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BLOC TORY

A NEW PARTY FOR EUROPE?

**Gawain Towler with Emmanuel Bordez
and Lee Rotherham**

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Two years ago, in the European Parliamentary Elections of 1999, the Conservative Party won an unexpected and significant victory. The Party was 10% behind in the polls, yet the electorate returned 36 Conservatives out of the 86 United Kingdom members. Indeed, this did not tell the full story – if the election had been under the old first past the post system, rather than the new ‘party list’ system of proportional representation, the Tories would have returned 68 members. Nevertheless, the Conservatives had become the second largest national delegation in the European Parliament.

Two issues are of significance here. Firstly, the campaign was fought on the slogan, ‘in Europe but not run by Europe’, and marked a departure from traditional European campaigns, which had followed a far more pro-European line. Importantly, the eurosceptic policies set out in the manifesto had been agreed by a vote of all members of the party, 80% of the membership voting in favour. Conservative members had ratified a manifesto which swept the board among the wider electorate. Here at least, the Tory Party showed itself to be in tune with the broad mass of British opinion.

The second issue of significance is the change of personnel which the election effected. Before, prospective Conservative MEPs had almost all been wholehearted supporters of further integration. Under William Hague’s leadership, however, a number of new candidates, firmly in the eurosceptic mainstream of the Party, were selected to fight European seats. Roughly half the Conservative delegation is now opposed to the process of deeper integration.

So for the first time Britain returned avowed anti-federalists to Brussels. This necessitated some serious thinking about the Party's future role in the European Parliament. The election, in June 1999, was followed by a month of frantic activity. The question to be decided was to which of the political 'Groups' in the European Parliament the Conservatives should ally themselves. For the previous five years the Conservatives had been full members of the European Peoples Party (EPP). This is the largest Group in the Parliament with 232 members, compared to the Socialist Group with 181. It is led by the German Christian Democrats¹ with 53 Members and is broadly centre-right in its political and economic positions, espousing a general commitment to the values of the free market. But crucially, the EPP is, and sees itself as, a primary motor in the process of European integration.

Conservative MEPs are party of the European People's Party – a Group which sees itself as a primary motor in the process of European integration.

This has been a problem for the Conservatives before. In 1996, for example, the EPP tabled a draft constitution committing Britain to abandoning border controls, accepting qualified majority voting in a number of crucial areas including foreign policy and taxation, and extending the notion of fundamental rights.² Backed by Leo Tindemans, then leader of the EPP, the draft was opposed by the Conservative MEPs of the time. But such dissent was rare. As Wilfred Martens, ex-Prime Minister of Belgium and a former leader of the EPP, said recently:

I had a good relationship with the Conservatives when I was Chairman... most of them were pro-European...

Of the new members elected in 1999, however, he remarked that:

Their attitude towards Europe is for me very frustrating.³

Following the election, William Hague and Edward Macmillan-Scott, the leader of the Conservative MEPs, shuttled round the capitals of Europe trying to hammer out an agreement. The negotiations were not amicable, but finally a compromise was effected at the EPP's Central Conference in Malaga in July.⁴

¹ Comprising the Christian Democrat Union (CDU) and the Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU), the Bavarian equivalent of the CDU which does not operate in Bavaria.

² Herman report, 6 October 1996 – XXV Congress of the European Union of Christian Democrats, Ljubljana.

³ Quoted in the *YEPP-News* of January 2001.

⁴ The Tory MEP who stood out longest against the proposed deal found himself punished for his intransigence by being separated from his colleagues in the Brussels Parliament building, his office exiled to a separate floor and surrounded by French and Luxemburgers.

