



W

Parliament

One lac request put carb

before the house

Date at leg. & del. for conclusion

{ "Comprehensive system"  
"Qualitative leap forward"  
otherwise nationalisation crisis.  
Political Union of a Federal nature }  

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Seats of Institution of Community  
on Agenda

# Unification



## Key Details

For Each Market  
Coordinated 2C + Community bodies.

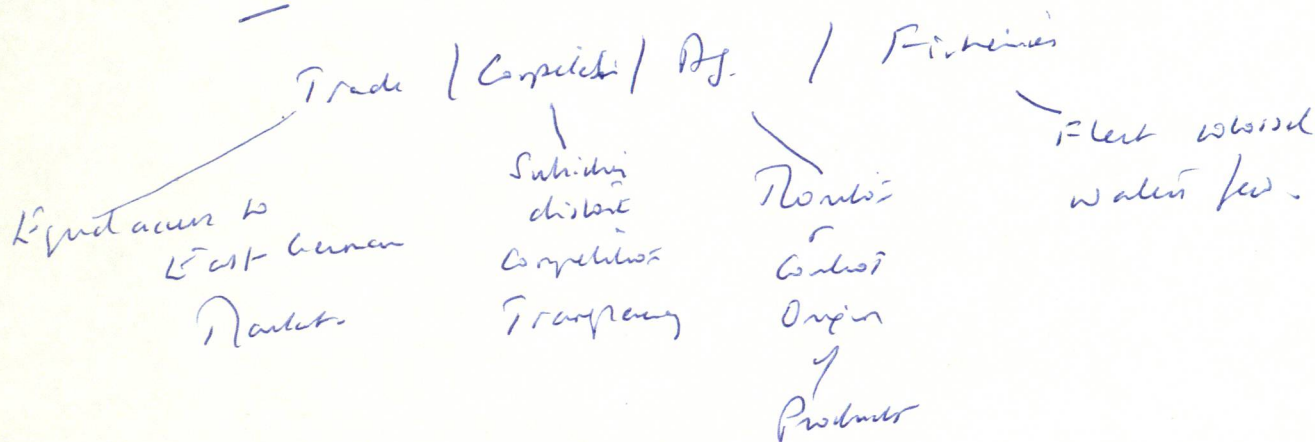
Stage I CEMU → Unification.

I Unification → end of derogations

II Full 'acquis'

Problems I start on 1st July 1992. Union  
From command ec → market.  
Social problems Unempl. question here  
Length of time 18 mths

II Commission must see changes in law with  
Comm. rules



Inner Area Protection - Checks have to  
be carried out

Person - free movement - law of each country can apply



IRELAND  
1990

Money F.R.G. - most.

G.D.R. - benefit from Apr 1 24.

? E.C. aid? E.I.B.? Eindhoven

• ECSC -

? special aid programme?

as for Portugal.

II - beg. of 1992

Problem large % of transitional stage.

Harmonised Commitments - common trade policy

Agreements - Development  
Fisheries  
Transition

G.D.R.'s ext. commitments  
in COMECON.  
140 without  
agreements

Standard - Normal policies to handle.

Environment - process debt for

50's. Special programme  
— over several years.

Psychological importance of unity of Germany

Move from info to consultation



IRELAND  
1990

Kohl

— Constant flow of information.

Wulff - fulfilment of a dream for  
most Germans.

Do not want special funds for East Germany  
— other areas might suffer.

Co-operate to achieve smooth transitional arrangements.  
Germany will have to reschedule

AI — structural problem for Germany.  
GDR had mandate in concern areas.

Fischer

Politics of GDR.

Peaceful revolution.

Placed 2 div  
of Fed Rep

Last free election

Nov 1982

Sec.

17m people

105,000 in security services.

FR.G. No late increases.

Time Revenue from hand

Rate of increase of costs will be sufficient  
to fund developing GDR

Workable relationship in GDR

CSG

Concluded 244 - Helsinki take note of results

Border with Poland



IRELAND  
1992

Huge challenge - no precedents for civil service

CIR - no commercial banks.

No other for rent

Deeds Bank - Portlaoine Bank

No local  
administration  
with  
change  
order  
power

Lisbon - congratulations.

