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BASIC PROGRAMME

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Contents

Prologue

- The new European society
- Against ideological temptations
- Overcoming new threats
- Understanding the signs of the times

Foundations and reference values

- Our concept of man
- Fundamental values
- The implementation of values
- An appeal to values

From the European Community to the European Union

- For a federal Europe
- For an effective Europe
- For a democratic Europe
- For a social market economy that respects the environment
- For a Europe open towards the other Europe
- For a security and defence policy in Europe
- For a Europe open towards the world
- For a People's Europe

Epilogue

PROLOGUE

The new European society

Europe is undergoing a period of considerable change. Its States and populations are having to adjust to new circumstances. European society is seeking a new identity. The end of ideological, political and military confrontation between East and West has created new openings as well as new opportunities for agreement and cooperation.

For us Christian Democrats, members of the European People's Party, this time of upheaval offers us a unique and unprecedented task. Our prime mission is to seize those opportunities offered and use them to the full. Periods of profound change also generate imponderable issues, dangers and potential for conflict.

Furthermore, our democracies are experiencing a profound crisis of values challenging the political system right down to its foundations. We Christian Democrats are aware of these dangers, temptations and the loss of direction resulting from this crisis. We cannot provide perfect solutions to overcome them but we act on the basis of fundamental values and principles which point us in the right direction.

Against ideological temptations

Regardless of the disappearance of Marxism-Leninism as a foundation for society in Central and East Europe, the end of ideologies is not really in sight. Rather, competition between ideologies is occurring at other levels.

At first sight, liberal ideology has many advantages. The market economy has allowed the development of living standards other systems have not yet been able to achieve. Neoliberalism, however, ignores the social dimensions of the free market economy by unilaterally stressing the individual efforts of each man and woman; which can only work against the weakest members of society. Once again, this leads to conflict and confrontation, affecting solidarity which must also be a valid part of the international context.

Ecology provides a positive contribution, striving to call upon the "best" in every man and woman to advance the quality of life. Within this ideology, however, lies the temptation to giving absolute values to nature and the earth, opposed to all technological and economic progress, resulting in the limitation of freedom and self-fulfilment of mankind, which consequently does not contribute to respect for Creation.

The most dangerous response to the fall of communism is a misplaced nationalist ideology. The feeling of patriotism and of belonging to a specific community is inherent to the existence of any human being and thus entirely legitimate. Nationalism can no longer be acceptable, however, when it becomes absolute and denies other values and responsibilities such as loyalty to the democratic state and the rights of minorities.

At first sight, socialism would seem to be the natural heir to communism. It is nonetheless also handicapped; either it uses the old model of class struggle and class opposition, a model which no longer satisfies its citizens' aspirations, or - as is the case in social democracy - it gives up the class fight but remains suspicious of civil society and intermediary bodies and gives too much priority to the activity of the State, thus all too often invading the social fabric.

We Christian Democrats see the weaknesses in these ideologies which are bound to mislead us in the end. We also reject a purely pragmatic approach to problems in society. We wish to impart a valid response to those aspiring to a more human society. Our society cannot be restricted to satisfying material needs alone. The needs of human beings in their totality and their fulfilment in the framework of a completely new society are crucial for the realization of their wellbeing.

Overcoming new threats

European society sees itself confronted by multiple contradictory developments jeopardizing its internal cohesion.

Never before have demographic developments reached the scale of the challenge that will exist over the coming decades. Major migratory movements in the world result from overpopulation in certain regions and the attraction of developed, stable countries.

The gap between rich and poor cannot remain one of the world's greatest tragedies for much longer. European society faces the additional problem of ageing which has profound implications in terms of the organisation of society and of the need for practical expressions of solidarity and concern for others.

Economic globalization is leading to growing interdependence. But rules are still lacking for these complex and reciprocal relations which must be organized in a coherent manner. We must be watchful of the draining of natural resources through misuse and the danger of ecological catastrophes.

Scientific knowledge is a potential source of well-being and of fair distribution of prosperity. Technological innovations will help improve the quality of tomorrow's society. Nevertheless, technological and scientific developments must not be allowed to misguide man or cause him to lose his respect for nature and its limitations.

The meaningless flow of information, especially when deformed by the media, may result in the total disappearance of responsibility and the invasion of irrationality into politics. It can create a climate of instability and confusion as well as leading to apathy and the impression that there are quick and easy solutions to all problems.

The basic elements for consensus achieved in European society are being threatened by a rising wave of racism and nationalism as well as a rebirth of criminality and aggressiveness.

We Christian Democrats do not claim to have ready-made, convincing solutions to all these evolutions. Without losing sight of the threats which exist, we intend to act on the basis of the signs of hope that are appearing in our society today.

An end to the East-West conflict has opened up opportunities for lasting world peace and savings on defence expenditure so that more money can be dedicated to developing populations.

A consensus for solutions to many of the world's problems can henceforth be more easily found through international organizations, as well as the

creation of a juridical world order. We Christian Democrats rejoice in the irresistible rise of parliamentary democracy. The model for western consensus linking social market economy to democracy has achieved appreciable success.

The explicit acceptance which this combination of political and economic freedom is obtaining throughout the world is very encouraging and acts as a decisive stimulus for us to remain faithful to this model.

Understanding the signs of the times

Perceptions of the values of European citizens differ and often appear contradictory: a withdrawal into the private sphere; the growth of materialism, individualism and cynicism, together with the collapse of universal ideals; at the same time a commitment towards specific issues in society (single-issue politics) but also an aspiration to lead one's life on the basis of values such as responsibility, loyalty and a concern for security.

We Christian Democrats, members of the European People's Party, wish to make a positive contribution to these changes in the spiritual climate and seize these opportunities. Many citizens, whether adhering to a religion or Church or not, are willing to collaborate, to be committed and to demonstrate solidarity. Christian Democracy, on the basis of its political tradition, seeks to appeal to what is "best", to the "constructive" aspect which exists in each human individual, and to give contemporary expression to the ideals of social Christian personalism.

