

ASEAN and the European Union



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Edited by
Gerhard Wahlers



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Foreword

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Vogel

President of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

The European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have had a longstanding history of cooperation. The first cooperation agreement had been signed between the EU and the member states of ASEAN was signed in 1980. Since then, both regions have developed political dialogue and substantial cooperation in many fields. This relationship has been reaffirmed in 2003 under an agreement known to the European Commission as “A New Partnership with ASEAN”.

ASEAN today encompasses ten countries in Southeast Asia. Its key position in the Asia-Pacific region, its dedication to peace and stability, and its important economic weight makes ASEAN an essential partner for the EU. While the member countries of ASEAN have a combined GDP of more than 700 billion Euros, there are large economic disparities between these countries. With a population of some 500 million people, they make up one of the largest regional markets in the world. With Bali Summit in October 2003, the ASEAN leaders projected the creation of an ASEAN Economic, Security and Socio-cultural community. Considering its own first hand experience of the benefits of closer regional integration, the EU greatly welcomes this development of ASEAN.

2004 was a decisive year for Europe as it witnessed the enlargement of the European Union to 25 members. The ongoing European unification process demonstrates an unprecedented development in the history of nation states, for the EU scheme meant that the countries would have to work together and give up some of their sovereignties. Without Konrad Adenauer, as one of Europe’s founding fathers, and the decisive impetus of Helmut Kohl, an ardent supporter

of the European idea, the pace of its integration, the common market and the single currency would never have been achieved. This newly created Europe enabled us to overcome nationalism, wars and devastation of our past. Europe is our answer to globalisation. Although the European model of regional cooperation and integration may not be blindly copied, its experiences may be of some value to other regions seeking integration.

Europe is ready to take up greater international responsibility. To do so, it needs cooperation and partners. Europe and ASEAN share a common interest in peace, stability and enduring prosperity. Both have significant interest in upholding a liberal world trading regime and adjusting to global conditions. So doing enables more people the world over to enjoy freedom and dignity. Freedom and dignity are, after all, essential for productive work, and beneficial to their respective communities. Furthermore, both the EU and ASEAN are united in their common purpose of combating terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international crime and the escalation of ethnic conflicts.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation is committed to the values of democracy, the principles of a market economy, and social justice. These principles form the bedrock of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's longstanding partnership with its excellent partners in Asia. Working hand in hand in the spirit of shared principles, our cooperation seeks to respond to economic and social challenges, facilitate reform processes and render information services to the development of Asian countries. This is done in the hope that Asia will one day be truly free, democratic, just and prosperous.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation has long offered a political dialogue programme between ASEAN and Europe. All the issues discussed in these programmes are of international importance. These interactions foster an exchange of views; and in so doing, contribute to mutual understanding, shared experiences as well as the promotion and strengthening of friendship between our nations.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation is privileged to present this comprehensive publication on ASEAN and the European Union. It intends to contribute to a better understanding of the EU, the European Parliament, its policies, its committees and its majority political party. We are proud that many

notable EU personalities and participants of EU-Asian dialogue programmes such as the President-in-Office of the European Union, the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Wolfgang Schüssel, and the European Commissioner for Foreign Relations and Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner have condescended to contribute to this volume.

It should also be noted that information on the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, particularly its activities in international cooperation and regional programmes in Asia are also highlighted in this book.

I sincerely hope that book is well-received by the ASEAN member states and Asia in general.



Preface

Objectives of the Austrian EU Presidency in Asia

Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel

President of the Council of the European Union
Federal Chancellor of Austria

The overall priority for the Austrian Presidency, in the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, is affirming the European Union's role as a strong and reliable partner in the world. This applies in particular to the cooperation of the European Union with Asian countries.

The Austrian Presidency takes into account the increasing importance of Asia for Europe and, building on the valuable work of previous Presidencies, strives to further intensify the Union's relations with the region. If, in the past, the EU had seen Asia primarily as an economic factor, today our cooperation ought to cover an increasingly broader and multi-faceted spectrum.

Thus the European Union will continue to offer its support to Asian countries dealing with political, economic and humanitarian challenges. In this respect, continued cooperation and dialogue with and within multilateral bodies such as Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) are of eminent importance.

The 7th ASEM Finance Ministers' Meeting in Vienna scheduled for 8 April, and in particular the 6th ASEM Summit in Helsinki on 10-11 September, which will be prepared during the coming months, should help reinforce political, economic, environmental and cultural cooperation within the framework of Euro-Asian partnership.

An essential goal of the Austrian Presidency is to further implement and extend the European Union's Strategic Partnerships with China, India and Japan.

With China the opening of negotiations about a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement is envisaged which is supposed to provide a new basis for the bilateral relations EU-China. Other priorities are the dialogue on trade issues, energy policy as well as on human rights, migration and social questions.

With India the EU needs to implement the Action Plan adopted at the last EU-India Summit in New Delhi, in September 2005, which is supposed to provide substance to the Strategic Partnership.

The EU-Japan Summit scheduled for late April will take stock of the bilateral cooperation and identify new areas of common interest, on the basis of the Action Plan adopted in 2001. At the same time, the Summit, just as the other EU-Japan meetings scheduled, will provide an opportunity for a broad dialogue on global issues and regional conflicts.

As mentioned above, the Austrian Presidency closely follows developments in Asian crisis areas with a view to contributing to the peaceful solution of conflicts and lessening of tensions, in crisis areas such as Afghanistan, Burma/Myanmar, the Korean peninsula, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Taiwan straits.

A shining example of Europe's fruitful cooperation with Asian countries is Aceh (Indonesia). By participating, together with five ASEAN countries, in the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM), the EU emphatically supports the peace process agreed upon by the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). Originally planned for six months and recently extended for further three months until 15 June 2006, the EU underlines its commitment to peace and stability in the region as a whole.

Preface

José Manuel Durão Barroso
President of the EU Commission

Our generation is facing challenges which are truly global in nature.

Problems such as environmental degradation, pandemics, terrorism and organised crime, as well as poverty and pressure on sustainable development, transcend national boundaries and can only be tackled through measures which ensure that the countries concerned work together.

Regional co-operation is needed in order to meet these challenges effectively.

This is as true in Europe as it is in Asia.

ASEAN member countries are committed to building an ASEAN Economic, Security and Socio-cultural community through an enhanced partnership, in order to secure stability and prosperity in South East Asia.

We fully support this effort.

We also believe that the EU's support has critical added value: its region-to-region engagement, drawing on its own experience of integration and co-operation in Europe.

The countries of Europe and South-East Asia share many common features and values, as well as important political and economic interests. These include a deep respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, and a commitment to regional integration.

The European Union and ASEAN are longstanding partners and, as the response to the tragic tsunami of December 2004 and EU-ASEAN co-operation

in the Aceh Monitoring Mission have shown, our relationship is built on strong foundations of friendship and solidarity.

In this spirit, I welcome this publication and hope that it will make a contribution to bringing our regions even closer.

INTRODUCTION

EU-ASEAN: An Enduring Partnership matures into Friendship

Dr. Benita Ferrero-Waldner

Commissioner of Foreign Relations and Neighbourhood Policy

In 2005 we celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signature of the European Commission-ASEAN Co-operation Agreement. Moreover, 2007 marks the thirtieth anniversary of formal political relations between EU and ASEAN. Thus, this publication is entirely timely in reflecting on the maturing partnership between Europe and South East Asia.

During the past 30 years, South East Asia has experienced profound and positive transformation. Poverty has been reduced at an unprecedented pace; its constituent economies enjoy impressive growth rates as a result of reforms, while democracy and liberal values are gaining ground.

The European Union (EU) has also undergone major changes during this period - enlarging to 25 member countries, adopting a single currency and emerging more and more as a political actor on the international scene.

The EU-ASEAN partnership is multifaceted and addresses political, economic and security challenges faced by both regions. We are looking forward to an intensified dialogue and even greater co-operation with ASEAN. The development of our strategic partnership will bring incalculable benefits for both regions.

The East Asia Summit, whose first meeting took place last December in Kuala Lumpur, aims to become another important pillar in the region's new architecture. The EU is following the Summit process with great interest and hopes to see it develop in an open and inclusive manner, with ASEAN remaining at its core.

EU involvement in the ASEAN Regional Forum has also grown steadily over recent years in recognition of its relevance as a unique forum, bringing together all regional and strategic actors in the security field.

This is why I consider our relationship with ASEAN as an important and enduring one.

The EU and ASEAN have a great deal of experience in common in uniting their member states through a commitment to regional integration, against the background of a great diversity in country size, culture and language. Our offer in 2003 to launch a “New Partnership with South East Asia” demonstrated our engagement towards the region, as well as our wish to establish a comprehensive strategic framework for our relations. Our common achievements are already considerable; our commitment to develop our future relations is solid and ambitious. An established political dialogue already exists, with our Foreign Ministers meeting on a regular basis.

The EU has an overarching political and economic interest in supporting ASEAN’s efforts towards greater regional integration. As the European case has shown, greater integration is key to stability and prosperity. In South East Asia, it will reinforce ASEAN’s position as a key partner on the regional and world stages.

We applaud the announcement at the last ASEAN Summit that it will commence work on an ASEAN Charter reinforcing its common institutions and decision making process. We are ready to continue sharing our own experience with ASEAN in the field of integration.

ASEAN member countries are important allies for the EU in addressing key global issues both in the region and in the international arena. We are keen to build on these countries’ own efforts to promote reform, respect for human rights, regional security and stability. We also want to work more closely on important issues such as environment, communicable diseases and combating terrorism.

Together, the 10 ASEAN countries represent our sixth largest trading partner and trade with this region continues to grow apace. At present, the EU is ASEAN’s second largest export market and third largest trading partner. South East Asia therefore offers substantive and rapidly expanding opportunities for EU enterprises, while EU foreign direct investment in the region will be of

major importance for its global competitiveness in the future. Our economic priorities in the region are focused on maintaining and developing market access for the EU and ensuring fair competition, in particular the protection of intellectual property rights, while fostering long-term economic stability.

In an initiative launched with my colleague Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson in the spring of last year, an EU-ASEAN 'vision group' is exploring the potential for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the EU and ASEAN. In the light of this group's conclusions, which we expect soon, we will decide on the way forward in 2006. Openly discussing with our ASEAN friends the feasibility of a FTA is in itself a positive signal to all actors concerned about our confidence in South East Asia's economic dynamism and potential.

Last year's tragic Tsunami served to demonstrate an instinctive feeling of solidarity between our people. Our joint co-operation in the humanitarian relief efforts and ongoing reconstruction of the devastated areas showed how effective we can be working together. The EU responded rapidly within hours of the Tsunami striking and, to date, 80% of the €566 million of humanitarian assistance and over 60% of €1.5 billion of rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance provided by the EU have been spent. The Commission has already disbursed all of its promised contribution of €200 million to the Multi-Donor Trust Fund for Indonesia.

In the Tsunami and conflict torn region of Aceh, the increase in national solidarity after the disaster opened a window of opportunity for peace. We, in the European Union, provided full support for President Ahtisaari's mediation between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Government of Indonesia. Immediately after the signing of the peace agreement, the EU Member States and ASEAN launched the unprecedented EU-ASEAN Aceh Monitoring Mission which is currently in place and proving to be a remarkable success. This joint operation has shown that European and South East Asian Nations can successfully cooperate in building peace in the most sensitive of circumstances. I am convinced that the Aceh experience can open other possibilities for future joint EU-ASEAN co-operation of this kind.

The past three decades, and especially recent years, bear witness to the strengthening of our global relations and the many concrete achievements. ASEAN and the EU have made the choice for regional integration and multilateral cooperation, in order to sustain their regional stability and prosperity as well

as to keep a strong voice in world affairs. ASEAN and the EU are natural partners and they have a compelling interest in continuing to nurture their friendship. The potential for enhanced peace and prosperity for our peoples is enormous. We should not lose sight of this objective. We owe it to present and future generations.

Stability and Efficiency: Common Perspectives and Requirements of ASEAN and the European Union in the Era of Globalisation

Prof. Dr. Günter Rinsche

Chairman of the Delegation for relations with the countries of Southeast Asia
and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) from 1979 to 1999
Member of the Board of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

The first meeting and opening session of the directly elected European Parliament took place on Tuesday, 17 July 1979 in Straßburg. Some weeks later, on Monday, 22 October 1979, the Delegation of AIPO (ASEAN Inter-parliamentary Organisation) was the first Foreign Parliamentary Delegation to visit the new European Parliament. The AIPO-Delegation and the EP-ASEAN-Delegation discussed the possibilities and necessities of a closer cooperation between ASEAN and the European Community. On 24 October, we passed a resolution, requesting the EC-Council to accelerate the preparation of the Cooperation Agreement with ASEAN. A year later, on 9 December 1980, the Cooperation Agreement was been signed. Looking back at the history of the relations between ASEAN and the European Union, there is no doubt that the ASEAN-EU relationship is a great-success-story. This is chiefly due to the excellent development within the two regions.

ASEAN has grown from 5 to 10 members. ASEAN's ability to develop itself has been met with worldwide admiration. Its capacity to improve the economic competitiveness and the possibilities of raising the living standard of its peoples are excellent.

In the first half of 20th century, Europe witnessed two terrible world wars that had originated from European disputes and totalitarian ideologies: the dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin; the fateful division of Germany and Europe. All of which resulted in immeasurable pain, suffering, neglect, enslavement, and insecurity.

The second half of the 20th century saw the unification of Western Europe, the reconciliation of nations, reconstruction based on democracy and social market economy and, ultimately, the reunification of Germany and Europe. These events heralded a fascinating opportunity of establishing an all-European order based on freedom, peace, and human rights.

The integration of Europe is a success story. Imperfections and unsolved problems notwithstanding, the European Union acquired a magnetic hold over millions of people and became a model of peaceful togetherness among nations. When compared to other times and other countries, the political achievements of European integration stand out.

But achievements alone cannot guarantee success in the future, for nations may be led into the so-called success trap. There is no permanent guarantee on the prosperity and stability of the European Union.

Now both regions – ASEAN and the European Union – are facing the problems of globalisation. The responsible leaders and managers in politics, economy and society are facing a new state of affairs.

In other words, globalisation represents an age of change, chance and challenge.

Responsible people have to deal with rapidly changing structures, problems, facts and basic data. They have to make use of the new chances. Last but not least, they have to respond to the global challenges in the correct manner in a timely fashion.

These assignments are likewise indispensable in ASEAN and the European Union. Therefore it is reasonable to discuss the problems and to cooperate in solving them. Two central questions must be answered before any action is taken. They are:

What do our people want?

What is globalisation?

Human beings want security and prosperity. Security means peace, the rule of law and political stability. The prerequisites for prosperity are socio-economic growth, social responsibility and efficiency.

The term “globalisation” has become a buzzword in the public debate. There are many people who fear globalisation. Besides, many in Europe are afraid that their social status might be undermined by competitors from beyond their borders. There are calls for global minimum standards in environmental protection and human rights; and for minimum wages for employees, so as to keep cheap imports from developing countries in check. The developing countries, in turn, are afraid of being ‘ruled by international capital owners’ and concerned about the unpredictability of international financial transactions and their consequences for their own economic and social situation.

There is no doubt that there are many important questions relating to globalisation to which the right answers have yet to be found. The only way of doing this is through international co-operation among partners of equal standing. We must inform each other of the realities of globalisation, and we must agree on its opportunities and requirements. Only when we have succeeded in creating an efficient system of international cooperation, will we be able to overcome the problems of globalisation and exploit its opportunities for the benefit of all.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation regards these facts as an important mandate. It is our goal to contribute towards promoting mutual appreciation and understanding, the exchange of information, and the efficiency of global co-operation through international encounters of persons in positions of political, cultural and economic responsibility, as well as through seminars, discussions, and publications. As such, the foundation constantly strives to have an unprejudiced perception of reality.

What is globalisation?

Globalisation is characterised by

- 1) Global transparency through, for instance, more than a thousand million television sets worldwide and, more importantly, the rapidly increasing number of Internet users;

- 2) Swift communication through, for instance, communication satellites, facsimile transmissions, e-mail, etc.; and
- 3) Worldwide systems of fast transport including, for instance, a network of airlines operating large jet aircraft, high-speed trains, many millions of passenger cars, container technologies, etc.

The forces that control and power globalisation, i.e. its factors and motors, include:

- 1) The rapid decline of transport and communication costs,
- 2) Supra-national integration (e.g. the EU, ASEAN, etc.), the strengthening of multi-national trade regulations (e. g. the WTO), and the gradual elimination of political tension (e.g. through the end of the Cold War between the Western powers and the Soviet block),
- 3) The adaptation of development strategies and the liberalisation of foreign-trade policies in numerous newly-industrialised and developing countries, and
- 4) The emergence of India and China in the world market and in the international system of labour division.

Furthermore, the following development trends and effects of globalisation also equally notable:

In Europe, electronic mail or e-mail, one of the major elements of Internet use, has already outgrown the volume of traditional postal services. In so doing, it is revolutionising communication worldwide. The worldwide web (www), a universally-accessible system for conveying all kinds of information, allows all its users to gather and transmit information worldwide at relatively low expense. As far as the exchange of information and the acquisition of knowledge and know how is concerned, the world is now without boundaries. The worldwide telework is becoming one of the reasons for globalisation.

Globalisation alters the economic field by heightening the worldwide labour divisions. One of the consequences of this is the break-up of multi-stage production processes into fragments, which are then distributed over various

production locations. This has led to a swift expansion of the international goods trade and foreign direct investment, as well as to the growing integration of capital markets worldwide. This, in turn, causes interdependencies to arise among markets and production processes. For this reason, the internationalisation of the economic processes may be regarded as the salient characteristic of globalisation. Another remarkable point is the increasing adaptation of national and local demand and consumption structures, a tendency which is particularly apt to influence the situation and development of small and medium-sized enterprises.

There is no blanket answer to the question of whether the developing countries are victims or beneficiaries of globalisation. Thanks to the technological progress described above, the mobility of many production factors is growing, while their affinity to particular locations is declining. This makes for increasing competition among locations, regions, and countries.

Next to foreign direct investment (a factor of great importance to the developing countries), the volume of capital transfers in the form of bonds, bank loans, and share purchases has also increased enormously. The net flow of capital into the developing countries (with the exception of most African states) tripled between 1990 and 1996, increasing to 97,000 million dollars. However, short-term capital is highly volatile and may be withdrawn surprisingly and at very short notice if the general situation were to become uncertain. This represents a grave risk for any borrower. The dangers associated with this risk showed up very clearly in the Asian Financial crisis of Thailand, Korea, and Indonesia.

Yet the advantages of world trade growth are indisputable, as the international division of labour enhances efficiency. Better efficiency is tantamount to economic growth, which could be advantageous to all, provided that discrimination is avoided. This holds true also for direct investment that includes knowledge and technological know-how in the transfer of capital.

As previously mentioned, some difficulties and dangers might result from the volatility and uncertainty of short-term capital flows. The instability which this engenders on the financial markets, particularly in the developing and newly-industrialised countries, is especially dangerous wherever unstable, inefficient, and defective national banking systems and financial infrastructures are involved.

In their turn, the developing countries are confronted by the question of how they respond to globalisation. Globalisation implies participation in world trade, as well as active global competition. Any attempt to shy off from this competition by, for instance, avoiding any contact with world trade in the manner practised by North Korea, would merely lead to mass poverty. One should also embrace technological progress. Indeed, the ruling maxim is 'One cannot unlearn', meaning one cannot turn the wheel of knowledge backward. Avoiding contact with world trade has been attempted in the early 1930s by both in the US and Europe, where beggar-my-neighbour policies were implemented, resulting in mass destitution and total war.

If we assume that the dictates of reason are followed, discrimination is avoided, and productive partnership promoted in politics, global economy is not a zero-sum game in which winning is possible only at the expense of another. Rather, it represents a fascinating opportunity:

- to ensure sustainable development on all continents,
- to facilitate individual opportunities and improve the quality of life,
- to optimise value creation and minimise resource consumption,
- to improve the quality of the environment worldwide, and
- to cooperate globally on solving mankind's most important problems.

Using the opportunities offered by globalisation is vital, because the alternatives of worldwide co-operation would be chaos, anarchy, and the displacement of entire nations.

Thus, the basic rule of globalisation is this: a bigger cake should be baked so that everyone may have a slice of it and the latecomers would not be left fighting over crumbs. The European Community's economic history of the last forty years sought to do exactly this.

Indeed, Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, wrote in his book *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 'A prosperous man will probably be a better customer for the industrious people in his neighbourhood than a poor man, and exactly the same holds true for a rich country.'

That international trade promotes affluence had already been pointed out by Adam Smith's friend, the English political philosopher David Hume, who said, 'Wherever there is free exchange among nations, the progress of one must serve to support another in the domestic economy of each.'

Nevertheless, it must be quite clear, that globalisation requires political management and by extension, international cooperation. The German Federal President, Dr. Horst Köhler, in his former function as Director General of the International Monetary Fund, set out five guide posts for the IMF in its contribution toward a better globalisation:

- **First** – issues of international *interdependence* must be given greater priority in national policy agendas. To increase mutual dependence, each country must give more consideration to the consequences of its actions on others. That in turn requires closer international cooperation and institutions directly responsible for global problems;
- **Second** – globalization urgently requires international *solidarity*. Solidarity is, however, not just an ethical and moral duty. In actively combating world poverty, we are investing in stability and peace for the whole of mankind.
- **Third** – international cooperation and solidarity should not weaken or even replace national *self-responsibility*. At the end of the day, good governance, sound institutions, and respect for the rule of law are central to each state;
- **Fourth**, the market economy has proven to be the best mechanism for economic coordination. Nevertheless, market forces alone are not sufficient. We need internationally recognized *ground rules* for participation in globalization.
- **Fifth**, we should regard the *diversity* of experiences and cultures as part of the wealth of our planet. Strengthening the international financial architecture should not therefore be an attempt to force all countries into a uniform, *one-size-fits-all* economic or cultural model.

These guiding-principles could be used to strengthen stability and efficiency as common requirements of ASEAN and the European Union in the era of globalisation. So let me conclude by quoting Jacques Delors, former president of the EU-Commission:

“Competition stimulates us,
Co-operation strengthens us,
Solidarity unites us!”

The European Parliament and Europe's Global Role in the 21st Century

Dr. Ingo Friedrich MEP
Vice President of the European Parliament

On 1 May 2004, the European Union saw its biggest enlargement in history with ten new member states joining the Union as full members. At present, two new entries, namely Bulgaria and Rumania are preparing for admission in the years 2007/2008. The negotiations with Turkey and Croatia started in October 2005. European directives and laws affect our daily live in Finland, France or in Franconia. The European Union is a part of our lives. That which started as an economic and technical collaboration is today a political union with cooperating in different areas such as social policy, employment, asylum, immigration, justice and foreign policy.

