

**THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL**

**DUBLIN**  
**28 APRIL 1990**

Documents in the dossier include:

*Special Meeting of the European Council*

Reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 4/1990

*The European Community Welcomes German Unification, Reinforces guidelines of  
Internal and External Activities and Confirms Commitment to Political Union*

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*Special Meeting of the European Council*

Address by Charles Haughey, President of the European Council to  
the European Parliament, 16 May 1990

Reproduced from the Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 5/1990

*Press conference on the informal European Council*

Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission

Brussels, 26 April 1990

(text in French only)

# I — Special meeting of the European Council

## Dublin, 28 April

*1.1.* Chaired by Mr Charles Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister, the special meeting of the European Council was attended by Mr Delors and Mr Andriessen, President and Vice-President of the Commission, and opened with an address by Mr Barón Crespo, President of Parliament. In a very cordial atmosphere, unanimous agreement was reached on a common approach to German unification and relations with Central and Eastern Europe and to the CSCE process. The Heads of State or Government also agreed a procedure for preparing proposals on strengthening political union, which will be laid before the June European Council. In addition they clearly restated their determination to see progress in combating the drug traffic and international organized crime.

In considering the implications of developments in Central and Eastern Europe and, in particular, of German unification for the Community integration process, which constituted the initial agenda for the meeting, the Council had before it two major communications from the Commission. These papers were very favourably received, both at the European Council itself and at the informal preparatory meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Member States, which took place in Dublin on 21 April.

In the communication on German unification the Commission defines what it sees as the three stages involved in the integration of the German Democratic Republic into a unified Germany, and hence into the Community: an interim adjustment stage, beginning with the introduction of inter-German monetary union, accompanied by a number of social and economic reforms in the GDR; a second transitional stage, beginning with the formal unification of the two Germanys; and a final stage, corresponding to full application of Community legislation. The Commission also stresses the need for Community involvement in the necessary decision-making and indicates certain potential problem areas.

The strategy for developing the Community's relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe outlined by the Commission is as follows: prompt completion of the Community's network of first-generation trade and cooperation agreements; as soon as the necessary political and economic conditions are in place, negotiation of a new generation of association agreements providing an institutional framework for political dialogue, without in any way adversely affecting the quite separate right of accession of the countries concerned; at multilateral level, in addition to active Community participation in the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe, the extension to other countries of coordinated G-24 assistance, reinforced by the activities of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, by the European Training Foundation and by the Tempus student mobility scheme.

## Conclusions of the Presidency

### • References:

- Madrid European Council: Bull. EC 6-1989, points 1.1.1 to 1.1.24
- Strasbourg European Council: Bull. EC 12-1989, points 1.1.1 to 1.1.28

*1.2.* The European Council expresses its deep satisfaction at developments in Central and Eastern Europe since the Strasbourg European Council. It applauds the continuing process of change in these countries with whose peoples we share a common heritage and culture. This process of change brings ever closer a Europe which, having overcome the unnatural divisions imposed on it by ideology and confrontation, stands united in its commitment to democracy, pluralism, the rule of law, full respect for human rights, and the principles of the market economy. The European Council welcomes in particular the holding of free elections in the German Democratic Republic and Hungary and looks forward to similar developments in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

*1.3.* The Community warmly welcomes German unification. It looks forward to the positive and fruitful contribution that all Germans can make following the forthcoming integration of the terri-

tory of the German Democratic Republic into the Community. We are confident that German unification — the result of a freely expressed wish on the part of the German people — will be a positive factor in the development of Europe as a whole and of the Community in particular.

1.4. A point has now been reached where the continued dynamic development of the Community has become an imperative not only because it corresponds to the direct interests of the 12 Member States but also because it has become a crucial element in the progress that is being made in establishing a reliable framework for peace and security in Europe. The European Council therefore agrees that further decisive steps should be taken towards European unity as envisaged in the Single European Act.

### German unification

1.5. We are pleased that German unification is taking place under a European roof. The Community will ensure that the integration of the territory of the German Democratic Republic into the Community is accomplished in a smooth and harmonious way. The European Council is satisfied that this integration will contribute to faster economic growth in the Community, and agrees that it will take place in conditions of economic balance and monetary stability. The integration will become effective as soon as unification is legally established, subject to the necessary transitional arrangements. It will be carried out without revision of the Treaties.

1.6. During the period prior to unification, the Federal Government will keep the Community fully informed of any relevant measures discussed and agreed between the authorities of the two Germanys for the purpose of aligning their policies and their legislation. Furthermore, the Commission will be fully involved with these discussions.

In this period the German Democratic Republic will benefit from full access to the European Investment Bank, Euratom and ECSC loan facilities, in addition to Community support in the context of the coordinated action of the Group of 24 countries and participation in Eureka projects.

As regards the transitional arrangements, the Commission will as soon as possible, and in the context of an overall report, submit to the Council proposals for such measures as are deemed necessary, and the Council will take decisions on these rapidly. These measures, which will enter into force at the moment of unification, will permit a balanced integration based on the principles of cohesion and

solidarity and on the need to take account of all the interests involved, including those resulting from the *acquis communautaire*. The transitional measures will be confined to what is strictly necessary and aim at full integration as rapidly and as harmoniously as possible.

### Internal and external development of the Community

1.7. In parallel with the process of the unification of Germany, the Community will continue its internal and external development. To this end, the European Council asks the relevant Community bodies to follow the guidelines set out below:

(i) The European Council is satisfied with progress achieved so far towards establishing the single market without internal frontiers in which people, goods, services and capital can circulate freely from the end of 1992 in accordance with the provisions of Article 8a of the Treaty. We are determined to ensure that the objectives laid down in the Single Act are fully and effectively achieved in all respects.

(ii) The Community will establish in stages an economic and monetary union in accordance with the principles of economic and social cohesion and in accordance with the conclusions of the European Councils in Madrid and Strasbourg. The preparations for the Intergovernmental Conference on EMU, which are already well advanced, will be further intensified with a view to permitting that Conference, which will open in December 1990, to conclude its work rapidly, with the objective of ratification by Member States before the end of 1992.

(iii) The Community will act as a political entity on the international scene, open to good relations with other countries and groups of countries.

(iv) The movement to restore freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and the progress already made, and in prospect, in arms negotiations, now make it both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. To this end, the Community and its Member States will play a leading role in all proceedings and discussions within the CSCE process and in efforts to establish new political structures or agreements based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, while maintaining existing security arrangements which Member States have. The European Council asks Foreign Ministers to prepare this work in accordance with guidelines in Annex I.

(v) The Community attaches great interest to and will work actively for early agreement with our

EFTA partners on the establishment of a European Economic Area.

### Central and Eastern Europe

1.8. With regard to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the European Council welcomes the wide range of measures adopted or put in place over the past months, including the agreement on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the conclusion of trade and cooperation agreements between the Community and most of those countries, the Community programme on professional training and student exchange, soon to be finalized, and other important actions in the context of the G-24 cooperation. The European Council is of the opinion that transfers of private capital and investments towards these countries should be encouraged and invites the Commission to study the implementation of the most appropriate accompanying measures (e.g. reinsurance, granting of guarantees).

The European Council agrees that the action within the framework of G-24 should be extended to the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. The Community will work actively for the adoption of an action plan for assistance to these countries at the forthcoming G-24 ministerial meeting.

Discussions will start forthwith in the Council, on the basis of the Commission's communication, on Association Agreements with each of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which include an institutional framework for political dialogue. The Community will work to complete association negotiations with these countries as soon as possible on the understanding that the basic conditions with regard to democratic principles and transition towards a market economy are fulfilled.

### Other countries

1.9. In parallel with its European commitment, the Community is determined to pursue its major role as a responsible participant at a wider international level.

1.10. With regard to its relations with the United States, the Community will make the fullest use of and further develop its close transatlantic relations based on regular contacts at the highest levels. In this context we express our satisfaction with the understanding reached between the President of the European Council and the President of the United States on the holding of one meeting at that level during each Community Presidency. We agree

that this and the other regular meetings, including meetings with the Community, provide a good framework for the further expansion of relations between the Community and the United States.