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATIONS AND REFERENCE VALUES

Our concept of man

101. We Christian Democrats, members of the EPP, affirm the inalienable dignity of every human being. We regard man as the subject and not the object of history.

102. On the basis of Judaeo-Christian values, we regard every man and every woman as a person, i.e. as a unique human being who is irreplaceable, totally irreducible, free by nature and open to transcendence.

103. Each human being within society depends on others. Because they are free, responsible and interdependent, people must take part in the construction of society. For many of us, what lies behind this commitment is the belief that we are called on to contribute to God's work of creation and freedom.

104. Freedom is inherent in the essential nature of man. It means that every individual has the right and the duty to be fully responsible for himself and his acts and to share responsibility vis-à-vis his neighbour and creation.

105. Everything leads us to affirm that truth is transcendent and as such is not entirely accessible to man. Our concept of freedom leads us to affirm that man is by his nature fallible. Consequently, we acknowledge that it is impossible for anyone to conceive of far less construct - a perfect society, free of all pain or conflict. We reject any form of totalitarianism based on such an aspiration.

106. In accordance with our concept of man, we affirm that all men and all women have the same dignity and are by their nature equal.

Fundamental values

107. We affirm that every woman and every man is responsible for constantly improving the society in which they live on the basis of reference values and regulating principles defined in common. It is by applying these that they will be able to prevent, manage and settle peacefully the differences between men and the problems and challenges facing mankind.

108. Christian Democratic thought and political action are based on fundamental, interdependent, equally important and universally applicable values: freedom and responsibility, fundamental equality, justice and solidarity.

Freedom and responsibility

109. We believe that genuine freedom means autonomy and responsibility, not irresponsible independence. It renders every person responsible for their actions according to their conscience and also before their community and the future generations.

110. According to this conception, everyone shares responsibility vis-à-vis the created world. Future generations must also be able to live in harmony with a natural environment in which each human being is an essential link in the chain. Groups, communities, peoples, nations and states are therefore answerable for their actions to each living and future human being.

111. True justice and solidarity cannot exist unless prior to this the existence of freedom is accepted by everyone as an essential condition.

112. That is why we Christian Democrats want to enable everyone to enjoy in their daily existence the inalienable rights recognized as belonging to every man and woman and their communities. This involves both the guarantee of the right to develop and use their gifts, talents and abilities to the full, and on the other hand the obligation to offer these in service to the community and to seek at all times to apply the values of justice and solidarity in relationships with others.

113. This freedom, that is at once the condition and the consequence of the constant endeavour to apply the values of justice and solidarity, also applies to the existing authorities, both in their internal organization and in their relationship to private individuals. This also has certain implications for our Christian Democratic concept of the political system.

114. The authorities derive their legitimacy from the requirement to establish the appropriate conditions for the personal development of each and everyone on a community basis. Any authority, whether public or private and at whatever level it operates, must therefore under all circumstances protect the general interest and the common good.

115. The general interest and the common good must not be confused with the sum of individual interests. However, they must always be compatible

with a proper respect for the ensemble of individual, civil and political, economic and social, cultural and collective rights of each person.

116. The right of peoples to self-determination and the free exercise of their legitimate rights cannot be invoked to deny any one person the exercise and enjoyment of his or her rights. This right of peoples is nevertheless a high form of justice given that it is the affirmation and recognition of a sense of identity and the wish to live together in freely chosen politico-social structures.

Fundamental equality

117. All human beings are equal because they are endowed with the same dignity. In relationships with others, each person's freedom is therefore limited by a respect for others' freedom deriving from the recognition of that fundamental equality.

118. Notwithstanding their differences in terms of gifts, talents and abilities, each person must be able to achieve personal development in freedom and equality at his or her own level, whatever his or her origin, sex, age, race, nationality, religion, conviction, social status or state of health.

119. The same rights must be recognized and the same duties imposed according to each person's capabilities.

Justice

120. The concept of justice means that the necessary conditions for individuals and also their communities - depending on their nature and objectives - to exercise their freedom must be guaranteed at all times. It is the characteristic of justice to attribute to each individual his due, and actively to seek out greater equality of opportunity and a life in society which is based on harmonious relations.

121. One dimension of justice is respect for the law. Laws are constantly evolving in tune with the dynamics of civilization and technical progress, but they must always have been freely accepted by men and their communities.

122. Laws must evolve on the basis of universal respect for man's fundamental and inalienable rights, as defined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. These declarations enshrining individual rights (first generation) and social rights (second generation) should be supplemented by a declaration on a third generation of fundamental rights, such as the right to information, to an unpolluted environment, to privacy and to genetic identity. All such rights must be enjoyed by both individuals and communities.

123. Justice cannot be arbitrary or confused with the dictatorship of the majority. It requires respect for the minority, to whom no majority can deny the free exercise of its rights. Justice cannot, moreover, be incompatible with fundamental rights and freedoms, which must also be taken equally into consideration in the application of law.

Solidarity

124. Justice, the fundamental equality of all men and the inalienable dignity of each individual are indissolubly linked to a spirit of solidarity. It constitutes an essential component in the establishment and deepening of more humane relations between men and between their different communities as well as within them.

125. Solidarity means an awareness of the interdependence and interrelatedness of individuals and their communities. It also means practical action, sharing, effective aid, and rights and duties in relation to individuals and their communities which form part of a whole and in the final analysis fuse into the universal. Consequently, anything that happens to one person has repercussions for others.

126. For Christian Democrats, solidarity means above all protecting those who are weakest in our own society and in the world.

127. In affirming the unity of mankind in time and space, we see solidarity as not only horizontal, between living beings of all generations and all places. It is also vertical, extending to a consideration of the legitimate interests of future generations and including respect for the created world.

The implementation of values

128. Our concept of the person rejects both selfish individualism and collectivism as a reducing factor. Each person belongs to a community and must subordinate his or her individual interests to the legitimate authority of the community by accepting the constraints necessary for the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of its other members.