Thus, the Union faces two challenges in its continued integration process. On the one hand, the European Institutions and its work must be made more transparent. The citizens of Europe have to see a connection between the goals of the Union and the Union's daily actions. A reform making the institutions more democratic and a reform guaranteeing the functioning of the enlarged Union is absolutely necessary.

On the other hand, Europe faces the challenge of defining its role in the world. The process of globalisation and the danger of international terror have engendered closer cooperation between countries. Since, one country alone can not face these challenges effectively, transnational cooperation is necessary. After the biggest enlargement in the history of the European Union in May 2004, the EU has to go through a phase of consolidation. Its highest priority should be further integration and cooperation with the ten new EU-member states.

European Institutions are structured bureaucratically by official élites who contemplate European issues with great indifference and distrust by member States citizens. Unfortunately, the Brussels bureaucracy is very often considered as a very distant reality by the ordinary Europeans.

The only European Institutions with direct legitimacy is the European Parliament. Its representatives have been elected by the European people since 1979. Therefore, the European Parliament is directly accountable to the people. This is a task that has to be taken seriously. The Parliament has a crucial role to play in the process of European Integration. One of the distinguishing features of the European Parliament is its acknowledgement that it is not part of a completed institutional system; rather, it is part of evolution and reform with the system. The European Parliament (EP) has always pressed for a more effective, more open and more democratic European Union for its citizens.

The European Parliament is now commonly seen as a co-legislator with the Council. This is a relatively new development. For more than three decades it did not enjoy any effective rights of participation in this legislative process, for the European Parliament was only a consultative body.

The 1987 Single European Act represented the first big change for the EP, for it marks the beginning of a new present-day tripartite relationship between the Council, the Commission and the EP. For the first time, the EP was given the opportunity to cooperate and participate in the inter-institutional dialogue by a certain kind of agenda-setting power.

The 1993 Treaty on European Union, which is commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty extended the co-decision procedure which gave the Members of the European Parliament the power of veto in several policy areas. This is regarded as a major step forward for the EP and parliamentary democracy at the EU level. The role of the EP was further strengthened by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999 when its involvement in the legislative process was extended.

The European Union currently has four Treaties. In order to improve the transparency and democratic practices in its many bodies, a reform of the European Union (EU) is necessary. Therefore, the Laeken Declaration of the Future of the European Union in December 2001 initiated the establishment of a Convention on a future Constitution for the European Union. The 16-Member Convention began its work in February 2002 and presented its final

document after 17 months of intensive work. An intergovernmental Conference discussed this proposition and submitted the draft treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe to the Italian Presidency of the Council of the European Union. The Treaty has been signed by the Heads of States and Governments on 29 October 2004 in Rome. The Constitution will be enforced only when the Treaty has been ratified by all the Member States.

But since the two "Nays" from France and the Netherlands in the referenda about the Constitution, the European Union is at a standstill. During the current period of reflection, the EU is considering whether it should continue the ratification process and how it should proceed with the project of the European constitution. This is because the main intention behind it, namely, the reform of the European institutions, are at stake. The European Council under the Austrian Presidency has been examining the status of the discussion in the member states as well as the options of the future development for the first half of 2006. The reform of the European Union, its institutions and decision-making processes is of crucial importance for the future of the EU. What we need now is a public discussion so as to make Europe a common topic in Europe's countries. Europe has to become a common topic for every European citizen if the feeling of a European identity is to be fostered. This would lead to a higher grade of information, more participation in European elections and better legitimacy of the European Institutions.

It should be acknowledged that the European Parliament gives the European institutional system a strong link to the public. As a democratic elected Parliament, the deputies in total comprise of a varied group of people of different expertise and professional background. All its members collectively work for their national interests. Typically, the European deputies maintain contact with the local government in their area. They are in frequent contact with local business interests and trade unions and other organizations in their area. Since the direct elections, lobbyists have increasingly come to perceive the European Parliament as an important arena for the representation of interests. Contact with lobbyists has become part of the daily business of committee members. Generally, MEPs act as representatives of the "European people", even if they are elected by local constituencies. They have to integrate interests to Europe as a whole and are therefore contacted by actors working within the EU system of multi-level governance.

Furthermore, the elected Parliament has become a favourite platform for the foreign heads of state to address the European Union. These meetings are definitely an important channel of communication for visiting heads of state and the delegation of ministers and officials.

The success of the European project depends on whether we are able to reform the Union and prepare it for its future tasks. The main question in all this debate is: What is the EU's role in a globalised world?

From the very beginning, there has also been an external dimension to this project. European integration has always been about giving Europe's nations more influence in the world. One of the driving forces behind European integration was the Member States' desire to build a new future together with the European values of peace, freedom, social security and prosperity. These values are threatened by the dark side of globalisation, such as growing inequalities between rich and poor, climate change, international terrorism, the increase of disease and famine. In Western and Northern Europe, the welfare state has come under pressure because of transformations in the world-economy and cultural changes. These changes are characterised by terms such as individualisation and globalisation. European societies have to accept these fundamental changes in their social climate; as such, this is one of the main topics of discussion at both the national and European levels. The social gap between the different social groups is exacerbated by the inability of our social welfare systems to cope with these demographic and social changes. We have to be committed to social justice, the fight against poverty and all forms of exclusion. Instead of being left alone to fend for themselves, poor and ill people should be included in society and given healthcare so that we may integrate them and make them an active part of society.

Dissatisfaction with the current state of globalisation makes people fall back to nationalism, as the European Union is perceived as part of globalisation.

Democratic politicians across the political spectrum need to take these fears seriously and explain why a fall-back behind national borders and political and economic protectionism are not viable options. The EU is not an island. We can not ensure peaceful and prosper live in Europe without taking into account the problems and the dangers of the rest of the world. The challenges of globalisation surpass state borders and the ability of individual states to manage them on their own. Multilateral cooperation is the only way the European Union

can convince the European nations of their common values and interests at the international level. We can only win the fight for human rights, worldwide peace, democracy and social security if we join forces. Therefore the European Union is not part of the globalisation, but an answer to it. It is the only way to give the inevitable process of globalisation a more human shape. The EU's size and weight after enlargement obliges us to behave as a global power. Therefore, in the long term, we need a truly common foreign and security policy, including a common defence policy. To ensure its acceptance, any common European policy must be implemented incrementally.

The concrete definition of the frontiers of the Union, its aims and vision are presently of crucial importance to the European Union. This is my vision of Europe: Europe has to be a social anchor, an island of stability, a light-house for human rights, peace, freedom and social security in an age of globalisation and individualisation. In the age of globalisation, it is of utmost importance that our European social model, our specific combination of market economy, welfare state and democracy, our specific social market economy are preserved. The challenges of combining competition and cooperation, autonomy and solidarity are no longer constrained to the national or even regional level, but present themselves on a global level.

Europe has indeed the power to make the global order more equitable. If Europe is to effectively face these challenges, it should be modest, aware of its heritage and possess the courage to define its frontiers. We need clear and strong leadership in order to realise the necessary reforms and to follow a clear course for the future European Union. When this is achieved, Europe will become the lighthouse in this small globalised world. To achieve this, it is of utmost importance that politics are not overwhelming. Rather, it should be approachable so that people are willingly integrated into this process for the sake of stability.

I think that the willingness as well as the capacity to return to this basis of values will be determinant if Europe wants to find its course again. The EU will have to be very courageous in order to clearly define its frontiers. A full membership of Turkey would overextend the EU vis-à-vis the functioning of its institutions, as well as its culture, organisation and finances. The discussion about the referenda has shown that the citizens do not agree with this policy. We need a set of policies that allows the European Union of Values to consolidate

itself. This is the only way to recover Europe's lost confidence. Only when this is done will the people be reconciled to the European idea. Therefore, it is important that all of us take part in this process. The plan announced by the President of the European Commission can only work if politicians and civil society participate actively in this process.

Even the superpower, USA, will not be able to rely on its so far undivided sovereignty in the long run. In a long-term perspective, global problems and developments require globally coordinated standards. Ironically, these challenges are also great opportunities for world progress as they encompass issues like peace and security, globalisation, world trade, development, climate change, the protection of human rights and the need to spread democracy, good governance and the rule of law. In this respect, Europe has already achieved amazing progress and is able to play a leading role in the continuing process of globalisation.

To meet these challenges, and to grasp these opportunities, the European Union must work hand in hand with its global partners, particularly ASEAN.

In conclusion, the European Parliament has a crucial role to play in the process of globalisation. However, we can only continue the integration process of the European Union when we achieve the enlarged European Union is reorganised and simplified. So doing would ensure the consolidation of the Union and bring it closer to the people.

From the Past to the Future: The EPP-ED Group in the Service for a United Europe

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On 23 June 1953, the Christian-Democratic Group was officially constituted in the Joint Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community. This marked the founding of the first community of the European Union. All 38 members of this group are delegates from the national parliaments of the six founding Member States. This group is also the forerunner of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats. The Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats presently accounts for some 264 Members of the European Parliament, elected in the Union's 25 Member States, and representing 43 national parties.

The evolution of the Christian-Democratic Group (CD), which in 1978 became the Group of the European People's Party (EPP) and, in 1999, the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats (EPP-ED), symbolises the continuing advances in influence and status enjoyed by our political family. Throughout the initial legislative terms of the European Parliament, and again since 1999, the EPP-ED Group was the political leading force in the assembly. Our group has provided the greatest number of Presidents of the European Parliament. It now unites the broadest spectrum of the centre and centre-right in Europe.

This force has been put at the service of a consistent and ambitious policy of building Europe. Through every up and down in the Community's development, the Christian-Democratic Group and its successor the EPP Group has constantly advocated a better integrated Community on the basis

of strong and democratic institutions, and common interest. Indeed, our parliamentary group is the most proactive and has assumed the highest profile in all the decisive stages of the continent's unification. Our group worked to encourage the Commission and the Council to adopt more effective measures for completing the single market, establishing an area of security and freedom, ensuring sustainable development, guaranteeing fundamental rights, fostering growth and employment and promoting human rights worldwide.

Our Group supported the Treaty of Rome, the Single Act, and the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, and has campaigned vigorously for successive EC enlargements. We have taken part in all the ambitious institutional initiatives marking out the main stages in building a united Europe: the proposed European Defence Community in 1952; the proposed European Political Community in 1953; the Messina re-launch in 1955; the Draft Treaty of European Union in 1984; and the Charter of Fundamental Rights in 2000. In 2002 and 2003, our group held a strategic position within the Convention on the Future of the European Union, as we were responsible for drafting a European Constitution.

The reunification of Europe

The accession of 10 new countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean to the European Union on 1 May 2004 was the culmination of the long historic process of continental reconciliation and reunification. After the accession negotiations with Romania and Bulgaria closed in December 2004, the EU announced that its numbers would soon expand to 27.

The EPP-ED Group has impressively demonstrated that it is a driving force in European unification in this decisive area of EU enlargement. The Group repeatedly recalled that the imminent wave of enlargement was an unprecedented step in the history of the European Union. By ceaseless campaigning, it has alerted people well beyond the confines of Parliament to the need for a stronger feeling of solidarity in implementing joint policies and a further strengthening of the institutional capabilities of the Union to ensure that Europe can continue to function smoothly and efficiently after enlargement.

We seek to offer citizens of the new countries the opportunity of a better understanding of how the European project, from which they were excluded by the vicissitudes of the Cold War, came into being. They will see that progress

in building Europe has never been without crisis and tension. Thus, each country should consider that its own interests are best served by pursuing the common interest. We shall continue always to work together to give concrete effect to the aims of the Founding Fathers. We shall hand down this rich heritage to the new generations who will be responsible for the future of our continent. This younger generation will then be imbued with the responsibility to build a safer Europe, a more united Europe, a Europe more in touch with the citizen.

The European Constitution

The Constitution is a milestone in the development of the European Union. The Union has to become more democratic, more transparent, and better able to act effectively. The anchoring in the Constitution of the Charter of Fundamental Rights is particularly important, as is the appointment of a foreign minister for Europe, the extension of decision-making by majority votes in the Council of Ministers, acts in tandem with the European Parliament in the legislative process, and the allocation of competencies clarifying the division of responsibilities between the Union and Member States.

The Constitution wants to also further strengthen parliamentarianism in the European Union. In anticipation of the provisions of the new Constitution, José Manuel Durão Barroso, a member of the EPP-ED political family which had won the European elections in June 2004, has been named Commission President and elected by a substantial majority by the European Parliament.

After the referenda in France and the Netherlands, the EPP-ED Group will work harder to inform the citizens of EU Member States about the Constitution and to convince them of its significance. The goal must be now to ensure the Member States ratify the Constitution. The European Parliament and the EPP-ED Group will play a key role in ensuring Europe adopts its first ever constitution, for this is a project parliament has actively sponsored for over twenty years.

The Lisbon Strategy

In March 2000, the European Council in Lisbon set out a ten-year strategy to render the EU the world's most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based

economy. This new economy would be characterised by growth, social cohesion, respect for our environment and full employment. The Lisbon Strategy touches on almost all of the EU's economic, social and environmental activities. Some of the main key-concepts of the Lisbon Strategy are innovation, the creation of a knowledge-based society and technological governance.

The EPP-ED Group has played a leading role in the Parliament when discussing all the legislation of the Lisbon process. Every year the EPP-ED Group urges the Council and the Commission to accelerate the Lisbon strategy. The EPP-ED Group has shown the strongest willingness to achieve the Lisbon goals on time. The EPP-ED Group will take the necessary decisions in three priority areas: Improving investment in knowledge, education and training to sustain human capital; strengthening the competitiveness of the European economy and encourage the modernisation of the health care systems and the pensions system in order to make them sustainable.

The mid term review of the Lisbon strategy occurred in 2005. The EPP-ED Group believes this review should focus on implementation, for it ought to be based on the post-2006 financial perspectives. In so doing, the EPP-ED Group hopes to maintain a stable macroeconomic framework. Fiscal policies in the Union must continue to be guided by the Stability and Growth Pact so as meet the Lisbon goals.

Foreign and security Policy

It has often be said, 'Europe is an economic giant and a political dwarf'. The fact that this statement is a cliché does not diminish its truth. In fact, the European Union owes its influence to its status as the biggest commercial and financial power on the planet. However, its influence on the international political stage still leaves something to be desired because Europe has not proved itself capable of reacting with a united voice to world problems and conflicts. Thus, overcoming this deficiency and achieving the ability to respond rapidly, effectively and in a united manner to the problems which arise in the world is the objective of the European common foreign and security policy (CFSP).

The EU's ambition to play a noteworthy role on the international stage stems from its reaction to the disenchantment arising from the EU's inability to react to conflicts as geographically close as the war in the Balkans. The Treaty

of Amsterdam and, later, the Treaty of Nice established an institutional basis for the structures needed to launch a common foreign and security policy. Its objectives are to safeguard the principles of independence and the common values of the European Union, as well as to maintain peace and international security.

The European Council, the body driving the EU's priorities, is responsible for determining the strategic interests and objectives of the EU's foreign policy. The creation of the office of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy was the first crucial and visible step in the launching of a genuine foreign policy. The next step will only be taken when the office of the EU Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposed in the draft European Constitution, becomes a reality. The EPP-ED backs the creation of the post of a minister for Foreign Affairs with extensive powers in the area.

The EPP-ED promotes and spearheads the EU's unswerving commitment in support of the Balkans, its participation in the drafting of the road map to achieve peace in the Middle East and in the international coalition against terrorism. As the EU's enlargement will result in changes to the political and geographical interests of its foreign policy, the EPP-ED supports new common strategies for relations with the states that will be its new neighbours: Russia, Ukraine and the Mediterranean. It has also put forward innovative solutions such as the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

Combating terrorism, the real curse of our age, and its new forms, already occupies a strategic place on the EPP-ED's agenda, and will continue to do so. The EPP-ED Group believes it is necessary to combine and coordinate all possible policy instruments to protect Europeans from the terrorist threat, including stepping up political dialogue with countries outside the EU, reinforcing intelligence and information tools, and including the use of military or civil capabilities.

On the international level our Group actively promotes a strengthening of social standards. Within the framework of the World Trade Organisation internationally binding rules on competition and codes of conduct in the fields of social, ecological and human rights standards must be progressively developed. Our foreign policy is the expression of Europe's solidarity with other parts of the world. Europe must not only pursue an active policy of economic cooperation with the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also provide assistance

with democratization, the creation of an eco-social market economy and the safeguarding of human rights in these regions. Human rights concerns have been a major theme between Asia and the EU in the last twenty years. Some improvements, especially in the field of social and economic rights have occurred during this dialogue.

A European security strategy must be directed towards the prevention and resolution of conflicts and, therefore, must take into account, political considerations, as well as economic, social and inter-cultural considerations. In order to achieve this, the EPP-ED Group is committed to a rapid mobilisation of the EU financial resources, for the effectiveness required by the implementation of the CFSP must be maintained. This is because the CFSP's executive bodies keep in permanent and rapid contact with the European Parliament's requirements. Fighting terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and the instability in certain states will be absolute priorities for us. The European Parliament and the EPP-ED Group will remain highly alert to ensure that the implementation of the CFSP is not an obstacle threatening to divide the EU. On the contrary, it acts as a dynamic factor promoting stability, progress and the maintenance of world peace and prosperity.

The European Union as a Model for ASEAN?

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The European Union (EU) is a successful example of supranational cooperation. After centuries of devastating wars on the continent, the European Union has become a community of peace. This is because its main reason for unification was the establishment of peace and security. Due to the greater cooperation engendered by the EU, its economic prosperity has turned the European Union into a magnet for immigrants from many countries. However, the EU's efforts to exert influence in the area of foreign policy and security have not been as successful. Indeed, the current approaches in joint foreign and security policies remain mostly at the level of cooperation between nations.

With the expansion of the European Union by another ten new member nations, the European continent has regained the unity it had lost in the division in East and West after the Second World War. With the signing of a Constitution on 29 October 2004 in Rome, the European integration has reached new heights. However, due to unfavourable referenda in France and the Netherlands, the constitution has not come into effect. Nevertheless, the history of the European integration is a unique success story. Asia certainly shares this opinion.

The representatives of the European Union are often asked whether this European success story holds any lessons for the cooperation of Asian nations. In particular, EU representatives have been questioned whether the European Union could be considered as a model for ASEAN. This then is the question I shall address. To do so, I aim to shed some light on the objectives and methods of the European unification and compare them with those in the Asian context.

Objectives of the European Union

Europe has always represented more than a mere geographical name for a continent. It has always encompassed European culture and history as well. Even from the point of view of constitutional law, European cooperation does not constitute a modern invention. The merging of nations at a European level has always been part of Europe's history. The Roman Empire, the empire of Charlemagne as well as the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted until 1803, paved the thinking process vis-à-vis European integration. European unification efforts have become particularly intensive since the First World War and in particular after the disastrous end of the Second World War in 1945. The decline of European nations in the shadow of the two new super powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, the division of the world by the flaring up of East-West opposition and the directly resulting threat to the remaining European nations by the Soviet Union injected the European unification efforts with a good measure of urgency. Keeping peace and security were, therefore, at the forefront of all efforts. The century of the two "European Civil Wars" (Ernst Nolte) was to be replaced by a Europe, which could solve its conflicts by peaceful means.

In addition to the goals of peace and security, the merging of the Europeans was inspired by the hope for economic prosperity. Here, too, the motivating forces were drawn from the material necessities of the war and the accompanying limitations of personal freedom. A single market will significantly boost trade and to allow for a successful economy based on the division of labour. In more recent times, the economic cooperation of the Europeans has been furthered by globalisation. The single market of the European Union offers a far better chance of success when engaging with global economic powers than for economies, which act in a purely national capacity. The close economic collaboration of the Europeans in form of the single market appears literally as the condition sine qua non for the perpetuation of the European competitiveness in the 21st century.

In summary, we can, therefore, say that the main objectives of the European unification are peace keeping, economic prosperity and the preservation of its competitiveness in the era of globalization.

Methods of cooperation of the European Union

However, the typical feature of the European unification is not so much its goals but rather the methods employed for the realisation of the goals.

Usually, national cooperation is carried out through agreements under international law, which are concluded by the governments for the subjects of their countries. This cooperation between nations is possible in a bilateral and multilateral fashion, while preserving each partner's full power of disposal over their respective national rights and national sovereignty. Acting jointly presupposes that all the partners involved are in agreement. Going against the will of even just one party renders a joint action impossible.

In contrast, the so-called community method as the core method of European decision-making among the European nations emerged in the second half of the 20th century. The member states do not limit themselves to the usual cooperation between nations but have created a new supranational level of community, to which has been transferred the sovereign rights of the member states for a joint execution. A decisive structural element of the new level of community and a core element of its success is the exercise of legally binding national rights of all member states.

While the new supranational community does not constitute a nation, it does constitute more than the classical confederation of states. The undisputed fact is that it carries out state competencies, which up to the time of their transfer to the new supranational level, were sovereign rights of the member states.

The joint exercise of national rights requires a successful organisational structure. All member states must share the conviction that the power of government is to be democratically legitimized and controlled by the rule of law. The principles of democracy and rule of law, therefore, form the pillar of exercise of power of government in the EU. Accordingly, the organs of the EU must at least be legitimised democratically in an indirect way, i.e. they must attribute their competence to a legitimisation chain originating from elections. Thus, their exercise of power is subject to the control exerted by independent courts, which provide a legally binding interpretation of primary and secondary European law.

The European Union does not constitute a nation, even if she acts as a community. The EU does, however, constitute an institution exercising government

competency for it is vested with its own rights. This competency may be asserted towards member states that remain sovereign states. In particular, the most successful development of European unification, the European single market with its single currency can hardly be managed without a regulatory body at community level. As the European single market includes all economic spheres and players, it guarantees freedom of movement for persons, goods, services and capital. The best way of managing this large economic entity is through the community method.

The community path pursued by the Europeans is based on the exercise of government competencies. However, it has also been promoted by other elements such as the geographic uniformity of the European states, the consciousness of a common history and culture, including the experience of shared historical catastrophes.

