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Titel: Europe without European Union : Towards an alternative democratic Europe

Ophav:

Ressourcetype:

Ressourcetype:

Oprindelsesdato: 1997

Emne:Partiprogram, partiprogrammer, program

Opstilling: DA-småtryk. Politik 4

Relateret:

Relateret:

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1. Against the European Union of capital

The European Union is the project of European big capital with the aim of achieving economic growth in order to increase profits. This is the design of the Single Market with freedom of movement for capital, goods and labour as well as the monetarist austerity policies in order to meet the terms of the EMU. A new European great power is being constructed in order to compete with other world economic powers and to promote EU interests on a global scale.

The damage of EU policies is felt first of all in the spheres of social and environmental policies.

Unemployment has risen dramatically during recent years. Closing or moving of factories make thousands of workers redundant. Privatization and reduction of

the public sector add their huge share. As a result of unemployment and cuts in public services huge social divisions are being produced. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Pollution grows worse because too few and too small steps have been taken to improve the environment. On the contrary the single market completion and the EU policy of creating transeuropean networks increase pollution through a huge

expansion of transport of goods all over Europe.

An improvement of the environment would necessarily encroach upon the EU free market policies and transnational corporate interests. Quite simply, a fundamental improvement of the environment is incompatible with EU policies as is a real social chapter creating new employment, improving working conditions and better standards of living.

An end to austerity policies would mean an end to the EMU - the backbone of EU-integration - and possibly the disintegration of the EU.

2. European Union or democracy

A central motivating force for Danish opposition to European Union is opposition to the transfer of power to Brussels, because it increases the distance between citizens and decision-

makers. To the Danish left this is an important reason as well to oppose EU integration. Maastricht II will transfer even more power to Brussels. The more majority voting prevails in

Enhedslisten - the Red-Green Alliance - who are we?

The Alliance was formed in 1989 by a number of left-wing parties and groups, but has since then developed into an independent organisation with its own internal democracy and no special privileges for the affiliated parties. We now have an individual and increasing membership. First of all we have been able to attract a great number of young members. At the general elections in 1994 we entered the Danish parliament with 3,1% and 6 out of 179 seats.

This success was due to our radical socialist policies, but perhaps most of all to our consistent opposition to European Union. We were the only left-wing organisation opposing the Maastricht Treaty standing in the elections. This must of course be seen against the background of the narrow Danish "No" vote in the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, and nearly 44% of the voters still voting "No" the following year, when the Danish government had had the Edinburgh summit

accept 4 purely formal Danish opt-outs to the treaty. Many voters felt cheated by the government.

The political ambition of the Red-Green Alliance is to combine politics for social change with politics for solving the great ecological problems on the national and international agenda.

The Alliance has no chairman, but a collective leadership of 21 persons.

the Council of Ministers, the more the EU is transformed from being intergovernmental to having a supra-national character.

The EU experience has shown us that when national democracy is undermined by supra-national structures, there is no European democracy to supplant it. And none can be developed in a centralized and bureaucratic construction like the EU.

We disagree with those European socialists who believe that the solution to this so-called "democratic deficit" is to build up a federal Europe. First of all it is an illusion to believe that European Union as part of neoliberal globalization can be reformed into a functioning democracy - federal or otherwise. The only way to counter globalization and its social and economic consequences in a democratic way is to co-ordinate social action and strengthen international co-operation among popular and social movements at a European level. Such as we have seen over the last couple of years.

But there are other barriers to creating a European federal Union. The EU member states are not culturally and linguistically homogeneous like the states in the USA. There is no common public sphere where a democratic debate can take place, and the language barriers would make any attempt to create such a public sphere an exclusive project for the political and economic establishments.

A European Parliament in a federal Union with full parliamentary powers is no guarantee for democracy. There would still be a wide gap between citizens and decision-makers, which would make MEPs less and not more responsible to those who elected them. As is the case already, the small member countries would get a very small number of MEPs, far too few to reflect the political diversity of the citizens of their countries. And the supra-national party political groupings of the EP are dominated by the political parties of the large member countries.

There is no indication that the nation state has lost its role as the framework for democratic development and discourse. Consequently, it is important that international and European co-operation is intergovernmental - i.e. takes place on an equal basis between countries so that no country and its citizens can be voted down in matters vital to them. Intergovernmental co-operation lends more transparency to the political process and increases the possibility of democratic participation.

