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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT PLENARY, STRASBOURG, 22 NOVEMBER 1989:
 MITTERRAND, KOHL AND DELORS ON CENTRAL/EASTERN EUROPE

SUMMARY

1. SPEECHES BY PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL PLUS (UNPRECEDENTEDLY) THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT OF A NON-PRESIDENCY EC STATE TO THE PLENARY. MITTERRAND TO ASK HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON 8/9 DECEMBER WHAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO DO TO HELP THE REFORM PROCESS TO THE EAST, AND TO TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS ON EMU, THE SOCIAL DIMENSION, ENVIRONMENT AND THE SINGLE MARKET. KOHL SUPPORTED HUNGARY'S APPLICATION TO JOIN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, REAFFIRMED THE FRG COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION, STRESSED IT WAS FOR THE GERMANS IN THE GDR TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AND QUOTED WITH APPROVAL ADENAUER'S CALL FOR A UNITED GERMANY IN A UNITED EUROPE. DELORS CALLED ON THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT TO PRESS FOR THE COMMUNITY TO BE GIVEN THE MEANS TO HELP EXTERNALLY, AND URGED THAT THE STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL SHOULD TAKE THE DECISION NEEDED FOR FURTHER INTEGRATION.

DETAIL

PRESIDENT MITTERRAND

2. THE NEWS THAT CHANCELLOR KOHL HAD ASKED TO ADDRESS THE PLENARY CAME SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF MITTERRAND'S DECISION TO DO LIKEWISE. THE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SPOKE FIRST, PRAISING GORBACHEV'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN HUNGARY, POLAND AND ELSEWHERE. THE MOVEMENT WAS GROWING IN EUROPE, INCLUDING CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE SMOTHERED SILENCE IN ROMANIA WAS AUDIBLE. THE TWELVE WERE UNITED IN WILL AND IN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE NEED. MITTERRAND INTENDED THE 8/9 DECEMBER EUROPEAN COUNCIL TO RETAIN ALL ITS DUE IMPORTANCE BY MEETING THE DEADLINES SET FOR IT TO DECIDE AT THIS FATEFUL MOMENT FOR OUR COMMUNITY. SO DISCUSSION ON 18

NOVEMBER HAD BEEN ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE EAST. THERE HAD BEEN TWO AIMS: TO SHARE ANALYSIS OF EVENTS AND TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF THE EC AND ITS MEMBER STATES TO HELP THE REFORMING STATES. THE EXISTENCE AND PROGRESS OF THE COMMUNITY WERE FACTORS STIMULATING EVENTS IN THE EAST. THE ATTRACTION WAS THAT OF A STRONG AND STRUCTURED COMMUNITY. WE MUST AFFIRM OUR IDENTITY, STRENGTHEN OUR INSTITUTIONS, SEAL OUR UNION. THE TWO ACTIONS - INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL - WENT TOGETHER. SPEEDIER DEVELOPMENT WOULD ENABLE THE COMMUNITY TO BE AHEAD OF EVENTS. IN THIS SPIRIT THE TWELVE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HAD MET, DEMONSTRATING POLITICAL WILL.

3. MITTERRAND DESCRIBED THE AGREEMENT TO PRESS THE IMF FOR DECISIONS ON POLAND AND HUNGARY BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. MENTIONING THE VISIT OF DELORS AND DUMAS TO POLAND, HE SAID THAT A FUND OF ONE BILLION DOLLARS WAS NEEDED. A SIMILAR FUND OF THE SAME SIZE WAS NEEDED FOR HUNGARY. IT HAD BEEN AGREED TO PURSUE A TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE GDR. DELORS HAD ENSURED YUGOSLAVIA WAS NOT FORGOTTEN. REFORMING COUNTRIES MUST SHOW CATEGORICALLY THEIR READINESS TO HAVE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO HOLD FAIR, FREE ELECTIONS BY SECRET BALLOT. THE INSTRUMENTS OF HELP NEEDED FURTHER DISCUSSION, BUT SOME PROPOSED INCLUDED A BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT/MODERNISATION OF EASTERN EUROPE ON WHICH THE TROIKA PLUS DELORS WOULD REPORT AT STRASBOURG (THE BANK SHOULD INVOLVE THE 24 COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN THE PROGRAMME FOR HUNGARY AND POLAND). THIS BANK WOULD CLEARLY BE DIFFERENT FROM THE EIB. DEVELOPMENT TRAINING SHOULD BE TACKLED. MITTERRAND SUGGESTED OPENING UP TO EASTERN EUROPE EXISTING EC PROGRAMMES - ERASMUS, COMETT AND LINGUA. THE QUESTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE STATUS OF OBSERVER IN THE GATT (AS A FIRST STAGE) WOULD BE EXAMINED AS APPROPRIATE.

4. IT WAS ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO DO MORE AND BETTER. HE WOULD BE ASKING HIS EUROPEAN COUNCIL PARTNERS FOR THEIR RESPONSE TO SUCH IDEAS AND FOR DECISIONS ON EMU, SOCIAL AFFAIRS, ENVIRONMENT AND THE SINGLE MARKET. CLEARLY WHAT THE COMMUNITY DID FOR ITSELF COULD BENEFIT EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES AND SHOW THE WAY. HE FULLY EXPECTED THE STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL TO COME TOGETHER IN THIS SPIRIT.