1.11. The Community will intensify its policy of good relations with the Mediterranean countries, based on more effective cooperation, taking into consideration the particular problems of each of them. It will pursue its special relationship with the ACP countries and it will intensify its cooperation with countries in Asia and Latin America. It remains fully committed to, and will contribute to a successful conclusion of, the Uruguay Round multilateral negotiations. The Community will pursue its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD members.

### Political union

1.12. The European Council discussed the proposal of President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl on political union, and the paper submitted by the Belgian Government on the same subject.

In this context the European Council confirmed its commitments to political union and decided on the following steps:

(i) A detailed examination will be put in hand forthwith on the need for possible Treaty changes with the aim of strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the union, enabling the Community and its institutions to respond efficiently and effectively to the demands of the new situation, and assuring unity and coherence in the Community's international action;

(ii) Foreign Ministers will undertake this examination and analysis, and prepare proposals to be discussed at the European Council in June with a view to a decision on the holding of a second intergovernmental conference to work in parallel with the conference on economic and monetary union with a view to ratification by Member States in the same time-frame.

### Drugs and international organized crime

1.13. The European Council expresses its serious concern at the threat posed by the abuse of and illicit trade in narcotic drugs, and its link with international organized crime. This trade causes tragic damage to lives and waste of human potential. It has now also become an international issue, with drug traffickers disposing of very considerable financial and other resources. The threat con-

cerns both developed and developing countries, and calls for action at the international level.

The European Council asks the high-level coordinators group, Celad, in close consultation with the Commission, to report to the General Affairs Council, with a view to the meeting of the European Council in June, on measures to bring about more effective coordination and on priorities for action by the Community and Member States in the context of a concerted action against drug abuse and illicit production, distribution and sale of narcotic drugs.

## Cyprus

1.14. The European Council agreed the conclusions in Annex II.

## Annex I

### *Guidelines on the CSCE*

#### • References:

Final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE): Bull. EC 7/8-1975, points 1201 to 1204

Joint Declaration of the Twelve on the CSCE: Bull. EC 1/2-1990, point 1.3.9

1.15. The changes in Europe that we are witnessing bring with them the opportunity of overcoming the division of our continent and building a new system of relations between the States of Europe, based on the aims and principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The CSCE process, which has already made a significant contribution to change, will serve as a framework for reform and stability on our continent, and should be developed in new directions. The Community and its Member States are determined to assume their responsibilities wholeheartedly and to play a full part in the CSCE process; they are considering appropriate arrangements to achieve this end.

There is now wide agreement on the desirability of a summit meeting of the CSCE participating States before the end of this year. This would mark the starting point for a more advanced stage of the Helsinki process. The decisions necessary to launch the summit process should be taken as soon as possible so as to ensure

that the preparations essential for its successful outcome are completed in good time. This should include an early decision on the opening date and venue of a Preparatory Committee as well as on the venue of the summit. For their part, the Twelve propose that the Preparatory Committee could start in July, and the summit itself could take place in Paris.

The Community and its Member States are continuing intensively with their preparations for the summit. In their Declaration of 20 February, the Twelve have set out the issues which in their view are appropriate for consideration at the summit. They look in particular towards a balanced development of the CSCE, encompassing notably the development of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, human rights, better protection of minorities, human contacts, security, economic cooperation, the environment, further cooperation in the Mediterranean and cooperation in the field of culture.

The CSCE summit should make it possible to consider new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process, also taking into account proposals made by the Central and Eastern European countries, including the possibility of regular consultative meetings of Foreign Ministers and the establishment of a small administrative Secretariat. It will also provide the opportunity to consider the relationship that should exist between the CSCE process and other relevant institutions, such as the Council of Europe. It should mandate the Foreign Ministers of the 35 accordingly.

Already, the new climate of cooperation that prevails has made possible a practical and forward-looking outcome to the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe (→ point 1.2.60). The results obtained there will serve as guidelines for future economic cooperation between the 35. The Community made a major contribution to the success of the conference. The Bonn Document, which acknowledges the link between political pluralism and market economies, provides a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe.

The Twelve look forward to a similar spirit of cooperation at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension, and trust it will be possible to achieve major substantial results there also, results which will serve to strengthen the commitment of all the participating States to human rights and enable all Europeans to enjoy to the full their fundamental rights and freedoms.

The Twelve reaffirm the importance of the Mediterranean dimension of the CSCE. Being of the

view that the experience of the CSCE process can have positive effects on the Mediterranean basin, they hope that the meeting in Palma de Mallorca will enable progress to be made in this dimension of the CSCE process.

The Twelve are committed to a secure and stable balance of forces in Europe at lower levels. They look to an early, successful conclusion to the negotiation on conventional armed forces in Europe, which is taking place in the framework of the CSCE, as well as to the adoption of further confidence and security-building measures. They affirm once again the importance of continuing negotiations in the field of arms control and the building of security and confidence in Europe with a view to achieving a lasting framework for security in Europe.

## **Annex II**

### *Cyprus*

*I.16.* The European Council discussed the Cyprus question in the light of the impasse in the intercommunal dialogue.

The Twelve, deeply concerned at the situation, fully reaffirm their previous declarations and their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. They stress the need for a prompt resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, as was recently reaffirmed by Resolution 649/90 of the Security Council.

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**THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WELCOMES GERMAN UNIFICATION,  
REINFORCES GUIDELINES FOR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES  
AND CONFIRMS COMMITMENT TO POLITICAL UNION**

European Community leaders meeting at summit level in Dublin, April 28, published the conclusions below. Normally the twelve Heads of State or Government meet twice a year as the "European Council", in the member state holding the six-month Council Presidency. This April summit was an extraordinary one due to the rapid changes in Central and Eastern Europe. The next traditional summit will again be in Dublin on June 25 and 26.

PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS

1. The European Council expresses its deep satisfaction at developments in Central and Eastern Europe since the Strasbourg European Council. It applauds the continuing process of change in these countries with whose peoples we share a common heritage and culture. This process of change brings even closer a Europe which, having overcome the unnatural divisions imposed on it by ideology and confrontation, stands united in its commitment to democracy, pluralism, the rule of law, full respect for human rights, and the principles of the market economy. The European Council welcomes in particular the holding of free elections in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Hungary and looks forward to similar developments in the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.
2. The Community warmly welcomes German unification. It looks forward to the positive and fruitful contribution that all Germans can make following the forthcoming integration of the territory of the GDR into the Community. We are confident that German unification - the result of a freely expressed wish on the part of the German people - will be a positive factor in the development of Europe as a whole and of the Community in particular.
3. A point has now been reached where the continued dynamic development of the Community has become an imperative not only because it corresponds to the direct interests of the twelve member states, but also because it has become a crucial element in the progress that is being made in establishing a reliable framework for peace and security in Europe. The European Council therefore agrees that further, decisive steps should be taken towards European unity as envisaged in the Single European Act.

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## GERMAN UNIFICATION

4. We are pleased that German unification is taking place under a European roof. The Community will ensure that the integration of the territory of the GDR into the Community is accomplished in a smooth and harmonious way. The European Council is satisfied that this integration will contribute to faster economic growth in the Community and agrees that it will take place in conditions of economic balance and monetary stability. The integration will become effective as soon as unification is legally established, subject to the necessary transitional arrangements. It will be carried out without revision of the Treaties.

5. During the period prior to unification, the Federal Government will keep the Community fully informed of any relevant measures discussed and agreed between the authorities of the two Germanies for the purpose of aligning their policies and their legislation. Furthermore, the Commission will be fully involved with these discussions. In this period the German Democratic Republic will benefit from full access to the European Investment Bank, European Atomic Energy and Coal and Steel Communities loan facilities, in addition to Community support in the context of the coordinated action of the Group of 24 countries and with participation in EUREKA projects. As regards the transitional arrangements, the Commission will as soon as possible, and in the context of an overall report, submit to the Council proposals for such measures as are deemed necessary and the Council will take decisions on these rapidly. These measures, which will enter into force at the moment of unification, will permit a balanced integration based on the principles of cohesion and solidarity and on the need to take account of all the interests involved, including those resulting from the "acquis communautaire"<sup>1</sup>. The transitional measures will be confined to what is strictly necessary and aim at full integration as rapidly and as harmoniously as possible.

## INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

6. In parallel with the process of the unification of Germany, the Community will continue its internal and external development. To this end the European Council asks the relevant Community bodies to follow the guidelines set out below:

- (i) The European Council is satisfied with progress achieved so far towards establishing the single market without internal frontiers in which people, goods, services and capital can circulate freely from the end of 1992 in accordance with the provisions of Article 8(a) of the Treaty. We are determined to ensure that the objectives laid down in the Single Act are fully and effectively achieved in all respects.
- (ii) The Community will establish in stages an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in accordance with the principles of economic and social cohesion and in accordance with the conclusions of the European Councils in Madrid and Strasbourg. The preparations for the Intergovernmental Conference on EMU which are already well advanced will be further intensified with a view to permitting that Conference, which will open in December 1990, to conclude its work rapidly with the objective of ratification by member states before the end of 1992.
- (iii) The Community will act as a political entity on the international scene, open to good relations with other countries and groups of countries.

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<sup>1</sup> "acquis communautaire" - recognition of the rights and obligations under the E.C. Treaties and laws

- (iv) The movement to restore freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and the progress already made, and in prospect, in arms negotiations, now make it both possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. To this end the Community and its member states will play a leading role in all proceedings and discussions within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) process and in efforts to establish new political structures or agreements based on the principles of the Helsinki Final Act while maintaining existing security arrangements which member states have. The European Council asks Foreign Ministers to prepare this work in accordance with guidelines in Annex I.
- (v) The Community attaches great interest in and will work actively for early agreement with our European Free Trade Association (EFTA) partners on the establishment of a European Economic Area.

#### CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

- (i) With regard to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the European Council welcomes the wide range of measures adopted or put in place over the past months, including the agreement on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the conclusion of trade and cooperation agreements between the Community and most of those countries, the Community programs on professional training and student exchange soon to be finalized and other important actions in the context of the G-24 cooperation. The European Council is of the opinion that transfers of private capital and investments towards these countries should be encouraged, and invites the Commission to study the implementation of the most appropriate accompanying measures (e.g. reassurance, granting of guarantees).
- (ii) The European Council agrees that the action within the framework of G-24 should be extended to the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania. The Community will work actively for the adoption of an action plan for assistance to these countries at the forthcoming G-24 ministerial meeting.
- (iii) Discussions will start forthwith in the Council, on the basis of the Commission's communication, on Association Agreements with each of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which include an institutional framework for political dialogue. The Community will work to complete Association negotiations with these countries as soon as possible on the understanding that the basic conditions with regard to democratic principles and transition towards a market economy are fulfilled.

#### OTHER COUNTRIES

- (i) In parallel with its European commitment, the Community is determined to pursue its major role as a responsible participant at a wider international level.
- (ii) With regard to its relations with the United States, the Community will make the fullest use of and further develop its close transatlantic relations based on regular contacts at the highest levels. In this context we express our satisfaction with the understanding reached between the President of the European Council and the President of the United States on the holding of one meeting at that level during each Community Presidency. We agree that this and the other regular meetings, including meetings with the Commission, provide a good framework for the further expansion of relations between the Community and the United States.

- (iii) The Community will intensify its policy of good relations with the Mediterranean countries, based on more effective cooperation, taking into consideration the particular problems of each of them. It will pursue its special relationship with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and it will intensify its cooperation with countries in Asia and Latin America. It remains committed to and will contribute to a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round multilateral negotiations. The Community will pursue its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) members.

### POLITICAL UNION

7. The European Council discussed the proposal of President Francois Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Political Union and the paper submitted by the Belgian Government on the same subject.

In this context the European Council confirmed its commitment to Political Union and decided on the following steps:

- (i) a detailed examination will be put in hand forthwith on the need for possible treaty changes with the aim of strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the union, enabling the Community and its institutions to respond efficiently and effectively to the demands of the new situation, and assuring unity and coherence in the Community's international action.
- (ii) Foreign Ministers will undertake this examination and analysis, and prepare proposals to be discussed at the European Council in June with a view to a decision on the holding of a second intergovernmental conference to work in parallel with the conference on economic and monetary union with a view to ratification by member states in the same time-frame.

### DRUGS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME

8. The European Council expresses its serious concern at the threat posed by the abuse of and illicit trade in narcotic drugs and its link with international organized crime. This trade causes tragic damage to lives and waste of human potential. It has now also become an international issue, with drug traffickers disposing of very considerable financial and other resources. The threat concerns both developed and developing countries and calls for action at the international level.

The European Council asks the high-level coordinators group, in close consultation with the Commission, to report to the General Affairs Council with a view to the meeting of the European Council in June on measures to bring about more effective coordination and on priorities for action by the Community and member states in the context of a concerted action against drug abuse and illicit production, distribution and sale of narcotic drugs.

### CYPRUS

9. The European Council agreed the conclusions in Annex II.

## ANNEX I

### GUIDELINES ON CSCE

The changes in Europe that we are witnessing bring with them the opportunity of overcoming the division of our continent and building a new system of relations between the States of Europe, based on the aims and principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The CSCE process, which has already made a significant contribution to change, will serve as a framework for reform and stability on our continent, and should be developed in new directions. The Community and its member states are determined to assume their responsibilities wholeheartedly and to play a full part in the CSCE process; they are considering appropriate arrangements to achieve this end.

There is now wide agreement on the desirability of a Summit meeting of the CSCE participating states before the end of this year. This would mark the starting point for a more advanced stage of the Helsinki process. The decisions necessary to launch the Summit process should be taken as soon as possible so as to ensure that the preparations essential for its successful outcome are completed in good time. This should include an early decision on the opening date and venue of a Preparatory Committee as well as on the venue of the Summit. For their part, the Twelve propose that the Preparatory Committee could start in July, and the Summit itself could take place in Paris.

The Community and its member states are continuing intensively with their preparations for the Summit. In their Declaration of February 20, the Twelve have set out the issues which in their view are appropriate for consideration at the Summit. They look in particular towards a balanced development of the CSCE encompassing notably the development of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, human rights, better protection of minorities, human contacts, security, economic cooperation, the environment, further cooperation in the Mediterranean and cooperation in the field of culture.

The CSCE Summit should make it possible to consider new institutional arrangements within the CSCE process, taking also into account proposals made by the Central and Eastern European countries, including the possibility of regular consultative meetings of Foreign Ministers and the establishment of a small administrative secretariat. It will also provide the opportunity to consider the relationship that should exist between the CSCE process and other relevant institutions, such as the Council of Europe. It should mandate the Foreign Ministers of the 35 accordingly.

Already, the new climate of cooperation that prevails has made possible a practical and forward-looking outcome to the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe. The results obtained there will serve as guidelines for future economic cooperation between the 35. The Community made a major contribution to the success of the Conference. The Bonn Document, which acknowledges the link between political pluralism and market economies, provides a basic orientation for future economic relations and cooperation in Europe.

The Twelve look forward to a similar spirit of cooperation at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension, and trust it will be possible to achieve major substantial results there also, results which will serve to strengthen the commitment of all the participating states to human rights and enable all European to enjoy to the full their fundamental rights and freedoms.

The Twelve reaffirm the importance of the Mediterranean dimension of the CSCE. Being of the view that the experience of the CSCE process can have positive effects on the Mediterranean basin, they hope that the meeting in Palma de Mallorca will enable progress to be made in this dimension of the CSCE process.

The Twelve are committed to a secure and stable balance of forces in Europe at lower levels. They look to an early, successful conclusion to the negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which is taking place in the framework of the CSCE, as well as to the adoption of further confidence and security building measures. They affirm once again the importance of continuing negotiations in the field of arms control and the building of security and confidence in Europe with a view to achieving a lasting framework for security in Europe.

