

European Sources

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Structure

1. Commission
2. Role of the Council in context of the Hague Summit
3. Parliament

What has the Council done before the Summit?

- *“The Council heard a statement by Mr. Raymond Barre, on the memorandum submitted by the Commission, on the co-ordination of economic policies and monetary co-operation within the Community (...). Prior consultations shall be held on any important measures or decisions which a Member State proposes to take as regards short-term policy (...)”* (extract from press release of the Council on 7/17/1969)
- Proposal of French government at the Council meeting on 7/22/1969 for a conference in the Hague, regarding *“its completion its consolidation and its enlargement”* → approval of the Council
- Restart to examine of the application for EC membership within the Council
- Endorsement of establishing a premium-system in agricultural area
- Decision to conclude tariff agreements with Switzerland, Finland and Austria
- Specification of main discussion-topics, date & organization of the Summit

What has the Council done during the Summit?

- *“(...) 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.”* (From Final Communiqué)
- *“The summit meeting featured Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns, French President Georges Pompidou, and West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel. (...) Pressed by Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns to stipulate a date (...)”* → deadline for beginning negotiation with applicant states
- Differences between heads of government and ministers (e.g. Germany)
- *“We all have the good feeling, (...) that the Common Market can now overcome its stagnation and resume a more dynamic development.”* (W. Scheel)

New Tasks for the Council

- *“(...) they agreed that within the Council, (...) a plan in stages will be worked out during 1970 with a view to the creation of an economic and monetary union.”*
- *“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.”*
- *“The problem of direct elections of European Parliament will continue to be studied by the Council of Ministers”*
- *“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.”*

(From Final Communiqué)

After the Hague Summit...

- Appointment of 'Werner Committee' for economic and monetary union, 'Davignon' committee of foreign ministries

“Le Conseil des Communautés européennes, (...) décide : d’inviter les présidents du Comité monétaire, du Comité des gouverneurs des banques centrales, du Comité de politique économique à moyen terme, du Comité de politique conjoncturelle et du Comité de politique budgétaire, ainsi qu’un représentant de la Commission, à se réunir, sous la présidence de M. Pierre Werner, pour élaborer un rapport comportant une analyse des différentes suggestions et permettant de dégager les options fondamentales d’une réalisation par étapes de l’Union économique et monétaire de la Communauté.” (Decision of the Council on 3/6/1970)

→ Issue the Werner Report (10/8/1970)

→ *“The report (...) adopted in its definitive form on 27 October 1970 by the Foreign Ministers meeting in Luxembourg. (...) The Ministers propose that: Being concerned to achieve progress towards political unification, the Governments should decide to cooperate in the field of foreign policy.”* (Davignon report)

- *“Each institution shall exercise the powers conferred upon it by this Article, with due regard for the provisions of this Treaty and for acts adopted in accordance therewith, in particular those relating to the Communities’ own resources and to the balance between revenue and expenditure.”*(Treaty amending Certain Budgetary Provisions)
- *““A new process has begun”, said Mr Scheel, and he stressed the importance of the decisions taken by the Ministers to set up consultative machinery which would enable the six Governments to increase their political cooperation and harmonize their points of view on international policy matters”* (I. Foreign Ministers Conference on Political Union)
- Decision to reform the ESF (11/26/1970)

European Parliament

The European Parliament

— Considering the particular importance of the forthcoming Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the Community, in whose proceedings the Commission of the European Communities should participate in its capacity as interpreter of the Community interest;

European Parliament

Until 1970	Until Today
1958 – European Parliament Assembly established	1979 – Members were elected directly first time
1962 – Named “European Parliament”	1984 – Draft Treaty of establishing the EU
1967 – Merge of remaining organs	Democratic supervision
1970 – Granted power over communities budget	Share legislative and budgetary power with Council of EU