However, the basis for the common understanding on governance is primarily its common values. The European Union is rightfully called a community of values of its member states. Since the EU exercises rights of state jointly, it follows that acts of state in their conditions and consequences are defined by the community. This means that the concept of state represents a fundamental and unifying element. An entity borne by the community so that it exercises government competencies can hardly be achieved if there is no consensus as to how the government should be set up and how it should act at a basic level. The common beliefs of the EU member states are dependent on their understanding of government. Their notion of government is, in turn, based on values, from which certain conclusions can be derived with regard to state organs and their actions. The values shared by the community are stated in article 6 of the EU agreement and have been emphasised in the Basic Rights Charter.

Article 6 of the EU Agreement enshrines freedom, democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights and other basic freedoms. It expressly affirms that these basic rights are equally enjoyed by all member states. As a precaution, the same article draws a line in clause 3, which states that the member states' national identities are respected by the Union.

There are some conclusions that can be drawn from the existence of inalienable individual basic rights. This is particularly so because individual basic rights are applied in the exercise of power and, by extension, the structure

of government institutions and the organs of the European Union. All state power, including the EU's is derived from the people, or, in the European case, from the European people. It has to be supported by democratic elections and the rule of law. In particular, the belief of personal human dignity as the highest value is followed by the realisation that government action is bound by the basic rights of its citizens. This then is the fundamental requirement for the joint exercise of governance.

The fact that acts of government are legitimised democratically through rule of law highlights not only the common conviction of EU's member states, but also the fact that government competencies are transferred to a supranational level for a community-based exercise of power. A main feature of European integration is the partial relinquishing of sovereignty of its member states at the supranational community level. This transfer of sovereignty would be unimaginable without the foundation of common beliefs at the intergovernmental level. For example, the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany only permits the relinquishment of its sovereignty when human rights, democracy and the rule of law remain absolute rights.

Goals and methods of the ASEAN

The five summit documents of the Heads of State and government of the ASEAN nations aptly describes the goals of ASEAN and the methodology it has adopted. The ASEAN Declaration (also known as the Bangkok Declaration) dated 8 August 1967 founded ASEAN. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South East Asia (TAC) dated 24 February 1976, signed on the occasion of the first summit meeting of ASEAN nations, emphasises the principles governing the mutual relationship between the member states. The "ASEAN vision 2020" dated 12 December 1997 draws a picture of "a Concert of Southeast Nations that is outward looking, living in peace, stability and prosperity, and bonded together in partnership development as well as in a community of caring societies". The Ha Noi Action Plan dated 15 December 1998 is the first six-year-plan for the implementation of the ASEAN Vision 2020. The Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II) dated 07 October 2003, describes the goal of an ASEAN Security Community (ASC), an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and an ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC).

In the Bangkok Declaration of 1967, the five ASEAN founding nations, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand stipulate the foundation of the “Association of South East Asian Nations” (ASEAN) in just five articles on one and a half pages. They defined the organisation’s purpose and the objectives by explicitly declaring that so long as by all Southeast Asian nations are ready to subscribe the above-mentioned objectives and principle, they may join ASEAN. After all, ASEAN represents the collective will of the Southeast Asian nations. So doing would unite the various Southeast Asian states in friendship, cooperation as well as peace, freedom and prosperity.

The detailed objectives of the Bangkok Declaration are the acceleration of economic growth, social progress and cultural development in Southeast Asia, the promotion of peace and stability in the region, as well as cooperation and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.

The acting parties of ASEAN are its member states. This is because the representatives in ASEAN act for their governments. Citizens are only referred to indirectly, for example, in the case where raising the standard of living of the ASEAN people is mentioned as a goal of effective cooperation.

The mechanism for the realisation of the objectives is stipulated briefly in the four clauses of article 3 of the Bangkok Declaration. Accordingly, an ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was instituted to annually bring together the foreign ministers under a rotating chairmanship. A permanent committee under the leadership of the respective chairing foreign minister carries out all the duties of the organisation arising from the annual ministerial meetings. Ad-hoc committees and permanent study groups of experts are established to address special matters. Each member state has a national secretariat that carries out ASEAN-related duties and prepares the respective annual meetings.

In contrast to the European Union, ASEAN is a federation of nations with limited objectives. Its objectives are purely inter-governmental work methods. There are no community elements *vis-à-vis* community institutions. Therefore, ASEAN acts without a joint parliamentary representation and without a community executive body.

The realisation of the above mentioned objectives is tied to measures excluding the onset any relinquishment of sovereignty. Economic growth and

social progress are to be pursued within a framework of joint efforts. These joint efforts are supported exclusively through the spirit of equality and partnership. As it were, equality and partnership are synonyms for the prohibition of interference in each member state's internal affairs. The promotion of peace and stability in the region are tied to the respect for equality and the rule of law. This demand is directed at the relationship between the member states for internal rule of law within the member states is not the object of the Bangkok Declaration.

In the "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia" (TAC) dated 24 February 1976, the five signatory nations of the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 once again reinforced the principles guiding their mutual relationships (see article 2 TAC). The ASEAN heads of state renewed their mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and the national identity of their peoples. They further reaffirmed the right of each nation to lead its national existence without external interference. They assured each other of policy of non-interference in each state's respective internal affairs. They expressed their will to settle disagreements exclusively with peaceful means and to expressly refrain from the use of threats or violence. Only the last clause mentions the assurance of an effective mutual cooperation, which not only includes economic matters, but social matters, technology, science and administration, as well as matters on common ideals and the striving for inter-state peace and stability in the region and any matters of common interest.

The objectives of ASEAN have been constantly refined and expanded. This is a development that was most explicitly seen in the "ASEAN Vision 2020" of Kuala Lumpur dated 15 December 1997 and in the "Declaration of ASEAN Concord II" (Bali Concord II) dated 7 October 2003.

The ASEAN Vision 2020 reinforces the objectives of ASEAN, as they were drawn up in the Bangkok Declaration dated 8 August 1968. It describes the success achieved until then and sets new goals for the year 2020. It is hoped that in 2020, a harmonious community of Southeast Asian nations will be created in a region of peace, freedom and neutrality. So doing would encourage closer economic cooperation. It is hoped that an ASEAN economic region with a free exchange of goods, services and investments and a freer flow of capital will be created by 2020.

The “Declaration of ASEAN Concord II” or the Bali Concord II of 7 October 2003 declares that an ASEAN Community is to be created. It will be built on the principles of political cooperation and security, economic and socio-cultural cooperation and shall serve the purpose of promoting regional peace, stability and general prosperity.

Further reference to structures and mechanisms for the realisation of these objectives are not contained in the four mentioned declarations. Although the areas of cooperation encompasses the socio-cultural realm with its plans for raising the living standards of disadvantaged groups, including all segments of society like women, youth and local communities, the mechanism for achieving the goals remains fundamentally the same as the one stipulated in the founding document of the Bangkok Declaration. Regardless of the extensive goals and an increased number of members from six to presently 10, it remains a cooperation of governments at summit meetings, ministerial conferences and working groups of experts.

The fifth clause of the Bali Concord II makes an express reference to the “Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South East Asia” (TAC) dated 24 February 1976. It is termed the “key code” for the relationship among the ASEAN governments. The TAC provides the unchanged behaviour standard and the rules by which governments relate to each other. This further cements the pre-eminent role of national sovereignty as a leading principal for ASEAN cooperation.

Comparison between Objectives of EU and ASEAN

Both organisations have major objectives in common. EU and ASEAN stand for peace in their respective region and advocate peace and stability in the world. In addition, the EU wants to promote economic and social progress as well as a high employment level. To do so, it aims to create a balanced and lasting development by strengthening economic and social cohesion, and asserting its identity on the inter-state level through its joint foreign and security policy. Further goals of the EU are based on the concept of common values, which the member states feel committed to as a whole. The principles of freedom, democracy and rule of law also form the basis for individual rights such as human dignity, equality and the obligation towards solidarity. This contributes

significantly to the creation of European Union citizenship, which in turn strengthens individual rights and interests of the members of the EU member states. It is in this context that the development of the Union as a space of freedom, security and law is seen. This forms the foundation for the fight against crime as well as for granting asylum to victims of political persecution (see article 2 of the Treaty on the European Union.)

The creation of a European single market cements the Union's fundamental political goals such as the guarantee of free movement of goods, free movement of labour, the creation of a common agricultural policy, a common law regarding services and settling within the EU as well as common rules on capital flow and payment transactions. The EC Treaty contains further provisions on employment, common trade policies, cooperation in the area of customs, social policy, health, consumer protection, research and technological development.

A directory of ASEAN's goals may be gleaned in the Ha Noi Plan of Action dated 15 December 1998. Under the aim of "Strengthening the macro-economic and financial cooperation", there are among other things such as the liberalisation of financial services, closer cooperation in currency, tax and insurance matters, and the development of an ASEAN capital market. Under the "Acceleration of the introduction of an ASEAN Free Trade Zone" clause, the following are emphasised: trade liberalisation, customs harmonisation and liberalisation of services. The Bali Concord II dated December 2003 sets the express goal of an ASEAN single market.

These examples are indications of the goals that both organisations in reaction to the political arenas in which they are involved. These goals demonstrate that there are no fundamental differences in their goals, if we leave aside the fact that unlike ASEAN, the EU is more concerned with turning the citizens of the member states into citizens of the Union. ASEAN lacks differs from the EU in this respect.

Despite this, it may be seen that the marked differences between the European Union and the ASEAN are not so much in the goals as in the chosen methods of cooperation.

Comparison of the methods of cooperation of the EU and ASEAN

Regardless of the further development and ever increasing refinement of their political goals, the ASEAN nations maintain their strict adherence to intergovernmental cooperation. Unlike the EU, this does not merely constitute a level of development on the way towards growing integration. Rather, intergovernmental cooperation is the only instrument that ASEAN has at its disposal for the realisation of its goals. Only within this restricted condition may the broad framework under which ASEAN has set as its goals be understood. In many points, the political goals reach deep within intra-national areas. These are usually subject to exclusively intra-national decisions, such as, e.g., the cooperation in matters of population growth, joblessness and environmental protection all the way to cooperation in the area of health at a communal level (see Bali Concord II, chapter C).

Nonetheless, this broad and unlimited formulation of goals of the ASEAN nations demonstrate that the ASEAN nations do not intend to remove the power of decision on extensive political areas of the Ha Noi Action Plan from national control. From the point of view of the protection of national sovereignty, the list of cooperation goals does not constitute a contradiction, since it only represents one option of the operative cooperation. These goals only define the political intention of the governments to reach a joint action in the respective fields. However, the actual implementation of these goals into political action is solely dependent on the consensus among the ASEAN governments and, thus, on the agreement of all the ASEAN member states. As the consensus based on unanimity, this gives each member state the option of a veto.

Regardless of the goals of the ASEAN documents, which reach deep into the national sphere, the question regarding sovereignty only becomes relevant upon the concrete implementation of supranational plans through concrete agreements of the ASEAN nations. It must be further assumed that the national implementation of the methods and the definition of content of the respective agreement leave considerable scope for action. These leave ample space for exercising national sovereignty, which the community method of the EU does not provide for.

The fact that there is no legal obligation of consensus between the ASEAN nations allows for national sovereignty to be maintained in every phase of

cooperation. However, it must be assumed that there is generally a political binding force in the organisation's solemnly agreed goals and that these goals allow for the assumption that there is a general willingness to have them implemented. A member nation that consistently refuses to contribute to a consensus jeopardizes the entire organisation's capacity to act.

The European Union on the other hand acts as a community going beyond the political obligation of the EU members. The community method is based on its legally binding nature. Matters that were duly agreed upon within the framework of European competency may, in case of dispute, be enforced by legal action before a European court of justice, for the partial relinquish of sovereignty is accompanied by a strict set of formal rules. The basis for the concrete action as a community by the EU is, therefore, not to be found in the general political goals but in the pursuit of formulated contractual competencies. Whenever the EU takes action based on the competencies transferred upon her and claims a legally binding nature for its action, she must act in an institutionalized form. This applies in particular to European law making. As a legislator, the EU has at its disposal instruments of the outline law, the EU directive as well as the EU regulations as European law that is directly applicable. Both forms apply not only to governments but also directly to the EU citizens.

The legally binding EU community method and the inter-state procedure of ASEAN nations also demonstrate the differences in the extent of their respective actions. The EU includes the citizens of its member states in its actions and awards them, e.g. as citizens of the EU, independent rights and obligations. In contrast, the involvement of the citizens of the ASEAN member nations is at best of an indirect political one. There is no ASEAN citizenship status and, therefore, no rights or obligations to be enforced. Citizens of the ASEAN member nations can only maintain legal relationships with their respective national states.

The community-based exercise of sovereign rights by the EU with legally binding effect for member states and citizens is, therefore, a core difference between the EU organisation model and the ASEAN.

The question regarding the model character of the EU is essentially this – whether ASEAN should consider a community solution with a partial relinquishment of sovereignty in favour of a supranational institution in the realisation of its stipulated goals.

If one examines the ASEAN Declaration and summit documents, it becomes clear that irrespective of the fact that the goals of the ASEAN have become more precise and defined, ASEAN is obviously intent on maintaining the principle of inter-state government action as the only mechanism for the implementation of political measures. The thought whether certain problems could be better solved with the partial relinquishment of sovereignty using the community method does not find resonance with ASEAN. Nor does the idea of a subsidiary state organisation setup, which was used as a model for the EU as well as in various European Federal States, play any role in ASEAN cooperation. The protection of national sovereignty is in itself the fundamental goal of their cooperation. This is particularly evident in the Treaty on Amity and Cooperation in South East Asia (TAC) dated 24 February 1976. This document specifically mentions mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity. The right of each nation to an existence free from external interference is the foundation of cooperation. Cooperation is, therefore, exclusively reserved to governments and remains at that level.

The community method contradicts the core principle of state cooperation of ASEAN, namely the absolute preservation of national sovereignty. Sovereignty is proof of each member state's national independence and freedom from heteronomy and foreign domination. Independence constitutes for the ASEAN nations is the result of liberation from colonialism and the legacy of World War II. The path of relinquishing sovereign rights and their institutionalization into a supranational organization with the legally binding authority to act even towards the member nations is not seen as viable. The experience of colonialism and foreign dominion in the aftermath of World War II make even a partial relinquish of sovereignty appear a means giving in to foreign domination. Only unrestricted national sovereignty ensures an exercise of government that is legitimised by the people of the country and therefore an expression of self-determination. In contrast, a supranational institution with its own bureaucracy is met with the fear that it may not be able to resist the temptation of going its own way. The experience of the Europeans with their "Brussels bureaucracy" is often used as a warning example.

It must be mentioned, though, that even within the European Union, there is a varying degree of readiness to relinquish sovereignty among member states. Today, the idea of developing the European Union into a classic federal state, which calls into question the very member nations in their nationhood,

is hardly defended anymore. The discussions on the European constitution agreement brought to light the diverging opinions as to how far the transfer of power from the member states to the European Union should reach. In this context, a single foreign and security policy seems inevitable to many; but others would rather not transfer the national power of disposal over their military instruments and the final power of decision over their foreign policy to the EU.

A commonly accepted principle is that the transfer of competence from the member states to the Community should not be exercised arbitrarily but based on concrete evidence. There is widespread consensus only to transfer such competencies to the European level, which can be exercised more effectively at that level than at the level of the member states. This principle of subsidiary is not only supported in the European agreements; it also expresses the conviction voiced in opinion polls in Europe that Europe should not have to concern itself with issues. This can only be handled equally well at a national level.

Another limiting element for the contextual restriction of the possible transfer of sovereignty is the way in which the European Union makes use of the competency transferred upon her. The exercise of state competency is tied to principles, which are shared by all member states, in particular principles of democracy and rule of law. Insofar as the European Union's exercise of state authority is concerned, this is done under the conditions, which equally apply in principle to all member states: state power that is exercised by institutions must be legitimised by free, equal and confidential elections. Their action must be subject to the control of an independent judiciary system.

These conditions of a comparative exercise of state authority are not equally present in the ASEAN nations. The member states have not yet developed a common understanding of democracy. While some countries have multi-party systems, others have classic socialist one-party regimes. In between these two opposites a third form of power has evolved where an opposition does exist. However, this third form of power is so stifled in the exercise of its political rights that it constitutes a factual control by one party. The lack of a common idea of state structures and the exercise of state power stands in the way of creating a common, accepted supranational institution with state authority.

Summary: Loose Association of Nations versus a firmly Established Community

It must be stated that the community method of the European Union constitutes a model. It has its core in the transfer of sovereign rights of the member states to a new supranational level, which in itself does not constitute a state. However, it does exercise state rights. For the exercise of state rights, common principles apply in the member states of the EU regarding the legitimisation and legal control of state action.

This community model will not be an option for the ASEAN for as long as relinquishing sovereignty in favour of a communitarian institution is not countenanced. Based on all the statements made to date by the ASEAN nations, this may be expected to remain the case within the foreseeable future. The reasons for this can be found in the lack of a common idea of state structures and conditions of state action. They stem from the colonial experience of a series of ASEAN nations, the aftermath of WWII and the fact that some ASEAN members only achieved national independence recently. ASEAN will remain an inter-state institution with extensive political goals, where cooperation will take place and remain on the level of governments for the foreseeable future.

From this, it may be concluded that the European Union and its path of integration cannot automatically serve as a model for the development of ASEAN. From the point of view of the goals pursued, ASEAN has no reason to adopt the EU model as neither the community model nor the inter-state option excludes certain objectives. Also, with regards to effectiveness of the actions of both organisations, the inter-state variant does not ultimately have to lose out to the community model. Whether the ASEAN objectives can be realised depends on two factors: one, whether the ASEAN governments can reach an agreement; two, whether they will implement the reached agreement within the ASEAN nations.

However, if both organisations are seen as a whole and not just their objectives and methodological principles, there are also some very marked differences. ASEAN is ultimately based on the shared political will of its member governments. It will, therefore, only last for as long as the consensus of the governments persists. This consensus determines the degree of its capability to act. Only if the shared wills of all ASEAN governments are coupled with the readiness to implement it at an inter-state level can the envisaged objectives be

realised. The procedural and political difficulty is caused by the need for a consensus. There is no formal procedure that may be followed if a consensus is to be reached. The action of the ASEAN players is merely limited by the extent of the political consensus between the governments of the ASEAN member nations.

In contrast, for a European law to be passed, the EU has to perform a detailed legislative procedure in various readings with the participation of the European Commission, the European Parliament and European Council. Capability to act and effectiveness of the EU are defined apart from the political will of the Council, by the decision-making of its institutions, the Parliament and the Commission. In doing so, the European Union is bound by a contractual legal basis and precise procedures.

As a community of values, bound by procedure based on the rule of law and which is committed to the democratic idea of participation, the EU as an independent community has a higher rate of survival and legal obligation than ASEAN. The EU has been created on a long-term basis; it has proved its effectiveness in realising its goals and its political efficiency over the last decades. With the creation of an extremely successful single market and a single currency, the EU has achieved a degree of integration. This integration is widely considered irreversible. In view of these decision-making mechanisms and their extensive protection by three operative institutions such as the Council, the European Commission and the European Parliament, the EU is also able to withstand resistance and opposing opinions, without jeopardising the organisation's capability to take action. Its ability to take legally binding decisions may lead to occasionally long procedures and may not be as timely as the quick action taken by governments. But a decision reached after dissenting disputes, involving the various parties and the public does lead to a closer unity than mere inter-state agreement binding the governments.

With its value-based orientation and the resulting community order, the EU may thus be considered a successful model of state cooperation.

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ASEAN and the European Union

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In the past, many comparisons have been drawn between ASEAN and the European Union. Often, parallels were described where none exist - seldom was it acknowledged that while both institutions constitute mechanisms for integration in their respective regions they differ in several key aspects, for instance their degree of institutionalisation. Nevertheless, one similarity can be found: the wish to provide their member states with peace, prosperity and security.

However, securing these values has become increasingly complex and depends largely on decisions from very different regions of the world. In particular, the last decade has proven how quickly our volatile environment can influence the parameters of our foreign politics. The process of globalisation has led to a networked and service-oriented economy, as have the threat of terrorism, the fall of the Iron Curtain, the changing power balance in Asia introduced by the rise of China and India, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Meeting these challenges is difficult and the geographic allocation of threats has spread. While national states may try as hard as they can to protect their individual national interests, they must stand together with others who share their common values if they are to succeed. In light of today's global power relations, a self-contained realisation of national interests has become unrealistic for both Europe and South East Asia.

For a long time in Europe, there has been no such thing as a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The CFSP only came into being when a few visionaries established a European counterweight between the two super powers Russia and USA. The EU's CFSP was finally established as the second pillar of the European Union in 1993 with the Maastricht Treaty. Since then,

a number of important changes have been introduced by the European Councils of Amsterdam, Laeken and Nice. Within little more than a decade, the CFSP has evolved considerably and at amazing speed. Interim structures have now become powerful permanent institutions.

Some of the EU's endeavours in foreign and security policy have become success stories. European diplomacy is gaining increasing influence. For instance, in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), the High Representative was able to prevent a civil war. Similarly, in the Ukraine, Javier Solana, the European Parliament and Polish President Kwasniewski successfully mediated between the disputing parties. However, with the increasing scope assumed by the CFSP, responsibilities as well as expectations have grown. The EU's ability to secure the diplomatic success it aspires has been questioned. Other shortcomings and inefficiencies of EU foreign policy were revealed in the past, notably the diplomatic and military failures in the Balkans or the quarrels with the USA over the approach to the Iraq crisis, which is still hotly disputed by the EU partners.

The central question therefore is: What are the perspectives and limits for the EU's CFSP in the future? The quick growth of European cooperation in the realm of foreign and security policy throughout the last years have swiftly reformed many EU institutional structures. We need the European Constitution to prepare the EU for the challenges of the new century. It will do so through the introduction of new, more efficient means in CFSP. Some of the key developments will be outlined below.

Towards a European Culture of Security

Security has increasingly become the top concern in agreements between the EU and its international partners. Consequently, the Union must clarify the nature of its security policy. The Member States need to adopt a common understanding on this matter; to do so, the EU needs a European Culture of Security.

It is becoming apparent that security measures in the 21st century cannot be provided by military means alone, nor can it be based on just one country's national powers. This is the credo the EU laid down in its Security Strategy of December 2003. New threats, such as terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass

destruction, “failed states”, regional conflicts and organised crime demand an integrated approach to security policies. This must comprise military instruments and capabilities alike, ranging from conflict prevention to “nation building”.

The European Security Strategy, which was fully supported by the European Parliament, pursues three strategic goals: Coping with various threats, creating security in the EU Neighbourhood and supporting an international order, based on an effective multilateralism. It specifies the EU's ambition to be a credible actor in security matters. The Union seeks to handle crises more actively and above all to prevent them. It will develop the necessary diplomatic, military and industrial capabilities with greater determination and will make more coherent use of its different instruments of foreign policy.