## ANNEX II

### CYPRUS

The European Council discussed the Cyprus question in the light of the impasse on the intercommunal dialogue.

The Twelve, deeply concerned at the situation, fully reaffirm their previous declarations and their support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. They stress the need for a prompt resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, as was recently reaffirmed by resolution 649/90 of the Security Council.

Otherwise we will relapse into negotiation rather than the search for a solution, as happens all too often in the case of political cooperation.

The second objection that could be raised is whether this is a realistic scheme for the Greater Europe of tomorrow. Max Kohnstamm, enthusiastic and dynamic as ever, has made a two-faceted proposal. "Why not," he suggests, "apply the same method in the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe?" And the answer he gives is: "Yes, but provided the Community is strengthened." The question is — which is the chicken and which is the egg?

As true, careful Europeans we shall have to keep a watchful eye on the *acquis communautaire* dur-

ing the coming months, to avoid throwing out the baby with the bath water.

Imagine the clamour we would face if, in a hastily cobbled-together package, confounding vision with pragmatism, we were to dream up a new structure in order to satisfy straight away the wishes — however ardent — of the Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, and Austrians. What would we do, knowing that inside the Community the spirit of Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman has to be rekindled anew every day as we learn to manage and exercise our joint sovereignty.

Let us, then, stretch out a welcoming hand to the other countries of Europe; but let us not throw away what we have gained through Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet, and all who worked with them.'

### 3. Special meeting of the European Council

2.3.1. Address on 16 May by Mr Charles Haughey, President of the European Council, to the European Parliament on the outcome of the special European Council held in Dublin on 28 April.

'Mr President, distinguished Members of the European Parliament, I am grateful for your invitation to address Parliament. It gives me the opportunity to speak to the directly elected representatives of over 320 million Europeans and to listen to your views on the great issues that face our Community and our continent. I know that the issues discussed at the special European Council in Dublin on 28 April are the subject of debate and thoughtful consideration in this chamber. For this reason it was important that the Heads of State or Government had the opportunity to hear the views of Parliament from your distinguished President at the beginning of our meeting.

Today, I want to report to you about the outcome of our meeting and about the decisions taken, which I believe are of vital importance to the future of Europe.

The meeting was convened in response to the dramatic unfolding of events in Europe over the past months. I believed, and my fellow Heads of State or Government agreed, that such was the pace of events and the need for a cohesive and

considered Community response that we should not wait until the scheduled European Council in June to act.

Our continent is undergoing a profound transformation; a period during which the future of the continent and its people are being shaped for a long time to come. It has demonstrated that the demand of peoples for their basic rights can never be finally subdued.

I need only mention the case of Solidarity in Poland. A major impetus for change was provided by President Gorbachev, but the dramatic revelation of what was really happening came at that moment six months ago when the people of Berlin began to tear down the wall that divided their city. At that moment too, as Vaclav Havel has observed, they began to sweep away the wall that had divided Europe for half a century. After decades of division we had suddenly and unexpectedly arrived at the beginning of the end of the barren post-war years of confrontation. Our ancient continent at last has the opportunity of fully realizing, through peace and cooperation, the enormous potential of its people and resources. The European Community is the anchor of stability for all of Europe at this time, the source of hope and optimism for the future. We must ensure that it provides the leadership and direction that is needed if Europe is to achieve the peace, democratic freedom and economic betterment her people are entitled to.

The most immediate and pressing challenges facing the Community, and those which originally led me to call the special Council were three:

- (i) the prospect of German unification and the consequent integration of the German Democratic Republic into the Community;
- (ii) the need to formulate an adequate and coherent policy towards the re-emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe;
- (iii) and the need to accelerate the process of European integration.

I believe that the European Council made substantive and decisive progress in all three areas.

Let me begin with German unification. Germany is a founder member of the Community, and the Federal Republic has, from the beginning, been a central pillar of European construction. The Federal Republic has never allowed its aspiration towards national unification to affect the movement toward European unity. Indeed, successive West German leaders have consistently maintained that German unification could only come about under a European roof.

The warm welcome which Heads of State or Government expressed for the prospect of German unification at the special Council was both unequivocal and important. I am pleased to have the opportunity of conveying this to Parliament in the presence of Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister de Maizière.

But it is not only Germany which has cause for satisfaction. The incorporation of the territory of the GDR into the Federal Republic under Article 23 of the Basic Law will simultaneously create an additional 16 million Community citizens who will bring the benefit of their inherent skills and enterprise and enlarge the overall size of the single market. Special understanding will be required in the short term to enable this part of Germany to recover from the experience of the last 45 years and to adapt to the standards of the Community, but there can be no doubt of the Community's enrichment.

The special Council expressed its determination that the integration of the territory of the GDR into the Community would be completed with the minimum of disruption.

Fears on this latter aspect underestimate both the momentum which has built up behind the integration process and the reservoir of energy, determination and political skill available within the Community institutions, in Germany, and in the other Member States, which can be mobilized to tackle any difficulties which may arise. We are confident that both the Federal Republic and corre-

spondingly the Community can accommodate, without undue difficulty, the integration of a territory whose population is a quarter of that of the Federal Republic and less than a twentieth of that of the Community.

The Council expressed its view on this point in clear terms. It was satisfied that the integration of the German Democratic Republic will contribute to faster economic growth in the Community and agreed that integration should take place in conditions of economic balance and monetary stability.

I do not seek to diminish the problems involved, simply to stress that they are manageable. There will, of course, be a need for a detailed examination of the transitional arrangements, but the Federal Government has undertaken to keep the Community fully informed of any relevant measures discussed and agreed between the Federal and GDP authorities for the purpose of aligning their policies and their legislation. Furthermore the Commission will be fully involved in the discussions.

The Commission will be bringing forward proposals for transitional arrangements to apply to the present GDP territory on its integration into the Community. These will be kept to the necessary minimum. They will be designed to allow for the quickest possible assumption of the *acquis communautaire* compatible with conditions in the regions involved.

On the basis of discussions at the special Council, I am confident that incorporation of the territory of the GDR into the Community can be completed without detrimental implications for other regions of the Community. The Council heard an emphatic assurance from Chancellor Kohl that the integration of the GDR territory into the Community would not be achieved at the expense of the existing less-developed regions. This commitment, together with the statement in the Council conclusions, offers a timely reassurance to the people of the less-prosperous regions and once again illustrates the Community's determination to ensure that economic development should proceed in a cohesive and integrated manner.

German unification is, of course, only part of a wider scenario which is unfolding in the central and eastern areas of our continent. The great popular uprising which swept away the oppressive regime in the GDR has been repeated to varying extents in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania. New ideas and courageous leadership in Moscow are encouraging the rest of Europe to hope that negotiations will lead not only to mutually acceptable arrangements between the peoples who comprise the Soviet Union, but also

to the establishment of an entirely new relationship between all the peoples of Europe.

The impact of these changes on the Community and its people has been profound. As the political and physical barriers which have divided the Community from the East are being stripped away so too are the psychological divisions. Great cities like Dresden, Prague, Cracow, and Budapest are taking their place once again in our consciousness as repositories of European culture and history. The special Council, in applauding the process of change in Central and Eastern Europe, specifically acknowledged the common heritage and culture which the countries of this region share with the Community. The emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe are returning to the mainstream of European life with considerable expectations, aroused in large part by the achievements of the European Community. It is vital that the Community continues to provide leadership and inspiration to the rest of the continent and that we respond to the changes in Central and Eastern Europe in a positive and realistic way. This we have been doing, in a flexible approach, tailored to respond to the political and economic situation in each country.

The first stage of the Community's action plan is already under way, in the form of immediate short-term assistance, trade concessions, investment measures, financial stabilization measures and project aid. Programmes on professional training and student exchange will soon be finalized. A second phase — running parallel to the first — has seen the completion of a network of trade and cooperation agreements. The Council decided, on the basis of a communication from the Commission, to move on in the near future to negotiations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe on Association Agreements which will include an institutional framework for political dialogue. Negotiations on these agreements are to be completed as soon as possible, on the understanding that conditions relating to democratic principles and the transition towards a market economy are fulfilled in these countries.

