

Institutional prerequisites for regional integration: the European experience and “lessons to learn” for SAARC

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

- ⇒ is a more than 50 years lasting - more or less - successful story of establishing stability, peace, democracy and prosperity
- ⇒ growing number of very different member states.
- ⇒ still process and way without definition of the final station
- ⇒ at a turning point because of possibilities for good governance

EUROPEAN UNION

is

- ⇒ the most highly evolved example of regional integration in the world”
(Michelle Bertho/University of Berkley)

What and where is EUROPE?

- > “*Europe is an asian peninsula*” (*Definition of an old Brockhaus*)
- > “*Europe is” an ever closer union of the European People*” (*Art.1EUT*)
- > *Europe is: idea and ideology, fiction and reality, history and target*

“Old” EUROPE needs:

- more European thinking politicians in the “national” politics
- more self-consciousness about its needed role in the world policy
- more trust in its own messages and methods of policy making

What is the “secret” behind the European story?

Could others “organisations” really “learn” from EUROPE?

Is there a “secret” or has it been “muddling through”?

(Some things have not been “on the plan” like for example the reunification of Germany)

EU - Motto: United in diversity :

Different political systems and “seizes” but “equal” partners in the EU:

Facts and figures:

(figures from
EU-Commission or M. Bertho/Berkley)

- ⇒ **EU - population: 454.9 mio =nearly 10% of the worlds population**
 - ⇒(USA: 291.0 mio – India:1 0421.0 mio)
 - ⇒member states:D = 82.5 mio/F/I/GB > 59.0 mio/L/MT = 0.4 mio
 - ⇒D/UK/F/I= 2/3 of EU population and 3/4 EU – GDP
- ⇒ **EU covers 4 % of the worlds land area (incl. Norway,Switzerland,Iceland)**
- ⇒ **EU generates ca. 31 % of the worlds economic wealth /9.7 €trlio GDP**
- ⇒ **25 EU- member states ⇒ 20 official languages**
- ⇒ **4 officially by the council and EP accepted candidate states:**
 - Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Turkey; all states of the former Yugoslavia are invited
 - to appeal for membership)
- ⇒ **still 7 (constitutional) monarchies in EU: B, DK, LUX, NL, E, S, UK**
- ⇒ **several states with dual executive and/or two chamber systems**
- ⇒ **different votes for the member states in the EU-council:**
 - D/F/I/GB = 29, E/PL = 27, LT/SLO/EST/CY = 4, Malta 3
- ⇒ **different numbers of members in the European Parliament:**
 - D=99, F/I/GB=78, L/EST=6, MT= 5

**1. Speaking at the beginning of 2005
about the outcome of the european” experiences”
and the European Union means
to speak first about :**

- ⇒ values, principles and objectives
- ⇒ institutions, decision-making, methods of cooperation

secondly about

some major events that have occurred 2004 and “changed the EU

- ⇒ **Enlargement of the European Union**
- ⇒ **European Elections**
- ⇒ **Appointment of a new Commission**
- ⇒ **European Council decision on the Constitutional Treaty**
- ⇒ **European Council decision on EU-Turkey negotiations**

third to speak about

further challenges for EU-policy

- ⇒ ***new Neighbourhood policy***
- ⇒ ***future global role of EU / EURO***
- ⇒ **EUROPE AID**

The actual events in South Asia have shown - up to now- that Europe is not yet ready to act as a whole, it has abilities but not yet the real will to use them on outside fields.

Not only catastrophies but normal political challenges like the

- ***events in the Ukraine***
- ***developments in Africa***
- ***middle-east solutions***

need common European answers and strategies not only council resolutions.

4

2. EU is unique:

- a community of democratic countries
- committed working together for peace and prosperity
- it is not (yet ?) a state but more than any other international organisation
- pooling of sovereignty

**Official basis for EU-policy
is the Treaty of Nice**(in force since 2003)

- *“shadow.basis” is already the draft of the EU – Constitution*
(which is in a two years lasting process of ratification)

The EUROPEAN UNION is - at present - established by

⇒ the member states
⇒ *in future by the constitution itself*

The EU is founded on

⇒ values and principles

and gets its orientation by ⇒

- objectives
- fundamental rights
- constitutional debate

Values:

- respect for human dignity
 - liberty

- democracy
- equality
- rule of law and respect for human rights

5

general principles:

- pluralism
- tolerance
- justice
- subsidiarity
- solidarity
- non-discrimination

fundamental principles:

- respect of national identities and constitutional structure of the member states (Federalism/Europe of the regions?)
 - loyalty

⇒ *Ahead to Nice treaty, now layed down in the “ Constitution”:*

- **EUROPEAN UNION** with own legal personality (Art.I 6)
- **clear (rer) competencies** (Art.I 9 – I 17)
- **primacy of Union law over the law of the member states** (Art.I 10)
- **constitutional guarantee for the four freedoms**
free movement for persons, goods, services capital, prohibition of discrimination by nationality

Objectives (constitution):

⇒ promotion of peace

⇒ promotion of EU-values

⇒ well-beeing of EU-people

Ahead to Nice-treaty inclusion of the

Charter of fundamental rights into the Constitution

⇒ **this caused dramatic changes even in some member states (GB)**

⇒ **several “new” fundamental rights were accepted which had before only been in the constitutions of some member states**

⇒ **discussions took - and still take – place in some member states , as for example about the question if the “christian god” should be mentioned in the constitutions preamble**

other specifically mentioned points:

⇒ **promotion of scientific and technological advance**

⇒ **solidarity between generations**

⇒ **protection of the childrens rights**

⇒ **economic and social cohesion (incl. territorial dimension)**

⇒ **cultural and linguistic diversity**

⇒ **safeguarding european cultural heritage**

**Both, values and principles
are most important for newcomers and
as well as for existing members, because it could
prevent membership or provoke suspension
if they are failed.**

(Remember: Austrian “case”, Italian “question”)

Most important for the success of the
EUROPEAN UNION / EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
 are the - step by step -developed

- Institutions,
- decision - finding procedures
- methods of cooperation

Five main institutions:

1. European Parliament

- represents the European citizens > directly elected
- but: declining support in the elections (graphic)

2. Council of the European Union

- represents the individual member states but:
- problems with transparency
- double role as executive and legislative body
- not directly elected

3. European Commission (pictures ,portfolio, graphic)

- represents the interests of the union as a whole
- but:sometimes too bureaucratic
- but: to many commissioners

This triangle of institutions is

- responsible for policies and laws in form of
- directives, regulations and decisions

8

Further institutions:

4. European Court of Justice

- played a central role in developing real“European “right

5. European Court of auditors

- tries to keep the European money where it belongs to
- showed its “power” by bringing transparency into EU.commissioners “misuse” of budget-money

Further important “bodies”:

- **European Economic and Social Committee**
(represents interests of organized civil society)
- **Committee of Regions**
(opinions of local and regional authorities, important for federal states)
- **European Central Bank**
- **European Ombudsman**
- **European Investment Bank**
(helps to achieve EU-objectives)

The development of Institutions has always taken place within Intergovernmental Conferences (and newly) Convention and were taken by unanimity votes of the council and later on the member states. The European Parliament was in the past not satisfied with this procedure because it was not a real partner in the process – only be heard. Since the convention-method has been used for the Charter of fundamental rights and for the Constitution, the parliament ist taken in the procedure from the beginning on – the same is the case with the national parliaments (even if there are two chambers like in Germany or Belgium). Even the future member states participated in the drafting process for the constitution.

9

3. Enlargement, elections, Constitution, Commission, and the Turkey-question

Enlargement:

The latest enlargement was a big bite but had a good and long lasting preparation, and a demanding agenda by the so called

- Copenhagen Criterias

Nevertheless

- the enlargement with ten countries –
- coming mostly from the former “eastern block
- more then 100 mio people,

is a big challenge for the EU-Institutions and especially also for its financial frame work.

More details are to be read in the Report of Wim Kok, for the EU-Commission from November 2004 (www.europa.eu.int/comm/lisbon_strategy/index_uk.html)

Elections:

- 732 members of the European Parliament
- disappointing participation of people
 - drop in to “historicly low” 45 %
- beside three governments all others “lost” their majorities

Possible reasons:

**difficult political and economical situations
are existing in several European countries,
high unemployment rates and low growth of the economy
unpopular political measures had to be taken in the last years
national parties tried (as always in the past)
to instrumentalize these election for national debates**

10

**nevertheless:
the new elected parliament showed his new gained power by
refusing acceptance of the proposed Barroso-commission
a compromise had to be found and
two proposed commissioners had to quit**

New Commission:

- **Reduced participation of the big member states,
because they “lost their” second commissioner**
- **still too many persons are responsible
for nearly the same tasks**

Overview by folio

European Constitution:

(Overview by folio)

**Within a two years process
the Convent was finally successful to get the unanimous vote
of the 25 council members for a
draft of a European Constitution**

**Although Italian presidency failed in getting the agreement already in december
summit 2003, even those difficult partners like the UK and Poland gave their yes-vote
finally in the summit in june 2004**

It is now up to the national governments and parliaments to get their majorities at home because if even only one country might miss the acceptance, the constitution cannot come into force . The questions of referendums are discussed also in countries which are not used to have them, like germany.

An interesting paper to read is the White paper of the UK-government (from September 2004 / www.fco.gov.uk;folio)

11

**When a wellknown sceptical european government
like the Ukgovernment argues so vehemet for a
pro-position to the constitution
then Europe must have reached a real good status !????!**

**One of the problems
which are to be solved by all the different governments is
to convince people within the next two years in the same time
for a pro-position to the constitution while there is rising
already another important “problem”,
the next enlargement**

Next enlargement round with turkey?

**Two leftovers from the latest enlargement:
Bulgaria and Romania
both failed the Copenhagen criterias**

**one “newcomer”: Croatia
and also Republic of Macedonia is working on its candidacy
and all the other former Yugoslaw republics as well**

**Special attention was given in the last month
to an “old candidate”:Turkey,
waiting since more than 30 years for Europe opening the doors**

- several problems are to be seen:**
- **seize (follow up for council votes etc)**

- **social and economical situation**
 - **“risk” of free movement”**
 - **religious “questions”**
 - **ethnic conflicts**
 - **human rights**
 - **security**

12

The turkey-question is a key-questions for the reliability of EU

Concerning the other candidates it is more or less a “technical” question when and how they fulfil the Copenhagen criterias, especially Croatia is to be seen a soon possible member of EU. It will probably have the role of a “guide” to the other former Yugoslav countries like Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegowina etc.

4. Important for the future role of EU is new neighbourhood policy:

questions are for example:

- ⇒ **how to keep the borders of the wider Europe safe and politically calm**
- ⇒ **how to stabilize social and political life in the outside countries without too much involvement**
- ⇒ **how to “keep them out” on their own and in the interest of EU-member states**
- ⇒ **how to keep the geostrategic balance in the greater region**

In this context of course also questions of access to the Euro-membership play an important role.

5. EUROPEAN UNION

**as a guarantee-power in the global context
not only in military context but also in fields like
help in catastrophies like now**

**What is the responsibility and ability of the
economical power “state” Europe?**