An example for the EU's intention to implement this comprehensive approach is the military mission “ALTHEA” in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which adds in a significant way to the EU's political engagement, its assistance programmes and its ongoing police and monitoring missions. This European approach of combining civil and military elements of crisis management distinguishes itself most strikingly against the background of the difficulties experienced by the US-lead coalition forces in Iraq, not only to win a fast war through technological advantage, but also with the aim of winning peace. The crisis in Kosovo made us realise that only a regional approach can really ensure peace, so long as it addresses aspects of security, democracy, constitutional and legal principles, human rights and economic development on equal footings.

Yet the possibility of the EU to guaranteeing security has long been moot. Only the progress achieved in the past five years is bringing the EU closer to closing that gap. Today, the EU is able to hold in one hand the above-mentioned diplomatic, economic and military instruments and capabilities, as well as behave like a credible actor in international crisis management. European security policy is still in its infancy and shows signs of fragmentation. The common Security Strategy sets the framework. The outlines are already visible and the competence areas are gradually becoming clearer: 7.000 EURFOR soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including police, reconstruction programmes (CARDs) and stability and association agreements (SAP). In so doing, the EU acts as a protecting power, a reconstruction partner, a provider of a general perspective for the country.

With increasingly success of European diplomacy, the perspective will remain a global one rather than being limited to the European continent. Many conflicts will only be resolved together with our American partners. The Middle East issue, for instance, belongs to that category. The EU will not be able to avoid certain responsibilities much longer where the UN asks it, where it receives a mandate and where its presence is requested by both sides of the conflict. This development might soon also be illustrated by an EU-mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where EU forces might be providing security for the presidential and parliamentary elections. These same responsibilities would apply if a mission was coordinated with the USA and NATO, and if such crisis management was to be accepted by the European public. Thus, the European Parliament and National Parliaments must initiate an opinion-forming debate as to the future role of the EU in international politics.

Where the European Security Strategy has delivered an analysis of the threats and a definition of European security interests, the Constitution will deliver the necessary institutional elements for forming a modern EU defence policy. The EU Member States agreed to the concept of battle groups, the goal for the forces in 2010 and the creation of a European Defence Agency. It is this mosaic of individual decisions in the framework of the Security Strategy that lays the foundation for the growth of a genuine European security culture.

Further enhancement of the CFSP through the Constitution

The Constitution envisages a leap forward particularly in EU foreign affairs issues. This does not mean a complete harmonisation of the EU's foreign policy. On the contrary, it will still be based on the principle of unity in diversity, which is at the heart of the Constitution. Only through the expansion of the CFSP can Europeans expect our values to be defended and our interests to be guaranteed in the world.

This is why the EU Constitution calls for the establishment of an EU Minister for Foreign Affairs, who would belong to both the Commission and the Council. (S)He will be representing all 25 Member States. (S)He will embody the EU's common decisions regarding foreign policy. In order to be able to fulfil his duties, the EU Foreign Minister will need a European External Action Service

(EEAS) with the necessary worldwide representations. It will be a cornerstone of the EU's foreign policy, ensuring consistency and effectiveness of the EU's Foreign Minister and his/her mission to promote our common values in our neighbouring states and the world.

To avoid building up a huge bureaucracy, the service should be attached to the European Commission, which already has more than 120 representations outside the EU. These could easily be converted into full EU embassies, with personnel drawn from the Member States on a rotating basis. Today's representations would then no longer be just trade representations, but could represent the EU's common positions on all issues of EU competence.

In order to be effective, the EU Foreign Minister must be able to make use of a service capable of responding to all foreign affairs related issues. The post will provide a bridge between the EU Institutions, because (s)he will be under the responsibility of both Council and Commission, and is legitimised by the European Parliament. (S)He will be the key contact and the international face of the EU.

Given the recent crisis of the EU over the referenda on the Constitution Treaty, some observers might think that the EEAS is obsolete. I disagree. People will not appreciate Europe more if we fail to defend their interests with one voice. One of the clearest signals from France and the Netherlands was that Europe was not working satisfactorily: the EEAS is the means to change that perception through foreign policy.

The Constitution, however, also provides several other new elements for the CFSP, especially in European Defence Policy. The Treaty binds the EU to the principles of the United Nations Charter, namely preserving world peace and international security. Under the Constitution, civilian measures will have priority over military means for solving conflicts. Nevertheless, the treaty also envisages that the EU (in certain circumstances) may resort to the use of military means to defend our values i.e. with the force of arms. There will, however, have to be a unanimous decision from the Council for such operations.

Furthermore, the Constitution obliges the Member States to improve their civilian and military capabilities. First and foremost, this means a more efficient interlocking of national capabilities through a European Defence Agency. With Europe-wide coordination and cooperation it will be possible to

reduce parallel structures and consequently costs. Finally, the Constitution will confer legal personality on the Union. This will allow the EU to participate more actively and exert more influence in multilateral affairs with representation in certain international multilateral organisations.

A strong partnership as foundation for a strong foreign policy

Last but not least, it must be emphasised that increasing cooperation among European countries is only one step towards an effective foreign and security policy. If Europe really wants to be heard in the world it needs to find strong partners who share its values and interests. This is particularly applicable in the Asian case, which is increasingly gaining importance in the international political and economic realms. The EU has found an important and reliable international partner in ASEAN. In addition to the regular multi-layered dialogue the partnership between the two institutions has already proven effective on other occasions: The Aceh Monitoring Mission that became operational in September 2005 is a good example how the two regional blocks can join forces to achieve goals common to both. We need more such cooperative efforts if we are to master the challenges of foreign and security policy of the future.

Security Policy in Europe and in Southeast Asia

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The world is threatened by a new set of security challenges in today's international security environment. The main threats of the 21st century are international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

If we take a global picture of the world and identify the problems, we will find no single state that is capable of meeting security challenges alone. There is a need for regional and multilateral cooperation in the field of security and defence. That goes for Europe and Asia too.

Let's begin with an example from the ASEAN region: From an economic and strategic perspective, the Strait of Malacca between Malaysia and the Indonesian island of Sumatra is one of the most important shipping lanes in the world.

The strategic traffic bottleneck links Asia with the Middle East and Europe and carries some 40 percent of the world's trade, including 80 percent of the energy supplies of Japan and China.

Piracy has been a considerable problem in the Strait in the last years.

Although the number of attacks in the Malacca Strait had been falling since 2005, piracy in the Strait of Malacca is still the biggest maritime threat to the Southeast Asian nations.

The Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, also known as Bali Concord II, which was endorsed at the Ninth ASEAN Summit in Bali in October 2003, states, "*Maritime issues and concerns are transboundary in nature, and therefore shall be addressed regionally in holistic, integrated and comprehensive manner.*"

Maritime cooperation between and among ASEAN member countries shall contribute to the evolution of the ASEAN Security Community.”

That is a very interesting quotation: It's not the "evolution of the ASEAN Security Community" that will contribute to "Maritime cooperation between and among ASEAN member countries". It is the other way round: "Maritime cooperation between and among ASEAN member countries shall contribute to the evolution of the ASEAN Security Community." It is the common project that shall lead to the common ability to act. This is exactly the way in which the gradual development of the European integration took place.

Europe was not built from a big blueprint, but step-by-step. The development of the European Institutions as we know them today followed in the wakes of big common projects.

European unification first started with the European Coal and Steel Community, then the customs union, the single market and finally the single currency. To achieve these goals, Europe built up the necessary infrastructure like the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors and the European Central Bank.

Across the decades, the European institutions have developed their modus operandi. The breakthrough to introducing majority decision-making in the Council of Ministers followed in the wake of the single market and the procedure of European legislation as we know it today was introduced by the Maastricht treaty when the single currency was realised. Each of these projects made also additional demands on common will, mutual confidence and solidarity. However, European peoples gradually became accustomed to the notion of mutual cooperation.

In 2005, voters in France and the Netherlands, two heartlands of Europe and founding members of the European Union, rejected a new European Constitution. In my opinion the constitutional project is facing problems, because it sought to further develop the European institutions from a blueprint and not from a common project. The constitutional project didn't pay attention to the traditional characteristics of European integration.

I consider the creation of a European Security and Defence Union the new big project that could allow us to further develop the European Union.

According to polls taken by Eurostat, 77% of the Europeans support a common security and defence policy. This support has been firm for over a decade. In every EU member state, there is a majority in favour of a common EU defence policy. The support is the strongest in the new member states: in Estonia 87% are in favour, in the Czech Republic 86%, Poland 86%, Latvia 85%, Slovakia 85%, Hungary 83%. Also, 58% of all Europeans support the idea of a European army.

The polls show that people consider a common European security and defence policy as the best way to meet the challenges of the new security threats that the European Union faces today. There is a growing consensus that our ability to meet the challenges ahead largely is dependent on our capability to work together. Citizens do not want a Europe that regulates everyone's everyday life, but a Europe competent in security and defence.

It's not possible to write about security cooperation and regional integration in Europe and in Southeast Asia without mentioning the significant differences between both regions. Regionalisation in the Asia-Pacific region started under significantly more difficult conditions than in Europe, because the Asia-Pacific region shows a much higher degree of diversity of political systems reaching from communist dictatorship in North Korea to democracies such as Japan. The Japanese Minister of Defense, Yoshinori Ohno, referred to these differences in June 2005: "Compared to Europe, there is a greater diversity in the region in terms of political systems, economic development, and social conditions. ... This does not mean that we should give up efforts to seek international security collaboration in this part of the world. Let us start from something small and practical in the area where cooperation is possible."

This is the right attitude to take. Each region and organisation has to find its own way for multilateral cooperation. And ASEAN leaders have always stressed that they are willing to find their own way. Ong Keng Yong, Secretary General of ASEAN, declared in December 2005: *"I would like to take the opportunity to clarify ASEAN's vision of an economic community. The vision for the future as envisaged under the ASEAN Economic Community is not like what is in Europe today and which has been largely institution-driven. ASEAN has remained an informal grouping and ASEAN does not have many institutions for regional economic integration. Recognizing the wide variation of economic development and interests, ASEAN is in the process of developing its own model. Thus, often the*

comparisons between the ASEAN Economic Community and the European Union are not valid."

Every comparison has to take into account the differences between both regions. However, despite their different ways of cooperation and differing basic conditions, the EU and ASEAN share the same security challenges. The following principles must be respected at all times: Freedom, the respect for human rights, democracy, and good governance are preconditions for long-term stability and prosperity and the best insurance policy for peace and security.

Thus, it is important that ASEAN render the Strait of Malacca as safe as possible for the facilitation of trade. The 900-kilometer (550-mile) strait, borders Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. An efficient fight against piracy requires close cooperation between the coast guards and navies of the neighbouring countries. This is not an easy task. The Asian nations are not prepared to cede parts of their sovereignty to common institutions such as the European countries have done and all nations in the ASEAN region are very sensitive about their sovereignty. Nonetheless the neighbouring countries of the Strait of Malacca are already working together in order to meet the challenge of international piracy. Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore have launched joint military air patrols to counter piracy and terrorism in the strait.

We have similar problems in Europe, and are far away from having coherent responses to all common security challenges.

The best example is the protection of the outside borders of the European Union. This must be regarded as one of the most significant tasks for Homeland Defence at the European level. The security of countries beyond borders of the European Union represents a big challenge. The new land borders in Eastern Europe are long and difficult to control. But there are also long maritime borders that have to be supervised. The effective supervision of the borders outside the European Union is of great importance for the protection of the European citizens against terrorism and international organised crime. The surveillance of these outside borders has to be ensured without erecting a "Chinese Wall" dividing neighbourhoods, handicap trade and disadvantage the population living near the border. This double goal of protection from threat with simultaneous openness can only be achieved by a very close cooperation between the European Union's member states. Thus, our long-term goal is the setting up of a European Border Police.

The fight against piracy in the Strait of Malacca and the protection of the outside borders of the European Union show that in spite of all our differences, there are many opportunities for sharing experiences, mutual learning and joint policies towards regional and global security.

The partnership between the European Union and ASEAN could also provide the opportunity to share experiences about technical challenges. The protection of the outside borders of the European Union requires common and compatible equipment for the national border authorities including satellite and airborne surveillance. The same goes for coast guards and navies in the Strait of Malacca. One cannot efficiently collaborate on an issue if one cannot communicate with one's partner.

Ong Keng Yong, Secretary General of ASEAN, said in December 2005: *"What ASEAN is doing in creating the single market collectively can be best summed up in two key words, 'seamless' and 'value'. The region will be 'seamless' when borders between ASEAN Member Countries no longer act as barriers to trade and investment...."*

Sooner or later, ASEAN will face the same challenges as the European Union: How to bring together security and openness of borders and how to protect common outside borders.

The piracy problem in the Strait of Malacca has driven up international shipping costs and insurance rates. This, in turn, hurts businesses and consumers everywhere. Last year, the London insurance market classified the Malacca Strait a "war risk" zone, vulnerable to war, strikes and terrorism. Referring to the fall in piracy attacks in 2005, Malaysia's Defense Minister Najib Razak said in March 2006, that he hopes, *"the international insurers will reconsider the decision to classify the Strait as a war zone... Statistics don't bear out this fact."*

The problem of the insurance rates is a good example for the close interlink between security problems and economic development. The Bali Concord II stresses *"the strong interconnections among political, economic and social realities"* in the area of security. The problem of the insurance rates demonstrates how security problems in one part of the world can have negative consequences on other regions of the world. The European Security Strategy of the European Union states, *"In an era of globalisation, distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand. Nuclear activities in North Korea and nuclear risks in South Asia are of concern to Europe."*

Therefore, we need both regional cooperation and cooperation between different regions. In order to implement an effective multilateralism (as it is a goal mentioned in the European Security Strategy), we need a close cooperation between East Asia, Europe and Northern America. The relationship between these three regions determines the agenda of world affairs in the post-Cold War era. Global stability can only be based on a stable relationship between East Asia, Europe and Northern America. This relationship is changing. Economic growth rates of around 10% of GDP in Asia and the rise of new economic superpowers, such as China, India and Southeast Asia, is slowly changing the classic world order.

In the same time, the United States is further developing its strategy towards international alliances. The US Quadrennial Defense Review Report, published in February 2006, states, *"If one were to attempt to characterize the nature of how the Department of Defense is transforming and how the senior leaders of this Department view that transformation, it is useful to view it as a shift of emphasis to meet the new strategic environment. In this era, characterized by uncertainty and surprise, examples of this shift in emphasis include: ...From static alliances – to dynamic partnerships."*

Dynamic partnerships with strategic partners such as Japan, Australia, Korea and India should allow flexible cooperative actions to address common security threats. The architecture of international relations is changing and the political triangle between East Asia, Europe, and the United States has the opportunity to become more balanced if East Asia and Europe strengthen their relationship. We should work together in the European Union and in ASEAN to reinforce shared values and promote our common interests towards an effective multilateral world order. The European Security Strategy stresses the European Union's commitment to upholding and developing international law: *"In a world of global threats, global markets and global media, our security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system. The development of a stronger international society, well functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order is our objective."*

The Bali Concord II states, *"The ASEAN Security Community shall abide by the UN Charter and other principles of international law... The ASEAN Security Community shall explore enhanced cooperation with the United Nations as well as other international and regional bodies for the maintenance of international peace and security."*

Though Asia and Europe are geographically far apart, there are many good reasons to enhance cooperation. Asia and Europe are dependent on each other through international trade. This is particularly significant because both regions are interested in a rule-based international order.

Today, the European Union has 450 million inhabitants and ASEAN has 530 million. If we concentrate on very concrete areas in which we can learn from each other or work together we can make headway relatively quickly. It is the recognition of common security challenges that has prompted closer cooperation between nations both in Europe and in Southeast Asia. There are a lot of common security challenges such as terrorism, maritime security, piracy, avian flu, energy supply issues and disaster relief that call for a closer cooperation between our two regions. Thus, in working together on these issues, we are better able to foster our ever-closer relationship.



The History of the ASEAN Delegation in the European Parliament

Markus Arens

Councillor of the EPP-ED-Group

The European Union and ASEAN are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Cooperation Agreement between the member states of ASEAN and the European Community (see Appendix 1 of this article).

The main topics of the Cooperation Agreement, “Most Favoured Nation Treatment”, “Commercial Cooperation”, “Economic Cooperation” and “Development Cooperation” – were met with many successful and fruitful discussions, meetings, activities and many concrete achievements.

Since the Cooperation Agreement was signed, both regions have changed. ASEAN has grown to ten members, while the European Union presently has 25 member states. The European Union is ASEAN’s second largest export market and third largest trading partner.

In the last decades, the ASEAN delegation of the European Parliament has played a central and vital role in fostering close relations between politicians from ASEAN member countries and Europe.

During inter-parliamentary meetings in Brussels, Strasbourg, and Asia, the members of the ASEAN delegation of the European Parliament discussed various topics with their colleagues from the parliaments of the ASEAN member countries, members of the governments of the ASEAN states, and representatives from various civil society groups (see Appendix 2 of this article).

During its regular meetings in Brussels and Strasbourg, the ASEAN delegation of the European Parliament prepared the visits to or from Asia and discussed with experts from the European Commissions Asia Desk, Ambassadors

of ASEAN states to the European Union important issues, such as the political and economic situation in the ASEAN member states and the European Union, as well as matters of security and trade.

The members of the ASEAN delegation of the European Parliament and especially their Chairmen Prof. Dr. Guenter Rinsche, MEP (1979-1999) and Hartmut Nassauer, MEP (1999-present) are well known in the ASEAN member countries.

The European Commissioner for External Relations, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, was right when she said on 9 December 2005 in Brussels, “We can be proud of the way the EU-ASEAN relationship has developed in the last twenty-five years.”

The Secretary-General of the ASEAN, Mr Ong Keng Yong, asked for “advancing ASEAN-EU Relations in the 21st Century” (*European View*, Volume 2, Autumn 2005). He stressed that in the “ASEAN Vision 2020”, four themes were defined:

- peace and stability in the region;
- a partnership in dynamic development to achieve global competitiveness;
- a community of caring societies;
- an outward-looking ASEAN forging intensified relationship with dialogue partners and other countries and organisations, based on equal partnership and mutual respect.

The ASEAN delegation in the European Parliament will accompany the ASEAN on its way to transform this vision into reality.

The ASEAN delegation in the European Parliament is very much in favour of the expansion as this will herald further exchanges for businesses, students and civil servants. Such activities and more tolerance of each other’s diversity are necessary to building new bridges between ASEAN and the EU.

In the years to come, the ASEAN delegation in the European Parliament will contribute to the enforcement of the partnership between the European Parliament and ASEAN. This close partnership will ensure that both the EU and ASEAN will work together towards closer cooperation.

ENDNOTES

Appendix 1

Cooperation Agreement between Member Countries of ASEAN and European Community Kuala Lumpur, 7 March 1980

CONSCIOUS that such cooperation will be between equal partners but will take into account the level of development of the member countries of ASEAN and the emergence of ASEAN as a viable and cohesive grouping, which has contributed to the stability and peace in Southeast Asia;

PERSUADED that such cooperation should be realised in an evolutionary and pragmatic fashion as their policies develop;

AFFIRMING their common will to contribute to a new phase of international economic cooperation and to facilitate the development of their respective human and material resources on the basis of freedom, equality and justice;

HAVE DECIDED to conclude a Cooperation Agreement and to this end have designated as their plenipotentiaries;

WHO having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form; have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment

The Parties shall, in their commercial relations, accord each other most-favoured-nation treatment in accordance with the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, without prejudice, however, to the provision of the Protocol annexed to this Agreement.

ARTICLE 2

Commercial Cooperation

1. The Parties undertake to promote the development and diversification of their reciprocal commercial exchanges to the highest possible level taking into account their respective economic situations.
2. The Parties agree to study ways and means of overcoming trade barriers, and in particular existing ion-tariff and quasi tariff barriers, taking into account the work of international organisations;
3. The Parties shall in accordance with their legislation and in the conduct of their policies:
 - (a) cooperate at the international level and between themselves in the solution of commercial problems of common interest including trade related to commodities;
 - (b) use their best endeavours to grant each other the widest facilities for commercial transactions;
 - (c) take fully into account their respective interests and needs for improved access for manufactured, semi manufactured and primary products as well as the further processing of resources;
 - (d) bring together economic operators in the two regions with the aim of creating new trade patterns;
 - (e) study and recommend trade promotion measures likely to encourage the expansion of imports and exports;
 - (f) seek insofar as possible the other Parties - views where measures are being considered which could have an adverse effect on trade between the two regions.

ARTICLE 3

Economic Cooperation

1. The Parties, in the light of the complementarity of their interests and of their long-term economic capabilities, shall bring about economic cooperation in all

fields deemed suitable by the Parties. Among the objectives of such cooperation shall be:

- the encouragement of close, economic links through mutually beneficial Investment;
- the encouragement of technological and scientific progress;
- the opening up of new sources of supply and new markets.
- the creation of new employment opportunities.

2. As means to such ends, the Parties shall, a, appropriate, encourage and facilitate *inter alia*:

- a continuous exchange of information relevant to economic cooperation as well a, the development of contacts and promotion activities between firms and organisations in both regions;
- the fostering, between respective firms, of industrial and technological cooperation, including mining;
- cooperation in the fields of science and technology, energy, environment, transport and communications, agriculture, fisheries and forestry.

In addition the Parties undertake to improve the existing favourable investment climate *inter alia* through encouraging the extension, by and to all Member States of the Community and by and to all member countries of ASEAN, of investment promotion and protection arrangements which endeavour to apply the principle of non-discrimination, aim to ensure fair and equitable treatment and reflect the principle of reciprocity.

3. Without prejudice to the relevant provisions of the Treaties establishing the Communities, this Agreement and any action taken thereunder shall in no way affect the powers of any of the Member States of the Communities to undertake bilateral activities with any of the member countries of ASEAN in the field of economic cooperation and conclude, where appropriate, new economic cooperation agreements with these countries.

ARTICLE 4

Development Cooperation

1. The Community recognises that ASEAN is a developing region and will expand its cooperation with ASEAN in order to contribute to ASEAN's efforts in enhancing its self-reliance and economic resilience and social well-being of its peoples through projects to accelerate the development of the ASEAN countries and of the region as a whole.
2. The Community will take all possible measures to intensify its support, within the framework of its programmes in favour of non associated developing countries, for ASEAN development and regional cooperation.
3. The Community will cooperate with ASEAN to realise concrete projects and programmes, *inter alia*, food production and supplies, development of the rural sector, education and training facilities and others of a wider character to promote ASEAN regional economic development and cooperation.
4. The Community will seek a coordination of the development cooperation activities of the Community and its Member States in the ASEAN region especially in relation to ASEAN regional projects.
5. The Parties shall encourage and facilitate the Promotion of cooperation between sources of finance in the two regions.