It was agreed that the Conservatives would stay in the EPP, but the Group would be renamed the European Peoples Party and European Democrats (EPP/ED). The European Democrats was the name of the eurosceptic Group to which the Conservatives had belonged between 1979 and 1992, when it was subsumed into the EPP. The name was disinterred in order to appease the new members and the more eurosceptic Conservative leadership in Westminster. The new designation, does not, however, mean much. Most important of all, the European Democrats do not have a recognisably separate identity from the mainstream EPP. The name 'EPP/ED' is a convenient fiction. The Conservatives still form part of the EPP in the sense that their weight is added to that of the Group in the dividing of the Parliamentary spoils – of which more later. The only concession which Mr Hague and Mr Macmillan-Scott extracted from the EPP was that the Conservative delegation, along with the Ulster Unionist MEP Jim Nicholson, would have their own whip on issues of European integration.

From the point of view of the EPP, this was a good deal. The Conservatives provided the Group with 36 members, giving it an enlarged secretariat and greater sway in the system. For those more sceptical MEPs, however, the benefits are less obvious.

If a new Euro-sceptic Group were formed, Conservative MEPs would be the leading players in the third largest Group in the European Parliament rather than make-weights in a Group that it disagrees with in a number of fundamental areas. The deadline for any such decision is December 2001.

The half-way point in the Parliamentary term, which falls in December of this year, sees a renewed bout of horse-trading between the Groups. Committee chairmanships, presidencies and the whole paraphernalia of EU governance are all up for grabs. At this moment, therefore, it would be salutary to see whether the EPP/ED alliance is proceeding in the way that it was designed to do, and whether the influence of the Conservative MEPs is maximised by means of it.

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that the alliance is not working in the Party's or in Britain's interest, and that in December a new Group should be created. There are currently discussions to this end going on among a number of Conservative (as opposed to Christian Democratic) and eurosceptic parties from six or seven countries.

The formation of such a Group would be dramatic. It would be the third largest Group in the European Parliament behind the EPP and the European Socialists. Presently there are three Groups with eurosceptic and/or conservative-leaning members: the Union of European Nations (UEN), the Europe of Democracies and Diversities (EDD), and the EPP/ED itself. Giving these members a specifically anti-federalist home would have galvanic effects, both on the work Brussels does and on the way the citizens of Europe view their pan-national leaders.

A Group of about 70 members, as it might be, would have a secretariat of 70, doubling the support currently given to Conservative MEPs. And this support would be loyal in a way that the present secretariat cannot be said to be. The Group would be able to hire and fire staff, therefore allow itself control of its own advice – a more important consideration than it might appear. Most of all, the Conservative MEPs would make up 50% of the new Group and would be its undisputed leaders. It would become the leader of the third largest Group rather than a make-weight in a Group that it disagrees with in a number of fundamental areas. Rather than, as at present, remain marginalised, it would have the chance to make a major difference in the European debate.

But it is beyond Brussels that the real significance of the proposal becomes clear. It is one of the general laments of the day that politics is becoming increasingly detached from ‘real people’, from their fears and aspirations. There is said to be a serious ‘democratic deficit’ throughout the Western world, and nowhere more than in the organs of the European Union. As Nirj Deva MEP pointed out recently, 55% of the legislation that affects European citizens comes from Brussels, and yet people have very little idea of how the Union works and of what it does.⁵ This is unsurprising, for there is a profound gap – amounting to a crisis of legitimacy – between the attitudes of the voters of Europe and those of their rulers.

All those voters in the EU who are sceptical of the direction of EU policy, have no politicians representing them at the top table.

Politicians on the continent as in the UK tend to be more pro-European than their electorates. In most surveys of public opinion throughout the 15 member states there is declining faith in the institutions of the Union.⁶ A recent opinion poll commissioned by the BBC showed the people of Germany against the introduction of the Euro by 55%.⁷ Yet not a single elected German MEP reflects the views of this majority. In Denmark, only four out of 16 members supported the No to the Euro campaign. Even so, the population rejected the single currency. In Ireland, one MEP campaigned against the Nice Treaty, yet the people of Ireland voted no. In France, Italy and Spain the numbers are comparable.