European Parliament

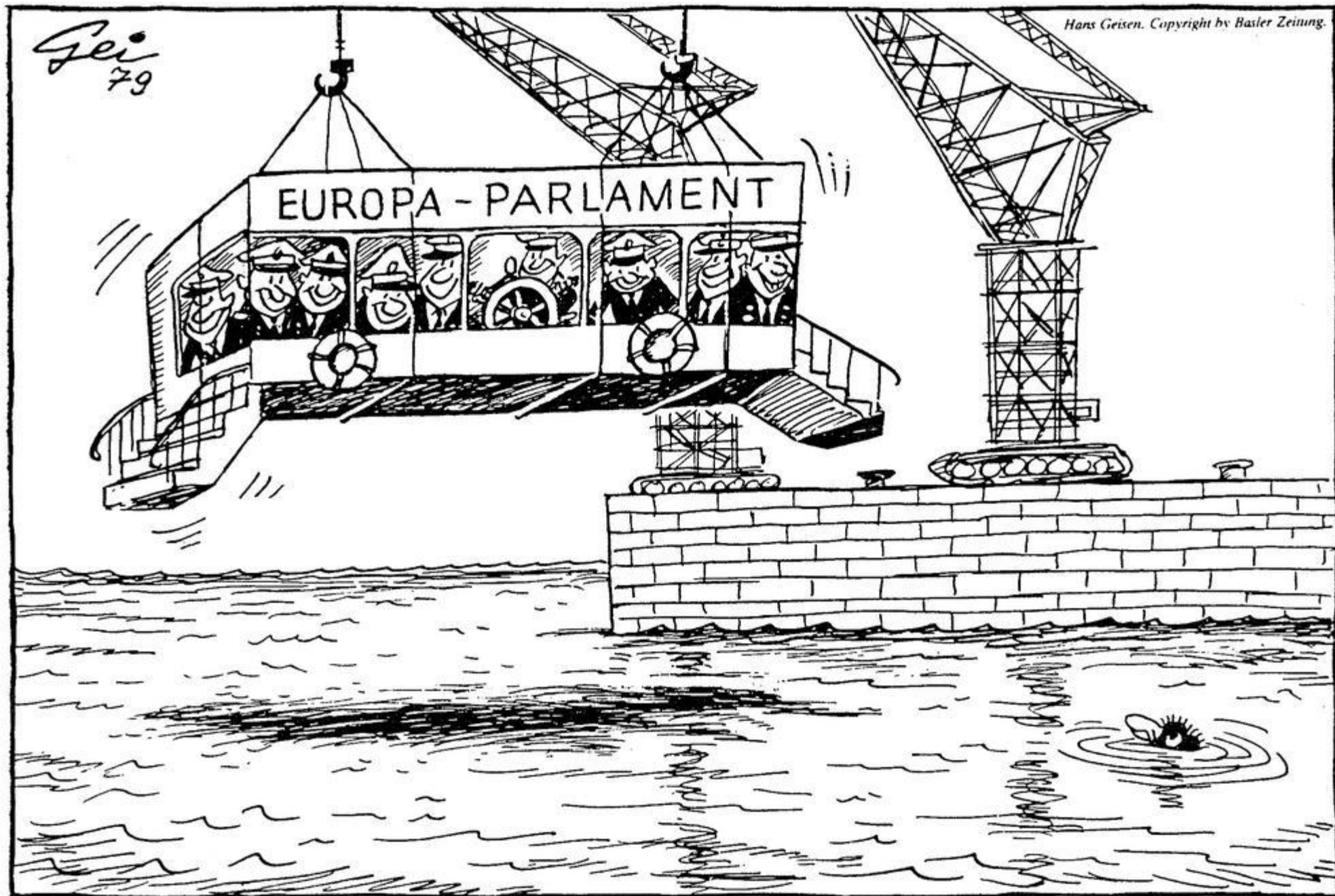
to take part. Prior to the Conference, the European Parliament met in extraordinary session on 3 November 1969 in Luxembourg to determine its attitude to the fundamental problems of European and Community policy. It adopted a resolution which it passed to the Community Governments and to the Council and Commission.¹

- Attitude towards fundamental problems –pushing forward
- EP members publicly asked not to prolong transition period

Narratives: European Parliament

when the Communities are merged. The Community should also be made more democratic by adopting without delay election to the **European Parliament** by universal suffrage, and thus giving the peoples of Europe an interest in the destinies of the Community.

- Wider powers for European Parliament – Budgetary Power
- Question was raised for direct election of members of the European Parliament



Es fehlt nur noch das Schiff

German Newspaper about EP's Role

- Limited information from EP's role and development on The Hague Summit (Spiegel/Die Zeit)
- More general about the big potentials and possible achievements moving on

Headlines:

- 1) "Auf neuen Wegen nach Europa"
 - 2) "Pompidou lobt EWG Gipfel"
 - 3) "EWG Gipfel doch ein Erfolg"
- In general very positive about The Hague Summit

Discussions

Literatures

http://aei.pitt.edu/1451/1/hague_1969.pdf

<http://www.zeit.de/suche/index?q=den+haag+konferenz&from=07.05.1952&to=13.05.1970>

http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_hague_summit-en-fe5ed979-1c4e-4eea-a640-98c358651fd0.html

http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_geisen_on_the_european_parliament_1979-en-37ead188-bb2c-4d4a-8689-ba099e9c1dec.html

Narratives from the European Commission

European Commission before Hague

- de Gaulle wanted to replace or downgrade the Commission of the Community, which he viewed as **being part of an illusionary European Federation governed by an 'aéropage technocratique, apatride et irresponsable'** (de Gaulle, 1970c: : 379). For the French President such a 'technocratic and unaccountable body of elder politicians without any political roots' should merely serve the leaders of the Member States. A Court of Justice was not envisaged in this text.
- ...The duo (the French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and the German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt) also **shared a dislike of the Commission..**
- The History of the European Council, from Wolfgang Wessels, The European Council, Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2015

European Commission before Hague

- The political situation changed abruptly in April 1969, when Charles de Gaulle, French President, resigned from office... He had spent the previous decade clashing repeatedly with his Community partners and the Common Market institutions, especially the European Commission and its first president, Walter Hallstein, over the direction in which the Community was heading. Having returned to power in 1958, de Gaulle had sought to use the EEC as a vehicle to further French economic and political interests.
- Geary, M. J. (2012). The process of European integration from The Hague to Maastricht, 1969–1992: an irreversible advance?.
- The Merger Treaty, also called Brussels Treaty, has been signed on April 8th, 1965 in Brussels; it entered in force since July 1st, 1967. It provided for a Single Commission and a Single Council of the then three European Communities.