Malta - common law.

Andriotti, - Soleymade & development of agriculture  
also has its importance.

Spain

elle



IRELAND  
1990

Eastern Europe

Portugal — help to Eastern Europe

not to undermine provision of EC to  
own members.

*2. Allen* *Pl. file*  
BREAKING NOTE: POLITICAL UNION

The first thing our people ask when they hear we are going to discuss political union is: what is it? what does it mean? Unless we agree on how to define it, it will mean different things to different people, and raise fears which may be totally groundless. For instance, some people in Britain interpret the message from President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl as a call to create a single, unitary state of Europe by 1993: so what would happen to our beloved monarch - The Queen - and our Parliament which is over 700 years old? It's a mistake to under-estimate the anxieties this causes.

Perhaps the best way to dispel fears like these is to make clear what we do not mean when we talk about political union.

- people's greatest fear is that they will lose their national identity - and at the very time when the people of Eastern Europe are struggling to regain theirs. We need to reassure them that none of us wants to see the historic nation states of Europe, each with their national characteristics and identity, disappear. Indeed they are our greatest strength.

- let's make clear also that political union does not mean giving up separate Heads of State, either the Monarchies to which six of us are devoted or the Presidencies to which six other member states are dedicated.

- nor do we intend to suppress national Parliaments, their powers and the accountability of national governments and Ministers to them. We should say so. The European Parliament has a role but not at the expense of national Parliaments, which are so much nearer to the people.

- we don't intend to question national electoral systems: they differ because our histories differ. Nor are we thinking of suppressing our own national legal systems. After all we have two entirely different legal systems which co-exist perfectly well within the United Kingdom, one for Scotland and one for England.

Conrad

Quaker - Whether we are  
prepared to share sovereignty  
and on defence policy

Shank - ~~Approve~~ C.A.P.

Political Institution Response  
to new Europe

Proceed with all necessary caution.

Andreotti. W. Secretary Conrad  
- no difficulty -

Union - not a Quaker  
of Lychnis

Free Trade Area  
plus political  
cooperation

Living together.

Conrad - By - means of joint  
Report - accepted commitment;

Monetary Policy - could not  
take specific decisions

Mander - For Thorn to submit and  
propose in freedom detail to  
make decision by June. Need with EC

Running both conferences by 1993  
Don't want to force any country to lose its  
No clear cut def<sup>n</sup> - dangerous. <sup>sovereignty</sup>

we need to reassure people that we do not intend to alter  
the role of the Council of Ministers - one Minister representing  
each state - as the key decision-making body in the Community,  
with Ministers accountable to their national parliaments. Indeed  
in the Single European Act, we strengthened the status of this  
European Council.

Paul Schiller - What is a political union - 100 defns but  
Political Union

- nor, I hope, are we aiming at greater centralisation of powers  
in Europe at the expense of national governments and Parliaments.  
Surely we all accept the concept of subsidiarity and the principle  
that the Community should only do those things which it can do  
better than individual countries. I thought the Wall Street Journal  
put it very well in an article earlier this week when it said that  
we ought not be moving towards government by a technocratic elite:  
that is precisely what the people of Eastern Europe are moving away  
from.

? whether this means - all political decisions  
democratic decision making? More by  
more efficient decision making? majority?  
- nor do we regard political union as involving any  
weakening of the commitment of eleven of us to strong defence  
through NATO (although we recognise Ireland's special position, of  
course). Indeed many of us have recently and publicly emphasised  
the importance of maintaining NATO, and indeed strengthening its  
political role, and bringing forward a NATO meeting to discuss  
defence in a changing but uncertain world.

- although we have all signed a Treaty less than three years ago  
on foreign policy cooperation, surely no one is suggesting a  
restriction on our right to issue national statements, or hold  
bilateral meetings and issue bilateral statements. Indeed we have  
seen an example just this week of how governments value that right,  
when President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl sent off a message  
to the President of Lithuania only a few days after the Twelve had  
issued a statement. I am not criticising: I welcome it, because  
we all attach importance to our national freedom of action.

