

THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

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Documents in the dossier include:

Special Meeting of the European Council

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*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

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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

1.16. 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.

**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"¹. 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.

¹ "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.