All these voters, apparently sceptical of the direction of EU policy, have no politicians who represent them at the top table. European MEPs opposed to integration and reform tend to be confined to small, often eccentric, and sometimes unpleasant, fringe parties, excluded from the business of government by the rules of the Union. The Brussels power-structure is committed to overriding the wishes of its constituents by diluting the autonomy of the nation

⁵ Nirj Deva MEP, *Who Really Governs Britain?* (Bow Group, 2001).

⁶ Eurobarometer polls show that the proportion of respondents in the EU agreeing with the statement that “their country’s membership of the EU is a good thing” has fallen from an all-time high of 72% in the spring of 1991 to just 48% in the spring of 2001.

⁷ ICM Poll July 2001.

states. And Conservative MEPs, the second largest national delegation in the Parliament, are tacitly colluding in this process by means of their alliance with the EPP/ED. According to research carried out by the London School of Economics, over 60% of all legislation passes with a coalition of the EPP/ED and the Socialists.⁸

A new Group such as that envisaged here would split the EPP/ED in half. There is no reason why the Group could not join forces with the EPP on matters of trade, transport, asylum or the environment, or wherever it was felt that joining forces could be in Britain and Europe's interest. But on the crucial issue facing Europe's future – the process of political unification – there would be a strong force championing the rights of the nation states and through them, the wishes of the majority of Europe's citizens.

As things stand, a centre-right voter in Poland would only have two choices: Christian Democracy or extreme nationalism – neither of which satisfies the sensible instincts of a moderate conservative anti-federalist.

A new Group could also revolutionise the process of enlargement, the other great project on which the Union – with the full support of Conservative MEPs and other defenders of national sovereignty – is engaged. Many of the people of the Eastern bloc, the 'accession countries' queuing up to join the Union, have a strong conservative sympathies. They wish to join in order to benefit from the Single Market, not in order to barter away their independence. After their years of subjugation in the Soviet Bloc, many Poles, Czechs Hungarians and others share the traditional Conservative philosophy of the small state and limited regulation, of national independence and free trade. But as things stand, a centre-right voter in a country such as Poland would only have two choices: Christian Democracy or extreme nationalism, neither of which satisfies the sensible instincts of a moderate conservative anti-federalist. Surely it is sensible that such a voter is offered a realistic outlet for his aspirations?

Chapter Two of this paper explains the workings of the European Parliament and the importance of the Groups. Chapter Three relates the history of the centre-right in the Parliament since 1979 and the way in which political divisions break down there. Chapter Four details a series of case studies from recent years, examples of the mis-alliance between the Conservatives and the EPP/ED. Chapter Five looks at the alternative courses the Party might adopt at the negotiations in November and December this year. In the conclusion, the case for the new Group is outlined.

⁸ Dr Simon Hix, *How MEPs Vote* (London School of Economics and Political Science, Briefing Note 1/00, April 2000).

CHAPTER TWO

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE PARTY GROUPINGS

HOW THE PARLIAMENT WORKS

The European Parliament is one of the three pillars of the European Union, the others being the Commission (half-way between an executive and a civil service) and the Council of Ministers (halfway between an executive and an upper house, or ratifying body). Both Council and Commission represent the member states in the sense that the Council comprises national ministers and while Commissioners are appointed by the national governments. The Parliament is the only supra-national body which owes no *formal* allegiance to its members' countries: it is supposed to represent the 'citizens' of Europe. Yet it operates like no known democratic assembly in the world. A brief over-view of its – sometimes complex – workings is necessary.

The Parliament has three places of work. Its main home is Strasbourg, where the monthly plenary sessions are held, including the Budget session, in public. Additional plenaries and the parliamentary committees meet in Brussels. The administrative staff work in Luxembourg.

Within the Parliament there are twenty committees, three subcommittees, 21 inter-parliamentary delegations and 10 delegations to joint parliamentary committees. The delegations' function, apparently, is to go on fact-finding missions around the world. The committees and sub-committees, covering such subjects as the Environment, Women's Rights, Legal Affairs and Budgets, do the main body of work of the Parliament.

