



**COUNCIL OF  
THE EUROPEAN UNION**

**Brussels, 17 December 2004**

**16238/04**

**CONCL 4**

**COVER NOTE**

---

from : Presidency

to : Delegations

---

Subject : **BRUSSELS EUROPEAN COUNCIL  
16/17 DECEMBER 2004**

**PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS**

---

Delegations will find attached the Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council (16/17 December 2004).

1. The meeting of the European Council was preceded by an exposé by the President of the European Parliament, Mr Josep Borrell, followed by an exchange of views. Subsequently the European Council held a meeting with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Kofi Annan.
2. The European Council welcomed the President of the Commission, Mr José Manuel Barroso. It congratulated him on the assumption of office of his College and expressed its wish to work closely with the new Commission.
3. The European Council discussed the following items
  - I. Enlargement
  - II. Terrorism
  - III. Financial Framework 2007-2013: principles and guidelines
  - IV. Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: the EU Drugs Strategy 2005-2012
  - V. External Affairs
  - VI. Other issues

o  
o o

## **I. ENLARGEMENT**

### **General**

4. The European Council welcomed the findings and recommendations presented by the Commission on 6 October 2004 to the Council and the European Parliament in its Regular Reports on Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, Strategy Paper on Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia, Recommendation on Turkey and document on Issues Arising from Turkey's Membership Perspective.

39. The European Council furthermore welcomed the outcome of the Ministerial Conference on Urban Policy and recognised the importance of urban areas for promotion of social inclusion.

**V. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

40. The European Council reiterated its commitment to the European Security Strategy, which it adopted one year ago. Drawing on its orientations, the Union has successfully increased its ability to make an impact on a global scale. The European Council invited the incoming Presidency to continue to implement the Strategy in cooperation with the High Representative and the Commission and to mainstream its orientations into all relevant European policies.

*Addressing key concerns*

41. The European Council endorsed the report on the implementation of the EU Strategy on Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and noted the progress in this respect in the relations with third countries and cooperation with the IAEA and the OPCW. It reaffirmed its commitment to use all instruments at its disposal to counter the threat of proliferation of WMD and their means of delivery.
42. The European Council welcomed the agreement reached with Iran regarding nuclear issues and future cooperation on 15 November, following negotiations with France, Germany and the UK supported by the High Representative. It underlined that sustaining the full suspension of all enrichment related and reprocessing activities was essential for the continuation of the overall process. It supported further efforts with a view to reaching an agreement on long-term arrangements. The European Council confirmed its conclusions of 5 November 2004 on the resumption of the negotiations on a Trade and Cooperation Agreement after recent verification of suspension. The European Council confirmed the Union's readiness to explore ways to further develop political and economic cooperation with Iran, following action by Iran to address other areas of concern of the EU regarding the fight against terrorism, human rights and Iran's approach to the Middle East Peace Process.

43. The European Council reaffirmed its objective of a secure, unified, prosperous and democratic Iraq that will work constructively with its neighbours and the international community to meet common challenges. It reiterated its determination to support the Iraqi authorities and people, i.a. through elections support, financing of UN protection, reconstruction assistance, strengthening the criminal justice sector and promoting respect for the rule of law, and developing political and trade cooperation with Iraq. The European Council expressed the EU's full support for the political transition process leading to a democratically and constitutionally elected Iraqi Government as set out in UN Security Council Resolution 1546. It emphasized the importance of a broad, inclusive political process for the general elections in January 2005.
44. The European Council congratulated President Karzai on his inauguration and welcomed his commitment to continue democratic reform, and underlined the EU's long-term commitment to the reconstruction, development and stabilisation of Afghanistan. The EU will continue to support the ongoing democratisation process, including next year's parliamentary and local elections, the counter-narcotics efforts, the judicial and security-sector reform and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration.

*Building stronger ties with our neighbourhood*

45. The European Council reaffirmed its commitment to the full implementation of the Thessaloniki agenda, which underlines that the future of the countries of the Balkans is within the European Union. The recent ministerial meetings of the EU-Western Balkans Forum served to assess progress achieved and identify challenges ahead. The European Council underlined that the progress of each country towards European integration depended on its own efforts in meeting the Copenhagen criteria and the conditions of the Stabilisation and Association Process, in particular on key issues such as democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, rights of persons belonging to minorities, and full cooperation with the ICTY. In addition, in this process regional cooperation will remain an essential element of EU policy.

