

AN AGENDA FOR THE EUROPEAN SUMMIT  
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This paper, which summarizes the conclusions of analyses and debates conducted over a period at the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, has been compiled by Altiero Spinelli, Director of the Institute, who is responsible for the opinions expressed therein.

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The governments that are preparing for the European summit at the Hague, as well as the governments of the countries that have applied for membership of the European Community, are aware of the complexity of the problems to be dealt with, of the impossibility of resolving them in two days, and of the unique opportunity that the summit offers for giving a new impetus to the European enterprise. The summit will only be able to decide upon certain procedures for dealing with the problems and on certain priorities, but both the procedures and the priorities will have a determinant importance for the future development, favourable or otherwise, of the Community. The Chancelleries of all these countries are undoubtedly currently engaged in clarifying ideas and proposals. As a contribution to this process the Istituto Affari Internazionali in Rome is submitting for their attention, and for the attention of all who are concerned with the future of Europe, a draft agenda covering such matters as it will be possible to discuss during the two days of the summit meeting.

The proposed agenda has been drawn up on the assumption that those taking part are all convinced of the need to halt the evident trend of slow disintegration, to restore momentum to the process of economic unification, and to complete it with gradual political unification.

It is generally recognized that the matters for discussion can be grouped under four headings: 1) the launching of political integration (especially in the fields of foreign, defence and monetary policies), with the objective of ensuring the independence of Europe; 2) the "élargissement" of the Economic Community; 3) its "achèvement"; 4) its "approfondissement". Any attempt to establish priority in terms of time for the achievement of any of these objectives is doomed to failure, since the solution to each problem is conditioned by the solution adopted for the other three. It is therefore necessary to identify certain particular problems in the context of each heading and to link them together so as to form a coherent whole of priority and concurrence of action, that will enable progress along the entire front of the existing European structure.

Each item of the agenda proposed herein is accompanied by a short explanatory note. No reference is however made to the reasons why European unity is desirable, since it is assumed that such reasons are known and accepted.

Set out below is an outline of the decisions that the summit should take, in the order of priority and concurrency indicated for each of them.

1. The summit undertakes to adopt within the EEC, before the end of the year, provisional regulations relating to the financing of the common agricultural policy, to remain in force for 2-3 years, together with the commitment to review the entire common agricultural policy immediately after enlargement of the Community (and in any event before expiry of the aforementioned regulations), maintaining the essential character of common policy based on the coverage of common financial responsibilities with the Community's own resources, but a policy aimed at eliminating the all-too-obvious absurdities and at the creation of a modern, sound agriculture, free of parasitic features.

NOTE. The French request for a guarantee regarding the surpluses of her agricultural production, caused by the common agricultural policy, is legitimate and should be met. Since France herself recognizes that the present agricultural policy should be fundamentally revised it is not possible to establish definitive financial regulations for a policy that has still to be determined. Moreover, determination of the policy cannot take place without knowing the geographical dimension of the Community.

2. The summit undertakes to adopt within the EEC, before the end of the year, the necessary decisions to ensure that the powers for appointment of the Commission, and the financial powers of control over budgetary expenditures within the limits of the Community's own resources (powers which to date

have been exercised solely by the Council of Ministers of the respective nations), shall be exercised jointly and with equal rights, according to the rules of a two-Chamber system, by the European Parliament and by the Council of Ministers.

NOTE. The exercise of these powers within the Community, in removing control from national Parliaments but not giving it to the European Parliament, is contrary to every elementary democratic principle, and can no longer be maintained without reducing the Community to a mere clearing house to which each country contributes, but then expects to recover exactly what it has contributed.

3. The summit undertakes to implement within the Community, before the end of the year, the decisions necessary for the conversion of revenues from the common external tariff and from agricultural levies into resources belonging to the Community.

NOTE. This decision has already been taken in principle as regards agricultural levies. The fact that it has not yet been taken in respect of common external tariffs causes serious distortions and tensions, and hinders the creation of the fundamental basis of financial autonomy of the Community.

