 ensure that they have adequate means of defence 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 ensuring that international relations have a more just basis; that the independence and equality of states are better preserved; 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 towards 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 countries with which they already have links of cooperation.

12. The Nine intend to ensure that the Community's policies do not diminish the links between the Member States and other countries with which the Community has links. They intend to ensure that the Community's policies do not hinder the operation of the Community's policies in a worldwide context and in accordance with the principles and aims of the 1963 Declaration.

13. The Community intends to take steps towards strengthening its links with other countries in order to preserve the stability and peace of the world.

14. The close links between the Community and Europe of the Nine are a source of mutual benefit and of mutual respect. These ties do not prevent the development of the Community's relations with other countries which are distinct and of a different nature. They intend to maintain the Community's relations with other countries on the basis of friendship.

15. The Nine intend to engage in close relations with other countries which have an open and balanced trade policy. They appreciate the contribution which the OECD makes to the development of the world economy.

not affected by a desire to achieve the whole of 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 in a worldwide scale in accordance with the principles and aims set out in the Paris Summit Declaration.

towards a common position.

entity, will constructive should not affect the European down.

iate collections and the distinct identity to be

r countries, unity will ed common

their links, rk, with the 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 in 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 OECD.

16. The Nine have contributed, both individually and collectively to the first results of a policy of detente and cooperation with the USSR 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 favoured 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 to 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.