3.

Roll back of the European Union

The Alliance has a twin approach to the emerging federal Union.

Firstly we want to put a stop to the ongoing process of increas-

ing the powers of the Union and secondly we want to deprive the Union of the powers it already has.

To us this is a matter of na-

Contents

1. Against the European Union of capital	2
2. European Union or democracy	2
3. Roll back of the European Union	3
4. Europol and Schengen co-operation	4
5. Integration of defence and foreign policy into the EU	5
6. The enlargement of the European Union and NATO	5
7. What will happen at the intergovernmental conference?	6

tional sovereignty and democracy. The transfer of power from the member countries to the Union undermines national sovereignty and excludes the overwhelming majority of the Europeans from any real influence on the way their societies should develop. Decision-making is being moved away from the national level. Instead the decisions will be taken by a European elite of politicians, experts, bureaucrats and lobbyists who have much more in common with each other than with the peoples they come from. They are convinced that they know better than

ordinary people.

The Union wants its own unified currency and a European central bank with powers to dictate economic policy to the member states. The European Monetary Union enthusiasts conveniently "forget" to tell the peoples of Europe that the EMU will entail the harmonization of a wide range of policies so that there will be very few real policy options left to the member states.

The present frenzied race to meet the monetarist criteria of convergence for entering the EMU has given the peoples of

the Union a powerful hint of what is in store for them if the EMU becomes reality.

The Alliance has therefore introduced a number of proposals in the Danish parliament aiming at rolling back the powers of the Union. These proposals have not won majority support, but they have succeeded in raising many discussions inside and outside the parliament: Europol and Schengen, the EMU, harmonization of policy concerning water pollution and the use of pesticides, Union transport policies, the WEU to mention just some.

4. Europol and Schengen co-operation

Democracy is undermined by the Schengen agreement and the Europol Convention, the European police co-operation. Both are going to be strengthened as the national borders are removed and new external EU borders are built up. Although a European FBI is still some way off, Europol will lead to increasing police co-operation where police forces of other EU member countries will be allowed to operate in neighbouring countries. Increasing control and supervision of citizens will be a consequence of the lack of border control, as new means to combat criminal activity, terrorism, and illegal immigration. Within the Schengen co-operation secret files are being

set up, where not only criminals but persons who are unwanted in the eyes of any member state can be registered. Information about e.g. race, political and sexual leanings can be included. First and foremost political refugees will suffer from the severe restrictions that will result from the Schengen agreement. But increasing secret control mechanisms and transnational police powers will

necessarily undermine the rule of law for individual citizens.

Both Europol and Schengen are at present situated outside the formal European Union treaty framework. But the perspective has always been to slowly integrate them into European Union so that they in turn could contribute to EU integration in the field of legal and internal affairs.

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www.enhedslisten.dk

5.

Integration of defence and foreign policy into the EU

Especially France and Germany have a long standing wish to endow the EU with its own foreign policy and defence identity so that the EU finally will be able to act as a real union. A majority of EU countries agree that WEU - the Western European Union - gradually should be integrated into the EU as its defence arm. Similarly a substantial majority wants the Union to be able to take decisions on foreign affairs and security on the basis of qualified majority voting.

The Red-Green Alliance considers this a very dangerous development. It will increase the domination of the large member states, and it will move the debate on these matters away from the national scene to

Brussels. Such a tendency will further strengthen the Union institutions and impose Union decisions upon individual member states, even if these disagree with the decisions made. This is "solidarity" in EU parlance!

In order to promote this development EU Commissioner Martin Bangemann has suggested a policy for co-ordination of the European arms industry so that it can compete efficiently with the Americans on the booming global arms market.

We are firmly opposed to the tendencies described above. A European superpower equipped with its own arms industry, defence and foreign policy is truly a frightening perspective.

Thirdly, in order to achieve the coveted entry into the EU, these countries would be forced to change their societies so drastically that the economic and social costs would be horrendous. It is unacceptable to us that the peoples of these countries should be forced to pay this price for the ambitions of their ruling elites.