ARTICLE 5

Joint Cooperation Committee

1. A joint Cooperation Committee shall be set up to Promote and keep under reviews the various cooperation activities envisaged between the Parties in the framework of the Agreement. Consultations shall be held in the Committee at an appropriate level in order to facilitate the implementation and to further the

general aims of this Agreement. The Committee will normally meet at least once a year. Special meetings of the Committee shall be held at the request of either Party.

2. The Joint Cooperation Committee shall adopt its own Rules of Procedure and programme of work.

ARTICLE 6

Other Agreements

Subject to the provisions concerning economic cooperation in article 3(3), the provisions of this Agreement shall be substituted for provisions of Agreements concluded between Member States of the Communities and Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand to the extent to which the latter provisions are either incompatible with or identical to the former.

ARTICLE 7

Territorial Application

This Agreement shall apply, on the one hand, to the territories in which the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community is applied and under the conditions laid down in that Treaty and, on the other hand, to the territories of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

ARTICLE 8

Duration

1. This Agreement shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the date on which the Parties have notified each other of the completion of the procedures necessary for this purpose, and shall remain in force for an initial period of five years and thereafter for periods of five years subject to the right of either Party to terminate it by written notice given six months before the date of expiry of any period.

2. This Agreement may be amended by mutual consent of the Parties in order to take into account new situations.

ARTICLE 9

Authentic Languages

This Agreement is drawn up in seven originals in the English, Danish, Dutch, French, German and Italian languages. each of these texts being equally authentic.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Agreement.

DONE at Kuala Lumpur on the seventh day of March in the year one thousand nine hundred and eighty.

1. According to the provisions of the protocol the European Economic Community and a party that is not a contracting party of the General Agreement on tariffs and trade shall, with regard to imported or exported foods, grant each other most-favoured nation treatment in all matters relating to:

- customs duties and charges of all kinds including the procedures for collecting such duties and charges;
- regulations concerning customs clearance, transit, warehousing or transshipment;
- direct or indirect taxes and other internal charges;
- regulations concerning payments including the allocation of foreign currency and the transfer of such payments;
- regulations affecting the sale, purchase, transport, distribution and use of goods on the internal market.

2. Paragraph 1 shall not apply to:

- (a) advantages granted to neighbouring countries to facilitate frontier one traffic;
- (b) advantages granted with the object of establishing a customs union or a free trade area or as required by such a customs union or free trade area;
- (c) advantages granted to particular countries in conformity with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade;
- (d) advantages which the member countries of the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations grant to certain countries in accordance with the Protocol on Trade Negotiations among Developing Countries in the content of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade;
- (e) advantages granted or to be granted within the framework of ASEAN provided these do not exceed those that are granted or may be granted within the framework of ASEAN by member countries of ASEAN which are contracting parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Appendix 2

**Delegation for Relations with the Member States of ASEAN,
Southeast Asia and the Republic of Korea**

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Subjects discussed

- political and economic situation in the ASEAN member states and the EU
- security issues
- regional integration, ASEAN free Trade Area (AFTA), Post Ministerial Conferences (PMC), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), APEC, etc.
- EU/ASEAN cooperation including development cooperation and economic cooperation

ASEAN and the European Union

- social issues, demography, education, protection of the environment, drug trafficking, money laundering, demining, etc.
- inspection of EU financed programmes
- Human rights, in particular in the new ASEAN member states (Laos, Viet-Nam, Cambodia)
- East Timor

Chairman

1979-1999: Mr Günter RINSCHKE (EPP, Germany)

1999- : Mr Hartmut NASSAUER (EPP-ED, Germany)

Activities

Since 1997, the European Parliament enjoys an Observer status with AIPO (ASEAN Interparliamentary Organisation). Bilateral meetings have therefore been replaced by a participation of EP in the annual general assembly of AIPO, early September.

Last general assemblies: 2005 Vientiane, 2004 Phnom-Penh, 2003 Jakarta, 2002 Hanoi (combined with the Delegation visit to Vietnam).

Date	Interparliamentary meetings	Inside EU	Outside EU
2005			
March	5 th EP/Vietnam meeting	Brussels	
September	5 th EP/Thailand meeting		Bangkok, Chiang Rai
November	5 th EP/Malaysia meeting		Kuala Lumpur,
	7 th EP/Singapor meeting		Sarawak

The History of the ASEAN Delegation in the European Parliament

2003			
April	7 th EP/Korea meeting		Seoul
2002			
September	EP/Vietnam meeting		Hanoi Phnom Penh
	EP/Cambodia meeting		
April-May	EP/Indonesia meeting		Jakarta Manila
	EP/Philippines meeting		
2001			
July	EP/Singapore meeting	Brussels	
April	4 th EP/Thailand meeting		Bangkok Vientiane,
	2 nd EP/Laos meeting		Luang Prabang
2000			
May	Working group to Singapore and Malaysia		Singapore Kuala Lumpur
December	5 th EP/KoreaIPM	Strasbourg	
1999			
January	Working group to Korea and Vietnam		Seoul, Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City
1998			
June	3 rd EP/Thailand meeting	Brussels	Kuala Lumpur, Singapore
January	Working group to Malaysia and Singapore		
1997			
June	EP/Philippines meeting	Brussels	
May	4 th EP/Korea meeting	Brussels	

ASEAN and the European Union

1996		
November	Working group to the Philippines	Cebu
November	Working group to Singapore	Singapore
April	ASEPI	Strasbourg
April	10 th EP/AIPO meeting	Strasbourg
March	2 nd EP/Vietnam meeting	Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City
1995		
December	Ad hoc delegation ASEM	Singapore, Bangkok
November	Working group to Laos	Vientiane
November	Working group to Cambodia	Phnom Penh
September	2 nd EP/Thailand meeting	Brussels
February	1 st EP/Vietnam meeting	Brussels
1994		
February	Ad hoc delegation to Vietnam	Hanoi, Da Nang, Ho Chi Minh City
January	1 st EP/Thailand meeting	Bangkok
January	Visit to the Philippines	Manila
1993		
July	9 th EP/AIPO meeting	Strasbourg
May	Ad hoc delegation to Cambodia	Cambodia

The History of the ASEAN Delegation in the European Parliament

1992		
December	Ad hoc delegation to Cambodia	Phnom Penh
September	Visit to Singapore	Singapore
September	8 th EP/AIPO meeting	Jakarta
1990		
May	7 th EP/AIPO meeting	Brussels, Rotterdam
1988		
February	Visit to the Philippines	Manila
February	6 th EP/AIPO meeting	Kuala Lumpur
1985		
July	5 th EP/AIPO meeting	Brussels, Luxemburg
1984		
February	Visit to Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur
February	Visit to Singapore	Singapore
February	4 th EP/AIPO meeting	Phuket
1982		
November	3 rd EP/AIPO meeting	Strasbourg, Stuttgart
1981		
	Dr Rinsche, Chairman of the delegation, attended the 4 th AIPO General Assembly as an observer	

ASEAN and the European Union

April	Visit to Indonesia	Jakarta
April	2 nd EP/AIPO meeting	Bangkok
<hr/>		
1980		
March	EC/ASEAN Cooperation agreement signed on 7 March 1980	
<hr/>		
1979		
Oktober	1 st EP/AIPO meeting	Strasbourg
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International Cooperation in the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

Dr. Gerhard Wahlers

Director, International Division, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Berlin

Approximately one half of the tasks set down by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF) pertain to Germany and the other half to projects of international cooperation worldwide. At present, the Foundation is represented abroad by 77 staff members in many overseas branches and foreign offices in the most important centres of political decision-making worldwide. They are assisted in their work by some 200 local employees. These programmes are, for the most part, implemented in cooperation with the KAF's many partner organisations. The planning and coordination of these international tasks is undertaken by the International Cooperation division (INT), which is presently run with 62 staff members in Berlin.

For over 40 years, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has been making a distinct contribution to development policy in the Third World as part of its efforts to promote democracy and establish the rule of law worldwide. From the very outset, the Foundation was intent on extending its assistance while cooperating within the framework of the projects supported. Thus, the largest proportion of the funds at our disposal is invested in development activities. It is our ardent desire that the liberal-constitutional model of democracy based on the rule of law will gain worldwide acceptance worldwide under the difficult conditions of globalisation. In helping the developing and newly industrialising countries grasp the opportunities in this globalised world, we underline the

positive sides of globalisation. Other focal areas of our activity are: furthering democratic-liberal development through education and consultancy; promoting the small and medium sector and establishing a regulatory policy; political decentralisation; strengthening the role of women in society; rural development; academic and scientific cooperation; strengthening parties from the political centre and promoting environmental protection measures.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation is also represented in the capitals of several European countries, as well as in Washington DC in the United States of America. In Europe, we are primarily concerned with strengthening and furthering the process of European unification, particularly in the transition countries of Eastern and South Eastern Europe. Our branch office in Washington is committed to furthering transatlantic relations. The collapse of the Soviet Union and several Eastern European communist dictatorships has wrought lasting positive changes on Europe's socio-political landscape. Since its reunification, Germany has acquired greater standing in international politics and assumed fresh responsibilities in many areas. Europe has grown freer. Meanwhile, eight countries from Central and Eastern Europe, which until just a few years ago had been shut off by the Iron Curtain from political and economic developments in Western Europe have now been admitted into the European Union. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation has helped these countries overcome the hurdles en route to EU membership through political consultancy and education. The Foundation is presently providing similar guidance to the countries of Southeast Europe in comparable transition. In so doing, KAF is doing its part to ensure that the ideals of European unification laid down by its founding fathers will be speedily achieved.

From the outset, the furtherance of democracy and the rule of law have been particularly central to our work. Included therein is also consultancy relating to constitutional issues which we provided with great success in Mongolia and Afghanistan, for instance. Only in democratic orders can human and civil rights be fully implemented; only between democratic states can lasting peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts be secured. Other subjects related to this area of activity are the social market economy, the media, as well as the improvement of the political, social and ecological basis of existence of vast numbers of people. The Foundation's range of activities is further supplemented by innumerable programmes for dialogue on foreign and economic policy as well as on value-related or religious issues. Furthermore, our international

networks have provided us with close contact with democratic political parties from the centre, and political developments in the countries where the Foundation is engaged observed and analysed.

Thus, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's international activities comprise the following issues:

- deepening and extending European integration by promoting the debate on Europe in the EU Member States and by supporting the newly acceded countries
- strengthening the transatlantic community of values, while paying special attention to security relations and the German-American-Jewish dialogue
- supporting the premise that democratic conditions in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Africa as well as in the Middle East is a prerequisite for improving the economic, social and ecological basis of existence there
- cooperating with political groups and parties from the centre
- linking competition and social responsibility worldwide as well as commitment to the global social market economy
- involvement in active crisis prevention and conflict management
- support internationally active NGO networks and multilateral organisations
- establish a broad national consensus for tackling the effects of globalisation

For the Foundation to successfully tackle these pivotal tasks, an increasing measure of networking is necessary between international experts. Indeed, KAF's numerous country offices and overseas branches serve as important service and information centres as well as public forums for German interests in the host country concerned. The good work done by our offices in Washington and Brussels demonstrate the strength of our international presence. They ensure that issues central to our work, such as the transatlantic partnership,

European integration and, increasingly also, questions of international security, remain at the fore.

To realise our objectives, we actively engage state agencies (local, regional and national), academic institutions, and civil society organisations at various levels of collaboration. Our relationship with our partner organisations is marked by a lasting sense of trust, and an awareness of our common values. These values are continually emphasised in our partnerships for peaceful political solutions to international issues. Together, all these contacts guarantee access to influential personalities and intellectual resources. They enable us to expand our contacts to parties and international organisations of similar outlook and convictions. So doing, facilitates a global transfer of knowledge.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation's regional programmes mainly promote the furtherance of democracy and act as consultants to many state agencies in cases pertaining to rule of law. Hence, we are constantly working to upgrade and expand our regional programmes for the advancement of the rule of law and promotion of the media. In this context, the following programmes are particularly noteworthy:

1. *Programmes for the Promotion of the Rule of Law in South America, Central America and the Caribbean*, emphasise democratisation in these regions. In so doing, our regional offices in those parts of the world hopes to contribute to the development and consolidation of an efficient legal system in accordance with the principles of the rule of law. At present, there is a special requirement for education and advisory services in the area of constitutional law, protection of human rights and measures for fighting corruption.

2. *Regional Programmes for the Promotion of Democracy and the Media in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa*. Through these programmes, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation has been able to support the further development of the media landscape and the improvement in journalistic standards in Latin America and Africa since the 1980s. The KAF's media programmes cooperates with its many local and regional partners in initiating and supporting the international and regional exchange of

news, opinions and ideas in the area of journalism. We promote cooperation within and between democratically minded media institutions, support the training of journalists and foster a sense of responsibility for balanced and competent reporting.

3. *The Regional Programme for South East Asia: Politics, Media and Rule of Law* based in Singapore promote the transfer of knowledge between European think tanks, consultancy institutions and Southeast Asia through regular meets. That apart, the regional office provides the *East and Southeast Asia Network for Better Local Governments* a platform for further developing its decentralisation programmes.

At present, similar programmes are being conceived for other regions. In so doing, KAF hopes to develop a network for a global regulatory policy. To successfully development such a policy, new measures shall be developed and regulated in the two areas of development cooperation and democracy as well as in response to globalisation. Thus, KAF will be able to a common understanding of the various aspects of the on-going process of globalisation in governmental and non-governmental actors in developing and newly industrialising countries as well as in economically advanced democracies. We aim to provide a platform for dialogue and for evolving common positions between these actors in issues on society-state relations, economy, social order and ethics. Our influence in these areas will serve as elements of a global regulatory policy. In doing so, we will extend support for the value-determined criteria set down in German development cooperation as well as the global regulatory policy of our partners in the developing countries. With differences in starting conditions being duly considered, these positions shall help formulate strategies for steering the processes of globalisation at the national and regional levels, and for tackling their effects in the developing countries. This is the only way to systematically meet the opportunities afforded by globalisation, while pursuing the main goals of German development cooperation (namely poverty alleviation, protection of human rights, development of civil society, enhanced political participation).

The dialogue between cultures and religions constitutes one of the major assets of international cooperation. Since the beginning of the 1960s, the

exchange between Christians and Jews has formed one of our core areas of activity. Today, it is complemented by programmes for dialogue between Christians and Muslims, which fall within the ambit of the comprehensive special programme, “Dialogue with Islam”. This “Dialogue with Islam” transcends national boundaries, as it seeks to resolve issues that are of political relevance to Germany and the Islamic world. This dialogue generally revolves around the effects of globalisation, democratic models as solutions and a shared responsibility for the world. In recent years, conferences in “Dialogue with Islam” programme have also been conducted in several ASEAN countries, notably Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. Among the topics discussed are “Islam and Democracy: the Southeast Asian Experience”, “Radicalisation and Democratisation in Muslim Communities in Southeast Asia”, and “Islam and the West – Dialogue of Civilisations in Search of a Global Peaceful Order”.

Through its dialogue programmes in particular, the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation hopes to make a distinct contribution towards promoting the rule of law, peaceful conflict resolution, and the extension of Christian democratic principles worldwide. While thus engaged, we are also capable of assisting in the processes of market economy consolidation, democratic participation and political conflict management. Thus, we are able to represent German interests at the international level and participate in the process of creating an international order that facilitates the establishment of peace and justice.

In the light of changes effected in the global framework conditions, it becomes clear that security, foreign, economic and development policy are increasingly being fused into one whole. Questions relating to development policy are increasingly posed in security policy too. Imparting basic ethical values therefore becomes part of the effort to promote democracy in international cooperation. By drawing upon its global network of partner organisations and participating at strategic points in the policy-making processes, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation is able to address these challenges flexibly and adequately.

The Foundation brings out monographs and anthologies on socially relevant themes worldwide. In our monthly bulletin, “KAF Foreign News” (*KAS-Auslandsinformationen*), the expertise of our overseas staff is made available to an expert readership in Germany.

Through its scholarships and course-supplementing programmes, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation supports not only students living in Germany

but talented students and graduates from abroad as well. Selected candidates are assisted by the Foundation in material and non-material ways during their stay in Germany. Apart from enhancing their specialised skills, these students are taught (through the course-supplementing programme) to develop their capacity to tackle tasks, both in public life and in society, with a sense of responsibility. That is why, while selecting candidates, social commitment and personal qualities are just as important as performance in the area of specialisation. As of today, a total of 7000 German and 1800 foreign students have completed their study programmes with the assistance of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

At present, the Foundation's main International Cooperation division faces tremendous challenges. The situation on the international security front (terrorism), the threat of disintegration of states (Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, among others) and the effects of globalisation felt worldwide call for fresh responses. However, we are unable to devote all our attention equally to each problem as funds are scarce. To effectively address these challenges, we must concentrate on our core tasks of promoting democracy, extending advisory services for the establishment, consolidating the rule of law, and developing the media and the social market economy, while pooling all the resources at our disposal. However, even where conditions prove adverse, we will remain true to our commitment towards the establishment of basic democratic values, the stabilisation of politically and socially just regulatory models, and contributing to the peaceful resolution of conflicts.



The Konrad Adenauer Foundation within ASEAN

Dr. Colin Dürkop

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I.

ASEAN is a region defined by a heterogeneous diversity in ethnicity, religion and politics. It is also marked by considerable disparity in economic policy and social conditions. This in turn poses great challenges for political stability, economic cooperation and the desired integration between the existing ASEAN nations and the newly emerging East Asian economic community – comprising Japan, China and Korea. ASEAN's modernisation came about through the gradual development of constitutional structures (such as rule of law), and in some countries like the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Cambodia, the formal creation and gradual implementation of a democratic multi-party system. The ASEAN countries' increasingly close economic and political relations with the European Union in the last two decades have led to greater economic coordination. In spite of the ASEAN countries' opposing positions in certain matters such as the treatment of the junta in Burma/Myanmar, their partnership is based on a broad understanding of Asian political development and global matters. This development has been further promoted by the recent regional concern over the ever-growing Chinese influence. Accordingly, the ASEAN countries have acceded to the Chinese campaign by regionally endorsing China's influence through the formal creation of ASEAN+3. However, Japan and South Korea were included in the scheme so as to counter Chinese supremacy. Since the ASEAN summit meeting in Bali, India has also participated at the meetings on an informal level. The first East Asia summit in December 2005 in Malaysia went further than the ASEAN+3 countries by including Russia, Australia and

New Zealand. ASEAN expects Europe to play an independent role in world politics and it is interested in exchanging views on regional politics with institutions in Europe.

II.

To facilitate such exchanges, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) is committed to act within the ASEAN community, so as to help achieve the following goals:

- *The strengthening of good governance, democracy and participation by the population as well as freedom of speech, rule of law and human rights* in the political systems is the first priority in the development of the ASEAN nations. This applies to nations, where the multi-party system is formally in place, as well as de facto one-party systems or authoritarian regimes. These goals may be met if the ASEAN nations do the following:
 - Set up and stabilise multi-party systems to strengthen inner-party democracy and programme orientation within the parties,
 - Strengthen the role of people's representations and their control capability towards the executive
 - Increase cooperation of civil society organisations and democratic legitimate state organs and institutions so as to conceptualise policies advantageous to the whole population,
 - Set up and strengthen local government and local democratic structures offering concrete political participation opportunities to large sections of the population,
 - Strengthen the independence and competency of the judiciary and institutions of power control,
 - Strengthen the independence, professionalism and economic foundations of the media as well as access rights to information for the media and citizen.

- *Top priority is given to the promotion of economic and political integration of the ASEAN community and the expansion of its cooperation with the EU in the areas of politics, economics and security.* This region's heterogeneity is more similar to that in EU societies than other regions of Asia. Furthermore, the development of civil societies, the understanding of liberal and productive economies, the need for the creation of a rule of law, and participation of the population in the political process are methods of securing each country's political security. The promotion of a regional process of integration can strengthen and stabilise these elements in each country on a long-term basis and make the ASEAN community a more dynamic partner for Europe. To improve its economic standing, ASEAN must include China if a peaceful regional order is to be retained. In working closely with the EU and China, ASEAN would be in a better position to fight terrorism and extremist Islam. In so doing, ASEAN would be strengthening democracy and the rule of law in the world.
- *KAS is also committed to the campaign against radical-extremist Islamism and its attendant threat of terrorism.* In the main affected countries of Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand, different strategies are required if the radical Islam issue is to be effectively handled. If the threat is to be eradicated, state repression of extremist positions and terrorist groups is inadequate. Efforts to reduce social disadvantages and political isolation are equally necessary. On a regional level, dialogues between the religious groups and the state must be held so that these two opposing factions may jointly work out a unifying code of ethics to promote tolerance and cooperation.
- *A systematic policy for the fight against poverty and integration of previously underprivileged segments of the population* in the economic-social development processes and the political participation process, as well as gaining access to legal support and legal security. These are the foundations of the frameworks with the potential to enable these groups within the population to pursue productive and profitable activities and reduce discrimination vis-à-vis access to education, material and immaterial elements of the infrastructure. Most importantly, Southeast Asia's very

effective economic globalisation process must seek to avoid situations in which underprivileged groups are impoverished from the effects of globalisation, while others benefit vastly from it.

III.

KAS has had representatives in 7 of the 10 ASEAN countries for over 30 years. It has offices in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand and is involved in three regional programmes promoting the development of political dialogue, media and rule of law coordinated from its Singapore office (see list of addresses in the addendum). This network in Southeast Asia enables KAS to fully extend its influence in pursuit of the aforementioned goals in projects customised to the individual needs of each respective country, thereby promoting the integration process through its regional projects. It focuses on these activities:

- Promoting closer cooperation between the ASEAN member states and the EU through dialogues on shared experiences in the political process of harmonisation in Europe so as to strengthen the understanding of ASEAN as a political, security and social community;
- Strengthening media, civil society and political participation as well as the development of a rule of law within the entire region;
- Discreetly participating in the efforts to limit extremist Islamic movements in countries most affected by them. KAS will do so by working out joint ethical values with various religious groups. It is hoped that these global ethical values would be adopted in the curricula in each country's education systems;
- The intensification of the political cooperation with the region's two "anchor countries" of Indonesia and Thailand through a long-term expansion of a strategic partnership. So doing would help strengthen the development of a rule of law and democratic structures in these countries;

- Accompanying the economic and political transformation process in Vietnam and Cambodia with constant emphasis on good governance, combating poverty in the course of globalisation and the development local structures of participation and democracy.