129. The person is also the end of every community since the source of legitimacy of any power lies precisely in its attempts to ensure the personal development of all those subordinate to it.

130. Convinced of the inalienable dignity of man and the freedom and equality of all, we reject extremes and advocate dialogue. We reject exclusion and advocate tolerance and sharing. We want to see all people enjoying autonomy while respecting other peoples and communities and the personal convictions of each of their nationals.

131. In short, the Christian Democratic concept of man and of society focuses on the integral development of every individual in a way that satisfies his material, cultural and spiritual needs, whilst at the same time respecting the freedom of others.

132. Finally, we reject any attempt to systematize thinking within a closed or dogmatic mould.

Respect for the created world

133. We oppose the unthinking and unjust exploitation of the earth, without respect for the self-regenerating potential of nature. Our concept of man calls for management of the earth with a view to satisfying the needs of all and improving the living conditions and quality of life of everyone, while also ensuring lasting development compatible with the protection of the legitimate interests of future generations.

134. Respect for the created world means that responsible management of the biosphere and forms of life which make up mankind's common heritage is both necessary and essential to the harmonious development of every living and future human being.

135. The developments under way in all spheres of society must not impede the potential or deplete the resources of future generations. This concept of sustainable development is bound up with that of responsible growth and must be incorporated into every policy, at whatever level of power.

136. Sustainable development means *inter alia* reconciling the requirements of the economy with those of the environment and taking account of the protection of the environment and nature when taking any economic, social or political decisions. We must act in a way that ensures that all potential is safeguarded for future generations.

Our vision of society

137. Our values must be applied not only in the political sphere but also in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

138. Economic development, based on the contributions of each and every person, cannot foster well-being or peace unless its fruits are equally distributed, with the aim of improving the living conditions of each person and his or her personal development. It is for this reason that we must support and develop systems of collective solidarity.

139. It is necessary to remain vigilant with regard to the danger of economic power being misused as an instrument of domination or injustice. It is therefore important to safeguard competition between market forces.

140. Finally, it is vital to try to ensure social justice and solidarity based on partnership and participation at all levels - private, national and international.

141. On the basis of these values, the Christian Democratic vision of society is based on the principle of subsidiarity.

142. The principle of subsidiarity means that power must be exercised at the level which corresponds to the requirements of solidarity, effectiveness and the participation of citizens, in other words where it is both most effective and closest to the individual. Tasks that can be performed at a lower level must not be transferred to a higher level. However, the principle of

subsidiarity also means that the higher level must help the lower level in the performance of its tasks.

143. This principle is based on the premise that society can be constructed in freedom. The public authorities must therefore respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, recognize the relative autonomy of social groups and not take the place of private initiative unless the latter is weak or non-existent.

144. In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the European People's Party advocates the creation and strengthening of intra- and international conventions and bodies where they are more capable of providing a joint response to problems.

145. In this same spirit, the European People's Party encourages the activities of nongovernmental organizations and the creation of associations of every form and latitude.

146. The general application of the principle of subsidiarity allows for the permanent recognition of the particularities and specific characteristics of each person and each community whilst affirming that they form part of the universal community of mankind.

147. It encourages awareness of the need for a genuine international partnership seeking the common management of the planet and its common heritage, on the basis of respect for the irreducible differences that exist between individuals, communities, groups, peoples, nations and states.

148. The increasingly cooperative nature of this management has become all the more vital in view of the fact that the techniques that man has put in his service over the past two centuries in order to dominate nature for his profit are now putting nature - and consequently also the survival of mankind - at risk.

149. This exponential development of technical resources has also led to a general awareness of the need for a genuine international partnership aimed at the common management of the planet.

150. At the same time, this exponential development necessitates an in-depth review of the concepts of unlimited economic growth and a purely material quality of life with a view to achieving an enduring development that responds to the needs of today without endangering the living conditions of future generations or the satisfaction of their basic needs.

151. Respect for the principle of responsibility and autonomy henceforth requires man to exercise his powers with self-restraint at every level.

Our concept of the political system

152. We consider that democracy is a vital condition for the development of individuals.

153. Our commitment to the development of individuals implies developing and strengthening everywhere the constitutional state in order to prevent the relationships of violence which are still found all too frequently not only between individuals but also between communities.

154. We consider that there is no alternative to democracy but that it must nevertheless be adapted to different cultural and socio-economic situations on the basis of the respect for a universal framework defined by human rights and fundamental freedoms.

155. The participation of each person in public life and in decisions that concern him or her represents an essential element of democracy.

156. Our expressed resolve to counterbalance the principle of subsidiarity with the recognition of diversity and international partnership with the participation of each person in public life, reflects a search for harmony in the framework of a constitutional state in which the common laws vital to all life in society may be defined and applied on a basis of respect for the inalienable rights and freedom of all.

157. Applying the principles of subsidiarity, international partnership, participation by all in public life (especially through free elections held at regular intervals, based on secret ballots and universal suffrage) and the constitutional state enables each person to achieve personal development based on respect for others and progress to be made towards the resolution of conflicts.

158. The limits imposed by the principle of subsidiarity also contribute to a specific separation of powers by preventing their concentration.

159. Every authority is in effect at the service of the individual. No state can therefore use the pretext of respect for its sovereignty in order to violate the rights and fundamental freedoms of persons or communities.

160. If it does, the international community of states must take protective measures, on the basis of treaties, conventions, agreements and other texts, and even by codifying a graduated obligation to intervene, subject to strict international, democratic control.

161. The *raison d'être* of the sovereignty of states is to enable them to work freely and as best they can to ensure the well-being and development of their people and to defend and reinstate international juridical order. This also means, however, that states must share their sovereignty in supranational and international organizations where they cannot take effective action individually.

162. The European People's Party wants to help build a world that is based on freedom and solidarity, in which every man and every woman is viewed as a human being in all his or her fullness and complexity.

An appeal to values

163. As Christian Democrats we stress the need to distinguish between the roles of the Church and the State in society, between religion and politics. However, we reaffirm the link that exists between, on the one hand, Christian values based on the Gospel and Christian cultural heritage and, on the other hand, the democratic ideals of freedom, fundamental equality between men, social justice and solidarity.

