10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

Here is a properly annotated version.

C.D.P.

P.S. I have marked in red the ones which seem most important. C.D.P.

27 April at 17:00

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL
DUBLIN, 28 APRIL 1990

ELEMENTS FOR THE 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 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 principle 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.

No problems.

2. The Community warmly welcomes German Unification. It looks forward to the positive and fruitful contribution that the people of East Germany can make following the forthcoming integration of the territory 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.

No problems.

OK (because of the last phrase)

Good.

Good

Good [UK language]

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.

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 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.

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 associated 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.

No problems.

Lead-in : OK.

(1)

i. Problem. As drafted this could erode our position on post-92 frontier controls against (i) non-EC citizens, and (ii) ~~measures against~~ terrorists criminals, smugglers, druglunners. This problem always arises : we solve it by adding a reference to Article 8(A), which was added by the SEA, and defines the Single market as "an area without internal frontiers in which free movement of goods, ~~persons~~, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of ~~the~~ The treaty".

Solution : add the underlined words, at * or add "in accordance with the provisions of Article 8A of the S.E.A." (Madrid conclusions)

(2)

ii. The concept of "stages" is OK – Madrid/Strasbourg "price stability" is obviously OK; but "economic development and economic/social cohesion means EC Budget money for the South. Best to drop all 3, using the argument (true) that ECOFIN are now trying to define the objectives of EMU, and we shouldn't pre-empt them. (FRG want price stability : South want cohesion).

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 principle of 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

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 intensify their work in the following areas in accordance with the following guidelines:

i) The Community will ensure that the single market without internal frontiers in which people, goods, services and capital can circulate freely is a reality from the end of 1992. This is more important than ever, and 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 [centred on price stability, economic development and economic and social cohesion] 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

(3) Ratification by end-92 implies the IGC ends by end-91. Realistically, it will, but it would be good to avoid implicitly setting that target. Mitterand et al will of course dislike the text for the opposite reason that it doesn't set a June '91 IGC target end-date.

[? suggest no deadlines best, not because we want to go slow, but because if there were in practice some small delay - (eg because of elections anywhere) - the world would see that as a set-back, purely because of the deadline.]

(4) Problem. This may be meaningless guff, but "political entity" could be seen as significant. On the other hand it's very difficult to attack here. Solution: suggest that

(a) (iii) and (vii) on the next page duplicate each other;

(b) so what's needed is to replace both with one clear formula;

(c) to save time, let's use exact Rhodes language, viz: -

" We are determined to strengthen and expand the role of the E-C- and its member states on the international political and economic stage, in co-operation with all other states and appropriate organisations."

(5) sentence 1: messy drafting, but no substantive problem.

(6) sentence 2: mention of member states necessary. The Community as such has always had a CSCE role, but it isn't an exclusive one.

(7) sentence 2: as drafted, potential risk of suggesting that the new structures would replace NATO. A specific reference to NATO would be tricky for the Irish; but the suggested language would do the trick.

December 1990, to conclude its work rapidly [and in time ~~for 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.

iv) [The moment has come 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 [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,] [Guidelines adopted for this approach are set out in Annex I.

v) The Community will work actively to reach early agreement with the EFTA partners on the establishment of a European Economic Area.

vi) 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 programmes on professional training and student exchange soon to be finalised and other important actions in the context of the G-24 cooperation.

The European Council agrees that the action within the framework of G-24 should be extended to the GDR, Czeckoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania. The

No problem here. Minor drafting improvements certainly not essential.

(vii) is of course fine: but the problem with (iii) is best solved by eliminating both, and using the Rhodes language.

Good.

OK - except that it would be desirable (though not essential) to back up the GATT sentence as shown (next page)

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 by end-1991 on the understanding that the basic conditions with regard to democratic principles and transition towards a market economy have been fulfilled.

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

viii) 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, together with the other regular meetings and meetings will provide a good framework for the development of relations between the Community and the United States.

ix) The Community will intensify its policy of good relations with the Mediterranean countries, based on more effective co-operation. 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

(8) The suggested language is SEA Article 1.

(9) The best solution here might be to replace x-y with "efficient working and coherence of the Community's institutions".

(10). Again the best solution might be pruning -x to y and α-β.

No problem on Drugs.

which is essential to the growth of world trade and prosperity.

Round multilateral negotiations. The Community will pursue its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD members.

POLITICAL UNION

7. The European Council agreed on the need [for further concrete progress to transform the relations between the Member States into a Political Union towards European unity] and for this purpose decided on the following steps: (8)

i) a detailed examination will be put in hand forthwith on the [case need] for possible treaty changes with the aim of strengthening the [democratic accountability 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. (9)

ii) Foreign Ministers will undertake this examination in order to prepare for [a] discussion [further European Council 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 timeframe]. (10)

DRUGS

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

OK

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

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10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

This is an illicit ~~copy~~ of the draft conclusions, likely to be circulated before lunch.

Much of it is harmless, but para. 7 on Political Union poses real problems.

A properly annotated version is being prepared for you. C.D.

27 April at 17:00

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL
DUBLIN, 28 APRIL 1990

ELEMENTS FOR THE 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 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 principle 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.

2. The Community warmly welcomes German Unification. It looks forward to the positive and fruitful contribution that the people of East Germany can make following the forthcoming integration of the territory 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.

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   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.

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 principle of 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

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 intensify their work in the following areas in accordance with the following guidelines:

   i) The Community will ensure that the single market without internal frontiers in which people, goods, services and capital can circulate freely is a reality from the end of 1992. This is more important than ever, and 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 [centred on price stability, economic development and economic and social cohesion] 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 [and in time for 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.

iv) The moment has come 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 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. Guidelines adopted for this approach are set out in Annex I.

v) The Community will work actively to reach early agreement with the EFTA partners on the establishment of a European Economic Area.

vi) 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 programmes on professional training and student exchange soon to be finalised and other important actions in the context of the G-24 cooperation.

The European Council agrees that the action within the framework of G-24 should be extended to the GDR, Czeckoslovakia, 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 in 1991 on the understanding that the basic conditions with regard to democratic principles and transition towards a market economy are fulfilled.

vii) In parallel with its European commitment the Community is determined to pursue its major role as a responsible participant at a wider international level. [merge with (iii)]

viii) 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, together with the other regular meetings provide a good framework for the development of relations between the Community and the United States.

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[Is this really necessary?]

which is expected to the growth of world trade & prosperity

Round multilateral negotiations. The Community will pursue its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD members.

POLITICAL UNION [This is the most difficult part]

7. The European Council agreed on the need to transform the relations between the Member States into a Political Union and for this purpose 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 and accountability 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.

[We are looking for further wording on this] whole para.

ii) Foreign Ministers will undertake this examination in order to prepare for a discussion 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 timeframe.

[No]

DRUGS

8. The European Council expresses its concern at the threat posed by drug abuse and illicit trade in narcotic drugs. This trade causes tragic damage to lives and waste of human potential. It has now also become an international issue, with drug producers 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, CELAD, to report to it in June on measures to bring about more effective coordination and on priorities for action by the Community and the Member States in the context of a concerted action against drug abuse and illicit production, distribution and sale of narcotic drugs.

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27 April at 17:00

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DUBLIN, 28 APRIL 1990

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Round multilateral negotiations. The Community will pursue its cooperation with Japan, Canada, Australia and other OECD members.

POLITICAL UNION

7. The European Council agreed on the need to transform the relations between the Member States into a Political Union and for this purpose 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 in order to prepare for a discussion 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 timeframe.

DRUGS

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

POLITICAL UNION

7. 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 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 timeframe.