The Parliament is controlled, loosely, by a body called the Bureau, which undertakes the nuts-and-bolts administration of the Parliament. It decides the agenda for the plenary sessions, which cover the adoption of reports by the committees, questions to the European Commission and the Council of Ministers, topical and urgent debates, and statements by the Presidency. It is made up of the President of the Parliament, 14 Vice-Presidents and the Quaestors. These officers are all elected from the main body of the Members every two and a half years, at the beginning and mid-point of a Parliament. The Vice Presidents are the leaders of the main Groups. The Quaestors are best described as shop stewards for the MEPs. The President roughly fulfils the function of the Speaker at Westminster, organising the debates, calling speakers and so on. The post is currently held by Mrs Nicole Fontaine, a French member of the EPP/ED. By an agreement in 1999 with the European Liberal Democrat and Reform party (ELDR) she is due to stand down at the mid-point (December 2001), and will be replaced by Pat Cox, an Irish Liberal.

THE PARLIAMENT'S POWERS

The Parliament's powers are detailed in Articles 189 to 201 of the EC Treaty.⁹As the official fact-sheet explains:

If the Community is to have full democratic legitimacy, Parliament must be fully involved in the Community's legislative process and exercise political control on the public behalf over the other Community institutions.¹⁰

Given the fragmented structure of the Brussels system, this function entails some highly complicated procedures.

The Single European Act (1988) made all treaties subject to the Parliament's assent under the *co-decision procedure*, and Parliament was also given the right of assent over qualified majority voting (QMV) decisions made in the Council.¹¹ The Maastricht Treaty (1992) extended the areas in which QMV operated, giving Parliament greater powers. It also laid down the *assent procedure*, which applies to the legislative areas in which the Council acts by unanimous decision rather than by QMV; and the *right of legislative initiative*, which amounts to little more than giving MEPs the right to have bright ideas – insofar as they can ask their party leader to ask their Group leader to ask the other Group leaders to ask the Commission to do some work on the issue.

Parliament is one of the two arms of the budgetary authority, the other being the Council of Ministers. It has the last word on 'non-compulsory expenditure'. Compulsory expenditure, however, including the Common Agricultural and Fisheries Policies, is free from Parliamentary oversight.

⁹ Previously paragraphs 137 to 144.

¹⁰ http://www.europarl.eu.int/factsheets/1_3_2_en.htm – Articles 189 to 201 (137 to 144) of the EC Treaty.

¹¹ Under QMV votes are roughly weighted by population: the four biggest nations have 10 votes each, while the smallest has two. Votes on issues not covered by QMV require unanimity, giving each nation a right to veto.

The Parliament has nominal control over the Commission. Since 1981 it has had the right of investiture of the Commission. The Maastricht Treaty required the Parliament's approval for the appointment of specific Commissioners, and the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) required it for the appointment of the President of the Commission himself. There are provisions for a motion of censure against the Commission, requiring a two-thirds majority of the votes cast and representing a majority of the Parliament's total members. In such an eventuality the Commission must resign as a body. This has happened seven times, though no majority has ever been achieved. The last attempt was in 1999 when a motion of censure obtained 232 votes to 293, with 27 abstentions. Though the motion did not pass, the Commission resigned anyway. Some of the Commissioners were soon reinstated, however.

MEPs have the right to ask written and oral questions of the Commission and the Council of Ministers, who are required to reply (though it should be pointed out they do not always do so particularly helpfully). In the same manner, citizens may exercise their right of petition by addressing the Parliament. The Parliament appoints the officer known as the Ombudsman, whose job it is to investigate complaints made to him through the process of petitions.

The Parliament has the power to set up a temporary committee of inquiry to investigate alleged contraventions or maladministration in the implementation of Community law. There are currently enquiries going on into the activities of Echelon, a US/British Commonwealth intelligence gathering network, Human Genetics and the BSE crisis.