164. These principles and values lie at the heart of the European People's Party's political thinking and action. We derive our strength and our motivation from a constant reference to our values.

165. As a Christian Democratic but non-confessional party, the European People's Party is essentially a political party of values.

166. If it rejects, forgets, neglects or dilutes its values, the European People's Party will be no more than an instrument of power, without soul or future, while also forfeiting the universal and original nature of its message, which is based on a global apprehension of the irreducible complexity of every human being and of life in society.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

201. Only the union of Europe can secure its future: a future of freedom and security, progress and solidarity. In line with the commitment to Europe which the Christian Democrats have shown since the very beginning, the EPP calls for a gradual - but resolute - transformation of the European Community into a genuine political union on a federal model, following the doctrinal lines defined by the congresses of Luxembourg in 1988 and Dublin in 1990.

For a federal Europe

202. A federal Europe is now more than ever a necessary and realistic political objective. It is necessary because the radical changes occurring on the European continent must take place within a structured, democratic and peaceful framework. Only a federal organization of Europe can match the aspirations and interests of Europeans who want to share a common destiny. It is realistic because history is speeding up and people are ready for an acceleration of the process of union based on delegating and sharing national sovereignty.

203. The EPP considers that only a federal construction of the European Union can: - on the hand, guarantee unity within diversity and hence respect the national identities and cultural and regional diversities that characterize Europe and result from its history; - on the other hand, ensure a common approach to the solution of common problems.

204. In the modern world there are few crucial questions that are confined to a purely national context. If the Member States want to carry out effec-

tively the national tasks for which they are responsible, it will become increasingly urgent for them to find European solutions. That is why the Community patrimony must be preserved and developed.

205. The European Union must be founded on a relationship of federation and not subordination between it and its Member States. This federal concept will take account of local, regional, national and European levels. The European Federation will be a community of decentralized nations, not a unitary super-state.

206. The distribution of powers between the Union and the Member States and the regions must be organized on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity, which means that any action by the Union will be subsidiary to action by the states and regions. The Union must therefore be granted only those powers of which it can make the best use. In other words, the Union will have competence in the areas where it can act more effectively than the Member States could individually, because the scale or effects of the actions involved go beyond national frontiers.

207. The principle of subsidiarity must henceforth be expressly applied to the activities of all the Community institutions. The national, regional and local authorities will retain their specific role and function in this context. Obviously, specifically national, regional and local powers, and the diversity which results from them, must be respected.

208. But although the states and the regions must retain sufficient and adequate autonomy, it is equally important that the Union is not subordinate either to the states or to the regions in areas where it must act in the general interest.

209. As in any federal-type system, it will be necessary to distinguish clearly between the exclusive powers of the Member States, concurrent or shared powers and the exclusive powers of the European Union, it being understood that the distribution of exclusive powers and concurrent powers may change.

210. Both exclusive and concurrent powers must be carefully defined and the Union will have only those powers which are expressly allocated to it, all other areas remaining within the power of the states or regions.

211. The Constitution of the Union will have to establish effective mechanisms and procedures for allocating areas of competence not foreseen when it entered into force. These new areas will be necessary in order to ensure that the Union remains capable of adapting to new economic, social and technological challenges and to the needs of European development and the international political situation.

212. The Union must be given all the means necessary for the achievement of its objectives and the implementation of its policies. It will therefore be given a federal-type budget with sufficient resources managed on a 'progressive' basis, taking into account the relative prosperity of each Member State.

213. In this connection, the EPP is in favour of a direct relationship between the European Community and the taxpayer, thereby also giving the European Parliament direct responsibility vis-à-vis the taxpayer. However, the financing of the European Community must take into account the financial situation of both the Member States and the Community. The attribution of fiscal powers to the Community, as provided for in the Draft Treaty on European Union adopted by the European Parliament in 1984, must not lead to an increase in the overall tax burden.

214. The EPP's institutional programme draws on the advances - and the gaps - in the Maastricht Treaty of 7 February 1992, which sanctioned the transition from the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Community (EC) and to the European Union.

215. The Maastricht Treaty is an important step towards European Union. Its potential must be fully exploited and its shortcomings rectified.

216. Pending the future transformation of the Community into a genuine European Union, the Maastricht Treaty of 7 February 1992 has ratified a complex structure incorporating different institutional models.

217. The structure adopted by the Maastricht Treaty comprises three different "pillars".

1. The first, of a federal type, is the actual Community legislative heritage (EEC, ECSC, Euratom), reinforced by Economic and Monetary Union and certain new powers.

2. A second pillar, that of judicial and home affairs cooperation, is essentially intergovernmental, although some 'bridges' have been developed linking it with the Community structure. However, the Court of Justice has been expressly excluded and there is no real parliamentary control even though it is a field directly involving the rights of citizens.

3. The third pillar - common foreign and security (and, in time, defence policy remain essentially intergovernmental. But the proposed 'bridges' and other in terim ad hoc procedures intended to ensure the cohesion o f external policy activities may be used to promote t he process of 'communitarization' by osmosis. The development of joint action in the sphere of foreign policy will require an extension of majority voting.

218. The EPP will remain watchful that intergovernmental action does not eventually take over from Community action. In particular it will ensure that the review of the Maastricht Treaty, which it hopes to see happen before 1996, will lead towards greater communitarization and restore the unitary nature of the draft treaty adopted by the European Parliament.

219. The EPP strongly reaffirms the federative vision of the Christian Democratic pioneers of Europe. It stresses that the federal goal of European integration must be explicitly included in the Treaty on European Union.

For an effective Europe

220. The future of Community integration will depend on the Community's (or the Union's) actual ability to anticipate and resolve the specific problems of concern to its citizens.

221. The climate of uncertainty about the new European order following the collapse of the Communist regimes makes it more important than ever to strengthen the only existing stronghold, namely the Community, in its decision-making capacity and capacity for action both within and outside.