In addition to launching its own initiatives, the Community has also taken a leading role in the context of cooperation in the Group of 24 countries and in the establishment of a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The special Council called for action within the framework of the G-24 to be extended to cover the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. The Council also decided to encourage transfers of private capital and investments towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and invited the Commission to study the implementation of the most appropriate accompanying measures.

The Council's determination that the Community should establish a closer relationship with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is part of a coherent strategy for its external relations. The special Council made it clear that the Community will act as a political entity on the international scene, open to good relations with other countries and groups of countries. As an essential part of this approach the Council confirmed that the Community should work actively for an early agreement with our EFTA partners, our closest and most intimate neighbours, on the establishment of a European economic area. In my meetings with EFTA leaders over the past months I have found a keen desire on their part to commence negotiations.

At a time when freedom and democracy are being restored in Central and Eastern Europe and progress is being made in arms-control negotiations it is now possible and necessary to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation on our continent. The European Council decided that while Member States will maintain their existing security arrangements, the Community and its Member States will play a leading role in all proceedings and discussions within the CSCE process and in efforts to establish new political structures or agreements based on the Helsinki principles.

The CSCE can play a vital role in the wider framework and should be developed in new directions. There is now wide agreement on the desirability of holding a meeting of the CSCE at the highest level before the end of this year. That meeting can start the process of further development of the CSCE, a development which should be balanced. This further development will provide us with the occasion to encourage pluralist democracy and the rule of law, observance of human rights, economic cooperation and cooperation in the field of culture. Even before the CSCE Summit, the Community has made an essential contribution to economic cooperation in the CSCE. This was done at the Bonn Economic Conference last month. Next month, in Copenhagen, we can bring about a stronger commitment to human rights at the Conference on the Human Dimension there. The Mediterranean dimension of the CSCE will be further developed at the meeting in Palma de Mallorca in September. The Twelve are committed to a secure and stable balance of forces in Europe at lower levels and hope that significant and early progress in this direction can be made at the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and confidence and security-building measures.

Last year President Bush and Secretary of State Baker called for a new relationship between the United States and the European Community.

Responding to this call, the European Council expressed the desire of the Twelve to further

strengthen the Community's transatlantic relationship, based on regular contacts at the highest levels. The Council expressed its satisfaction with the understanding which, as President of the European Council, I reached with President Bush earlier this year on the holding of a meeting between the US and EC Council Presidents during the term of each Council Presidency. The Council saw this and other regular meetings, including meetings with the Commission, as providing a good framework for the further expansion of relations between the Community and the United States. As a country whose people have close historical, cultural and family ties with the United States, the Irish Presidency appreciated having this opportunity to deepen the relationship between the Community and the US.

The Council also expressed its determination that the Community should intensify its policy of good relations and cooperation with the Mediterranean countries, pursue its special relationship with the ACP countries, and intensify cooperation with countries in Asia and Latin America. It confirmed the Community's intention of furthering its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD members. As regards the GATT Uruguay Round negotiations, the Council emphasized the Community's continued full commitment to the negotiations and its determination to contribute to their successful conclusions.

The Council discussed a different sort of trade, a sinister one which represents a major and growing threat to the people of Europe; that is the internationally organized, criminal traffic in narcotics. It is not possible to exaggerate this menace. The damage inflicted by drug addiction, particularly to hundreds of thousands of young people, is one of the great shames of our civilization. Recently you had the opportunity to hear in this chamber from the President of Colombia, in a moving and eloquent address, about the violence and criminality associated with the drug trade. He made it clear that the problem was one with grave international consequences and which required international solidarity to deal with.

The time has come for the Community to fully and openly acknowledge the massive international dimensions of the illegal drugs trade and the absolute necessity for Member States to act together urgently and comprehensively to combat it. An organized international criminal organization can only be defeated by international cooperation among the forces of law and order. We discussed this in Dublin and asked the high-level coordinators group, Celad, in close consultation with the Commission, to report on measures to bring about more effective coordination and on priorities for action by the Community and Member States in

the context of a concerted action against drug abuse and illicit production, distribution and sale of narcotic drugs. This work will form the basis of a substantive discussion at the European Council in June.

During the course of the tour of Community capitals which I undertook in preparation for the Council, it became clear that there was a widespread realization among Members of the Council that the Community needed to review the nature and pace of its internal integration in response to the rapidly changing situation in Europe. There was determination that the objectives laid down in the Single European Act must be fully and effectively achieved in all respects. This includes the completion of the single market and the achievement of economic and monetary union.

There was also a definite view that if European union is to develop in a rounded and coherent way we must move positively to closer political union. The debate which took place at the special Council on the question of internal integration was perhaps the most constructive in which I have taken part at any European Council. I believe that the outcome represents a decisive step forward towards a more united, integrated Community.

Progress was made at the Council on several aspects of the union — trade, social, economic, monetary and political.

The Council expressed satisfaction with progress achieved so far and restated its commitment to establish, by the end of 1992, the single market providing for the movement, unhindered by internal frontiers, of people, goods, services and capital. It is clear that, having achieved much progress to date, the different Councils are now faced with the tougher, more contentious dossiers such as taxation and the free movement of persons. The Irish Presidency has maintained the momentum of work established in previous Presidencies. The Internal Market Ministers meeting informally on 23 and 24 March agreed that substantial progress has been made and the pace is still good. During the next few weeks, we expect progress in the areas of air transport liberalization, communication, insurance, vehicle emissions, testing and certification of products, food standards, animal and plant health, and right of residence. Long and difficult negotiations, however, lie ahead, with Member States having to make important concessions in the interests of agreement.

At our meeting in Dublin President Barón de Crespo rightly reminded us that there are less than 1 000 days left before the 1992 deadline — 1 000 days; five Presidencies! To meet the deadline, which we must, all the Community institutions must work together to ensure that delays are kept

to a minimum and difficulties quickly resolved. I would like to express my appreciation of the excellent cooperation the Irish Presidency has received from Parliament and the Chairpersons of the Committees. In the time that remains I am confident that that cooperation will enable us to complete a satisfactory agenda of measures which will contribute to having the monumental task completed by December 1992. Member States too must be assiduous in translating Community requirements into domestic law where necessary, so that we can all keep faith with the people of Europe and present them with the free market they have been promised on 1 January 1993.

The European Council confirmed its commitment to establish in stages an economic and monetary union in accordance with the principles of economic and social cohesion and the conclusions of the European Councils in Madrid and Strasbourg. The special summit discussed the proposal put forward by Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand to set a date by which Treaty amendments providing for EMU should be in place. On the basis of that discussion, it was decided that the preparations for the intergovernmental conference on EMU, which are already well advanced, will be further intensified with the objective of allowing proposals agreed by the Conference to be ratified by Member States before the end of 1992. This is a brave decision, which again reflects the determination within the Council to respond positively to the train of events. Considerable progress has been made on EMU in the past months. Stage I will now commence as ordained on 1 July. Those Member States who have still to do so are applying themselves to the removal of controls on financial movements according to an agreed timetable. Now the European Council has unanimously decided, in respect of the subsequent stages of EMU, to accelerate on the considerable progress made at the informal meeting of Finance Ministers in April.

The European Council specifically confirmed its commitment to political union. I see this categorical declaration as fitting another segment into the mosaic of European union. There was consensus among the Heads of State or Government that the Community should respond to developments, both inside and outside the Community, by strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the union, improving the efficiency of the institutions, and ensuring unity and coherence in the Community's international action. This Parliament will, I am sure, fully endorse that decision; indeed it reflects many of the proposals put forward by the European Parliament.

Heads of State or Government had the opportunity of studying two complementary sets of proposals tabled by Member States. Firstly, a paper presented

by the Belgian Government, putting forward a series of concrete suggestions for institutional and procedural reforms. Secondly, the initiative of Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand calling for a second intergovernmental conference to agree the terms for the achievement of political union by the end of 1992.