Statement by Jean Rey on an economic and monetary union (The Hague, 2 December 1969)



- „Pour aboutir à la fin de la prochaine année une vraie union monétaire“
- -Jean Rey, President of the European Commission at time of the Hague summit, 1969

Jean Rey: Discours devant le Parlement européen

- "Je voudrais, au nom de mes collègues, me réjouir grandement de ce qui a été accompli par la conférence des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement de La Haye, sans omettre [...] de dire quels progrès, parmi ceux que nous attendions d'elle, nous regrettons que cette conférence n'ait pas accomplis.
- **Acknowledging both achievements and failures**
- (Jean Rey 1969)

- 3 Aspects of achievements:
- **completion, deepening and enlargement**
- **Achèvement** – „ne pas proposer la prolongation de la phase de transition“
- **Renforcement** – „peu de chapitres aient été aussi spectaculaires et aussi prometteurs“
- „la grande réforme“ de la structure de l'**agriculture** dans la Communauté
- **Elargissement** – „ce ne sont plus les États membres individuellement qui, réunis en une simple conférence inter-gouvernementale, vont négocier avec... mais la Communauté comme telle.

- Failures
- The Rey commission envisaged European mandate on **foreign policy and promotion of democracy in the EP.**
- la conférence n'a pas parlé du tout du **rôle de l'Europe dans le monde.**
- Mais: Ce n'était pas l'objet de la réunion de La Haye
- les travaux et le communiqué n'aient pour ainsi dire soufflé mot de l'union politique.
- la conférence n'ait pas voulu se prononcer de façon positive sur **l'élection du Parlement européen.**
- on pouvait au moins proclamer la volonté de la conférence de voir élire le Parlement européen **au suffrage universel** et inviter, par conséquent, le Conseil à accélérer et à terminer ses travaux dans ce domaine.

The European Commission endeavored to instill the **notion of irreversability** into the process of integration starting with the Hague summit

- „One of the main themes running through the first enlargement talks was the notion of irreversibility.“ (p.16) **The notion of irreversibility has been the guiding principle of the integration process since the 1960s.** (p.19)
- „Delors’ policy entrepreneurship had at its very core the notion of irreversibility“ (p.19)
- Ever fearful that the integration process might be reversed, **the Commission has been to the fore as policy entrepreneurs suggesting innovative ways to promote a forward momentum.** (p.19)
- Michael J. Geary, (2012) *The Process of European Integration from The Hague to Maastricht, 1969-92: An Irreversible Advance?*

Interview with Gaston Thorn: The Hague Summit (Luxembourg, 6 February 2006)

Shifting of EC Narrative in the 70s?



- Gaston Thorn, President of the European Commission in the eighties (1981-1985)
- Comes from Eurosceptic Party LI
- Did you have the feeling that all the European partners, namely the Six at that time, were all on the same wavelength?
- [Gaston Thorn] No.
- For the Six to think in the same way or even merely to look in the same direction, sharing a more or less common perspective, is something that I believe today to be virtually impossible.
- The atmosphere in The Hague was quite euphoric...
- The Hague was what we would now call 'a major European event' ...

The 70s and the Thorn commission

- Late 70s: arrival of Margaret Thatcher
- „The British, in particular, were unhappy with their annual financial contribution to the Community’s budget. It was this issue that would dominate relations between London and Brussels for the next decade. During the enlargement negotiations, both the Community and British negotiating teams attempted to forge the best possible deal, largely at the expense of the other side.“(p.16)
- „...Relations between the member states in the post-enlargement Community were far from harmonious. Britain pursued an erratic European policy first almost immediately after membership. Its relations with the Community were no less tumultuous than during the pre- accession days.“ (p.17)
- Michael J. Geary, (2012) *The Process of European Integration from The Hague to Maastricht, 1969-92: An Irreversible Advance?*
- Gaston Thorn was often seen as a defender of French interest

Barroso: "A new narrative for Europe"
Shifting of EC Narrative in Today's Europe?

- “But why **turn to the world of culture to develop a new narrative on Europe** among other contributions of course?”
- Quite simply, because culture is a core value and a strong unifying element in European integration. “
- “Telling Europe a new narrative will ensure that our citizens are inspired by the great achievements of European culture.”
- (Barroso 2013)



- José Manuel Barroso
- President of European Commission 2004-2014
- President during the financial crisis and waves of resistances to European integration

Barroso: "A **new** narrative for Europe"

- “the European Commission defends a Europe that invests in culture, in education, in research and innovation. These are investments in future growth, jobs **and social cohesion.**”
- (Barroso 2013)
- From “Permissive Consensus” to “Constraining Dissensus” (Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A **postfunctionalist** theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(01), 1-23.)
- **Acknowledging contingencies in EC official narratives**
- **The EC projects spirit of the time into narratives of its own history**

Thank you for your attention!