222. The Single European Act of 1986 marked a major although limited step forward in the decision-making process by providing for qualified majority voting on a dozen or so matters connected with the 1992 objective.

This resulted, among others, in the measures relating to freedom of capital movements, control of mergers, recognition of degrees and the opening of public contracts.

223. But the most important measures remained blocked:

- 1 - the objective of the free movement of persons ;
- 2 - other objectives requiring Council unanimity, such as the total abolition of fiscal frontiers, were postponed;
- 3 - in some fields , such as energy, telecommunications, transport, postal services and payment systems, the internal market will still not be completed on 1st January 1993.

224. It is clear, however, that in order to attain the already established objective of the internal market - the central axis of the Single Act - the qualified majority vote has to apply to sectors formerly requiring unanimity (taxation, free movement of persons, etc). This is even more true of the new objectives which the Twelve set themselves in the Maastricht Treaty.

225. The progress of the Community towards a genuine European Union therefore implies above all an institutional system that is able to assume its responsibilities effectively.

226. First, that means meeting the new commitments entered into in the Maastricht Treaty, such as:

- 1 - increased protection for the rights of European citizens, common policies in fields such as immigration, right of asylum and help for refugees and effective combating of crossborder crime and terrorism at European level;
- 2 - formulating a common foreign and security policy, eventually to include a common defence policy;
- 3 - completing a single market on the basis of common policies and guaranteeing economic and social cohesion, growth based on respect for the environment and a high level of employment;
- 4 - the creation of an Economic and Monetary Union on the basis of a single currency and an autonomous central bank, together with respect for the procedures and timetables set out to that end;

5 - the obligation to tackle the new Community activities decided upon in the field of social policy, energy, civil protection and tourism;

6 - the extension of the scale of Community powers in the fields of consumer protection, public health, research and development, industry, trans-European networks (transport, telecommunications, energy) and the European dimension of culture and education.

7 - lastly, respect for the principle of solidarity between the Member States.

227. Secondly, the Community must remain capable of achieving the objectives it has set itself even in the event of the accession of new Member States. Strengthening the Community institutions is in effect a necessary - though not sufficient - condition for the success of its future enlargement.

228. A debate and general decision on the institutional changes required by Community enlargement should precede rather than follow accession negotiations.

229. Decision-making - or rather co-decision-making - procedures must be substantially improved, inter alia by holding meetings of the Council of Ministers in public when they involve legislation and ensuring that they are subject to democratic control by the national parliaments.

230. The Council procedure of unanimous voting must gradually be restricted. First of all, the field of application of the qualified majority vote must be extended to areas of prime interest to the Community, such as important aspects of social and environmental policy.

231. The Commission is the Community's engine. From now onwards, its composition and powers will be more closely adapted to the needs of efficient management, taking account of the principle of subsidiarity and, above all, future enlargement. The EPP is therefore in favour of the emergence of a genuine European executive power, independent of the Council, which will hold legislative power together with the European Parliament and become a Chamber of States.

232. The distribution of powers must ensure that excessive technicalities do not impede the functioning of the Community (or the Union). The latter must deal only with clearly-defined, essential issues. The Member States and their components (regions, Länder, etc.) must ensure that Community laws and decisions are applied fairly.

233. The Court of Justice, which interprets and ensures observance of Community law, will have to be given the right to impose sanctions on Member States that do not respect its decrees.

234. The Community should be able to take executive measures directly in the event of refusal to act or even a passive attitude by the national authorities within a reasonable period of time.

For a democratic Europe

235. Further efforts must be made to give the European Community genuine and fundamental democratic legitimacy. The commitment to democratic ideals that is shared by all the Member States - and required of all applicants for accession - must form an integral part of the Community system in general and its decision-making process in particular.

236. It is the European Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, which primarily ensures that Europe is built on a basis of democratic legitimacy. It must therefore have the final say on constitutional and legislative matters.

- The requirement of the European Parliament's assent must be extended to new actions by the Community (Article 235 of the Treaty of Rome) and to the revision of the Treaties (Article N of the Maastricht Treaty).

- The co-decision procedure must be simplified and apply to all laws of a general scope and throughout the legislative procedure; the Council may not decide unilaterally in the event that it does not obtain Parliament's agreement.

237. The increase in Parliament's powers must not, however, be at the expense of the Commission. Having been given greater democratic legitimacy (appointment by Parliament), the Commission must now continue

to exercise its right of initiative at every stage of the Parliament-Council legislative process.

238. The national parliaments must be more closely associated with the common endeavour through the creation in all the Member State parliaments of a committee on European affairs, debates on European issues in each parliamentary session and good cooperation with the European Parliament.

For a social market economy that respects the environment

239. As a result of their market economy structures and social guarantees, the Community Member States have achieved a better balance in industrial relations than other economic and social systems, as can be seen from the concrete achievements of social justice, social progress and social guarantees for individuals. We Christian Democrats wish to uphold the principle of the market economy and strengthen the social balance in Europe.

240. Our national economies, based on market economy structures, must be successful while at the same time taking into account the social dimension and the environment.

241. Europe will have no meaning unless it is both an economic and a social Europe. At present there is an imbalance in this respect. The social deficit therefore needs to be made up and internal cohesion strengthened as the single market is completed and Economic and Monetary Union takes shape.

242. Since the establishment of the ECSC in 1951 and the EEC in 1957, the "de facto solidarity" relating to vital economic interests has laid the foundations of an "ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". The present stage of Economic and Monetary Union is based on the convergence of the economies of the Twelve and the definition of a single monetary policy. The inflation rates, deficits, tax policies, etc. of the Member States must converge closely enough to enable them to unite naturally and end up by adopting a single currency. The dates and constraints must be fixed firmly and respected in order to mark out the route.

243. However, the economy is not an end in itself: it is a means at the service of a concept of society based on the individual human being, that is to

say on freedoms and necessary solidarity. To build Europe is therefore more than a mere economic project.

244. In any case the Community's field of action has been gradually extended to cover matters that are not strictly economic. The EPP has advocated and supported that process.