Sander Gilman - Found a procedure to define what is at  
Stake - prepare one thing to call 12 on a

- so if we can agree that none of these things will be affected  
by political union, we shall know where we are. We can bring our  
people to the starting-line with much more confidence and enthusiasm.  
And each of us will have ideas to contribute to discussion of how  
to make the Community and its institutions more effective - the

Simple msg. another to keep them to  
unanimity. This conference must be well prepared.

Summit 1993 - no. - parallel - ~~with~~  
not all to discuss  
time scale

lengthy process to ensure  
entry into force.

Debate what we mean  
Agree with D.M.T.

Priority to conference  
on E-MU

Relationship between  
Central Bank & other Institutions

2 I.G.C

Luttwak - working to a new Europe  
more united, democratic.

Do we need new system in institutional character

Yes. new steps.

To enlarge field in which we co-operate  
especially in foreign policy.

Towards more united & democratic.

Timetable to be ready before next

European election. In favour of deepening

European integration. More for  
deeply step forward where we can do & are  
in a balanced fashion. Some difficulties

With 2 questions here.  
No details & documents for future papers  
~~However~~ Not clear what we 12 will do achieve

Belgian Government has already put forward its proposals.

Deep analysis required. Could study characteristics & conditions  
Our aim should be to develop the habit of working more closely  
together, particularly on issues which have a cross-border  
significance. At the same time, we need to think how we can  
make the Community more efficient; whether we have got the  
balance right between the Community and national institutions,  
and between the institutions of the Community itself; how we can  
improve financial control and accountability; and how we can ensure  
that Community decisions are rapidly and effectively implemented.

Have a lot to do in Community in our own countries  
These are just some ideas and there will be many others. We  
are very ready to discuss them. But it would be putting the  
cart before the horse to agree now to an Inter-Governmental  
Conference. We need to define first of all what we mean and then  
see whether we have the relevant proposals to make it worthwhile.  
That is a task for our Foreign Ministers in the first instance.

- but I hope my general point is clear to everyone. If we  
explain to our peoples what we don't have in mind when we talk of  
political union, it will reassure them and make it easier for us  
to explain how we do see the way forward and we shall have many  
ideas to contribute.

In the meantime we have so many urgent things to tackle:

- the completion of the single market, with the most difficult  
decisions ahead
- the consequences for the Community of the unification of  
Germany
- the Community's association with the new national  
consciousness of the nations of East Europe
- getting down protectionism in the Uruguay Round
- the way ahead following German monetary union and its effects  
on EMU and the proposed IGC

Get a questionnaire that we discuss  
in Europe. 2 conferences  
No danger of Kohl being too isolated - No isolation in Europe

Best guarantee for USSR  
security is to have a strong NATO  
force it.

Helsinki CSCE - raise question of

European Equilibrium

France - troops in Berlin  
in West Germany

No security forces

For arms present amongst

German arms.

- 4 -  
 This can be a second version of single Act.  
 It is not to be a second version of single Act.  
 It is not to be a second version of single Act.  
 It is not to be a second version of single Act.

- our relationship with the EFTA countries
- the environment in Europe and beyond, and so on....

Debris      1971 in July paper of 2000  
 can be completed under  
Irish Presidency . In June all  
 to undertake an evaluation at  
 highest level.

Let us own work between  
 advance of Economic Union  
 + Political Union.

E.C. interpretation      move as express to  
 Political - at      further place

We cannot have a common foreign  
 policy  
 but can co-operate.

Every day 1 Sept for solidarity.

Rare birds . Debris proposed solidarity, Environment  
 wouldn't have it - would be a control

Nordus know - demand first objective, Political - include

This can be a second version of single Act.

24.

For Thinker

- obliged to come up with  
results

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Unification depends on the  
2 Germanies under  
self-determination

- Patriotic sense of all Germans  
is behind unification.

What about borders? - fears were there - now reassurance on  
the borders.  
E.E.C.

Why should Germany have a different status  
in terms of sovereignty

NATO - not all in N.A.T.O. but all in Western Alliance,

France - ~~not~~ with ind. nuclear weapons

Service de l'unité - autonomy in decision making

(The united war/peace decision is sovereignty)

Don't move NATO border closer to USSR which  
would be case if NATO kept on E. German soil alone