CHANCELLOR KOHL

5. AFTER THANKING MITTERRAND, KOHL SAID THAT THE TASK WAS TO PREPARE POLITICAL UNION BEYOND THE MAGIC DATE OF 1992. THE SINGLE MARKET WAS AN IMPORTANT STAGING POST, BUT EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION WAS THE GERMAN WISH. INTER ALIA, THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF THE SINGLE MARKET SHOULD BE FILLED. THE NECESSARY DECISIONS FOR EMU WERE ALSO LANDMARKS ALONG THE WAY. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY MUST

CONTINUE.

6. KOHL ALSO PRAISED GORBACHEV, THEN REVIEWED DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIVIDUAL EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES (THE PICTURES FROM PRAGUE WERE ENCOURAGING). MORE GENERALLY, WE WERE AT THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS TO OVERCOME EAST/WEST CONFLICT, BUT HE WARNED OF THE NEED FOR REALISM. THERE WAS NOW A REAL CHANCE OF A EUROPE OF FREEDOM AND SELF-DETERMINATION. THERE WAS A NEW DYNAMISM TO THE EUROPEAN UNITY PROCESS. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO SLOW DOWN PROGRESS IN THE WEST. HE EMPHASISED GERMANY'S EUROPEAN VOCATION. CHANGE IN THE GDR WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE REFORM MOVEMENTS IN POLAND, HUNGARY AND THE USSR. EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY WAS NEEDED FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY (WHICH HAD BEEN SO HELPFUL OVER ITS GERMAN MINORITY AND OVER ALLOWING FREE MOVEMENT). SINCE 1987, THE FRG HAD PROVIDED DM 2 BILLION FOR HUNGARY IN BILATERAL AID. HE HOPED OTHER EC STATES WOULD ALSO CONTRIBUTE. HUNGARY'S APPLICATION TO JOIN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE DESERVED FULL SUPPORT.

7. KOHL DESCRIBED GERMAN AND EUROPEAN UNITY AS TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. BERLIN WAS A EUROPEAN METROPOLIS IN GERMANY. THE BEST GUARANTEE WAS FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE. HE REJOICED IN THEIR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, BUT WE WERE JUST AT THE BEGINNING. PEOPLE WANTED FREEDOM IN ALL AREAS OF LIFE: A FREE PRESS, FREE TRADES UNIONS, THE RIGHT TO FREE, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTIES, FREE, FAIR AND SECRET ELECTIONS. MODROW'S ACTIONS WERE POINTING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THE CHANGES MUST BECOME IRREVERSIBLE. THE SED MUST GIVE UP ITS CONSTITUTIONAL PRIMACY. FREEDOM MEANT SELF-DETERMINATION. THE GERMANS OF THE GDR NEEDED LESSONS FROM NOBODY IN EUROPE, INCLUDING FROM THE FRG. WE MUST RESPECT THE DECISIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR. QUOTING ADENAUER, KOHL SUPPORTED A FREE UNITED EUROPE, AND A FREE UNITED GERMANY. THE FRG WAS FULLY AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN PARTNERSHIP. GERMANY COULD NOT SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS ALONE. THE SOLUTION LAY IN FREEDOM UNDER ONE EUROPEAN ROOF. KOHL FAVOURED AN EC/GDR AGREEMENT AND WELCOMED ANDRIESEN'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO EAST BERLIN.

DELORS

8. IN A BRIEF INTERVENTION, DELORS SAID THAT THE 18 NOVEMBER MEETING OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HAD DEMONSTRATED THE POLITICAL COHESION OF THE TWELVE. THEY HAD TAKEN THEIR MOST IMPORTANT DECISION EVER IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY CO-OPERATION. EPC MUST MOVE AT THE SAME RHYTHM AS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. FOR YEARS, THE EC HAD BEEN A REFERENCE POINT FOR LIBERTY AND PROSPERITY. HE REMAINED FULL OF HOPE, BUT COUNSELLED VIGILANCE.

9. NOTING THAT THE COMMISSION HAD BEEN CHARGED WITH CO-ORDINATING HELP FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY - AND, HE HOPED, SOON FOR OTHER COUNTRIES - DELORS ASKED FOR MORE MEANS, MORE CO-ORDINATION AND FASTER EXECUTION. THE EC MUST BE STRENGTHENED. THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT MUST BE REALISED, INCLUDING ITS SOCIAL DIMENSION. MORE GENERALLY, IF THE COMMUNITY DID NOT DO WHAT IT HAD FORMALLY UNDERTAKEN TO DO, HOW COULD IT GO FURTHER? INTEGRATION SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. IN AN ALLUSIVE REFERENCE TO THE STRASBOURG EUROPEAN COUNCIL, DELORS SAID HE COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF IT FAILING TO TAKE THE ONLY DECISION BEFORE IT ON INTEGRATION (PRESUMABLY A REFERENCE TO SETTING A DATE FOR AN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE). TO DO ALL THESE THINGS, MORE MEANS WERE NEEDED. HE REMINDED MEP'S THAT IN FEBRUARY 1988 THEY HAD ENDORSED A PACKAGE PROVIDING THE POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL PROVISIONS TO GO FORWARD IN SOLIDARITY. IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS, HE URGED THEM TO WORK FOR AGREEMENT ON THE POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL MEANS TO DEMONSTRATE EXTERNAL SOLIDARITY, NOT JUST WITH EASTERN EUROPE BUT WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN STATES, THE ACP ETC. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A NEW CONCEPT FOR THE GREAT EUROPE.

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