245. The EPP's European policy is based on a coherent conception of society, every aspect of which must form part of a balanced progression towards European Union. This choice of society is based on the Christian-Democratic principles of freedom, fundamental equality, justice and solidarity (including attempts to overcome regional inequalities), social dialogue, respect for cultural differences, a social market economy, protection of the environment and openness towards the world.

246. The EPP points out that to reduce the European ideal to economic imperatives would in the end merely multiply the constraints on solidarity. That is why Christian Democrats are in favour of a social market economy that respects the environment.

247. In line with this concept of social solidarity - which is specifically Christian-Democratic - Economic and Monetary Union must obey the rules of public interest and social justice.

248. We must guarantee that the single market is completed on an economically and socially balanced basis and that the social and environmental dimensions of Economic and Monetary Union develop harmoniously. We must also guarantee that the process of unification is based on solidarity - defined as economic and social cohesion - between the Member States and regions of Europe and on the principle of subsidiarity.

249. The objective of the social market economy must be to strengthen economic, monetary and social cooperation even further and ensure that the citizens of Europe enjoy equal opportunities, greater prosperity, better environmental protection and social progress.

250. With respect to the environment, we Christian Democrats undertake to preserve and restore the foundations of life in Europe and the world. We expressly pledge to preserve the earth for both ourselves and our children.

251. The EPP considers that environmental protection is one of the greatest challenges of the 1990s along with the preservation and development of the European social system. We can no longer allow the growing costs resulting from the impoverishment and destruction of the environment to be borne by everyone - i.e. by the state - while those responsible for pollution continue to derive profit from their socially detrimental actions.

1 - We want to incorporate the protection and restoration of the environment into the market economy system, unlike those who speak of an insoluble conflict between the interests of the economy and those of the environment.

2 - We regard the challenge of protecting the environment as a fascinating task, unlike those who are pessimistic and hostile to progress.

3 - We want to use the dynamism of qualitative growth to help protect the environment, unlike those who are aggressively hostile to growth and in fact reject our free society system.

We trust in solutions which go hand in hand with the market economy and with man's intelligence and desire to learn, unlike those who are content with spectacular pseudo-solutions or who call for increased public sector activity, more bureaucratic planning or more direct state intervention.

252. The EPP considers that the basic elements of European social policy are as follows:

1- the improvement of living and working conditions through the provision of an appropriate income and measures to provide jobs for all those willing to work, the creation of new jobs and measures to combat unemployment, recognition of the right to cooperation and responsibility in the economy;

2 - the promotion and development of vocational training and further training and retraining measures with a view to reintegrating all those who have been excluded from the employment market and to ensuring that workers can meet the new challenges of the modern job market;

- 3 - equal opportunities and equal rights for men and women: every policy in this sphere must aim to combat all forms of direct and indirect discrimination are all too frequently found in various sectors of activity. This principle can only be put into practice in a socio-economic context which makes it possible to reconcile family life with working life;
- 4 - effective protection against racial discrimination;
- 5 - the free movement and free provision of services of workers and citizens;
- 6 - reintegration into social life of the handicapped and of victims of extreme poverty;
- 7 - the possibility of giving legal force to European collective agreements;
- 8 - the reduction of the disparities in social security cover in the various Community Member States;
- 9 - the reorganization of working time to enable men and women to reconcile family commitments with working and social life;
- 10 - the promotion of a society favourable to children and families;
- 11 - the integration and participation of the elderly in a society based on the principle of solidarity;
- 12 - development of rural areas.

253. The future constitution of the Union must also encompass areas of social policy which, in accordance with the subsidiarity principle, cannot be dealt with by the Member States alone. The implementation and extension of the Social Charter, which has been more or less blocked by the unanimity rule, must be guaranteed. It is also necessary to promote dialogue between the social partners and work towards the emergence of collective agreements alongside or in place of conventional regulations.

For a Europe open towards the other Europe

254. The Community needs to be able to take stronger and more united external action in order finally to secure - or acquire - credibility on the international political scene.

255. Having served as a model of reconciliation and prosperity for the entire European continent for forty years, the Community must naturally be

involved in the forefront of the democratic changes in Central and Eastern Europe. The future enlargement of the Community to include some members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) will, moreover, help the Community in the accomplishment of this task.

256. The disappearance of the "pax sovietica" reflected the beginning of a promising process but one that was also lengthy, difficult and dangerous for the people of that part of our continent.

257. The political readjustments in Central and Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union will lead to the establishment of a new European security system. It will have to be constructed in such a way as not to exclude any nation and to respect every nation, with a view to promoting international peace and security and condemning the use of force (or the threat of the use of force) by any one country against another.

258. The transition from planned economies to open market economies throughout the world is a difficult one. In effect, it calls for a radical transformation not only of economic techniques and management procedures but also of ways of life and attitudes.

259. The European Community must therefore continue and redouble its efforts to ensure that these Central and Eastern European countries have the human and material resources they need to carry out the necessary transition - peacefully and at the lowest possible social and cultural cost - they have undertaken.

260. Another major objective of the European Community must be to encourage the establishment in Central and Eastern Europe of constitutional states that respect the individual, economic, social, cultural and collective rights of their nationals. These states will be fully integrated into the community of free democracies in Europe and the world, on the basis of strict equality between partners.

261. The European Community will also have to encourage the various Central, Eastern and south-eastern European countries to step up their trade with the West and among themselves, on the basis of regional agreements that are, where possible, multilateral.

262. At the same time as the EC states pursue economic and political integration, all the European nations together must equip themselves with the structures and resources needed to create deeper, enduring and mutually profitable pan-European cooperation on all international questions (especially those covered by the Helsinki Final Act).

263. The Community must remain open towards any other European states that may wish to share the common destiny of our twelve countries, provided that they share the values of Europe and genuinely practise multi-party parliamentary democracy and provided also that they have a social market economy compatible with ours and that their accession to the Community will not be a threat to this. Moreover, countries wishing to join the Community must accept the Maastricht Treaty and be prepared to take part in all the plans laid down therein (the internal market, Economic and Monetary Union, common foreign and security policy and cooperation in justice and home affairs).

