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Europe 2010
Common Theses of CDU and CSU for the Future Architecture of
Europe

(Courtesy translation)

1. New challenges for European politics

The political and economic unification of Europe is the most successful political project in the history of our continent. Christian Democrats have essentially initiated and have like no other political force in Europe shaped this process. The aim of the final unification of Europe is part of the identity of CDU and CSU. Europe has achieved the original aim of securing peace by economic integration to a high degree. The German-French co-operation has considerably contributed to it. It will be also of the utmost importance for the future development of European integration.

Today the European Union faces new great challenges:

Globalisation, new threats to our security, and the geopolitical position urge Europe more than hitherto to perform with determination with a common voice to the outside world. There is a great opportunity in European integration to maintain the community of European values and the European concept of man on which the community of values is based upon it in the world of tomorrow.

After the collapse of communism we can for the first time overcome the unnatural division of our continent. We can make Europe the largest zone of stability, security, and prosperity of the world and thus secure jobs and economic competitiveness.

The ability to decide and act in the European Union speedily has to be improved essentially. Partly there is a lack of political will, partly there is a lack of appropriate structures. The European Union must become leaner and less bureaucratic.

The European Union must be built more democratic, nearer to the citizens, more transparent, and decisively more according to the principle of subsidiarity. Europe must focus on the tasks that can be solved only on the European level. There is an unclear separation of powers between the European and national level in many political fields.

2. Definition of aims and limits of European integration

Until now, the European integration process has developed without any clear defined final aim. The traditional method of an ever deeper integration without a concept about the final aim of the process has come to its limits. Central decision taking will live up less and less to the increasing variety in a European Union of more than 20 member states in the future. The achieved degree of integration and the wish of more and more countries to join the European Union make it necessary that the European Union agrees on its aims and limits.

The economic, social, and cultural differences in the European Union will increase after enlargement considerably. The European Union must find new answers to the questions of its aims, interests, and tasks and the necessary instruments and

institutions to achieve them in order not to change the character of the European Union completely as a consequence of enlargement and in order not to endanger the European project.

The European Union should decide on its geographical expansion according to common concepts of values and historic experiences. The geographical expansion of the European Union may not overextend its force to integrate. The extension of the number of accession candidates must not endanger the opportunities of those accession candidates that are most advanced. A membership of Turkey in the European Union is not conceivable for us in the foreseeable future. Therefore it was a mistake to endow Turkey with an official accession status at the present point of time. We support, however, all efforts to strengthen the European orientation of that country and to link it closer to us economically, politically, and institutionally.

3. The completion of European unification by enlargement to the East

The rule of law, democracy, and social market economy can be permanently anchored also in Central and Eastern Europe by enlarging the European Union. It is in the Pan-European interest to reduce the gap of wealth between East and West considerably. The enormous political and economic advantages of enlargement for the whole of Europe and also for Germany outweigh distinctly the possible risks in some individual cases.

The European Union must reform itself institutionally and by a clear distribution of powers in order to be able to accept as quickly as possible new Central and Eastern European states as members. In order to do so it is also necessary to amend the decisions of the "Agenda 2000" (of the Berlin summit of 1999), because the eastward

enlargement of the European Union is not sufficiently funded according to the financial provisions especially in the field of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The contributions of the member states still show structural injustices, and the system of common funding of the CAP by the European Union and its member states was not introduced which would have been the adequate system for an enlarged European Union. It must be also taken into account the specific conditions of the border regions that will be especially affected by the consequences of the eastward enlargement.

CDU and CSU are in favour of a swift enlargement. The accession candidates influence the point of time of the accession essentially themselves by their own efforts. There must be no watering down of the agreed political and economic criteria. In order to keep up the readiness in the accession countries to achieve a comprehensive adoption of the *acquis communautaire*, the accession candidates should get a clear accession perspective.

The very different conditions in the present and the future member states of the European Union make distinct and flexible transition regulations in some areas inevitable. A shortening of transitional periods must remain possible, if the assimilation to the economic and social development to the situations of the present member states may allow this.

4. Clear separation of tasks between Europe, national states, and regions

Europe will also be composed of nation states in the future. The regions will play an important role in them in order to preserve the evolved variety of cultures and in order to remain the levels of decision taking close to the citizens. Europe must be shaped

by self-help, competition, variety, and a clear distribution of powers. The nation states must keep the power to distribute powers (“Kompetenz-Kompetenz”) between the European and the national level.

The European Union must limit its tasks in a considerably enlarged Europe to those, that can only be managed by the Europe Union as a whole. Among these are the defence of the single market, the stability of the Euro, the foreign, security, and defence policy, the policy on asylum seekers and refugees, the combat of international crime, the environment protection, and a common performance in questions of the global economy. The transfer of powers to the European level is as necessary as the re-transfer of powers to the member states in order to achieve such a new definition of European tasks according to the principle of subsidiarity.

The separation of powers has to be defined more precisely in important articles of the EU-treaty. This is also true for the questions of public services including the rules of subsidies by activities for the common good (“öffentliche Daseinsvorsorge”). The current intergovernmental conference (IGC 2000) must define obligatorily the start, direction, and timetable of corresponding reforms.

The European Union needs as a base a constitutional treaty of its member states. It should contain the basic value decisions of the European Union including a charter of fundamental rights, the aims and principles, the institutional framework, the principle of subsidiarity, and a clear separation of powers between the European and the national level. Work on such a constitutional treaty must start immediately after the conclusion of the present IGC. The European Parliament and the national parliaments should be able to take part adequately in that effort without limiting the

preservation of the final right of the member states to ratify such a constitutional treaty.