We propose the following alternative: The EU should open up its markets for exports from Central and Eastern Europe. The EU Commission and the EU countries have paid a lot of lip service to solidarity with their European neighbours. It is time that their high-sounding words are translated into reality by means of fair and reasonable trade arrangements and aid that could encourage these countries to develop according to their own needs and not those of the EU.

Such hopes are bound to be vain, however. What the EU wants is market access in Central and Eastern Europe. They demand of these countries that they make their economies compatible with this grand design.

Probably only Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic will be granted full membership in due course. These three would be the only ones sufficiently developed to fit into the Union. To admit the less advanced countries would entail expenditures to modernize their economy and infrastructure on such a scale that the EU would not be able or willing to cope.

5

6.

The enlargement of the European Union and NATO

The Red-Green Alliance opposes the enlargement of EU as well as NATO.

Our opposition to the expansion of EU into Central and Eastern Europe is based on three major arguments:

Firstly, as we are committed to rolling back the Union, support of its enlargement would in itself be a contradiction in terms.

Secondly, it is obvious that only a few of the Central and Eastern European countries would qualify for EU membership. And the first admissions are not likely to take place within the next ten years. This admission process is however bound to create a new divide in Central and Eastern Europe between the chosen few and the rest left outside in the cold.

The Alliance opposes the coming enlargement of NATO. The top candidates for NATO membership are the same countries that may look forward to eventual EU membership. This enlargement is going to seal the political and military expansion of the Western alliance into Eastern Europe and right to the doorstep of the old Soviet Union.

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union and its European alliance and the unification of Germany there was reason to hope that the dogmatic bloc thinking prevalent in both camps of the Cold War would die away.

But while the Warsaw pact dissolved quickly into thin air, NATO was determined to prove its continued usefulness, although its *raison d'être* had disappeared. So NATO is presently busily reconstructing its organisation in order to prepare it for combating the perceived future threats to "Western civilization": terrorism, Islamic organisations and states, the spectre of nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists, etc.

Simultaneously NATO has decided to expand into Eastern Europe in order to fill the "military vacuum" left by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The promises made by the West to Gorbachev when he acquiesced in German unity, that NATO would not expand east of its present boundaries, have been forgotten.

But eastward expansion of

NATO would be very dangerous. It would be a clear signal to Russia that the West is determined to take advantage of its present weakness. Russia is not in a position to halt the thrust of NATO, and even less has it succeeded in obtaining legally binding guarantees that NATO will desist from deploying nuclear weapons in the new member countries.

The Alliance finds it absurd that the Central and Eastern

European countries should be driven into a very costly rearmament in order to enable them to comply with NATO requirements.

Instead we are firmly committed to developing and strengthening OSCE as the forum where all problems related to security and regional conflicts can be discussed and solutions sought on a basis of equality between all participating countries.

7.

What will happen at the intergovernmental conference?

Most EU governments are ready to transfer more powers to the Union. A majority of governments support that some of the issues now belonging to the Third Pillar (Justice and Internal Affairs) are transferred to the First Pillar where decisions can be made by qualified majority and not by unanimity. The policy issues in question are the free movement of persons, asylum and immigration matters, border controls and the prevention and combating of crime. Similarly a majority of governments want the Schengen Treaty incorporated in the Union Treaty and implemented over a period of 3 to 5 years.

Another item on the IGC agenda is "enhanced co-operation" which will enable a majority of countries to pursue policies

separately that do not win the approval of all member states. This opens the door for a situation where a majority of countries can take decisions on a number of issues within the institutional framework of the Union. The recalcitrant minority will be presented with accomplished facts and in all probability be forced to follow suit after a while, if they do not want to be completely marginalized.

Proposals for policy areas that should be transferred to majority voting include: culture, industrial policy, research and development, environmental taxes, foreign affairs etc.

The voting system in the Council of Ministers is up for revision as well. The large countries demand more votes, but so far they have met deter-

mined resistance from a coalition of smaller countries. Similarly the question of streamlining the Commission and reducing the number of its members is still unresolved.

These proposals have been made by the large number of member states in the name of "efficiency" and preparing for new entrants, but the hidden agenda is not so hidden anymore: they aim at

reducing the effective influence of the smaller member states.