IV.

To facilitate this exchange, the KAS wants to offer opinion makers in the region a political, economic and social dialogue and consulting programme. The creation of a peaceful and democratic future in Southeast Asia is also in the interest of Europe. While economic success has long masked religious tension, it is demands for greater freedom, better educational opportunities and greater political participation that have been emerging in this gravitational centre of world politics. Demands for rule of law, anti-corruption measures and greater freedom are beginning to crystallise.

KAS has contributed in no small way to this development through the introduction of three regional programmes in Southeast Asia in the areas of *Political Dialogue, Media and Rule of Law Development*.

As far as the Political Programme is concerned, we concentrate, among others, on annual dialogue conferences among representatives from leading think tanks in Europe and Southeast Asia as well as regular political party dialogues. Seven *EU-East Asia Think Tank Dialogues* have so far been realised in various ASEAN and European capitals. KAS is the co-founder of the *International Conferences of Asian Political Parties* (ICAPP) which are being convened every second year since 2000. Furthermore, within the framework of the *East and Southeast Asia Network for Better Local Governments* (ESEA) we focus on the promotion of decentralisation and of innovations in local government among network member countries. Through the *ASEAN People's Assembly* (APA), the foundation is assisting the civil societies in Southeast Asia in their efforts towards changing the paradigm of governance and societal development from state security to a more human centred approach of human security. Continuing information exchange with epistemic communities in the Region is maintained

through the *Asian Political and International Studies Association* (APISA) and KAS's long-term partner, the *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies* (ISEAS). Most recently, KAS Singapore is actively supporting the network of ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) in the process of drafting an ASEAN Charter for submission to the Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

With its regional politics programme, the foundation wishes to build bridges between Europe and ASEAN, achieve a better relationship between the people and politicians in Europe and Asia and deepen the cooperation at various levels. This includes in particular the cooperation with think tanks of the region, who as opinion makers, render valuable services in the pre-political stage.

The Legal Development Programme focuses on the promotion of the rule of law in the Region; respect for human rights; fight against corruption and the exchange among Constitutional Courts and legal institutions in Asia. Several roundtables for representative of anti-corruption agencies and ASEAN-ISIS Colloquia on Human Rights (AICOHR) have already been supported. The Legal Programme has also co-organised the Asian Law Institute's (ASLI) annual international conferences on the development, rule and role of law in Asia.

The three regional programmes in Singapore organise and co-sponsor about 25 international conferences or seminars in the Region and produce a range of publications. Furthermore, a regional journal called *Panorama: Insights into Southeast Asian and European Affairs* is published by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's "Regional Programme for Southeast Asia".

The Main European Institutions – A Short Introduction

Dr. Falk-Ulrich von Hoff

I. The European Parliament

The Parliament's origins go back to the 1950s and the founding treaties. Since 1979, European Parliament's Members of Parliament or MEPs have been directly elected by the citizens they represent.

Parliamentary elections are held every five years, and every EU citizen who is registered as a voter is entitled to vote. So Parliament expresses the democratic will of the Union's citizens, and it represents their interests in discussions with the other EU institutions.

In July 2004, *Josep Borrel Fontelles* was elected President of the European Parliament

The European Parliament works in France, Belgium and Luxembourg.

The monthly plenary sessions, which all MEPs attend, are held in Strasbourg (France) - the Parliament's "seat". Parliamentary committee meetings and any additional plenary sessions are held in Brussels (Belgium), whilst Luxembourg is home to the administrative offices (the "General Secretariat").

Parliament has three main roles:

- It shares the power to legislate with the Council. The fact that a directly-elected body helps guarantee the democratic legitimacy of European law.

- It exercises democratic supervision over all EU institutions, in particular the Commission. It has the power to approve or reject the nomination of Commissioners, and it has the right to censure the Commission as a whole.
- It shares with the Council authority over the EU budget and can therefore influence EU spending. At the end of the procedure, it adopts or rejects the budget in its entirety.

The power to legislate

The most common procedure for adopting EU legislation is "co-decision" (see the section on Decision-making in the European Union). This places the European Parliament and the Council on an equal footing. The laws passed using this procedure are joint acts of the Council and Parliament. This joint acts of Council and Parliament are applicable in a wide range of fields.

Parliament must be consulted on a range of other proposals, for its approval is required for certain important political or institutional decisions.

Parliament also brings new legislation by examining the Commission's annual work programme; for in so doing, it considers the kind of laws that would be appropriate. When it finalises its decision, it will request the Commission to put forward the relevant proposals.

Democratic supervision

Parliament exercises democratic supervision over the other European institutions in several ways. First, before a new Commission is to be appointed, Parliament interviews all the prospective new members and President of the Commission (who are nominated by the member states). The members of the Commission cannot be appointed without Parliament's approval. Second, the Commission is politically answerable to Parliament, which can pass a "motion of censure" calling for its mass resignation.

More generally, Parliament exercises control by regularly examining reports it receives from the Commission. These reports range from general report to reports on the implementation of the budget, the application of

Community law, etc. Moreover, the MEPs regularly ask the Commission written and oral questions.

The members of the Commission attend Parliament's plenary sessions and meetings of the parliamentary committees, thus maintaining a continual dialogue between the two institutions.

Parliament also monitors the work of the Council. The MEPs regularly pose the Council written and oral questions, while the President of the Council attends the plenary sessions and takes part in important debates.

Parliament works closely with the Council in areas of common foreign and security policy and judicial co-operation, as well as issues of common interest such as asylum and immigration policy and measures to combat drug abuse, fraud and international crime. The Council Presidency keeps Parliament informed of all these subjects.

Parliament can also exercise democratic control by examining petitions from citizens and setting up temporary committees of inquiry.

Finally, Parliament provides input to every EU summit (the European Council meetings). At the opening of each summit, the President of Parliament is invited to express Parliament's views and concerns on the main topical issues as well as items on the European Council's agenda.

The power of the purse

The EU's annual budget is decided jointly by Parliament and the Council of the European Union. Parliament debates it in two successive readings, and it does not come into force until it has been signed by the President of Parliament.

Parliament's Committee on Budgetary Control (COCOBU) monitors how the budget is spent. Each year, Parliament decides whether to approve the Commission's handling of the budget for the previous financial year. This approval process is technically known as "granting a discharge".

Parliament's work is divided into two main stages:

- *Preparing for the plenary session.* This is done by the MEPs in the various parliamentary committees specialising in particular areas of EU activity. The issues for debate are also discussed by the political groups.
- *The plenary session itself.* Plenary sessions, attended by all MEPs, are normally held in Strasbourg (for one week per month) and sometimes in Brussels (two days). At these sessions, Parliament examines proposed legislation and votes on amendments before coming to a decision on the text as a whole.

Other items on the agenda may include Council or Commission "communications" or questions as to the ongoings in the European Union or the wider world.

General Structure of the EP

The President oversees all the activities of Parliament and its constituent bodies. He presides over its part-sessions and chairs the meetings of the *Bureau and Conference of Presidents*. He represents Parliament in all external relations, particularly international relations.

In addition to the President, the *Bureau* includes the 14 vice-presidents and 5 quaestors (the latter in an advisory capacity). The Bureau is the regulatory body for the European Parliament. It meets twice a month to deal with financial, organisational and administrative matters concerning MEPs, the internal organisation of the European Parliament, its secretariat and constituent bodies. In the event of a tied vote, the President has the casting vote.

The *Conference of Presidents* consists of the President of Parliament and the chairmen of the political groups. It is responsible for Parliament's political organisation. It determines the organisation of Parliament's work and presides

over matters relating to legislative planning. It manages relations with the other institutions and bodies of the EU as well as the national parliaments of Member States. By extension, it is also responsible for maintaining relations with non-member countries and with non-EU institutions and organisations. It meets twice a month to set the agenda for the part-session. The part-session is a major prerogative because the European Parliament (unlike most national parliaments) has total sovereignty in setting its agenda.

The 5 *quaestors* are responsible for administrative and financial matters relating directly to MEPs.

The *Conference of Committee Chairmen* coordinates the activities of the parliamentary committees. It makes recommendations to the Conference of Presidents as to the work of committees and the drafting of the part-sessions' agendas.

The *Conference of Delegation Chairmen* may make recommendations to the Conference of Presidents as to the work of delegations.

The members of the *standing committees* in Parliament are elected during the first part-session of the newly elected Parliament (inaugural part-session). New elections of these members are held every two and a half years. At their inaugural meetings, committees elect their bureau (a chairman and three vice-chairmen) by a secret ballot and without debate, for a term of two and a half years. In practice, nominations are made once the seats have been distributed amongst the political groups using the d'Hondt method. This method ensures that the balance of bureau members on committees and delegations reflects the distribution of seats in Parliament as a whole, in terms of political colour and nationality.

Standing committees may ask the Conference of Presidents for permission to appoint one or more *subcommittees* from among their members. The subcommittees do not vote on their own reports. Instead, their reports are considered by the parent committee that requested for its establishment. In other respects, the procedure for subcommittees is the same as that for committees. During the sixth parliamentary term, the subcommittee on security and defence and the subcommittee on human rights will assist the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Treaty of Maastricht makes it possible for one quarter of MEPs to set up a *temporary committee of inquiry*. The rules governing the exercise of this power of inquiry were decided in an inter-institutional agreement. As a result, it gave the European Parliament increased rights of access to documents.

The remit of a temporary committee of inquiry lasts for a maximum of one year, unless Parliament decides at the end of that period to extend it.

The committee instead of Parliament votes on the report of a temporary committee of inquiry. Once the report is adopted, the committee lays it before Parliament together with any minority opinions. If the committee requests it, the European Parliament may hold a debate on this report in the House. The committee is responsible for monitoring the action undertaken by the temporary committee of inquiry and, if appropriate, reports on it.

Delegations are set up to maintain relations with parliaments of non-EU countries or groups of non-EU countries. Unlike parliamentary committees they may not compile reports or table motions for resolutions before the House.

Members of the delegation bureaux are elected during the inaugural part-session, after nominations have been made to the Conference of Presidents by the political groups and Non-attached Members.

The Conference of Presidents appoints the other delegation members on nominations from the political groups and Non-attached Members. So doing ensures that there is a fair representation of Member States and political views. The political groups may designate a number of substitute members equal to the number of their group's full members. These substitute members attend delegation meetings, with no entitlement to vote, but they may not take part in delegation missions unless the full member is unable to travel.

Delegations meet less frequently than committees. Generally speaking they undertake a mission every other year in the country or countries for which they are responsible. In the year following a mission, they receive a delegation from the country concerned, usually in one of Parliament's customary places of work.

The Conference of Presidents has ruled that the MEPs may only take part in these missions if they have previously taken part in the preparatory meetings for them.

Parliament may set up joint *parliamentary committees* with the parliaments of states associated with the EU or states with which accession negotiations have been initiated. The powers and responsibilities of the various joint parliamentary committees and their rules of procedure are laid down in agreements with the non-EU countries concerned.

The membership of European Parliament delegations to joint parliamentary committees is determined in the same way as that of standing committees. They met at six-monthly intervals, alternately in the EP's customary venues for meetings and in the countries concerned.

The Cotonou Agreement between the European Community and the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific (the ACP countries) provides for the creation of a parliamentary institution called the ACP-EU *Joint Parliamentary Assembly*, consisting of an equal number of members of the European Parliament on the one hand and representatives of the ACP countries (one per country) on the other. This Assembly is a consultative body with powers of scrutiny and proposal. It has 154 members, 77 of whom are elected by the European Parliament using the same procedure as that used for setting up inter-parliamentary delegations. The Assembly is chaired by two co-presidents, one representing the ACP members and the other representing the European members.

Secretariat of the European Parliament

The European Parliament is assisted by a *Secretariat*. Some 4,000 officials recruited by open competition from all the countries of the Union and placed under the authority of a Secretary-General, work for the European Parliament.

The political groups have their own staff and the Members have parliamentary assistants.

The European Parliament is distinguished from other international organisations by its obligation to offer full multilingualism. Parliament works in all the official languages of the European Union – 20 since the enlargement in 2004. All documents handled by the plenary must be translated into all these languages.

The European Parliament also provides an interpretation service, so that every Member is able to speak in his/her mother tongue. This makes the European Parliament the world's largest employer of interpreters and translators, who account for one third of the institution's staff.

The *Secretariat* is located in Luxembourg and Brussels.

The *Secretary-General* is Parliament's most senior official. As his title implies, he heads the Secretariat. The Bureau determines the Secretariat's membership and organisation. The Secretary-General is responsible for Parliament's administration. He is appointed by the Bureau.

II. The EPP-ED-Group

Since July 1999, the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats in the European Parliament has been the *largest political* group in the now 732-strong European Parliament.

264 Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) come from the EPP-ED Group. Thus, the EPP-ED Group represents some 36% of the total number of MEPs. The Group unites Christian Democrat, Conservative and other mainstream centre and centre-right political forces from across the 25-member European Union. The EPP-ED Group is the only one group in Parliament (out of the seven) whose MEPs are from all 25 member states.

The Chairman of the EPP-ED Group is *Hans-Gert Poettering*, MEP. He chairs its governing body - a Presidency of eight Vice-Chairmen and a Treasurer - and speaks for the Group in keynote debates in the European Parliament. He is supported by coordinators on each of the Parliament's 20 committees and heads of the national delegations represented in the Group. The operational needs of the Group are serviced by a Group secretariat, which provides policy and organisational support. The Group runs its own think-tank, the European Ideas Network, which brings together opinion-formers from the worlds of politics, business, academia and civic society across Europe, to discuss the major policy issues facing the European Union.

Originally *founded in June 1953* as the Christian Democrat Group in the embryonic Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community

(comprised of nominated members of national parliaments), the Group has been centrally involved in every stage in the history of the European Union, from its earliest beginnings to the current discussion of a European constitution.

Several parties represented in the EPP-ED Group also belong to the *European People's Party*, the first-ever transnational political party to be formed at European level. Others sit as allied Members of the Group. All work together to resist the political priorities of the left in Europe and to advance the goal of a building a more competitive and democratic Europe that will be closer to its citizens.

As the largest political group in a Parliament where non-socialist parties now enjoy a clear majority, the EPP-ED Group is in strong position to set the political agenda and to win the most critical votes. Since 1999, the EPP-ED Group has been on the winning side of more votes than any other group in the European Parliament's monthly plenary sessions.

Strength of numbers also ensures that the EPP-ED Group Members hold *a range of key positions* within the Parliament - including the chairmanships of nine of the EP's 22 committees or subcommittees, seven of the its 14 Vice-Presidencies, and three of its five Quaestorships. Within the parliamentary committees, EPP-ED Group Members are best placed to secure the right to author the EP's position on key pieces of draft legislation and other major reports. Indeed, the Group receives more rapporteurships on important subjects than any other group.

In seeking to maximise its influence, the EPP-ED Group has been able to draw on the fact that the European Parliament has become an increasingly powerful political institution within the European Union system.

Already given a *right of co-decision* with the EU Council of Ministers in many legislative fields by the 1993 Maastricht Treaty, the Parliament has seen the scope of joint law-making further widened by the Amsterdam (1999) and Nice (2003) Treaties. Today, it is an *equal partner* in the legislative process in over two-thirds of EU policy areas. In addition, it has the final say over the composition of non-agricultural spending and the appointment and dismissal of the European Commission.

Bodies of the EPP-ED-Group

The Chairman, together with the other members of the Presidency, is elected by secret ballot for a term of two and a half years. The successful candidate is the candidate who receives an absolute majority of votes cast by Group members in a first ballot or a simple majority of votes cast in a second ballot (he/she may stand for re-election).

The *Group Presidency* comprises the Chairman, assisted by a maximum of nine Vice-Chairmen including the Treasurer. Each Vice-Chairman has specific responsibilities: chairmanship of standing working groups, relations with the institutions, international relations, etc.

The *Bureau of the Group* comprises:

- the Presidency of the EPP-ED-Group,
- the heads of the national delegations and an additional member for every ten members of each delegation;
- EPP-ED members who are members of the EP Bureau
- EPP-ED chairmen of parliamentary committees,
- the EPP-ED coordinators on each of the parliamentary committees.

The main *duties of the Bureau* are:

- to prepare the strategic and political decisions of the Group,
- to formulate proposals concerning changes to the Group's Rules of Procedure and Financial Regulation,
- to prepare for the plenary sessions, highlighting the most difficult questions for the Group from the different national perspectives.

The Conference of the Group Presidency and heads of national delegations meet at least once a month (usually in advance of the Group's plenary assembly meeting, during the week of the Group's meeting in Brussels) to agree key guidelines of policy and prepare decisions of major importance for the Group's political strategy.

Full meetings of the Group, the '*Plenary Assembly*', are held in the week preceding parliamentary part-sessions and during them. At these sessions, they consider:

- decisions on all political issues addressed inside and outside the EP,
- elections to the Group Presidency,
- appointment of members to fill the Group's seats in EP bodies,
- setting the Group's budget and approving the accounts,
- decisions on changes to the Group's Rules of Procedure and Financial Regulation.

The Plenary Assembly may always debate and set its agenda irrespective of the number of members present.

A quorum exists when the majority of the members of the Plenary Assembly are present.

Irrespective of the number of voting members present, decisions are valid provided the Chairman was not asked before the vote began to establish whether a quorum existed. If it is established that there is no quorum, the vote shall be postponed and placed on the agenda for the next meeting.

Unless the Group's Rules of Procedure provide otherwise, decisions shall be taken by simple majority.

The bodies of the Group (Presidency, Bureau) are re-elected and Group members are nominated afresh for governing functions within the EP (President, vice-presidents, quaestors, committee and delegation chairmen) at the beginning of each parliamentary term and midway through each term (every two and a half years). These functions are distributed amongst the political groups, and

within the EPP-ED-Group, following negotiations which chiefly take account the applicants' personal qualities, the numerical size of the groups and national delegations, as well as the d'Hondt method of proportional seat distribution.

With a view to drafting and agreeing its political strategy and establishing voting guidelines, the EPP-ED-Group has five *standing working groups* within which it coordinates the work done by its members in the parliamentary committees. Each standing working group is headed by a chairman and two vice-chairmen. Working groups usually meet in Brussels the week before the part-session in Strasbourg and in advance of the meeting of the EPP-ED-Group's Plenary Assembly. Their job is to prepare and coordinate parliamentary work within the committees.

They also define the Group's position on the various agenda items for part-sessions, consider the initiatives (resolutions, questions, etc.) referred to them by the Group Presidency, and draw up the list of speakers for the Group in their areas of expertise.

Under the Group's Rules of Procedure, only members who have taken part in the vote at the committee stage and in the work of the standing working group may be allocated speaking time in Parliament.

EPP-ED-Group members belonging to the same parliamentary committee form a *working group*, which is coordinated by a coordinator who is elected by the members of this working group. Working groups meet ahead of the meetings of the parliamentary committees concerned, in order to prepare for them by drawing up voting lists and appointing rapporteurs and shadow rapporteurs.

The job of the coordinators and deputy coordinators is to coordinate work within their specific committee. To this end they hold preparatory meetings.

One or more *technical advisers* from the Group secretariat are made available to each committee and thus to each working group. With the help of these advisers the coordinator prepares for committee meetings, settles disputes by the requisite deadlines and takes the necessary action to ensure attendance at committee meetings.

When the committee addresses important or controversial issues the coordinator, with the help of the advisers, ensures that these issues are referred without delay to the appropriate standing working group or to the Group as a whole.

Members and substitutes who cannot attend a committee meeting must notify the advisers beforehand so that measures can be taken to ensure that the meeting proceeds smoothly vis-à-vis voting.

III. German Delegation

The German members of the European Parliament of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) form the German Delegation (German Group) of the European People's Party – European Democrats Group (EPP-ED). Making up 49 out of a total of 99 German members of the EP, the German Group is not only the *largest German Delegation in the EP* but also the *largest national delegation in the EPP-ED*. Due to their size, the German delegation has a wider range of options for political actions as well as a higher degree of responsibility. Therefore, the German delegation strives to enforce the unity and the ability to act of the EPP-ED Group by assuring the other members (in particular the smaller national delegations) that their arguments and interests will be taken into account in the group-decisions of the EPP-ED. The solidarity within the EPP-ED regardless to the national and political background is an indispensable basis for the constructive co-operation in order to achieve their common goals.

The German delegation is led by a president from the CDU, a co-president from the CSU and a board of 6 vice-presidents and 2 whips, all of whom are members of parliament. It is the responsibility of the board to prepare sessions of the group, to execute decisions of the group and to represent the group in the conference of the board of the EPP-ED and the presidents of the national delegations on the one hand and to bodies outside the EP as far as main interests of the group are concerned on the other. Furthermore, the office of the board at Berlin organises the cooperation with the CDU/CSU Group in the German parliament, the German government, the mother-parties and the political and social public in Germany.

In particular, the German delegation endeavours to reach an early coordination of the national institutions and bodies involved in European projects of legislation. In so doing, the quality of European legislation can

be improved so much so that each member state would come to accept these supranational statutes.

The German members of the EP have the right to participate in the sessions of the different groups of the German parliament, as well as the European committee of the German parliament and of its working groups. As they may also present their arguments to these bodies, they are entitled to information by the German government. Moreover, there is continuous interaction and an exchange of information between the German delegation and the Ministries of the German government.

This coordination and interaction aims to inform the national members of parliament, ministers and other decision-makers as well as opinion-makers in the media so as to reach the largest possible participation. Thus, they will be able to directly reach the voters.

European People's Party

The German members of the EPP-ED Group intensively participate in the work of the European People's Party.

A large majority of the parties in the EPP-ED Group belong to the European People's Party (EPP). The EPP is the first political party ever formed at European level. All EPP's member parties espouse centrist policies. While some of them have traditionally lent more towards Christian Democracy, the liberal and centrist wing is the strongest faction.

The EPP-ED Group plays an active role in all EPP bodies. The current President of the EPP, *Wilfried MARTENS*, was chairman of the EPP Group during the 1994-99 parliamentary term.

The heads of government of the EU Member States attend every European Council meeting. Prior to each meeting of the European Council, the chairmen of the parties in the EPP meet at an 'EPP summit' to bring their respective views more closely in line. This ensures that they work together for the common good when discussing matters on the Council agenda. These meetings take place at least twice a year.

The European People's Party is a leading political group in other European forums, namely the Committee of the Regions, the Council of Europe, the Western European Union (WEU) and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

IV. The European Commission

The Commission is a politically independent institution, representing and upholding the interests of the EU. It is the driving force within the EU's institutional system. It proposes legislation, policies and programmes of action and is responsible for implementing the decisions of Parliament and the Council.

