
GERMANY - Mise à jour 3

On the 9th of July 1999 the Ministers of Foreign Affairs from Germany, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were meeting to exchange views, and produced a common statement.¹

They all agreed that all the applicant countries, which fulfil the Copenhagen criteria, should be invited to begin **substantive accession negotiations**. The importance of the **Northern Dimension** was also mentioned and stressed that this co-operation was to continue as a long-term strategic Baltic Sea region co-operation.

During the past years, bilateral **economic progress** was welcomed by all the ministers, but also stressed that the environment, for private economic activities, should be improved. For that purpose the Council of Baltic Sea States, Baltic Sea Chambers and Commerce Association could be helpful.

On the 21st of July 1999, the German Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and recently appointed Commissioner for Enlargement, Günter Verheugen, gave an interview to the breakfast magazine at ARD.²

Mr. Verheugen is not scared of the prospects for the enlargement of the EU. The **funds** were provided by the agenda 2000, the biggest obstacles would be to find a reasonable way to use the money.

But also, to make sure that the EU itself will be prepared for the accession of the new member states, the **institutional reforms** needs to be in place, so that the EU would be prepared by the time the first countries have matured.

In order to have a successful enlargement process it is needed to find a solution to **Cyprus**, otherwise the splinted island will block the whole enlargement. Therefore the EU itself is also obliged to make an effort to find a sustainable solution for Cyprus.

On the 21st of July 1999, the German presidency ended and the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer, gave a speech to the European Parliament on the past 6 months in European policy.³

The **goals for the German Presidency** were to convert the structures and the functioning of EU from a Western European perspective into a Paneuropean perspective, and to provide foreign and security political manoeuvre possibilities. Today, six months after the beginning of the Presidency, it can be said that the German presidency has started the process and provided some of the criteria for the goals.

The **Kosovo** conflict showed EU presenting itself from different angles. First of all does south-eastern Europe definitely belong to Europe, and secondly is it now possible to make

¹ Source: <http://www.urm.lt/new/official/990903.htm>

² Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv/99/n/n990721a.htm

³ Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv/index.htm

a common foreign and security policy for the whole of Europe, not only a diverse nationalistic policy.

The **Agenda 2000** ensured the function of the Union for the next six years, which was not an easy target, due to the fact that national interests, which for many, were skipped for the case of Europe. The applicant countries were ensured that there were serious preparations for the enlargement. Finally the most ensuring signal was sent at the Cologne Summit, where preparations for a new **IGC** were taken, in order to prepare the EU institutionally for the enlargement. Most importantly, the IGC will be the Amsterdam leftovers, i.e. size and composition of the Commission, weighting of the votes in the council and a more frequent use of the majority voting; which hopefully would be settled by the French Presidency.

The Kosovo experience had also taught us how important the enlargement process is, it is **essential for Europe to be united and interdependent**. Therefore Mr. Fischer hopes that at the Helsinki Summit more countries will be invited to the accession talks. We also need to come up with a **firm date** to the first enlargement round in order to discipline our own reform process and to give realistic goals for our coming member countries.

For Mr. Fischer, it has been sad to notice that the German suggestion for inviting **Turkey** was abolished by the other member states.

On the 16th of September 1999, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Joschka Fischer, made a speech to the German Parliament, Bundestag, on German foreign policy.¹

Mr. Fischer would **characterise Germany** as being one of the EU member states who is mostly working pro a fast and smooth enlargement. Also, Germany is building strong bilateral connections to the applicant countries in order to stabilise the relationship between the applicant countries and Germany.

The **Turkish issue** is also of great concern to Germany, as Germany has been playing a big part in the relationship between Turkey, Greece and Europe in order to make this relationship more relaxed. This is a fact that we can not ignore. Either they will isolate themselves and become more nationalistic or they will orientate themselves towards Europe, and we simply can not allow ourselves to let Turkey come into contact with Europe.

Being in a Union demands solidarity, and for that we need to show, in the case of **Cyprus**, that if a member of the Union is having a problem with a third part country, then the whole Union is having a problem whatever regardless.