Foreign Ministers were instructed to undertake a detailed examination and analysis, and to prepare proposals to be discussed at the European Council in June with a view to a decision on the holding of a second intergovernmental conference. This second conference is to work in parallel with the conference on economic and monetary union with a view to ratification by Member States in the same timeframe. All Member States agreed to participate fully in this work and many indicated their intention to put forward their own proposals alongside those already tabled by Belgium. The Foreign Ministers have already commenced work on the task entrusted to them. This weekend at their informal meeting in Ireland they will give the fullest consideration to all the issues involved. I am optimistic that the study being prepared by them will bring the object of political union into common focus and that agreement on the way forward will be determined at the European Council in June. It was Jean Monnet who said that "confidence is naturally established between people who take a common view of the problem to be resolved. When the problem becomes the same for everybody, and everyone has the same interest in its solution, differences and suspicions slip away, and often then friendship moves in".

We have started on the course to a common view. The process of European unification must be far-sighted in its perception. It is the responsibility of those who are in office at present to advance a process which may not be fully achieved in our time, but will be left to others to complete.

The dramatic events which have overtaken our continent over the past few months have demonstrated the determination of our people to live in freedom and to assert their right to democratic government. They have shown the desire of the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe to rejoin the mainstream of European life. These developments have emphasized for the Community the importance of its own internal integration and the need to ensure that it is sufficiently developed to provide the example and leadership which Europe needs.

As we set about shaping the structures and procedures of an integrated unified Community, I believe we would be wise to look carefully at what has taken place in Central and Eastern Europe and learn as much as we can from it.

In particular, we should observe once again how, even after long periods of repression, national,

ethnic and cultural identities still prevail and that political structures, if they are to achieve permanence and stability, must fully recognize and support them. In constructing European union we must seek to eliminate that which divides us, but nurture and protect that which distinguishes us. Europe possesses a great richness in the diversity of its cultures, customs, languages, traditions, art and architecture. This deep reservoir of attractive features must be preserved as an essential component of Community life.

The European Council has set out three useful guidelines on which we can base our thinking: democratic legitimacy, effective institutions, and coherence in international action. The importance of democratic accountability within the Community cannot be overemphasized. We have seen all too clearly in Europe over the past months what happens when people are alienated from their system of government. We must, therefore, ensure that development of the Community's policy-making and legislative structure is accompanied by the necessary arrangements for democratic control, including an appropriate role for the European Parliament.

The negotiations on which we are about to embark at the forthcoming intergovernmental conferences are likely to result in an enlargement of the Community's competence. In an economic and monetary union the Community's institutions will have new responsibilities which must be discharged for the benefit of all. It will be necessary to ensure that they operate in accordance with their mandates and under appropriate control of elected representatives. The debate has already opened on this subject, stimulated in no small way by your own contributions. The role of the European Parliament, and the extent to which it will provide democratic control, will be a central part of the whole debate. Discussion will also focus on the balance to be maintained between the European Parliament and national parliaments and between the institutions of the Community. Approaches may differ on how best to proceed but our principles and our objectives are clear. Our Community and its institutions must be rooted in the democratic process; its actions must have the support of our people and respond to their needs and aspirations. I must commend Parliament for the efforts which it is making to confront this particular question by convening a European assizes, bringing together representatives of the European and national parliaments. The assizes still offer a useful opportunity for a constructive exchange of views between parliamentarians on how to ensure an adequate degree of democratic accountability for Community government, and to determine at what level this control should be exercised. The results of these discussions will, it is hoped, be

available in sufficient time to inform the work of the intergovernmental conference.

Before that, the Members of the Council will have the benefit of the substantial body of work already completed or currently under way in Parliament in the shape of a range of reports and resolutions on economic and monetary union and institutional reform. There will also be an opportunity for a full exchange of views at the discussion which you have arranged to take place tomorrow between Members of Parliament, the Council and the Commission with the participation of other institutions. Such dialogue is vital and will no doubt ensure that all legitimate concerns are taken into account in the intergovernmental negotiations.

The question of the effectiveness of the Community's institutions is inextricable from that of democratic legitimacy. It is crucial for the democratic legitimacy of the Community that the balance between the institutions reflects the will of the people of the Community. This balance should be reviewed periodically to reflect the development of the European identity of our citizens, since progress towards European union must be sustained by popular acceptance. Monnet said: "Nothing is possible without men, nothing will last without institutions".

We have, in the Treaties, established and developed certain institutions which have served the Community well. The Council, the Commission, Parliament and the Court of Justice as institutions are unique in many ways, and are specially tailored to the needs and realities of the Community. In particular, they seek to balance the aspiration of our peoples to a European future against the reality of deep and historic national identities. I feel that these institutions are quite capable, with appropriate and agreed development of their powers, responsibilities and operating procedures, of providing the Community's institutional framework for the foreseeable future.

The Community's ability to carry out the many complex tasks it has undertaken depends on the responsiveness and effectiveness of its institutions. If we are to meet the great objectives before us of completing the internal market, achieving economic and monetary union, integrating East Germany, and developing our international political and economic relations, we must be able to take decisions smoothly, efficiently and with the minimum of delay. We must at all costs avoid blockage or paralysis through bad management or lack of cooperation between the institutions. At the same time, decisions taken have to be balanced to take account of the interests of all concerned.

It is clear that the intergovernmental conference will have to look at the decision-making process

with a view to increasing its effectiveness. It should, in this context, consider whether qualified majority voting should be extended to cover additional areas of policy which have an overriding Community dimension.

The European Council has stressed the importance of unity and coherence in the conduct of the Community's international action. We must not become a self-centred Community, constantly pre-occupied by its own affairs. Indeed, we would not be allowed to be either by our own people or by the outside world. The Community is the largest trading bloc in the world: its prosperity depends on its relations with the rest of the world. This is not a question of choice: the Community cannot build a wall around itself. Its views and political support are constantly sought on issues and in situations everywhere in the world. But this is not new. The European Community has never seen its future as an isolated bloc of countries. We have always looked outward, cherishing our relations with the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and the other OECD countries. The challenges posed by our relations with other countries have been an important stimulus to the Community. We have also long recognized that the growing gap between North and South, between the developed and the developing countries, must be a focus of our concern. We have developed effective cooperation policies through the Lomé Convention with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. We are linked in special arrangements with the Asean countries. We cooperate with the Central American countries in the San José process and with the Latin American countries. For many years we have been working towards common foreign policy positions through the framework of European political cooperation. Our cooperation in foreign policy questions is now an established feature of international affairs in general; whether in our relations with individual countries or in international organizations, starting with the UN itself.

Coordination between the positions adopted in the economic sphere and those adopted in EPC is increasingly a factor in our approach to external relations. This has been demonstrated during the Irish Presidency, particularly in our approach to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

I have no doubt however that this coordination can be further improved: this is one of the things the European Council had in mind in asking for a

detailed examination to be put in hand on the need for possible changes aiming at assuring unity and coherence in the Community's international action. It is in this perspective too that the Community sees the need to develop a wider framework of peace, security and cooperation for all of Europe. The Community and its Member States therefore will play a leading role in the CSCE process, which I have mentioned earlier. This wider framework will serve to anchor the historic changes that are taking place in Europe. The Community has been the pole of attraction for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as they embarked on the road to liberty. We should ensure that we can still play the role in the future that our situation enables us to play and that the world demands from us for the benefit not only of ourselves, but of Europe as a whole.

I have mentioned the three guidelines given by the European Council for our future work. Let me add that the cement which will bind the bricks of European union will be the concept of subsidiarity. It is clear that decisions must be taken at the most appropriate level, whether at local, regional, national or Community level. It is very much to the credit of Parliament that you have been to the fore in seeking to define and elaborate this principle. For the Community the choice will normally be between national action and the development of appropriate Community policies. We must ensure that the outcome of our deliberations on this issue does not hold back the developments of Community policies or distort the aims of the Treaty or the *acquis communautaire*.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like thank you once again for allowing me to address you on the outcome of what I believe to have been a most successful Council. The Community is faced with a great challenge of leadership in a new Europe. We must respond to that challenge with both courage and maturity. We must endeavour to build a strong Community based on democratic legitimacy, while at the same time preserving the richness of diversity which distinguishes us as Europeans. The special European Council showed that the Community has the political will to achieve for the people of Europe a Community that will fulfil their highest expectations. If we sustain this effort — and I am confident that we will — then the Community can be sure of its place in Europe, and Europe can be certain of its rightful place in the world.