Another important item on the IGC agenda is the creation of an EU foreign affairs secretariat or "foreign ministry". This should enable the EU to "speak with one voice" in matters of security and foreign affairs. Such a construction would necessitate majority voting in these matters.

It is not certain that all the things described here will actually happen - the battle is far from over yet. But we can be pretty certain that the outcome of the IGC will lead to a reinforcement of the federalist character of the EU.

The EU governments are getting their act ready - now it is time for the people to react!

May 1997

A European alternative - European and regional councils

Our goal is socialism, but we don't believe it is on the agenda at the moment. However, we believe that the present balance of forces can be tipped more in favour of democracy and social justice than we are seeing at the moment. Globalization is a fact. But at the same time a conscious effort is being made by the Western political and economic establishments to promote economic globalization and free market policies. The EU is part of that design.

Also, globalization and economic growth have created social and environmental problems on a scale, which can only begin to be solved by finding new ways of co-operating internationally, as the EU is not geared to do that.

At this point in time our proposal is not very detailed, but more a vision of how international co-operation could take place democratically, making it possible at the same time to

develop democracy and democratic structures at a local and national level.

It is important that international/European co-operation is intergovernmental and that there are several institutions of co-operation, which restrict co-operation to obvious issues and problems, so as to prevent the formation of new centralized power blocs.

We propose that future European co-operation is organized regionally or in pan-European councils developed from organizations such as OSCE or the Council of Europe (human rights). A number of regional organizations already exist such as the Nordic Council, the Baltic Sea Council, etc. Co-operation should have a form and a scope to be able to solve specific problems, i.e. it shouldn't cover all matters, as for example the EU tends to do. These European or regional councils would function at 3 levels: 1) a Council of Ministers, 2) a parliamentary body (MP's

from national parliaments), and 3) a NGO-body. This to make it possible for a wide variety of political parties and popular and social movements and organizations to participate and influence negotiations so as to prevent the councils from developing into closed circles. Apart from this, there would of course still be international or global co-operation.

We propose the following European councils:

- Council of Europe
- European Council for Peace and Security
- European Environmental Council
- European Council of Standards

Regional councils would concentrate co-operation on regional matters like pollution of the seas, security and peace, infrastructure, trade (for environmental

reasons, trade should have a much more limited/regional character than now), energy, common education projects, culture, etc., but also for example on common development aid.

The Council of Europe would be where general matters for all European countries were discussed, i.e. human rights, conventions, common initiatives to promote sustainable development, initiatives to combat currency speculation, etc.

Developing a new Council for Peace and Security from the present OSCE, and to supplant NATO and the WEU, should in our opinion promote the original purpose of the OSCE first and foremost to prevent conflict by

economic and social means. The work of the present OSCE has been downgraded as a result of the priority given to NATO and the West European Union.

A European Environmental Council will concentrate on the prevention and combating of pollution, by introducing for example common minimum standards, which can be raised by individual countries.

The task of a European Council of Standards would be to cooperate on standardization of components, such as picture tubes etc. This to achieve a more appropriate utilization of scarce resources.

The development of alternative ways of co-operating in Europe

would depend on the dismantling of European Union. An existing EU would dominate the work of the councils at all levels. We can observe this in the Nordic Council today, where the Finnish, Swedish and Danish governments must comply with EU policy instead of pursuing independent policies. We are aware that co-operation between European countries in European and regional councils by far is no solution to all problems. Capitalist market forces still dominate the world. Co-ordinated social action and international co-operation among popular and social movements would have to keep up the pressure on the political and economic establishments.

Europe without European Union Towards an alternative democratic Europe

By Enhedslisten - the Red-Green Alliance, June 1997

Editor: The Committee on European Affairs

Printed at: Avistrykkeriet, Åbyhøj, Circulation: 3000.

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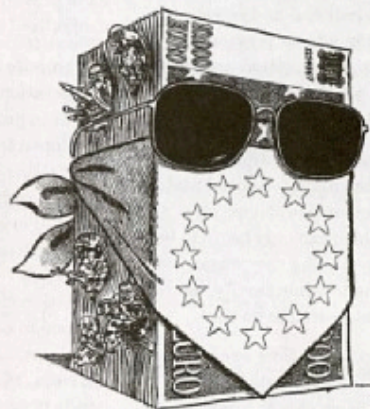
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