264. The countries of the "other Europe" belong to Europe. So they must certainly "find their way back into Europe" by gradually becoming integrated into the European Community. The Community, for its part, will have to prepare itself for this, which means above all consolidating the Community, further developing the European Economic Area (EEA) and gradually consolidating the cooperation and association agreements with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

265. Any future enlargement of the Community presupposes the following:

- the gradual realization of the political and economic conditions necessary for those states that so wish to become members;
- the creation of a network of relations designed to speed up the process of cooperation and integration in a new European order.

266. To that end, the Council of Europe and the CSCE will extend and adapt their activities, and the European Treaties and the cooperation and association agreements will also be extended and adapted in order to meet the requirements of a creative, generous and cooperative policy.

For a security and defence policy in Europe

267. The end of the East-West confrontation considerably reduced the risks of large-scale armed conflict in Europe. However, the survival in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) of the former Soviet Union and in neighbouring states of forces and institutions opposed to change constitutes an enduring risk to European security. Moreover, the collapse of the Soviet empire has led to a resurgence of national and ethnic conflicts, as in the former Yugoslavia, which may also explode elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Lastly, European security requires effective political control over the arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons that are still scattered around the CIS.

268. At the same time, Europe remains vulnerable to the repercussions of what is happening in the Middle East and North Africa. The population growth in these regions, together with the growing attraction of fundamentalism (and the intrinsic problems this generates), could give rise to major instability in the region which would directly affect Europe.

269. Under these conditions, Western security structures such as NATO and the WEU have an important role to play in the system of European stability. Appropriate ways must be found to link up the Central and Eastern European states with the Western security systems in the medium term.

270. The aim of the WEU, which forms an integral part of the European unification process, is to define, in cooperation with NATO, a common defence policy that will lead as soon as possible and by 1998 at the latest to "common defence" in the framework of the European Union when the WEU Treaty is renewed after fifty years.

271. The creation of European structures within the WEU and their institutionalized cooperation with those of NATO must begin immediately. The missions of the European armed forces must be defined and provision made for the following tasks: common defence of the allies, the guarantee of independence and territorial integrity of the European Community, maintenance and restoration of peace, crisis prevention and management and/or limitation of armed conflicts, and humanitarian measures.

272. In this context, the formation of a Franco-German armed force open to all the countries of the Union, as decided at La Rochelle on 22 May 1992, will help create a stronger European identity in the framework of Atlantic solidarity. This armed force is expected to be incorporated in due course into the WEU collective defence system when the WEU becomes an integral part of the European Union.

273. The EPP attaches great importance to the continuation of the CSCE process. It would like to see its institutions and its role develop within an expanded network of relations with Europe as a whole.

For a Europe open towards the world

274. Although the world situation (crises, conflicts, etc.) directly affects Europe, Europe itself does not always play the full part it should in world politics.

275. The European Community, the largest commercial power, will contribute to the development and regulation of international trade in goods and services on a basis of reciprocity, while at the same time ensuring that its legitimate interests are defended.

276. While continuing to seek full integration and develop their cooperation with the other nations of Europe in the areas described above, the EC states will try to maintain special ties between the two sides of the Atlantic.

277. The Member States of the European Community will attach particular importance to maintaining close ties with North America and moving towards a type of cooperation based on equal partnership. These ties are justified by their shared secular values, which have led to the development of parliamentary democracy and the universal establishment of human rights. Moreover, this kind of transatlantic understanding serves to help in the definition of a new peaceful world order based on greater respect for the rights of each and every individual.

278. In its relations with the rest of the world, the European Community will encourage and promote the conclusion of regional agreements and security, economic, social and cultural cooperation agreements, wherever

such agreements prove necessary to the maintenance or search for peace, the promotion of disarmament and justice and the economic development and improved well-being of the various peoples, on the basis of respect for their fundamental rights, even in regions where the European Community is not directly involved, such as Central Asia and the Far East, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and Latin America.

279. While respecting the sovereignty of each nation, the European Community will promote human rights throughout the world. It will also give help to all those developing countries that are fighting to promote the cause of justice, defence of freedom and greater solidarity.

280. Conscious that peace is only founded on justice and that the new name for peace is development, the European Community will step up and improve its measures to promote and support economic and social progress in the Third World, particularly among those countries with which it has already concluded important cooperation agreements. Its development aid policy will extend and coordinate the Member States' financial and technological commitments.

281. The European Community must defend and promote in the United Nations the right and duty to intervene on a humanitarian basis wherever it finds that peace or human rights are being violated constantly, massively and brutally. The EPP will work to ensure that the United Nations is not only recognized as having legal powers but that it is also entitled to the logistical (including financial) support needed for the prevention of conflicts and wars, the effective application of sanctions, a permanent intervention mechanism and legal proceedings against individuals responsible for massive, prolonged human rights violations. The Community must act as a genuine regional organization for the settlement of disputes, as provided for in the United Nations Charter.

282. Lastly, the European Community will devote itself to setting up where they do not exist, and strengthening where they do, the institutions that prepare, coordinate, reinforce and regulate international and supra-national cooperation, with a view to creating a universally recognized legal system. This new world system must be given real powers to deal with private or public contraventions. But it must always be based on respect

for human rights, which constitute the universal point of reference and governing principle of all political, economic, social and cultural action.

For a People's Europe

283. Given that the starting point of European political integration is our common image of man, the Constitution of the Union will have to supplement the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty relating to citizenship. The Constitution will have to define clearly the rights and duties of citizens, men and women, and ensure greater legal protection for fundamental rights and civil rights by enabling individual cases to be referred to the Court of Justice.

284. The Community (or the Union) requires the active participation of European citizens. Europe is not - and cannot be - the affair of governments alone. It is the citizens themselves who must think and make Europe.