# CONFERENCE DE PRESSE DU PRESIDENT DELORS AVANT

## LE CONSEIL EUROPEEN INFORMEL DE DUBLIN (Propos liminaires)

Bruxelles, le 26 avril 1990

Mesdames, messieurs,

vous avez pris sans doute connaissance, ne serait-ce que par les dépêches d'agences, de la lettre que le Taoiseach, président en exercice de la communauté a envoyé à ses collègues du Conseil européen. L'ordre du jour comprend donc, comme initialement prévu, une discussion sur l'unification allemande et les relations avec les pays de l'Europe du Centre et de l'Est; on y a ajouté, en raison des différentes propositions qui ont été faites dans ce sens, une discussion sur ce qu'on appelle l'Europe politique ou si vous préférez le renforcement de la dimension politique de l'Europe, formule mieux traduisible en anglais, si j'en crois les débats que j'ai eus avec nos amis anglais au sein de la Trilatérale à Washington.

Initialement, ce Conseil européen exceptionnel devait avoir pour objet de bien définir les positions de la communauté vis-à-vis de l'unification allemande d'une part, et des autres pays de l'Europe, d'autre part. Cet aspect de la discussion a déjà été préparé par les ministres des affaires étrangères à partir des deux rapports établis par la commission européenne, rapports qui, je dois le dire, ont reçu le meilleur accueil, ce qui fait qu'on ne prévoit pas de longs débats sur ces deux sujets.

Vous connaissez ces documents. Notre effort a porté essentiellement sur la tentative de définir conceptuellement les différents phases qui amènent à l'unification allemande. Une phase d'adaptation, une phase intermédiaire d'adaptation qui commence avec la mise en oeuvre de l'union monétaire, accompagnée de réformes économiques et sociales, permettant au territoire Est Allemand d'aller vers une économie de marché.

Une seconde phase qui commence avec l'unification formelle et qui, à partir de là, nous pose des problèmes techniquement analogues à ceux d'un élargissement avec l'éventualité d'accorder aux territoires de l'Allemagne de l'Est (qui seront à ce moment là sans doute des länders) des mesures de transition, des dérogations leur permettant d'appliquer totalement l'acquis et les règles communautaires.

Et enfin la troisième phase se termine avec cette transition, transition dont bénéficie actuellement les derniers venus, l'Espagne et le Portugal, pour aboutir à une pleine application des règles communautaires et des politiques communes dans les landers de l'est de l'Allemagne.

La commission indique dans ce document qu'elle attend du Conseil européen trois affirmations claires : premièrement une approbation sans réserve du processus d'unification, c'est-à-dire un texte plus clair, et cela se comprend, que celui adopté au Conseil européen de Strasbourg.

Deuxièmement, nous posons quand même une question qui, paraît-il, ne devrait pas être posée : pendant la première phase que j'ai appelée la phase d'adaptation - qui commence avec l'union monétaire et se termine avec l'unification formelle - la communauté est-elle prête à accorder à l'Allemagne de l'est, en plus des facilités normales près de la banque européenne d'investissement et de l'utilisation des autres instruments financiers, une aide spéciale, qui dans mon esprit donnerait aux allemands de l'est en particulier et à tous les Allemands en général, un signal de fraternité et de solidarité ? Cette question demeure posée; elle a été traitée déjà au Conseil des ministres des affaires étrangères. Je pense que nous aurons une réponse définitive au Conseil européen.

La troisième question, c'est : est-ce que les autorités allemandes acceptent non pas simplement d'informer la commission, ce qui a été fait parfaitement depuis quelques semaines, mais cette concertation avec les instances communautaires qui implique que nous puissions dans toutes les étapes de la négociation, y compris pour l'examen du traité qui doit être signé entre les deux Allemagnes, faire des remarques ou poser des questions qui sont liées à la cohérence et au contenu des règles communautaires ?

Pour ce qui est des pays de l'Europe de l'Est et du Centre, la Communauté a déjà signé des accords de coopération et de commerce avec presque tous les pays de l'est, ou bien va les signer. Il ne reste plus que la Roumanie. Je vous rappelle que ces accords prévoient des mesures exceptionnellement favorables pour la Pologne et la Hongrie, de façon à faciliter l'accès des produits hongrois et polonais au marché communautaire.

Les aider à développer leurs exportations constitue un élément essentiel de la politique d'ajustement à court terme et d'adaptation structurelle qu'ils doivent faire en parallèle avec leur démarche vers la création des principes d'une démocratie pluraliste.

Ensuite nous faisons un bilan de l'action du groupe des 24, une action qui va être étendue concrètement aux autres pays de l'est et du centre européen, y incluant, je l'espère, la Yougoslavie.

Enfin nous présentons une deuxième génération d'accord d'association qui permettrait à chacun des pays de l'Europe de l'est et du centre de se sentir pleinement membre de la grande Europe.

Ainsi se dessine une stratégie que propose la commission, et elle n'est pas seule, qui consiste à, d'une part, renforcer la communauté, c'est-à-dire réaliser ce que nous avons déjà décidé et peut être même aller plus loin.

Et d'un autre côté, qui cherche à tisser pour la grande Europe un réseau de coopération avec une dimension politique qui permette de répondre aux aspirations des peuples et de préparer des développements futurs. Notre démarche, qu'il s'agisse de nos négociations avec l'Association européenne de libre échange, qu'il s'agisse de l'intégration des territoires de l'est de l'Allemagne, qu'il s'agisse des pays de l'Europe de l'Est et du centre, consiste, dans une sorte de jeu de patience, à dessiner ce que sera l'Europe de demain. Mais contrairement à d'autres nous pensons qu'il faut agir avec pragmatisme en tenant compte de la situation de chaque pays sans se précipiter.

Il est faux de dire, comme je l'ai lu parfois, que la Commission pour le compte de la Communauté raisonne boutique en voulant se replier sur elle même. Mais sachant qu'un jour il y aura une grande Europe - dont les structures restent à définir - comme espace de paix, comme espace d'échanges de toute nature, nous pensons que le meilleur moyen de la faire c'est de ne pas ralentir la construction communautaire et d'offrir à ces pays, en fonction de ce qu'ils sont, de ce qu'ils souhaitent, la possibilité de participer de plus en plus aux échanges ou à l'échange intra-européen. Je tiens à signaler que dans cette perspective - c'est sans doute le message principal que nous ont envoyé les pays de l'est - la dimension culturelle est très importante.

Bien entendu tout cela débouchera chez nos chefs d'Etat et nos ministres des affaires étrangères sur une réflexion concernant la CSCE, processus qui a démarré depuis de nombreuses années et qui a permis, me semble-t-il, les évolutions que nous connaissons.

Les Douze ont donné leur accord pour une rencontre au Sommet de la CSCE dès cette année. Il y en avait déjà une de prévue en 1992. Il reste à la préparer d'autant plus soigneusement que d'autres idées, là je pourrais employer la formule "Alry Fairy", sont en l'air et consisterait, à partir de la CSCE, à construire "ex nihilo" une organisation nouvelle.

J'ai toujours pensé, la Commission a toujours pensé que cela était déraisonnable et prématuré. Mais enfin puisqu'il s'agit de définir pour l'Europe un nouveau concept de sécurité, associant l'Union Soviétique, les Etats-Unis et le Canada, puisqu'on doit réfléchir aussi sur le devenir des alliances, et notamment de l'Alliance Atlantique, (vous savez que M. Baker à ce sujet a fait un discours très important à Berlin en décembre dernier), il est important de réfléchir à cela et ce sera sans doute une des missions de ce Conseil européen.