Like the Parliament and Council, the European Commission was set up in the 1950s under the EU's founding treaties.

The Members of the Commission are known as "*commissioners*". They have all held political positions in their countries of origin, and many have been government ministers. But as Members of the Commission, they are committed to acting in the interests of the Union as a whole and not taking instructions from national governments.

A new Commission is appointed every five years, within six months of the elections to the European Parliament. The procedure is as follows:

- The member state governments jointly agree who is to be designated as the new Commission President.
- The Commission President-designate, in discussion with the Member State governments, chooses the other Commission members.
- The new Parliament then interviews and gives its opinion on the entire "college". If approved, the new Commission can officially start work the following January.

The present Commission's term started on 22 November 2004. Its current President is *José Manuel Barroso*.

The Commission is politically answerable to **Parliament**, which has the power to dismiss it by adopting a motion of censure. The Commission attends all the sessions of the European Parliament, where the latter must clarify and justify its policies. It also replies regularly to written and oral questions posed by MEPs.

The day-to-day work of the Commission is done by its administrative officials, experts, translators, interpreters and secretarial staff. There are approximately 24,000 of these *European civil servants*. That may sound a lot, but in fact it is fewer than the number of staff employed by most medium-sized city councils in Europe.

Far from being faceless bureaucrats, these people are ordinary citizens from every EU country, selected through competitive examinations. Collectively, they are committed to building a strong and successful European Union.

The "*seat*" of the Commission is in Brussels (Belgium), but it also has offices in Luxembourg and representations in all EU countries and delegations in many capital cities around the world.

The European Commission has *four main roles*:

- proposing legislation to Parliament and the Council;
- managing and implementing EU policies and the budget;
- enforcing European law (jointly with the Court of Justice);
- representing the European Union on the international stage, for example by negotiating agreements between the EU and other countries.

Under the Treaty, the Commission has the "*right of initiative*". In other words, it is responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation. These proposals are, in turn, presented to Parliament and the Council. These

proposals must defend the interests of the Union and its citizens rather than specific countries or industries.

Before making any proposals, the Commission must be aware of new situations and problems developing in Europe. In considering whether EU legislation is the best method forward, the Commission is in constant touch with a wide range of interest groups. It is obliged to consult two advisory bodies: the *Economic and Social Committee* (made up of employers' and trade unions' representatives) and the *Committee of the Regions* (made up of representatives of local and regional authorities). It also seeks the opinions of national parliaments and governments.

The Commission proposes action at EU level only if it believes that a problem cannot be solved more efficiently by national, regional or local action. This principle of dealing with things at the lowest possible level is called the "*subsidiary principle*".

If, however, the Commission concludes that EU legislation is needed, then it drafts a proposal to effectively deal with the problem while encompassing a widest possible range of interests. To get the technical details right, the Commission consults the experts who make up its various committees and working groups.

As the *European Union's executive body*, the Commission is responsible for managing and implementing the EU budget as well as the policies and programmes adopted by Parliament and the Council. Despite the fact that most of the actual work and spending is done by national and local authorities, the Commission actually supervises the entire procedure.

One example of a policy actively managed by the Commission is competition policy. The Commission monitors cartels and mergers, and makes sure that EU countries do not subsidise their industries so much so that competition is distorted.

The Commission handles the budget under the watchful eye of the Court of Auditors. Both institutions aim to ensure good financial management. Only when it is satisfied with the Court of Auditors' annual report does the European Parliament grant the Commission discharge for implementing the budget.

The Commission acts as a “*guardian of the Treaties*”. Thus the Commission works in conjunction with the Court of Justice to ensure that EU law is properly applied in all the Member States.

If it discovers that a particular Member State is not applying an EU law, and refusing to meet its legal obligations, the Commission takes steps to put the situation right.

If this procedure fails to put things right, the Commission refers the matter to the *Court of Justice*, which has the power to impose penalties. The Court’s judgments are binding on the Member States and the European institutions.

The European Commission is an important mouthpiece for the European Union on the international stage. It enables the EU member states to *speak “with one voice”* in international forums such as the World Trade Organisation.

The Commission also has the responsibility of negotiating international agreements on behalf of the EU. One well-known example is the Cotonou Agreement, which sets out the terms of an important aid and trade partnership between the EU and developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific.

It is up to the *Commission President* to decide which commissioner will be responsible for which policy area, and to reshuffle these responsibilities (if necessary) during the Commission’s term of office. The President, with the Commission’s approval, is also entitled to demand a commissioner’s resignation.

The “*college of commissioners*” meets once a week, usually on Wednesdays in Brussels. Each item on the agenda is presented by the commissioner responsible for that policy area, and the college takes a collective decision on it.

The *Commission’s staff* is organised into departments, known as “Directorates-General” (DGs) and “services” (such as the Legal Service). Each DG is responsible for a particular policy area and is headed by a Director-General. The Director-General is answerable to one of the commissioners. The DGs devise and draft the Commission’s legislative proposals. However,

these proposals only become official when it is “adopted” by the College at its weekly meeting.

A Commission with too many members would be unworkable. Until 1 May 2004, there were 20 commissioners - two from each of the most heavily populated member states and one from each of the other EU countries. However this was altered on 1 November 2004 when the 2004-2009 Commission took office. There are now 25 commissioners – one per country. Once Bulgaria and Romania join the Union it will have 27 member states, and by extension, 27 commissioners.

V. The Council of the European Union

The Council is the EU's main decision-making body. Like the European Parliament, the Council was set up by the founding treaties in the 1950s. It represents the member states. Its meetings are attended by one minister from each of the EU's national governments.

The agenda determines the ministers attending the respective meetings. If, for example, the Council is to discuss environmental issues, the meeting will be attended by the Environment Minister from each EU country and it will be known as the "Environment Council".

The "*General Affairs and External Relations Council*" administers the EU's relations with the rest of the world. However, this Council configuration also has wider responsibility for general policy issues. Thus, its meetings are attended by whichever Minister or State Secretary each government selects.

Altogether there are nine different *Council configurations*:

- General Affairs and External Relations
- Economic and Financial Affairs ("ECOFIN")
- Justice and Home Affairs

- Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs
- Competitiveness (Internal Market, Industry and Research)
- Transport, Telecommunications and Energy
- Agriculture and Fisheries
- Environment
- Education, Youth and Culture

Each minister in the Council is empowered to act for his or her government. In other words, the minister's signature is the signature of the whole government. Moreover, each minister in the Council is answerable to his or her national parliament and to the citizens that parliament represents. This ensures the democratic legitimacy of the Council's decisions.

The Council has *six key responsibilities*:

- To pass European laws. It legislates jointly with the European Parliament in many fields.
- To coordinate the broad economic policies of the member states.
- To conclude international agreements between the EU and one or more states or international organisations.
- To jointly approve the EU's budget with the European Parliament.
- To develop the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) according to the European Council guidelines.
- To coordinate cooperation between the national courts and police forces in criminal matters.

Much *EU legislation* is adopted jointly by the Council and Parliament. As a rule, the Council only acts on a proposal from the Commission. The

Commission is normally responsible for ensuring that EU legislation, once adopted, is correctly applied.

The EU countries have decided that they want an overall economic policy based on close coordination between their national economic policies. This coordination is carried out by the economics and finance ministers, who collectively form the Economic and Financial Affairs ("ECOFIN") Council.

Each year, the Council "concludes" a number of agreements between the European Union and non-EU countries, as well as with international organisations. These agreements often cover broad areas such as trade, cooperation and development. Alternatively, it also deals with specific subjects such as textiles, fisheries, science and technology, and transport.

In addition, the Council may conclude conventions between the EU member states in fields such as taxation, company law or consular protection. Conventions can also deal with cooperation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs.

The *EU's annual budget* is decided jointly by the Council and the European Parliament. If the two institutions do not agree, the rules allow the Council to take the final decision on "compulsory expenditure" (mainly agricultural expenditure, and expenses arising from international agreements with non-EU countries), while Parliament has the last word on "non-compulsory" expenditure and the final approval of the budget as a whole.

The member states are developing a *Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)*. But foreign policy, security and defence are matters over which the individual EU member states retain independent control. They have not pooled their national sovereignty in these areas, so the European Parliament and the European Commission are able to play only a limited role. However, the EU countries have much to gain by working together on these issues, and the Council is the main forum in which this "inter-governmental co-operation" takes place.

To enable the EU to respond more effectively to international crises, the European Council (at the Helsinki summit meeting in December 1999) decided that the EU would create a "Rapid Reaction Force" of up to 60,000 military personnel that could be deployed within 60 days and kept in operation for at least a year.

New *permanent political and military structures* were established within the Council of the European Union by the European Council (Nice, December 2000) so as to provide political control and strategic direction in a crisis.

These new structures are:

- the Political and Security Committee (PSC)
- the European Union Military Committee (EUMC) and
- the European Union Military Staff (EUMS), composed of military experts seconded to the Council Secretariat by the member states.

In the area of *Justice and Home Affairs* closer cooperation is very important. Drugs, terrorism, international fraud, trafficking in human beings and the sexual exploitation of children are of great concern to European citizens. Cross-border cooperation is needed if these cross-border criminal activities are to be effectively tackled. If Europe is to do so, and give all its citizens equal access to civil justice throughout the EU, then the national courts, police forces, customs officers and immigration services of all EU countries have to work together.

They have to ensure, for example,

- that a court judgement delivered in one EU country in a divorce or child custody case is recognised in all other EU countries;
- that the EU's external borders are effectively policed;
- that customs officers and police exchange information on the movements of suspected drugs traffickers or people smugglers;
- that asylum seekers are assessed and treated in the same way throughout the EU, so as to prevent "asylum shopping".

Issues such as these, collectively known as "Justice and Home Affairs" (JHA), are dealt with by the Ministers for Justice and of the Interior, for they act collectively as the Justice and Home Affairs Council.

For the Council's work each EU member state has a permanent team in Brussels ("*representation*") that represents it and defends its national interest at EU level. The head of each representation is, in effect, his or her country's ambassador to the EU.

These ambassadors (known as "permanent representatives") meet weekly within the Permanent Representatives Committee (COREPER). The role of this committee is to prepare the work of the Council, with the exception of agricultural issues, which are handled by the Special Committee on Agriculture. COREPER is assisted by a number of working groups, made up of officials from the national administrations.

The *Presidency of the Council* rotates every six months. In other words, each EU country takes turns to be in charge of the Council agenda and chairs all the meetings for a six-month period, promoting legislative and political decisions and brokering compromises between the member states.

The Presidency is assisted by the *General Secretariat*, who prepares and ensures the smooth functioning of the Council's work at all levels.

In 1999, *Mr Javier Solana* was appointed Secretary-General of the Council. He is also High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and in this capacity he helps to coordinate the EU's action on the world stage. Under the new constitutional treaty, the High Representative would be replaced by an EU Foreign Affairs Minister.

The Secretary-General is assisted by a Deputy Secretary-General. Together, they manage the General Secretariat.

Council decisions are taken by vote. The bigger the country's population, the more votes it has. But the number is not strictly proportional: it is adjusted in favour of the less populous countries.

From 1 November 2004, the number of votes each country can cast (including the new member states) is as follows:

Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom	29
Spain and Poland	27
Netherlands	13
Belgium, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary and Portugal	12
Austria and Sweden	10
Denmark, Ireland, Lithuania, Slovakia and Finland	7
Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg and Slovenia	4
Malta	3
TOTAL	321

The most common voting procedure in Council is "qualified majority voting" (QMV). This means that, for a proposal to be adopted, it needs the support of a specified minimum number of votes.

However, in some particularly sensitive areas such as CFSP, taxation, asylum and immigration policy, Council decisions have to be unanimous. In other words, each member state has the power of veto in these areas.

Unanimous agreement is already hard to achieve between 15 countries. In an enlarged Union of 27 or more, it will be virtually impossible. If it kept trying to operate under its present rules, the EU would be paralysed - unable to act in many important fields. So the Treaty of Nice changes the rules, allowing the Council to take decisions by qualified majority voting in quite a number of areas that used to require unanimity.

Until 1 May 2004, the minimum number of votes required to reach a qualified majority is 62 out of the total of 87 (i.e. 71.3%). For a six month period from 1 May 2004, when new member states join the EU, transitional arrangements apply.

From 1 November 2004, a qualified majority has been reached

- if a majority of member states (in some cases a two-thirds majority) approve and
- if a minimum of votes is cast in favour - which is 72.3% of the total (roughly the same share as under the previous system).

In addition, a member state may ask for confirmation that the votes in favour represent at least 62% of the total population of the Union. If this is found not to be the case, the decision will not be adopted.



ANNEX

Institutions, Positions, Names, Addresses



I. European Parliament

Brussels

Rue Wiertz
B-1049 Brussels

Wiertzstraat
B-1047 Brussels
Tel.: +32-2-284 21 11 / +32-2-28 + extension
Fax: +32-2-284 69 74 / +32-2-230 69 33
Homepage: www.europarl.eu.int

Luxembourg

Plateau du Kirchberg
B.P. 1601
L-2949 Luxembourg
Tel.: +352-43 00-1 / +352-43 00 + extension
Fax: +352-43 00 294 94 / +352-43 00 293 93 / +352-43 00 292 92
Homepage: www.europarl.eu.int

Strasbourg

Allée dur Printemps
B.P. 1024/F
F-67070 Strasbourg Cedex
Tel.: +33-0-3 88 17 40 01 / +33-0-3 88 1 + extension
Fax: +33-0-3 88 25 65 01
Homepage: www.europarl.eu.int

European Parliament Information Offices

Berlin

Unter den Linden 78
D-10117 Berlin
Tel.: +49-(0)30-2280-1000
Fax: +49-(0)30-2280-1111
E-Mail: epberlin@europarl.eu.int
Homepage: www.europarl.de

München
 Erhardtstr. 27
 D-80331 München
 Tel.: +49-(0)89-202 0879-0
 Fax: +49-(0)89-202 0879-73
 E-Mail: epmuenchen@europarl.eu.int

1. Parliament's Bureau

BORRELL FONTELLES, Josep	President	PSE
VIDAL-QUADRAS ROCA, Alejo	Vice-President	PPE-DE
TRAKATELLIS, Antonios,	Vice-President	PPE-DE
ROTH-BEHRENDT, Dagmar	Vice-President	PSE
McMILLAN-SCOTT, Edward	Vice-President	PPE-DE
FRIEDRICH, Ingo	Vice-President	PPE-DE
MAURO, Mari	Vice-President	PPE-DE
COSTA, António	Vice-President	PSE
DOS SANTOS, Manuel António	Vice-President	PSE
COCILOVO, Luigi	Vice-President	ALDE
SARYUSZ-WOLSKI, Jacek Emil	Vice-President	PPE-DE
MOSCOVICI, Pierre	Vice-President	PSE
OUZKY, Miroslav	Vice-President	PPE-DE
ONYSZKIEWICZ, Janusz	Vice-President	ALDE
ONESTA, Gérard	Vice-President	VERTS/ALE
KAUFMANN, Sylvia-Yvonne	Vice-President	GUE/NGL
NICHOLSON, James	Quaestor	PPE-DE
GRABOWSKA, Genowefa	Quaestor	PSE
DE VITS, Mía	Quaestor	PSE
QUISTHOUDT-ROWOHL, Godelieve	Quaestor	PPE-DE
LULLING, Astrid	Quaestor	PPE-DE

2. *Conference of Presidents*

BORRELL FONTELLES, Josep	President	PSE
POETTERING, Hans-Gert	Member	PPE-DE
SCHULZ, Martin	Member	PSE
WATSON, Graham	Member	ALDE
FRASSONI, Monica	Member	Verts/ALE
COHN-BENDIT, Daniel Marc	Member	Verts/ALE
WURTZ, Francis	Member	GUE/NGL
BONDE, Jens-Peter	Member	IND/DEM
FARAGE, Nigel	Member	IND/DEM
CROWLEY, Brian	Member	UEN
MUSCARDINI, Cristiana	Member	UEN
BELOHORSKÁ, Irena	Member	NI
CLAEYS, Philip	Member	NI

3. Parliamentary Committees

Parliamentary Committees: Internal Policies

- on Budgets
- on Budgetary Control
- on Economic and Monetary Affairs
- on Employment and Social Affairs
- on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety
- on Industry, Research and Energy
- on Internal Market and Consumer Protection
- on Transport and Tourism
- on Regional Development
- on Agriculture and Rural Development
- on Fisheries
- on Culture and Education
- on Legal Affairs
- on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs
- on Constitutional Affairs
- on Women's Rights and Gender Equality
- on Petitions

Parliamentary Committees: External Policies

- on Foreign Affairs
- Subcommittee on Human Rights
- Subcommittee on Security and Defence
- on Development
- on International Trade

Temporary Committees

- Temporary committee on policy challenges and budgetary means of the enlarged Union 2007-2013

Other

- Collapse of the Equitable Life Assurance Society
- Alleged use of European countries by the CIA for the transport and illegal detention of prisoners

4. Chairmen/Chairwomen of the Committees

European Parliament
 60, rue Wiertz / Wiertzstraat 60
 B-1047 Brussels

Committee of Budgets	Chairman	Janusz Lewandowski Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 05F365 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5742 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9742 E-Mail: jlewandowski@europarl.eu.int
<hr/>		
Committee on Budgetary Control	Chairman	Szabolcs Fazakas Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 13G102 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5818 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9818 E-Mail: sfazakas@europarl.eu.int
<hr/>		
Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs	Chairwoman	Pervenche Berès Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 14G206 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5777 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9777 E-Mail: pberes@europarl.eu.int

ASEAN and the European Union

Committee on Employment and Social Affairs	Chairman	Jan Andersson Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 14G306 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5554 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9554 E-Mail: jandersson@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety	Chairman	Karl-Heinz Florenz Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 15E206 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5320 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9320 E-Mail: kflorenz@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Industry, Research and Energy	Chairman	Giles Chichester Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 14E261 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5296 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9296 E-Mail: gchichester@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Internal Market and Consumer Protection	Chairman	Arlene McCarthy Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 13G218 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5501 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9501 E-Mail: amccarthy@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Transport and Tourism	Chairman	Paolo Costa Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 09G305 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5537 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9537 E-Mail: pcosta@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Regional Development	Chairman	Gerardo Galeote Quecedo Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 11E102 Tél.: +32 (0)2 284 5892 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9892 E-Mail: ggaleote@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Agriculture	Chairman	Joseph Daul Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 13E261 Tél.: +32 (0)2 284 5525 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9525 E-Mail: jdaul@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Fisheries	Chairman	Philippe Morillon Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 09G205 Tél.: +32 (0)2 284 5506 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9506 E-Mail: pmorillon@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Culture and Education	Chairman	Nikolaos Sifunakis Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 11G208 Tél.: +32 (0)2 284 5290 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9290 E-Mail: nsifunakis@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Legal Affairs	Chairman	Giuseppe Gargani Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 09E206 Tél.: +32 (0)2 284 5168 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9168 E-Mail: ggargani@europarl.eu.int
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ASEAN and the European Union

Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs	Chairman	Jean-Marie Cavada Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 09G206 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5367 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9367 E-Mail: jmcavada@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Constitutional Affairs	Chairman	Jo Leinen Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 12G205 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5842 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9842 E-Mail: jleinen@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality	Chairwoman	Anna Záborská Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 09E205 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5923 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9923 E-Mail: azaborska@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Petitions	Chairman	Marcin Libicki Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 04F158 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5934 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9934 E-Mail: mllibicki@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Foreign Affairs	Chairman	Elmar Brok Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 10E130 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5323 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9323 E-Mail: ebrok@europarl.eu.int
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Subcommittee on Human Rights	Chairwoman	Hélène Flautre Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 08G130 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5364 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9364 E-Mail: hflautre@europarl.eu.int
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Subcommittee on Security and Defense	Chairman	Karl von Wogau Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 10E206 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5301 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9301 E-Mail: kwogau@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on Development	Chairwoman	Luisa Morgantini Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 06F158 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5151 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9151 E-Mail: lmorgantini@europarl.eu.int
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Committee on International Trade	Chairman	Enrique Barón Crespo Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 11G306 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5490 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9490 E-Mail: ebaroncrespo@europarl.eu.int
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Temporary committee on policy challenges and budgetary means of the enlarged Union 2007-2013	Chairman	Josep Borrell Fontelles Bât. Paul-Henri Spaak, 11B011 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5341 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9341 E-Mail: jborrell@europarl.eu.int
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Collapse of the Equitable
Life Assurance Society

Chairwoman

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Alleged use of European
countries by the CIA for the
transport and illegal
detention of prisoners

Chairman

Carlos Coelho

Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 08E146

Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5551

Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9551

E-Mail: ccoelho@europarl.eu.int

5. German Committee Members of the EPP-ED-Group

Committee	Member	Substitute
Committee on Foreign Affairs	Brok, Chairman	Gahler
	Gomolka	Jarzemowski
	Posselt	Konrad
	von Wogau	Lauk
		Pack
		Pöttering
Subcommittee on Human Rights	Gahler	Posselt
Subcommittee on Security and Defense	von Wogau, Chairman	Konrad
		Radwan
Committee on Development	Gahler, 2. Vice Chairman	Quisthoudt-Rowohl
	Posdorf	Schnellhardt
	Schröder	
Committee on International Trade	Caspary	Böge
	Quisthoudt-Rowohl	Deß
Committee on Budgets	Böge, 3. Vice Chairman	Gomolka
	Ferber	Klamt
	Gräßle	
Committee on Budgetary Control	Ferber	Caspary
	Gräßle	

ASEAN and the European Union

Committee	Ehler	Langen
on Economic and	Hoppenstedt	Lehne
Monetary Affairs	Konrad	Mann
	Lauk	Schwab
	Radwan, Coordinator	von Wogau

Committee	Mann, 3. Vice Chairman	Hieronymi
on Employment and		Koch
Social Affairs		Stauner
		Weisgerber

Committee	Florenz, Chairman	Hoppenstedt
on the Environment,	Klaß	Sommer
Public Health and	Liese	
Food Safety	Schnellhardt	
	Ulmer	
	Weisgerber	

Committee	Langen	Caspary
on Industry, Research	Niebler	Ehler
and Energy	Reul	Liese

Committee	Lechner	Nassauer
on Internal Market and	Schwab, Vice Coordinator	Niebler
Consumer Protection		Posdorf
		Weisgerber