5. Improvement of the capability of the European Union to act

The European Union must strengthen its capacity to act significantly in regard to the next enlargement of the European Union. That is why institutional reforms are necessary. As far as tasks of the member states are transferred to the European Union, a supranational structure should be chosen, that is better democratically legitimised, that ensures effective actions, and that makes political responsibilities transparent to the citizens. Actions of the European Union must be legitimised both by the peoples of Europe as well as by the member states as the basic components of the European Union.

CDU and CSU are in favour of further transitions to majority voting in the Council (of ministers), if there is a clear separation of powers with the policy field concerned and if there is a redistribution of the votes of the member countries in the council of ministers. Decisions with constitutional characters such as changes of the treaty, accessions of new member countries, and decisions on the funding of the European Union must be taken unanimously also in the future. This is also true for regulations that initiate considerable transfers of financial means.

The governing and administrative functions that can be found presently partly in the Council partly in the European Commission should be concentrated in the long run in one single European executive body that is responsible to the European Parliament and the Council, the political representation of the member states. This task could be transferred to a reformed European Commission. The position of the president of the

European Commission has to be strengthened in that process. He needs the clear authority to organise, co-ordinate, and direct the policies of the European Commission. The number of the members of that reformed European Commission should be limited in order to keep it able to act also in the long run.

It becomes even more acute in a European Union with more than 20 member states to enable some member states to advance European integration among themselves. Each country that fulfils the set preconditions must be able to take part in such a closer co-operation. No country that does not take part in that process must prevent those who take part in the process to go ahead.

The flexibility clause must especially be applicable to the foreign, security, and defence policy. The closer co-operation must not lead to a postponement of the fundamental reform of the European Union or to a new division within Europe.

6. Democracy, transparency, and fundamental rights for a Europe of citizens

The structures and ways of working of the European institutions do not correspond to the principles of democracy, subsidiarity, public accountability, and transparency. There is an urgent need to reform the Council, to strengthen the European Parliament, and to give the principle of subsidiarity general viability. Only by doing so the lack of democratic legitimacy can be reduced.

The Council is in many cases the cause of the lack of transparency, violation of the powers of the nation states, and of bureaucracy. It regulates too many things and too much in detail. One of the reasons for many violations of the principle of subsidiarity is that the ministers of the political field concerned decide separately in the Council.

Therefore it is necessary that all decisions are taken in one single council that is in permanent session and is always composed by the same persons. The participation rights of the German federal states in the Council have to be preserved. The Council has to sit in public when doing legislative work.

The number of population of the member states must be stronger taken into consideration in order to strengthen the democratic legitimacy of the decisions of the Council. By introducing the need for a double majority (majority both of the member states and of the population represented by those member states) for passing EU-regulations, the interests of the smaller and the larger member states would be preserved.

Furthermore the European Parliament must receive the right of co-decision in all cases of legislation in which the Council decides with majority voting in order to improve democratic legitimacy. The principle that each vote should count the same requires that the European Parliament is composed in principle proportionally to the number of population in a member state. A European Parliament thus reformed should elect the president of the European Commission. The candidate elected by the European Parliament must be confirmed by the European Council (of heads of states and governments) by qualified majority.

There is a special responsibility of the Bundestag (lower house of the German parliament) for European politics based on the special role of the member states as the components of the European Union. The need of democratic legitimacy of European decisions requires the Bundestag to become increasingly the platform of discussions of European decisions. There must be more powers to the Bundestag to

control and to take part in the decisions of the German government on basic decisions of directions of European legislation.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union should summarise the fundamental rights already in force on the European level and make it more transparent to its citizens in a simple and clear text. The articles should be worded in a way that they can be adopted any time as a binding text into the EU-treaty and thus open up the opportunity for the citizens of the European Union to get access to a judicial review. An overburdening of the Charter by merely political aims will not be supported by both CDU and CSU.

7. For a communitarian foreign, security, and defence policy

The incapability of the European Union to contain and to solve conflicts in its neighbourhood and thus to contribute decisively to the stability on its borders is evident. We urgently need therefore a communitarian foreign, security, and defence policy. We have not too much but still too less of European integration in this field. European defence must not, however, reduce the value of the eminent importance of the Atlantic alliance. Therefore the institutional co-operation between the European Union and NATO must be further deepened.

The position of the High Representative for the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) must be strengthened with regard to the Council. He should together with the EU-commissioner responsible for foreign policy represent the European Union to the outside world. Those functions should be unified in one person in the long run. The rotating presidency of the Council has turned out to be inadequate to deliver a voice and influence to the European Union in the world. The representation of the

European Union in third countries is therefore to be transferred completely to the European Commission.

It is necessary to transfer the Western European Union (WEU) completely into the European Union. Parliamentary control and covering of the tasks of the WEU should be executed by the European Parliament. Decisions on military missions of national forces must remain in the sole decision power of national parliaments.

The most important task of the European Union in the sphere of security and defence is to acquire and to build up immediately military capacities that are necessary for a successful management of crises. Sufficient own capacities of air and sea transport as well as leading, communications, and comprehensive intelligence surveying capacities by satellites belong to those military capacities that are necessary. The potential of realising common military missions and the evolved roles of EU-member states in specialising in the European framework must be further exploited. The European Union should carry out peace keeping and peace making missions only, however, if NATO as a whole does not take corresponding measures. The European Union is in need of common military forces as a base for a European army and a common armaments policy before that decade is over.