The **main EU policy** from Germany will be to reform EU so that we not only have an enlarged Union but also a functioning Union.

On the 11th - 12th of November 1999, the German Vice-minister for Foreign Affairs, Christoph Zöpel, joined the Nordic Dimension meeting in Helsinki.

Mr. Zöpel sees the Nordic Dimension as a chance to bring the Northern EU countries in a close dialog with the coming member states of the Region. It is also a chance for breaking down unnatural lines with the other countries in the region. Germany is very much aware of not isolating Kaliningrad from the whole European integration process. It is therefore of high importance that **the whole EU decides on a common strategy for this part of Europe**.

¹ Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv/99/r990916a.htm

On the 3rd of December 1999 the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer, gave a speech to the Bundestag, the German Parliament, just before the Helsinki summit.¹

Mr. Fischer is seeing the Helsinki Summit, as a possibility to **fulfil the European integration**, the basics is that the European integration is the answer of how to end European nationalism and war. The eastern enlargement is the best preventive security policy Europe can come up with.

To include **Turkey** is not a question of having a stronger military Union; it is about leading Turkey towards democracy, market economy, minority rights and respect for human rights. Also it is a question of which direction Turkey, the Middle East, the Caucasus region or Europe should be oriented, therefore it is important for us, as Europeans and Germans to include Turkey as a natural part of us. Still Turkey needs to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria, and they are far from that, but we need to begin a constructive debate and the accession process will need to start.

In order to **stop the migration** into the EU from the applicant countries we also need to begin our enlargement. We saw the same pattern at the southern enlargement and it is repeating it self again.

Mr. Fischer underlines that in order to have a successful and functioning enlargement the **institutional reforms** must be in place and working smoothly. Helsinki also has to quit the A and B country rating and instead, to judge the countries on the progress they are making.

Finally Mr. Fischer concludes that Germany not only has to concede regarding the enlargement process, but that Germany also will gain economically, politically, cultural and historical from the enlargement, which also will bring security- and stability to Germany.

On the 6th of December 1999, the German Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Christoph Zöpel, published an article in the "Berliner Zeitung" concerning the enlargement of EU.²

Mr. Zöpel states that the negotiations on the **IGC 2000**, have to end in Nice December 2000, leaving time for the ratification and in order to be ready by 2002 to welcome the new member countries.

Mr. Zöpel reckons it possible that **by 2004 - 2005 there will be at least 10 new member countries**. For Rumania and Bulgaria the time prospects are a bit more insecure. In order to handle that means abolishing the Veto-right, it will be harder to reach unanimity, but taking away this checks and balance means that a new has to be introduced, and that could be that it not will be possible to overrule the will of the European electorates.

Concerning **Turkey** it is impossible to make a time schedule. During the next 10 years it will be important to decide what we will do with Turkey and all the **former Soviet Republics**. It is a question of European security, and do we want them to a part of Europe or to have a close security partnership?

In **Helsinki**, Turkey will become an applicant candidate, but accession negotiations will not be started until Turkey fulfils at least the human rights, which they so far don't do, the ratification of EU-Law will be closely monitored, especially on what not will be ratified.

¹ Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv

² Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv

On the 16th of December 1999, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer, spoke to the Bundestag, the German Parliament, on the results of the Helsinki Summit.¹

The **main topics** of the Helsinki Summit were the enlargement, and the serious accession negotiations with 13 countries, the mandate for the IGC 2000 and, finally, the CFSP were on the agenda as an independent pillar for the future.

In order to **make the EU more democratic** it is urgent to prepare the institutions for having many more citizens, reforms which do not automatically reinforce themselves, but which need to be provided. During and after the making of the reforms, it is urgent to establish a dialog with the citizens, to bring them back on to the scene in order not to lose contact.