46. The European Council noted with satisfaction the progress made within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). A first series of Action Plans jointly prepared with Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Moldova, Ukraine, Israel and the Palestinian Authority were successfully finalised. As concerns Ukraine, the European Council reiterated the paramount importance of free and fair elections, as reflected in the action plan. It welcomed the agreement reached by the Council on the content of the action plan which will be forwarded to the EU-Ukraine Cooperation Council as soon as developments in Ukraine make it possible to envisage implementation of its provisions. The EU looked forward to working together with partners to implement reforms and other agreed priorities, and to start adopting Action Plans for the countries in the Southern Caucasus during the next year. The EU will take steps to communicate and demonstrate benefits of the ENP to the Belarussian population and will support the strengthening of civil society and the process of democratisation. The European Council also looked forward to the start of consultations with a view to adopting Action Plans with the remaining Mediterranean partners whose Association Agreements have entered into force or which have ratified their Association Agreements. The European Council invited the Commission and the High Representative to report regularly on progress accomplished.
47. The Barcelona Process, enhanced by the ENP, is the main tool for partnership, cooperation and dialogue with the Mediterranean Region. The European Council welcomed the decision taken by the Euromediterranean Conference of Foreign Ministers in the Hague to declare 2005 as year of the Mediterranean. The Barcelona Process can make a major contribution towards the process of modernisation and reform generated from within the societies concerned. The 10th anniversary of the Barcelona Declaration will serve to strengthen and relaunch the Euromed process.
48. The European Council welcomed the progress made with the other countries of the Middle East region and invited further consultations with governments and other stakeholders concerned. It called on the relevant bodies of the Council to continue the work towards strengthening relations with these countries in all relevant political, economic, social and cultural fields.

49. The European Council welcomed the start of the implementation of the EU Strategic Partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East. It reiterated the importance of the commitment of the partners concerned to engage in reform and recognised that the EU's relations with these countries have distinct characteristics that merit a differentiated approach.
50. The European Council adopted separate declarations on Ukraine and the Middle East Peace Process (Annexes I and II).

*An international order based on effective multilateralism*

51. The European Council welcomed the statement by the United Nations Secretary-General and saluted the work he and the UN Secretariat were doing in many fields. It welcomed the report of the United Nations Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, in particular the comprehensive approach to collective security. The follow-up to the European Security Strategy regarding effective multilateralism and a rule-based international order, as requested by the European Council in June, should aim at supporting the efforts of the UN Secretary-General. The EU is firmly determined to play a major role within the UN.
52. The European Council welcomed the decision to appoint a Personal Representative of the SG/HR on Human Rights in the area of CFSP as a contribution to the coherence and continuity of the EU Human Rights policy, with due regard to the responsibilities of the Commission.
53. The European Council underlined the importance of strengthening the social dimension of globalisation in the light of the report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation and the initial proposals made by the Commission in its communication on the issue.

*Working with partners*

54. The European Council underlined its commitment to strengthening the strategic dialogue with its transatlantic partners with a view to formulating joint approaches. For well over 60 years, the transatlantic partnership together with European integration has been a leading force for peace and prosperity. Today, both Europe and America face new threats and challenges. Against this background, the European Council recalled that, as stated in the European Security Strategy, the transatlantic partnership is irreplaceable. The European Council looked forward in this respect to President Bush's forthcoming visit to Europe. It welcomed the initiative of a yearly Justice and Home Affairs ministerial troika with the US and the broad participation of the stakeholders on both sides of the ocean in the consultations on the further deepening of transatlantic relations.
55. The importance the EU and Russia attach to their strategic partnership, based on common values and shared interests, was underlined at the latest EU-Russia Summit. Considerable progress was made on the creation of the four Common Spaces and, with a view to the next EU-Russia Summit in Moscow in May 2005, the European Council looked forward to adopting a comprehensive and balanced package of roadmaps as soon as possible. In parallel, work towards the implementation of elements on which agreement has been reached provisionally should start as early as possible.
56. The European Council welcomed the outcome of the Summit meetings with ASEM, the Republic of Korea and India, which broadened and deepened the relationships with the Asian partners. It invited the Council and the Commission to initiate the development of the Action Plan with India to be endorsed at the 6<sup>th</sup> EU-India Summit in New Delhi in 2005. The European Council also called on the Council and the Commission to intensify the cooperation with Indonesia including in the fields of counter-terrorism, interfaith dialogue, reforms and sustainable development.