THE GROUPS

In this complicated scene the only way for a member to navigate his way is by membership of one of the Parliament's official Groups. There are currently eight of these, satisfying the Parliament's Rules of Procedure:

A political Group must comprise Members from more than one Member State. The minimum number of Members required to form a political Group shall be twenty-three if they come from two Member States, eighteen if they come from three Member States and fourteen if they come from four or more Member States.¹²

Affiliation to a Group is essential if an MEP is to have any influence.

Group affiliation is vital if an MEP is to have any influence. An unattached member is in a vulnerable position, at the mercy of the Bureau. The Parliament's Rules of Procedure state that 'the Bureau shall also determine the status and parliamentary rights of such Members'. This means, quite simply, that speaking rights may be withdrawn if the Bureau considers members to be unconstructive in their attitudes – as happened to the seven Italian members on the Bonnino list in 1999/2000.

¹² European Parliament Rules of Procedure Rule 29.2. See Annex I.

Everyday political life in the European Parliament is organised through the Groups. They control the agenda of the plenary meetings and the tabling of amendments and resolutions. They negotiate compromises, selecting who will speak on what issue and for how long, and run all the voting procedures (resolving split votes, organising roll call votes and so on). The appointment of *rapporteurs* – the authors of Parliamentary reports – is organised by agreements between Groups on the d'Hondt point system.¹³

Within the EPP/ED, the Conservatives have one Vice President of the Group (James Elles MEP), four committee co-ordinators (who arrange the designation of *rapporteurs*), 19 civil servants paid out of Union funds, and further funding for party activity. These positions, and the levels of funding the Groups receive, are also dependent on the d'Hondt system.

The issue of staffing is important. The civil servants are employed by the EPP/ED, and thus they have strained loyalties when confronted by a policy divergence within the Group. As the Rules of Procedure make clear:

All persons employed by the Group shall undertake by signing a contract of employment, to perform conscientiously and to the best of their ability all duties assigned to them in the Group secretariat, exclusively serving the Group's interests and neither seeking nor accepting instructions from any body or person outside the Group in the performance of these duties.

So it follows that many of the secretariat of the EPP/ED currently consider themselves as independent of many of the MEPs it serves, with views and objects of its own – views and objects identical to those of the rest of the European establishment. Sometimes the problem becomes public, as when Stephen Biller, a senior member of the British secretariat, was quoted in the Irish *Sunday Independent* attacking the decision of Dana Scallon, an Irish MEP and EPP/ED member, to support the No vote in the Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty. 'He said he was surprised, shocked and saddened by Dana's anti-Nice stance,' and presumed to assert that the Pope was disappointed by the Irish decision.¹⁴ Mr Biller has received little or no admonishment from the EPP/ED for this episode.

Staff owe their obedience not to their individual members but to the Secretariat in general and to the Group leadership in particular. As the Rules of Procedure state, all members of staff:

...shall be headed and co-ordinated by the Secretary-General of the Group who shall also prepare the deliberations of the Bureau and Presidency relating to the secretariat itself.

MEPs rarely have any say in their recruitment, or knowledge of how this is done. Recently, however, the Conservatives decided to contest an appointment.

¹³ This is the mechanism by which privileges, including positions of power, speaking rights, funding and staff support are divided up, according to a party or a Group's numerical weight.

¹⁴ *The Sunday Independent*, 1 July 2001 'Pope unhappy with Nice No'.

A bureaucrat had been hired (from a shortlist of seven, prepared by the Secretariat, of whom one was a card-carrying Liberal Democrat) to whom the Conservative delegation objected. They voiced their protest by a vote of 25 to one. Yet, though the applicant's salary came from the Conservative budget, the dissatisfied MEPs were unable to have him removed.