4. The summit recognizes:

- a) that the common need for independence and security, as well as the further development of economic unity, demands that a start is made to the political union of the member countries of the enlarged economic Community.
- b) that any decision, even if necessarily gradual, to embark upon political integration requires the discussion and simultaneous assent of the respective governments, represent

ed by the Council of the enlarged Community, and of the people represented by the elected European Parliament. For the purpose of the expeditious preparation of a report to be submitted to these two bodies, the summit invites an eminent European statesman to set up, in agreement with the member countries and applicant countries, a working party concurrently with negotiations for enlargement of the Community; the task of the working party shall be to draw up a preliminary report and to present it to the Council and to the Parliament, as soon as the latter has been elected. The joint decisions of these two bodies would be subsequently submitted for ratification by the competent constitutional organs of the member countries.

NOTE. It is impossible to think seriously of the creation, even gradually, of a form of political union that goes no further than the quite ineffective level of inter-governmental consultations, leaving its creation purely to national governments and their diplomatic channels, as if all that is involved was a normal international agreement or treaty. An elected European Parliament is the only supranational power that is capable of ensuring such political union of democratic legitimation and, by its very nature, of promoting it. The European Parliament must therefore be the indispensable partner of the national governments in this long and difficult enterprise.

5. The summit resolves that it will proceed to the direct election of the European Parliament not later than six months after ratification of negotiations for enlargement of the Community; it invites the applicant countries to appoint, as of the commencement of their negotiations for admission, their respective parliamentary delegations, which shall have equal sta

tus with those of the existing members; and to empower the thus enlarged European Parliament to debate and approve common European electoral law, to be incorporated in the respective treaties of membership, and to come into force together with such treaties.

NOTE. The direct election of the European Parliament is an undertaking that has not yet been fulfilled by the governments of the EEC countries, and should not be further delayed, in view of the powers that the European Parliament must assume on the basis of points 2. and 4. On the other hand, the legislation cannot be drafted without the participation of all the countries that are later to implement it.

6. The summit resolves to initiate on 1 January 1970 negotiations between the Commission of the Community and each of the countries that have applied for membership, stipulating as a condition that the treaties to be submitted for ratification shall contain all the following headings, and only such headings:

- a) acceptance by the applicant countries of the presently existing treaties, regulations and resolutions of the Community;
- b) acceptance of the five abovementioned commitments undertaken by the summit;
- c) definition of the length of an adaptation period for the new members, indicating the measures to be taken, the dates of their entry into force, and the amount of the contributions of new members during such period;

- d) institutional arrangements concerning the participation of the new members in the various Community organizations, and the weighting of their respective votes in the Council;
- e) electoral law approved by the Parliament of the enlarged Community, as indicated under point 5;
- f) date of the European elections,

The Commission shall report to the Council on the progress of negotiations, and will receive all further directives that may be necessary.

NOTE. The agreements specified in points 1-5 contain the essentials of the common will without which it would be impossible to conduct negotiations. Since these are agreements that are capable of implementation by the end of the current year (points 1, 2 and 3) or as soon as negotiations commence (points 4 and 5), there can be no difficulty in opening negotiations on 1 January 1970. The precise nature of the topics to be discussed justifies the assumption that negotiations could be completed in a relatively short period of time.

7. The summit requests the Commission to draw up a timetable of all the measures for "achèvement" and "approfondissement" of the Community for submission to the organs of the Community after its enlargement, appending its opinion on each topic indicated in the time-table, which should include, in particular:

- a) revision of agricultural policy in the light of experience already gained or of the projected enlargement of the Community;

- b) merger and revision of the existing treaties in view of the need to ensure that they are capable of meeting the new problems presented after the end of the transitional period;
- c) gradual integration of national monetary policies, with the object of gradual achievement of a Community monetary union.

NOTE. The three abovementioned topics are only the three that are of predominant importance, but it is the "achèvement" and "approfondissement" of the Community as a whole that should appear on the agenda, and this is a matter that only the enlarged Community can deal with. The frequently posed objection that the currently contemplated enlargement of the Community would open the doors to an indefinite number of further entries does not make much political sense. The Europe of the Ten comprises democratic Europe, with the sole exception of those countries which, voluntarily or by international treaty, are committed to a policy of neutrality and therefore do not wish to, or cannot, join the Community. It is not reasonable to suppose that further entries would occur in the short term.

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