Je n'aurais garde d'oublier dans cette description rapide, le rôle important que joue et que pourra jouer dans l'avenir le Conseil de l'Europe, notamment en ce qui concerne l'apprentissage de la démocratie, la défense et l'illustration des droits de l'Homme.

Tel était l'objectif initial du Conseil européen. A cela sont venues s'ajouter, dans un contexte qui rappelle un peu celui qui a précédé le Conseil européen de Hanovre sous présidence Allemande, des réflexions, des propositions sur l'avenir de la Communauté.

Vous vous rappelez sans doute que six, huit mois avant le Conseil européen de Hanovre, différentes personnalités s'étaient exprimées en faveur, sinon d'une union économique et monétaire, d'une banque centrale européenne.

Bref le sujet était à l'ordre du jour. Qu'a fait le Conseil européen de Hanovre ? Il a confirmé d'une part la volonté de la Communauté, assortie de quelques réserves, de certains Etats membres, d'aller vers l'union économique et monétaire et il a défini une procédure, en créant un comité d'experts dont les travaux constituent la base de la mise en oeuvre de la réalisation de la première phase de l'Union Economique et Monétaire et des réflexions qui sont menées actuellement sur les phases ultérieures, afin de préparer la conférence Intergouvernementale qui doit débiter en décembre.

On assiste grosso modo au même phénomène aujourd'hui, mais à propos de ce que j'ai appelé la dimension politique de l'Europe. Il y a eu la proposition belge, il y a eu également la lettre commune adressée par le chancelier Kohl et par le président Mitterrand, à laquelle ont réagi favorablement et publiquement les autorités portugaises, espagnoles, italiennes, belges et hollandaises.

Par conséquent il est probable, il est même certain puisque M. Haughey le leur demande, que les chefs d'états et de gouvernement discuteront de ces différentes propositions lors de leur déjeuner de travail.

Que peut-on dire à leur propos, puisque je ne vais pas rappeler mes positions personnelles. J'ai eu l'occasion de les exposer dans un discours devant le Collège de Bruges, puis de préciser ou d'actualiser ma pensée lors du discours présentant le programme de travail de la Commission en janvier dernier devant le Parlement Européen.

Je crois que plutôt que de préempter ce qui va être dit au Conseil européen, on peut se poser les questions pourquoi et comment ?

Pourquoi la question de l'avenir institutionnel et politique de la Communauté devient-elle d'actualité ? Je crois qu'il y a, à cela, trois raisons essentielles. Premièrement le souci de réaliser l'unification allemande sous un toit européen, pour reprendre la formule même du chancelier Kohl. En second lieu, l'écart dont les gouvernements commencent à se rendre compte - c'était un des points principaux que j'avais souligné - entre la coopération politique d'une part, l'intégration économique ou la réalisation de l'Acte unique d'autre part. Le fait que la première aille à un rythme beaucoup moins élevé que la seconde pose des problèmes croissants de cohérence de l'action communautaire. Il se crée une zone grise entre les deux. La présidence irlandaise a tenté d'y remédier, heureusement d'ailleurs, en supprimant pour deux réunions la distinction entre les réunions des ministres des affaires étrangères en coopération politique et les réunions des ministres des affaires étrangères en réunion des ministres des affaires générales de la Communauté. Et il était symbolique de voir que, dans ces deux réunions, le ministre des affaires étrangères était flanqué d'une part de son directeur politique, d'autre part de son représentant permanent. Cela a permis de traiter les questions et d'oublier pour un instant la zone grise. Mais cela ne suffit pas et je crois que la coopération politique doit se donner les finalités et les moyens qui correspondent aux ambitions de la Communauté, si l'on veut avoir plus de cohérence et de cohésion dans l'action communautaire.

Enfin la troisième raison, c'est le déficit démocratique et aussi l'action dynamique du Parlement Européen dans ce domaine. Mais il n'est pas le seul puisque le chancelier Kohl, avant le Conseil européen de Strasbourg, avait lui-même mis l'accent sur ce point et indiqué qu'on ne pourrait pas progresser vers l'UEM sans parallèlement réfléchir sur des institutions qui assurent davantage la "démocratie and political accountability".

D'une manière plus générale, si vous me permettez une interprétation personnelle, je pense que dans cette Europe en changement rapide, au destin encore incertain, en ce qui concerne l'avenir de certains hommes politiques ou en ce qui concerne l'avenir des réformes entreprises, compte tenu des multiples initiatives qui sont prises ici déjà, il est important que les Douze renouvellent leurs vœux, comme après 20 ans ou 30 ans de mariage il est parfois utile que, dans certains couples, on renouvelle les vœux. De manière à ce que chacun sache que la construction ou l'aspiration à une grande Europe ne se fera pas en diluant la Communauté, en jetant aux poubelles de l'Histoire 30 ans d'une expérience originale, puisque c'est la première fois dans l'Histoire que des pays s'associent entre eux, gèrent en commun une partie de leur souveraineté, sans que cela se fasse par la domination militaire ou politique d'un pays sur les autres. Cette expérience est unique, la Commission doit le souligner sans cesse, de manière à ce que l'on bâtisse sur du ciment et non pas sur du sable.

Voilà donc me semble-t-il les raisons plus générales qui expliquent que le Conseil européen se penchera sur disons l'avenir institutionnel et politique de la communauté.

Reste à savoir comment. Parmi les propositions qui ont été faites il y en a de deux types.

La proposition belge, comporte différents éléments qui pourraient être pris en considération et appliqués sans qu'il soit besoin de réformer le traité; et lors de la réunion des ministres des affaires étrangères plusieurs délégations ont donné un coup de chapeau à cette approche belge, certains l'ont même soutenue. En revanche la lettre du chancelier Kohl et du président Mitterrand appelle à une vue plus ambitieuse qui consisterait à réformer le traité. Et il y a même deux propositions, deux engagements de procédures assez contraignants, une deuxième conférence intergouvernementale en parallèle avec celle sur l'UEM et avec comme objectif qu'au 1er janvier 1993 les deux amendements au traité, où les deux nouveaux traités, auront été ratifiés par les parlements nationaux et que les dispositions pourront entrer en ligne de compte. Si je puis prendre un parallèle avec l'union économique et monétaire, disons que les belges décrivent la première phase de l'UEM et que le chancelier Kohl et le président Mitterrand appellent à définir le stade final.

Voilà ce qu'on peut dire du point de vue de la méthode. Je pense donc que les chefs d'états et de gouvernements discuteront à la fois du fond et des procédures. L'intervention de Douglas Hurd au Conseil des Affaires Générales de samedi dernier montre que la Grande-Bretagne a l'intention de participer à ces discussions et même de faire des contre-propositions.

Quant aux procédures, elles sont classiques dans l'Histoire de la Communauté. Il y a toujours eut trois méthodes : ou bien l'on confie à une personnalité importante exerçant des grandes responsabilités le soin de tirer la locomotive, ce fut la mission confiée à Spaak et qui a abouti au traité de Rome; ou bien on fait un comité d'experts comme ce fut le cas pour le comité Dooge ou le comité que j'ai présidé sur l'UEM; ou bien on demande aux ministres des affaires étrangères (et en même temps des affaires générales) de déblayer le terrain, d'évaluer politiquement ce qui est possible et de proposer ensuite aux chefs d'états et de gouvernements la procédure, le cadre, les limites, les finalités, de l'opération.

De tout cela, il en sera question lors du déjeuner des chefs d'états et de gouvernements et, si nécessaire, après. Je vous rappelle quand même qu'il s'agit d'un Conseil européen qui sera assez court, puisqu'il débutera à 10 h 30 par une intervention de M. Enrique Baron qui sans doute mettra l'accent sur la volonté du Parlement d'aboutir à une réforme institutionnelle de la Communauté et qu'il se terminera à 19H.

Tels sont les éléments d'informations, dont beaucoup vous étalent connues, assortis de quelques explications par lesquelles je voulais introduire cette rencontre de presse.

Merçi.