The funding rules mean that Conservative MEPs only receive just over a half of the money that is allocated to them

Control of their own advice is crucial if MEPs are to fulfil their democratic duty of scrutinising legislation and looking after the interests of their constituents. It is also obviously essential to control their own funding. Yet here again the EPP/ED wields power in the Conservatives' name. According to the Parliament's funding rules each member of the EPP/ED is worth about £37,000 per year.¹⁵ Hence the Conservative delegation draws down a total sum of around £1,320,000. This is then divided into two unequal budgets, £575,000 going to the Conservatives themselves to pay for communication and other incidentals, while the lion's share of £745,000 is given direct to the EPP/ED as a form of subscription. The EPP/ED leadership decide how this money is allocated to the Group's activities, precious few of which have any relation to Conservative policies or priorities. At the end of the year that money which is not spent by the EPP/ED is returned to the Conservatives. Last year the EPP/ED returned £200,000. This means that even after the rebate, Conservative MEPs only get just over a half of the money that is allocated to them.

Group membership bestows positions in the Parliament's power-structure. Following the 1999 election, membership of the EPP/ED gave the Conservative MEPs the following positions:

One Vice-President of the Parliament – James Provan

One Committee Chairmanship (Environment) – Mrs Caroline Jackson

One Co-Chairman of the African-Caribbean-Pacific/EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly – John Corrie

Two Committee Vice-Chairman – Chris Beazley (Constitutional Affairs) and Bill Newton-Dunn, who has since defected to the Liberal Democrats (Foreign Affairs)

Real power in the Parliament is located in the Conference of Presidents. This is the official governing body of the Parliament and is part of the Bureau. If the Bureau's function is primarily administrative, that of the Conference is political, and it has wide discretionary powers over the legislative programme. It comprises the President of the Parliament and the Group leaders, who are each Vice Presidents of the Parliament, along with a non-voting representative of the unattached members. Its composition at present is as follows, with the Group's broad stance on integration in italics:

¹⁵ Paid in Euros – Exchange rates as of 17 July 2001.

COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS

Mrs Nicole FONTAINE, President of the Parliament – *strongly pro-integrationist*

Mr Hans-Gert POETTERING, Chairman of the Group of the European People's Party and European Democrats – *strongly pro-integrationist*

Mr Enrique BARÓN CRESPO, Chairman of the Group of the Party of European Socialists – *strongly pro-integrationist*

Mr Patrick COX, Chairman of the Group of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party – *strongly pro-integrationist*

Mrs Heidi HAUTALA or Mr Paul LANNNOYE, Chairmen of the Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance – *no Group position on integration*

Mr Francis WURTZ, Chairman of the Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left – *mildly anti-integrationist*

Mr Charles PASQUA, Chairman of the Union for Europe of the Nations Group – *strongly anti-integrationist*

Mr Jens-Peter BONDE, Chairman of the Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities – *strongly anti-integrationist*

Mr Gianfranco DELL'ALBA, Mr Charles de GAULLE or Mr Francesco SPERONI, Co-Chairmen of the Technical Group of Independent Members mixed Group – *no Group position on integration*

Representative of the Non-attached Members: Mrs Marie-Françoise GARAUD, Non-attached Member – *Non voting strongly anti-integrationist*

The current arrangements give no place at the Conference of Presidents to Conservative MEPs, despite their being the second largest party in the entire Parliament. Previously, between January 1987 and July 1989, a Conservative held the Presidency of the Parliament itself: Henry, Lord Plumb, the only Briton to hold the post since the UK joined the European Community in 1972. But that was when the Conservatives were members of the European Democrats, the eurosceptic conservative Group now subsumed in alliance with the EPP.

The proposal under discussion would give Conservative MEPs a seat at the most important table of all.

The proposal under discussion would give the Tories a seat at this, the most important table of all. As affiliates of the EPP/ED the Tories have never held a more senior position than a Vice Presidency (currently James Provan), giving them a place in the Bureau but not in the more important Conference of Presidents. There the Party is represented by Hans-Gert Poettering, the leader of the EPP/ED and a staunch integrationist; the number of Conservative MEPs are added to the weight he brings to bear on the Conference's deliberations yet their views are ignored.