The importance enlargement is obvious when we have a look at the Balkans; also the southern enlargement process showed us that the spill-over effects from **EU are stability, economic prosperity and democracy.**

Mr. Fischer is constantly confronted about the **Turkish question**, and how responsible the decision of the European Council was. Mr. Fischer stresses that the decision made in Helsinki does not differ much from the decision made in Luxembourg, only the attitude towards Turkey is more open, and Turkey being more willing to listen to the proposals from Europe. In the end, the same Copenhagen criteria and the same acqui, as for all other applicant countries, are counting, Mr. Fischer understates. The only difference is that you are now having an ongoing debate with Turkey, in order to orient it against Europe, and not to isolate itself.

On the 27th of January 2000, the German Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Christoph Zöpel, spoke to "Forum Constitutionis Europae" on the German position to the IGC 2000.²

Mr. Zöpel states that the enlargement not only is a solidarity action, but is also ensuring the forthcoming success for EU, every enlargement is prevention for peace in Europe, and also a fulfilment of the basic ideas of the European Union.

The upcoming **IGC** is not the first **IGC on institutional reforms**, though it is the first one solely to concentrate on institutional reform. The IGC is badly needed due to the fact that without the IGC 2000 conclusions there will not be any enlargement. This is because of the extended associated negotiation countries, for which the Amsterdam Treaty doesn't provide any solutions.

The **three main areas of interest for the IGC** will be the composition of the commission, the weighting of the votes in the Council and an extension of the use of majority vote.

It is of high importance to **keep the agenda very concise** in order not to widen and also to prolong the negotiations process of the IGC. Experience has showed the importance of having a strict agenda in order to fulfil this. Areas where the Germans will be open for negotiation will be on giving the commissioners responsibility, restructuring of the European court of justice also the CFSP will have to be dealt with.

On the 17th of February 2000, the Polish and the German Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Bronislaw Geremek and Joschka Fischer, were writing a common article on the Polish German relationship on its way into the new Millennium¹

¹ Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv/

² Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/4_europa

The turn of 1989 was a time for Germany and Poland to find their new identity, and not only to concentrate on the unification and the regained sovereignty and democracy. It was also important to have a look in the neighbours' mirrors in order to be able to situate the new countries on the new scene. The perspectives your neighbouring countries are giving you are helping you, as a country, to find an honest answer of whom you are as a country. Also it has been of great value to Poland, to learn to have neighbours, and how to mirror itself on other countries.

This period also showed that a reunited Europe will not occur without solidarity and empathy, keeping the respect for the Bavarian farmers, the difficulties for the Masurian farmers and Polish builders and still try and fulfil the Spanish fisherman's wishes.

On the 17th of February the German Minister and Viceminister of Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer and Christoph Zöpel, were giving a speech to the Bundestag, the German Parliament, regarding the start of the IGC 2000 on the 14th and 15th of February.²

Mr. Zöpel is responding to an MP on the **European Vision**, or a lack of, at the European level. Mr. Zöpel's vision for Europe is that we can live peacefully without conflicts, and to have a fruitful co-operation, concerning all the applicant countries as well as the EU-member countries.

In order to fulfil this vision we need to prepare EU to access another 70 million citizens in the next 6 years, which is less than the German population. The financial aspect is already cleared by the Agenda 2000, only we need to find a sustainable and stable **institutional reform** for the long run. The **numbers of commissioners**, where the big countries will have to give in, and the **weighting of the votes** in the council, where the small countries have to give in, needs to be solved. Another big reform will be the **majority voting**, which is a complicated area, due to the descriptions which each country is using, in what categories the various things will belong to, and also on what level its normally are being dealt with in the member states. These are for Mr. Fischer the relevant areas, and these are the areas, which will be treated and dealt with during the IGC 2000.

It is an **ambitious plan**, but also a plan which, if the leaders of the states doesn't reach a final agreement in Nice, will be taken care of by other summits and IGCs. **Incrementally** the countries will harmonise more and more in order to be a like. According to Mr. Fischer the conclusions will be drawn at the Nice summit, the common European political will *is* to enlarge EU. Also the strong will from Germany to enlarge, is in full line with the one of France. According to Mr. Fischer there is a very close relationship between the French and German government where they are clearing the policies in order to maintain the German/French axis.

¹ Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv

² Source: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/6_archiv