Committee on Transport and Tourism	Gewalt Jarzembowski, Coordinator Koch Sommer	Ferber Jeggle
Committee on Regional Development	Berend, Vice Coordinator Pieper	Florenz Schröder Ulmer Weber
Committee on Agriculture	Deß Goepel, Coordinator Jeggle	Klaß Mayer Pieper
Committee on Fisheries	Gomolka Jarzembowski	Böge Klamt
Committee on Culture and Education	Hieronymi Pack, Coordinator	Berend Gräßle Posselt
Committee on Legal Affairs	Lechner Lehne, Coordinator Mayer Stauner Wieland, 2. Vice Chairman	Gewalt Radwan
Committee on Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs	Klamt Nassauer Weber	Goepel Reul Wieland

ASEAN and the European Union

Committee	Friedrich	Brok
on Constitutional	Pöttering	Radwan
Affairs		

Committee	Niebler	Jeggle
on Women's Rights and	Pack	Klaß
Gender Equality		

Committee	Schwab	
on Petitions	Wieland, Vice Coordinator	

6. Inter-parliamentary Delegations

EUROPE

Joint Parliamentary Committees (JPC)

- Bulgaria
- Croatia
- Delegation for relations with Switzerland, Iceland and Norway and to the European Economic Area (EEA) + Switzerland, Iceland, Norway (SIN)
- EU-Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)
- Romania
- Turkey

Parliamentary Cooperation Committees (PCC)

- Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia
- Moldova
- Russia
- Ukraine

Inter-parliamentary Delegations

- Delegation for relations with the countries of south-east Europe
- Belarus

OUTSIDE EUROPE

Inter-parliamentary Delegations

- Israel
- the Maghreb countries and the Arab Maghreb Union (including Libya)

- the Gulf states (including Yemen)
- the United States
- the countries of Central America
- Mercosur
- the People's Republic of China
- the countries of South-east Asia and the ASEAN
- Australia and New Zealand
- the Palestinian Legislative Council
- the Mashreq countries
- Iran
- Canada
- the countries of the Andean Community
- Japan
- the countries of South Asia and the SAARC
- the Korean Peninsula
- South Africa

Joint Parliamentary Committees

- Chile
- Mexico

Parliamentary Cooperation Committees

- Delegation to the EU-Kazakhstan, EU-Kyrgyzstan, EU-Uzbekistan, EU-Tajikistan, EU-Turkmenistan and EU-Mongolia, Parliamentary Cooperation

Other

Delegations for relations with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly

7. Chairmen/Chairwomen of the Inter-parliamentary Delegations

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Delegation for relations with Switzerland, Iceland and Norway and to the European Economic Area (EEA) + Switzerland, Iceland, Norway (SIN)	Chairwoman	Diana Wallis Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 10G205 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5201 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9201 E-Mail: dwallis@europarl.eu.int
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Chile	Chairman	André Brie Bât. Altiero Spinelli, 06F343 Tel.: +32 (0)2 284 5403 Fax: +32 (0)2 284 9403 E-Mail: abrie@europarl.eu.int

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8. *German Members of the EPP-ED-Group in the Inter-parliamentary Delegations*

Delegation	Member	Substitute
Romania	Koch Konrad	Wieland
Bulgaria	Lechner Weber	Gomolka
Delegation for relations with the countries of south-east Europe	Pack, Chairwoman	Koch Posselt
Croatia	Posselt	Pack
EU-Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)	Koch	Goepel Mayer
Turkey	Langen Sommer, 3. Vice Chairwoman	Weber
Delegation for relations with Switzerland, Iceland and Norway and to the European Economic Area (EEA) + Switzerland, Iceland, Norway (SIN)	Goepel	Schwab Ulmer
Russia	Lehne	Stauner Weber
Ukraine		Gomolka Stauner
Moldova	Gomolka	Schnellhardt
Belarus	Gomolka	Berend
Committees, and Delegation for relations with Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Mongolia	Jeggle	Caspary Schnellhardt
Armenia, Azerbaijan and EU-Georgia	Stauner	Jeggle

ASEAN and the European Union

Israel	Ferber	Reul
Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)	Caspary	Hieronymi
the Maghreb countries and the Arab Maghreb Union (including Libya)	Pieper	Sommer
the Mashreq countries	Radwan, 1. Vice Chairman	Caspary
the Gulf states, including Yemen	Niebler	
Iran	Friedrich	Gahler Lauk
the United States	Brok Lauk	Ehler Quisthoudt-Rowohl
Canada	Hieronymi	Böge
the countries of Central America	Liese	Schröder
Mexico	Schröder, 1. Vice Chairman	Liese
the countries of the Andean Community	Florenz Gräßle	Hoppenstedt
Mercosur	Deß	Florenz Nassauer
Chile	Klaß, 3. Vice Chairwoman	Weisgerber
Japan	Jarzembowski, Chairman	Lehne
the People's Republic of China	Hoppenstedt Reul	Langen Radwan
the countries of South Asia and the SAARC	Ehler Mann	Klamt Nassauer
the countries of South-east Asia and the ASEAN	Nassauer, Chairman	Pöttering Posdorf von Wogau

the Korean Peninsula	Jarzebowski Quisthoudt-Rowohl Ulmer	Mayer
Australia and Newzealand	Böge Klamt	Pieper
South Africa	Gewalt	Gahler Niebler
ACP	Berend Gahler, 1. Vice Chariman Mayer Schnellhardt Schröder Wieland	Deß Gewalt Gräßle Klaß Posdorf Quisthoudt-Rowohl Schwab Ulmer
EUROMED	Weisgerber	Ferber Friedrich Langen Lechner Radwan Schwab Sommer
NATO	von Wogau	Konrad

9. Members of the European Parliament by political group and country

6 th term 2004 - 2009									
	PPE-DE	PSE	ALDE	Verts/ ALE	GUE/ NGL	IND/ DEM	UEN	NI	Total
Belgium	6	7	6	2				3	24
Czech Republic	14	2			6	1		1	24
Denmark	1	5	4	1	1	1	1		14
Germany	49	23	7	13	7				99
Estonia	1	3	2						6
Greece	11	8			4	1			24
Spain	24	24	2	3	1				54
France	17	31	11	6	3	3		7	78
Ireland	5	1	1		1	1	4		13
Italy	24	15	12	2	7	7	9	5	78
Cyprus	3		1		2				6
Latvia	3		1	1			4		9
Lithuania	2	2	7				2		13
Luxembourg	3	1	1	1					6
Hungary	13	9	2						24
Malta	2	3							5
Netherlands	7	7	5	4	2	2			27
Austria	6	7	1	2				2	18
Poland	16	10	4			7	10	7	54
Portugal	9	12			3				24
Slovenia	4	1	2						7
Slovakia	8	3						3	14
Finland	4	3	5	1	1				14
Sweden	5	5	3	1	2	3			19
UK	27	19	12	5	1	10		4	78
Total	263	201	89	42	41	29	30	37	732

Situation as at 2nd May 2006

(*) Political groups:

PPE-DE	Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats
PSE	Socialist Group in the European Parliament
ALDE	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
Verts/ALE	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
GUE/NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left
IND/DEM	Independence/Democracy Group
UEN	Union for Europe of the Nations Group
NI	Non-attached Members

10. Secretary-General

PRIESTLEY Julian

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II. Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats

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United Kingdom	27 Members	Timothy Kirkhope
Italy	24 Members	Antonio Tajani Armando Dionisi
Spain	24 Members	Jaime Mayor Oreja
France	17 Members	Margie Sudre
Poland	16 Members	Jacek Saryusz-Wolski
Czech Republic	14 Members	Jan Zahradil
Hungary	13 Members	Józef Szájer
Greece	11 Members	Ioannis Varvitsiotis
Portugal	9 Members	Carlos Coelho Luís Queiró
Slovakia	8 Members	Peter Stáštny
Netherlands	7 Members	Camiel Eurlings
Austria	6 Members	Othmar Karras
Belgium	6 Members	Mathieu Grosch
Ireland	5 Members	Avril Doyle
Sweden	5 Members	Gunnar Hökmark
Finland	4 Members	Piia-Noora Kauppi
Slovenia	4 Members	Alojz Peterle
Cyprus	3 Members	Ioannis Kasoulides
Latvia	3 Members	Valdis Dombrovskis
Luxembourg	3 Members	Jean Spautz
Lithuania	2 Members	Vytautas Landsbergis
Malta	2 Members	Simon Busuttil
Denmark	1 Member	Gitte Seeberg
Estonia	1 Member	Tunne Kelam
Romania	9 Observers	Marian Jean Marinescu
Bulgaria	4 Observers	Maria Vassileva Cappone

13. EPP-ED-Group Coordinators in the Parliamentary Committees

Committee on Foreign Affairs	José Ignacio Salafranca
Committee on Development	Maria Martens Nirj Deva
Committee on International Trade	Robert W. Strudy
Committee on Budgets	Salvador Garriga Polledo
Committee on Budgetary Control	José J. Pomés Ruiz
Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs	Alexander Radwan
Committee on Employment and Social Affairs	Ria Oomen-Ruijten
Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety	John Bowis
Committee on Industry, Research and Energy	Paul Rübig
Committee on Internal Market and Consumer Protection	Malcolm Harbour
Committee on Transport and Tourism	Georg Jarzembowski
Committee on Regional Development	Konstantinos Hatzidakis
Committee on Agriculture	Lutz Goepel
Committee on Fisheries	Carmen Fraga Estévez
Committee on Culture and Education	Doris Pack
Committee on Legal Affairs	Klaus-Heiner Lehne
Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs	Ewa Klamt
Committee on Constitutional Affairs	Inigo Mendez de Vigo
Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality	Amalia Sartori
Committee on Petitions	Robert Atkins
Subcommittee on Security and Defense	Georgos Dimitrakopoulos
Subcommittee on Human Rights	Simon Coveney

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Böge, Reimer (Vice-Chairman)

Goepel, Dr. Lutz (Vice-Chairman, Treasurer)

Liese, Dr. Peter (Vice-Chairman)

Pack, Doris (Vice-Chairwoman)

Jeggle, Elisabeth (Vice-Chairwoman)

Niebler, Dr. Angelika (Whip)

Langen, Dr. Werner (Whip)

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VII. The History of the European Union

49. Stage of Integration

War and Peace

For centuries, Europe was the scene of frequent and bloody wars. Between 1870 and 1945, France and Germany fought each other three times, with terrible losses of life. A number of European leaders became convinced that the only way to secure a lasting peace between their countries was to unite them economically and politically.

So, in 1950, in a speech inspired by Jean Monnet, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed integrating the coal and steel industries of Western Europe. As a result, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in 1951 with six members: Belgium, West Germany, Luxembourg, France, Italy and the Netherlands. The power to make decisions about the coal and steel industry in these countries was placed in the hands of an independent, supranational body called the "High Authority". Jean Monnet was its first President.

From three communities to the European Union

The ECSC was such a success that, within a few years, these same six countries decided to further integrate the other sectors of their economies. In 1957, they signed the Treaties of Rome, creating the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC). The member states then set about removing trade barriers between them and forming a "common market".

In 1967, the institutions of the three European communities were merged. From this point on, there was a single Commission and a single Council of Ministers as well as the European Parliament.

Originally, the members of the European Parliament were chosen by the national parliaments, but in 1979, the first direct elections were held. Citizens of the member states were allowed to vote for the candidate of their choice. Since then, direct elections have been held every five years.

The Treaty of Maastricht (1992) introduced new forms of cooperation between the member state governments in the areas of defence and "justice and home affairs". With this system of inter-governmental cooperation, the Maastricht Treaty created the European Union (EU).

Integration means common policies

Economic and political integration between the member states of the European Union means that these countries have to take joint decisions on many matters. Thus, they have developed common policies in a very wide range of fields ranging from agriculture to culture, consumer affairs, competition, environment, energy, transport and trade.

In the early days, the focus was on a common commercial policy for coal and steel and a common agricultural policy. Other policies were added as when and the need arose. Some key policy aims have changed in the light of changing circumstances. For example, the aim of the agricultural policy is no longer to produce as much food as cheaply as possible but to support farming methods producing healthy, high-quality food while protecting the environment. The need for environmental protection is now taken into account across the whole range of EU policies.

The European Union's relations with the rest of the world have also become important. The EU negotiates major trade and aid agreements with other countries and is developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy.

The Single Market: banning the barriers

It took some time for the Member States to remove all the barriers to trade between them and to turn their "common market" into a genuine single market where goods, services, people and capital could move freely. Although the Single Market was formally completed at the end of 1992, there is still work to be done in some areas. There is still a real need to create a genuinely single market in financial services.

During the 1990s, it became increasingly easy for people to move around in Europe, as passport and customs checks were abolished at most of the EU's internal borders. One consequence is greater mobility for EU citizens. Since 1987, more than a million young Europeans have taken study courses abroad, with support from the EU.

The Single Currency: the euro in your pocket

In 1992, the EU decided to form an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), involving the introduction of a single European currency managed by a European Central Bank. The single currency, the euro, became a reality on 1 January 2002, when euro notes and coins replaced national currencies in twelve of the 15 countries of the European Union (Belgium, Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal and Finland).

The growing family

The EU has grown in size with successive waves of accessions. Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined in 1973, followed by Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986 and Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. The European Union welcomed ten new countries in 2004: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Bulgaria and Romania expect to follow in 2007. Croatia is set to follow. Turkey has begun membership negotiations in 2005. A streamlined decision-making system is needed to ensure the continued efficiency of the enlarged EU. The Treaty of Nice sought to address these issues by laying down new rules on the size of the EU institutions and the way they work. It came into force on 1 February 2003.

50. *European Integration-Key Dates Events*

Date	Event
May 9, 1950	Robert Schuman proposes pooling Europe's coal and steel industries.
April 18, 1951	European Coal and Steel Community (WCSC) Treaty signed in Paris.
March 15, 1957	European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) Treaties signed in Rome.
April 8, 1965	Treaty merging the institutions of the three European Communities signed.
July 1, 1968	Customs union completed
January 1, 1973	Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the Community.
March 13, 1979	European Monetary System (EMS) becomes operational.
January 1, 1981	Greece joins the European Community.
June 29, 1985	European Council endorses "White Paper" plan to complete single market by end 1992.
January 1, 1986	Spain and Portugal join the Community.
July 1, 1987	Single European Act (SEA) enters into force.
June 26-27, 1989	Madrid European Council endorses plan for Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).
October 3, 1990	The five federal states of the former German Democratic Republic enter the Community as part of a united Germany.
October 21, 1991	European Community and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) agree to form the European Economic Area (EEA).

ASEAN and the European Union

December 11, 1991	Maastricht European Council agrees on Treaty on European Union.
December 16, 1991	Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia sign first Europe Agreements on trade and political cooperation.
January 1, 1993	Establishment of European Single Market.
November 1, 1993	Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) enters into force
January 1, 1995	Austria, Finland, and Sweden join the European Union.
June 17, 1997	Treaty of Amsterdam is concluded.
March 12, 1998	European conference in London launches Europe-wide consultations on issues related to Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Justice and Home Affairs (JHA).
March 30-31, 1998	EU opens membership negotiations with Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.
May 2, 1998	Eleven EU member states qualify to launch the euro on January 1, 1999.
June 1, 1998	European Central Bank (ECB) inaugurated in Frankfurt, Germany.
January 1, 1999	EMU and euro launched in eleven EU countries.
May 1, 1999	Treaty of Amsterdam enters into force.
December 1999	European Council meeting in Helsinki decides to open accession negotiations with Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta Romania, and the Slovak Republic and to recognize Turkey as a candidate country.

December 2000	European Council agrees on Treaty of Nice.
February 26, 2001	EU leaders formally proclaim the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. Regulation adopted establishing the Rapid Reaction Force.
January-February 2002	The Euro becomes legal tender and permanently replaces national currencies in EMU countries.
December 12-13, 2002	The European Council announces that Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia will become EU members by May 1, 2004.
February 1, 2003	The Treaty of Nice enters into force.
April 16, 2003	Treaty of Accession (2003) is signed in Athens, Greece.
May 1, 2004	Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, and Slovenia become EU Member States.

VIII. Board of Directors of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

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- Degree in law, with honours, from the Law Faculty of the University of Lisbon.
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- Internships and short courses at Columbia University (New York), Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.), the International University Institute (Luxembourg) and the European University Institute (Florence).
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Political career

- President of the Academic Association of the Law Faculty, University of Lisbon (1975-1976).

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- Prime Minister in the XV Constitutional Government since April 2002.
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- Member of various informal advisory groups to the Secretary General of the United Nations, including the Secretary General's Resource Group on the Democratic Republic of Congo.
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- President of the EU-Commission since 2004

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- 1994: Chief of Protocol of the United Nations in the Executive Office of the UN under Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.
- 4 May 1995: first female State Secretary in the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the governments Vranitzky and Klima.
- February 2000 - November 2004: first female Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria.
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- Federal Cross of Merit, first class (1991).

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- Academic employee (1976-1979).
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- Visiting professor (1995).

- European affairs spokesman of the Junge Union of Lower Saxony (1974-1980).
- Chairman of Osnabrück district CDU (since 1990).
- Chairman of the Lower Saxony Europa-Union (1981-1991).
- President of Europa-Union Deutschland (1997-1999).
- Chairman of the group of the European People's Party in the European Parliament (since 1999).
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- Member of the European Parliament (1979 – 1999)
- President of the EP-Delegation for ASEAN, South-East-Asia and South Korea (1979 – 1999)
- Member of the EP-Committee of Foreign Affairs (1989 – 1999)
- Chairman of the CDU/CSU-Group in the EP (1989 – 1999)
- President of the EP-Conference of Delegation Chairmen (responsible for the inter-parliamentary and international relations of the European Parliament) (1989 – 1999)
- President of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1995 – 2001)
- Numerous publications (including 25 books)

SCHÜSSEL, Dr. Wolfgang

Postal Address

Bundeskanzleramt
Ballhausplatz 2
A - 1014 Wien
Austria

Wolfgang Schüssel was born in Vienna on 7 June 1945. Following his elementary schooling, he attended a well-known classical grammar school in Vienna (the "Schottengymnasium") where he took his secondary school leaving certificate in 1963. He went on to study at Vienna University and received a Doctorate in Law in 1968.

Schüssel was secretary of the parliamentary group of the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) from 1968 to 1975. From 1975 to April 1991, he was Secretary General of the Austrian Business Federation, a sub-organisation of the People's Party.

On 24 April 1989, Schüssel became Minister for Economic Affairs in the coalition government formed by the Austrian Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) and the People's Party under Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

At the 30th Party Congress of the ÖVP, Schüssel was elected national leader of the Party on 22 April 1995.

On 4 May 1995, Wolfgang Schüssel was sworn in as Vice-Chancellor and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs in Franz Vranitzky's fourth government. He held the same posts in Chancellor Vranitzky's fifth government.

In Chancellor Klima's first government, from 28 January 1997 to 4 February 2000, Schüssel was again Vice-Chancellor and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs.

On 4 February 2000, Wolfgang Schüssel was sworn in as Federal Chancellor. On 28 February 2003, he was sworn in as Federal Chancellor again.

Schüssel succeeded Tony Blair on 1st January 2006 as the President of the Council of the European Union.

VOGEL, Prof. Dr. Bernhard

Postal Address

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Tiergartenstraße 35
10785 Berlin

- Born in Göttingen on 19th December 1932
- Studied political sciences, history, sociology and economics at the Universities of Heidelberg and Munich

1960	Award of a doctorate degree (Dr.phil.)
1976	Award of the Grand Cross First Class of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany
2002	Award of an Honorary Doctorate Degree of the Catholic University of America in Washington

- 2003 Award of an Honorary Doctorate Degree of the University of Lublin
- 2003 Honorary Professor Degree awarded by the Prime Minister of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg
- 2004 Honorary Doctorate Degree awarded by the Senate of the German College for Administrative Sciences in Speyer

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- 1961-1967 Junior lecturer at the Institute for Political Sciences at the University of Heidelberg
- 1963-1965 Member of the local Parliament of Heidelberg
- 1965-1967 Member of Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany
- 1967-1976 Minister for Education and Culture of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate
- 1970-1976 Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively of the Joint Commission of the Federal and State Governments for Education Planning and Research Development (BLK)
- 1971-1988 Member of Parliament of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate
- 1972-1976 President of the Central Committee of German Catholics
- 1974-1988 Party Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in the State of Rhineland-Palatinate
- Since 1975 Member of the Federal Council of the CDU
- 1976-1988 Prime Minister of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate
- 1976/77 and 1987/88 Speaker of the Upper House of the German Parliament (Bundesrat)
- 1979-1982 Representative for Cultural Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany within the framework of the Agreement on German-French Cooperation
- Since 1979 Chairman, since 1992 Deputy Chairman of the Board of Directors of German Television Broadcasting/Second Channel (ZDF)
- 1981/82 and 1996/97 Chairman of the Conference of State Prime Ministers
- 1989-1995 Chairman of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

1992-2003	Prime Minister of the State of Thuringia
1993-2000	Party Chairman of the CDU in the State of Thuringia
1994-2004	Member of the State Parliament of Thuringia
Since 2001	Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation

WAHLERS, Dr. Gerhard

Postal Address

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Klingelhöfer Straße 23
10785 Berlin

Born November 22, 1959 in Münster/Germany

1969-1978	High school in Borghorst
1978	Abitur (university entrance qualification)
1978-1980	Military Service: temporary career volunteer / medical service
1982	4-week reserve training, with subsequent promotion to Lieutenant
1980	Studied social sciences and history (for high school teaching) at the Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität in Münster.
1984	Studied History, Sociology, and Political Science
1986-1988	Research studies in Latin America with funding from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Primarily stayed in Venezuela, as well as Columbia, the Dominican Republic, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.

1988	Scholarship from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
1989	Ph.D. in philosophy at the philosophic faculty of the Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität in Münster.
March 1990	Joined the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) Advisor in the International Cooperation Division
1994-1997	Head of the KAS office in Jerusalem/Israel
1997-2003	Head of the KAS office in Washington/USA
Since May 2003	Head of the International Division of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation headquarter in Berlin

von WOGAU, Dr. Karl

European Parliament, Member
Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European
Democrats, Member of the Bureau
Committee on Foreign Affairs, Member
Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs, Substitute
Subcommittee on Security and Defence, Chairman
Delegation for relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and the Association
of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Substitute
Delegation for relations with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Member

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- Born on 18/07/1941, Freiburg
- First state law examination (1966).
- Second state law examination (1970).
- INSEAD diploma (1971). Doctorate (1973).
- Managerial post in a large firm in Basle (1971-1984).
- Lawyer (since 1984).
- District Chairman of the Junge Union (1966-1970).
- Member of the Federal Executive Committee of the CDU/CSU Small Businesses Association (1983-1989).
- Federal order of merit, first class (1996).