This problem is compounded in the Committees, where the EPP/ED co-ordinator speaks for the Group as a whole. In the four Committees where the Conservatives hold the co-ordinator's role, they do have some influence but are still driven by the wishes of the EPP/ED majority. On at least one occasion, against the wishes of the EPP/ED whip, the Conservative co-ordinator has discreetly arranged that the authorship of a controversial report goes to a member from a different Group, rather than let the EPP/ED take it, in order that the report reflects the Conservative viewpoint more accurately than an EPP/ED *rapporteur* would.

The Environment Committee, chaired by the Conservative MEP Caroline Jackson, is important, for Parliament has the power of co-decision (i.e. joint legislative power with the Council) in this field. It does not have such power in the fields of Agriculture or Health, however, so this committee is used to pass legislation on subjects such as 'The identification and registration of bovine animals and the labelling of beef',¹⁶ and 'Human blood and blood components'.¹⁷ But the importance of the Chairman can be overestimated. The job is to organise the meetings and set the agenda. Having a Conservative as chairman has not prevented legislation that was against party policy from getting through.¹⁸

The most visible manifestation of the impotence of Conservative MEPs is during the debates in the plenary Chamber at Strasbourg.

The most visible manifestation of the impotence of Conservative MEPs is during debates in the plenary Chamber in Strasbourg. When a report is debated in the chamber each Group President (or President's representative) is given the opportunity to speak after the *rapporteur* has commended his or her report to the Parliament. They speak in Group order. On 4 July 2001, the newly-installed President of the Council, Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt, introduced his programme for the Belgian Presidency which runs until December. This includes steps towards the creation of a European Constitution and large-scale tax harmonisation. Following Mr Verhofstadt, the President of the Commission, Romano Prodi, spoke in favour of his programme. The debate continued in the following order of speakers:

Hans-Gert Poettering – President EPP/ED

Enrico Baron Crespo – President of the Socialist Group (PES)

Willy de Clerq – Liberal Group (ELDR)

Heidi Hautala – President of the Green Group (VertsALE)

Francis Wurtz – President of Communist Group (GUE)

Gerard Collins – Vice-President of the Union of European Nations (UEN)

Frank Van Hecke – Flemish Bloc (Technical Group of Independents, TDI)

Jens Peter Bonde – President of the Europe of Democracies and Diversities (EDD)

¹⁶ Papayannakis Report A5-0101/99.

¹⁷ Nistico Report PE304.662/DEF.

¹⁸ Examples include the End of Life Vehicles and the Precautionary Principle reports.

Georges Berthu – co-ordinator of French Sovereignists
Marrienne Thyssen – (EPP/ED)
Anne Van Lancker – (PES)
Daniel Ducarne – (ELDR)
Nelly Maes – (Green)
Olivier Dupius – Left Radical (TDI)
Ole Krarupp – (EDD)
Gerhard Hager – Unattached (Austrian Freedom Party)
Gerado Galeote Quecedo – (EPP/ED)
Stephen Hughes – Labour Leader (PES)
Dirk Sterckx – (ELDR)
Elizabeth Montfort – French Sovereignist
Elmar Brok – (EPP/ED)
Giorgio Napolitano – (PES)
Hanja Maij-Weggen – (EPP/ED)
Dagmar Randzio-Plath – (PES)
Guido Boderato – (EPP/ED)
Mathieu Grosch – (EPP/ED)
The Earl of Stockton – Conservative (EPP/ED)

In the debate on the programme of the Belgian Presidency, the EPP leader spoke first, the Communist leader fifth, the Flemish fascist leader seventh, the representative of Jorg Haider's Freedom Party sixteenth, and the Conservatives, twenty-second.