285. In this context, the EPP particularly welcomes the recognition - incorporated in the Maastricht Treaty at its request - of the irreplaceable role played by the European parties: 'Political parties at European level are important as a factor for integration within the Union. They contribute to forming a European awareness and to expressing the political will of the citizens of the Union.'

286. The EPP seeks the intensive participation of the citizens of Europe and the creation and development of democratic structures. It firmly supports the commitment of many citizens to democratization and participation in political responsibilities. The direct election of the European Parliament forms an important basis in that context. Thanks to the creation of European citizenship, every citizen of the European Union will be able to vote in local and European elections in his place of residence regardless of his nationality.

287. The EPP undertakes to work constantly to provide European citizens with information about the unification process. It also undertakes to defend their interests through its group in the European Parliament.

288. Just as political parties are vital to the achievement of European unification and the political and social development of a common Europe, so unions, associations and other institutions such as churches must be seen as very important to the achievement of this aim. We encourage any initiatives within and outside the EPP that are aimed at European integration and are committed to the rapprochement of the peoples of Europe.

289. To guarantee the acceptance and long-term success of the European Union, the EPP calls on the younger generation to play a large part in the process of integration. It therefore undertakes to make every effort to promote youth exchanges and the mobility of young people. It also encourages young people to take part in youth organizations and support the work carried out at European level by non-governmental youth organizations.

290. Beside the political parties and institutions bearing public responsibility, the media also have an important and vital role to play in forming public opinion. Their task of informing, educating and entertaining is linked to respect for the fundamental values of our free society. They therefore have a duty and responsibility towards the public.

291. The principle of democracy accords with the pluralism of our societies. It must be upheld on the basis of common values and principles. At the same time we must ensure the protection of minorities and divergent opinions.

292. Europe must be free from racism and xenophobia. Faced with the resurgence of such sentiments and the acts of violence which accompany them, all political, social, economic and cultural groups must be aware of the serious challenge they represent to our society and must fight hard to overcome this form of intolerance.

293. Europe will not become more democratic until its citizens have a part in the decision-making process. That requires transparent decisions. The European Union has a duty to its citizens to provide comprehensible information and make it easier for them to read Community law, particularly by speeding up the process of its codification. Internal security and measures to combat crime.

294. One of the main tasks of the authorities is to combat crime vigorously. When people no longer feel safe, they have less confidence in the authorities. Crime prevention policy must be intensified in order to deal with violent attacks and offences, crimes against the environment, fraud and organized crime.

295. The EPP hopes that the European Union will be in the forefront of this activity, aware of the need to protect the foundations of our culture and our freedom for future generations. It therefore calls for the Union institutions to pursue a resolute policy in this respect. These institutions must be given appropriate powers of inspection and sanction, and there must be systematic cooperation between Member States' police forces and administrations.

- External frontier controls must be improved and carried out within a democratically-controlled legal framework.
- The system of tax and banking regulations within the territory of the Union must be such as to prevent criminals from evading their tax obligations or other financial control instruments.
- The policy on legal proceedings and police investigations must be very closely coordinated and a special organization to fight crime must be set up within the Union ('Europol'). It will thereby be possible to combat international criminal organizations, particularly those involved in drug trafficking, more effectively.

296. A common immigration and asylum policy is a precondition for the success of such measures.

Ethics and technology

297. New technological developments represent new challenges to man in his attitude to the created world. Two of the main problems of our times are the way in which Europeans use technology and what rules the authorities should lay down in this field. Technological progress has brought great benefits, but as things stand, the relationship between ethics and technology needs to be reviewed, as regards:

- for instance, the protection of privacy and the attitude towards the possibilities and limits of innovation;
- whether to invest in research in Europe and the world on the basis of consumer supply and demand or other social or public interest requirements.

298. On the question of the ethical problems raised by technological progress, the EPP's position is based on the following considerations:

- A code of ethics must be drawn up in the field of genetic manipulation, the use of embryos for genetic engineering research and animal experimentation.
- Any trading in manipulated human material must be prohibited.
- The health care system must ensure that every individual receives the necessary care and treatment.

The cultural dimension

299. The EPP affirms that protection of the freedom of religion, social initiative and ideological pluralism must form the basis of European cultural policy. This policy must take a positive approach to the variety of intellectual and spiritual traditions that, taken together, and harmoniously linked by various exchanges of ideas and mutual initiatives, make up European culture. The European Union must treat the different intellectual and spiritual forces (churches, charitable organizations, etc.) as genuine interlocutors. While respecting the competence of the Member States and/or the regions in cultural matters, European cultural policy must encourage:

- 1 - cultural and artistic events on a European scale;
- 2 - awareness of European popular traditions;
- 3 - initiatives reflecting the sense of European cultural identity which binds together the various cultures;
- 4 - the European dimension of education and research and the promotion of the great traditional values of European culture;
- 5 - freedom of information and freedom of opinion as a crucial foundation for a free society which advocates pluralism and the dependence of the media and the maintenance of a non-commercial sector.

EPILOGUE

As Christian Democrats, members of the European People's Party, we want to make our contribution to building a Europe and a world in which the old hatreds and new resentments dividing people make way for cooperation and efforts to work together.

We ask every man and every woman - be they Christians or not, be they believers or not - to join us in order to build together, for our children and for ourselves, a better world based on greater justice, greater solidarity and greater democracy.

From the very start of the process of European integration after the Second World War, the Christian Democrat founding fathers of the European Communities focused on the fundamental human and social dimension of their vision of the future of the peoples of Europe. Forty years later, we can see that their vision has borne fruit on an impressive scale: European unification and the European Community have been salient factors in the history of the second half of this century.

European integration is based on principles which are an essential part of Christian Democratic thinking and are now widely accepted: subsidiarity as a guiding principle in social and political organization, the decentralization of powers, a social market economy, a respect for spiritual and ethical values, an opening up to the rest of the world and a respect for the created world.

We call on all citizens of Europe to work for the development of those principles within the European Union. We Christian Democrats, members of the European People's Party, wish to continue the task of building the European Union on the basis of those principles and objectives.