57. The European Council welcomed the results of the seventh EU-China Summit that took place in The Hague on 8 December. It invited the Council and the Commission to further explore the feasibility of a new EU-China framework agreement and possible cooperation on issues such as re-admission and market economy status. The European Council confirmed that EU-China relations have developed significantly in all aspects in the past years. It is looking forward to further progress in all areas of this relationship as referred to in the EU-China Joint Statement, in particular, the ratification of the International Covenant on civil and political rights. In this context the European Council reaffirmed the political will to continue to work towards lifting the arms embargo. It invited the next Presidency to finalise the well-advanced work in order to allow for a decision. It underlined that the result of any decision should not be an increase of arms exports from EU Member States to China, neither in quantitative nor qualitative terms. In this regard the European Council recalled the importance of the criteria of the Code of Conduct on arms exports, in particular criteria regarding human rights, stability and security in the region and the national security of friendly and allied countries. The European Council also stressed the importance in this context of the early adoption of the revised Code of Conduct and the new instrument on measures pertaining to arms exports to post embargo countries ('Toolbox').
58. During the past six months the EU strengthened its cooperation with the African Union (AU) and sub-regional organisations, including ECOWAS, SADC and IGAD. The European Council underlined its commitment to continued contributions by the EU to improvement of the situation on the African continent, notably in Sudan, the Great Lakes region, West Africa and Somalia. The EU will continue to assist the AU mission in Darfur and the peace and transition process in the Great Lakes region, as set out in recent GAERC conclusions. It welcomed the establishment of federal transitional institutions in Somalia and will continue to assist them, as set out in recent GAERC conclusions. Following the adoption of restrictive measures taken against the Côte d'Ivoire on the basis of UNSCR 1572, the European Council welcomes and supports the mediation efforts undertaken in the name of the African Union and ECOWAS through the mission to the Côte d'Ivoire by President Thabo Mbeki with which the European Union has been associated. The European Council welcomed increased regional ownership and underlined that the EU will continue to strengthen its ties with the AU and sub-regional organisations, notably in the field of peace and security.



59. The European Council reiterated the EU's commitment to the consolidation of the bi-regional strategic partnership with Latin America and the Caribbean. In this regard, the European Council confirmed the EU's willingness to make further progress based on efforts from both sides with a view to finalising the EU-Mercosur negotiations and welcomed the expected launching in January 2005 of the joint assessments of the respective integration processes of Central America and the Andean Community, as called for in the Declaration of the EU-LAC Guadalajara Summit.

*ESDP*

60. The European Council welcomed the successful start of the EU military operation Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 2 December, which underlines the Union's pledge to stability and security in this country and is a practical example of the strategic partnership in crisis management with NATO. It also noted the successful conduct of the three ongoing ESDP missions – the EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, EUPOL Proxima in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Rule of Law Mission Themis in Georgia. It requested the incoming Presidency and the SG/HR to take forward, in close cooperation with the UN, the preparations for a police mission and for a possible security sector reform mission currently being examined, in the Democratic Republic of Congo and for a possible integrated police, rule of law and civilian administration mission for Iraq, which is expected to start after the January 2005 elections.
61. The European Council endorsed the Presidency Report on ESDP, including the mandate for the incoming Presidency, and welcomed in particular the progress in the development of military and civilian capabilities reflected in this report, including decisions on EU battlegroups (as part of rapid response elements) as well as on the adoption of an ambitious work programme and the budget for 2005 for the European Defence Agency. The European Council endorsed the Civilian Headline Goal 2008.

62. The European Council endorsed the detailed proposals for the implementation of the document titled "European Defence: NATO/EU consultation, planning and operations", allowing for the civilian/military cell to begin its work as scheduled including for the establishment of an operations centre which should be available by January 2006 latest. The proposals also serve as a basis for agreement with NATO on the establishment as scheduled of a small EU cell at SHAPE and NATO liaison arrangements to the EUMS.

### **International cooperation**

63. The European Council emphasised the importance of ensuring a coherent contribution of EC ODA to poverty eradication in all developing countries. In this context, whilst honouring existing commitments, the European Council underlined the need to find ways to increase the focus on the poorest, with a specific focus on Africa.
64. The European Council confirmed the full commitment of the European Union to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and to the need to ensure progress towards achieving them, especially in Sub-Sahara Africa. In that respect, the European Council welcomed the consultation by the Commission of individual Member States with a view to presenting to the Council (GAERC) in April 2005 concrete proposals on setting new and adequate ODA targets for the period 2009-2010, while taking into account the position of new Member States. The European Union will also explore innovative ways of financing based upon proposals submitted by the Commission with a view to the 2005 high level Event.
65. The European Council called, in the framework of achieving the MDGs, for further strengthening of policy coherence for development by making wider and more systematic use of existing mechanisms for consultation and impact assessment and procedures to screen all relevant policies for their impact on developing countries.
66. The European Council reiterates the importance of implementation of the Cairo/ICPD Agenda and the fight against HIV/AIDS for achieving the Millennium Development Goals. It welcomes the progress that has been made in this area and urges the Commission and Member States to increase their commitment in preparation for the UN High Level event.