The order saw the EPP leader speak first, the Communist leader fifth, the Flemish fascist leader seventh, the representative of Jorg Haider's Freedom Party sixteenth, and the representative of the second largest national delegation, the Conservatives, twenty-second. Under the proposals outlined in this paper the leader of the Conservative Group would be the third member to speak in any debate he or she chose.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

THE CENTRE-RIGHT IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT SINCE 1979

MEPs have been directly elected since 1979. Since then the centre-right has generally contained two distinctive elements, broadly defined as the Christian Democratic and the conservative. The Christian Democratic tradition, of which the EPP/ED is the custodian, is avowedly federalist. Indeed it lays claim to the paternity of the European ideal. As the EPP/ED document *A Union of Values*, agreed at the Group's Congress in Berlin earlier this year, put it:

The founding fathers of the Union – Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Alcide de Gasperi and Konrad Adenauer – were also the founders of the party.¹⁹

Or as Jacques Santer said in November 1988:

From Konrad Adenauer to Robert Schuman, Alcide de Gasperi to Joseph Bech, we Christian Democrats have, ever since the Second World War, continuously stood up for the further democratic development of the Community. We Christian Democrats in the European People's Party want the European Community to become the United States of Europe.²⁰

¹⁹ *A Union of Values* – final text agreed at XIV Congress of the EPP/ED in Berlin, 11 -13 January, 2001.

²⁰ Jacques Santer at the VII EPP Congress Luxembourg 7 to 8 November 1988.

There is another politician of the right whom the EPP/ED often cite as a founder of Europe, in the company of Monnet and Adenauer: Winston Churchill, whose post-war support for ‘United States of Europe’ is frequently quoted in support of federalist measures. But Churchill’s corollary belief, that Britain’s best interests lay *outside* the union which he advocated for the war-torn countries of the continent, is more rarely heard in Brussels. His position in fact resembled that of William Hague more than that of Jacques Santer:

We are with Europe but not of it. We are linked but not compromised.

– Winston Churchill, speaking at The Hague, 1948²¹

It is this tradition that the Conservative Party has upheld, and most strongly between 1979 and 1992 when they were members of the European Democrats.

We Christian Democrats in the European People's Party want the European Community to become the United States of Europe – Jacques Santer.

During that time, the centre-right comprised three Groups in the European Parliament: the EPP, in the Christian Democratic mould; the conservative European Democrats (ED), dominated by the British Conservatives; and the Rassemblement des Démocrates Européens (RDE), dominated by the French Gaullists. In 1992, however, the ED merged with the EPP in order to strengthen the position of the centre-right against the Socialist majority. The Conservative leadership in London concurred with this decision on the advice of its MEPs, most of whom were determined euromphiles. In the light of the vicissitudes of the recent Maastricht debate – the Treaty had passed the House of Commons by a single vote – the leadership felt it could not face another row over Europe.

Shortly afterwards the RDE was re-named the Union Pour L’Europe, and with the EPP (as well as Forza Italia, Silvio Berlusconi’s newly-formed party which formed a single-party Group, something which is no longer legally possible by the European Parliament Rules of Procedure) composed the centre-right opposition to the Socialists during the 1994 to 99 legislative period.

In July 1999, following the poor results of the Union Democratique Française (UDF)/Rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR) common list in France, both of which followed President Chirac’s advice to join the EPP, the Union Pour L’Europe and Forza Italia followed suit and merged with the EPP. At the same time certain French centre-right *souverainistes* created a new Group, the Europe of Nations Group (UEN), which included the Irish Fianna Fail, the Portuguese Partido Popular, the Italian National Alliance and a single Dane. As we have seen, however, rather than join this new Group the British Conservatives agreed at the Malaga Central Conference of the EPP to remain with the Group on the conditions that it was renamed the EPP/ED and that they could retain their own whip on matters of integration.

²¹ Sir WS Churchill – Congress of the European Movement at The Hague on 7-10 May 1948.

The consequences of this decision were analysed the following year by Dr Simon Hix of the London School of Economics.²² His research into MEPs voting records in the first six months of the Parliament (using over 2,000 roll call votes, that is, those votes where the MEPs were obliged to go on the record) shows that:

The party Groups are less cohesive in the post-1999 European Parliament than in any of the previous three Parliaments. This is mainly because the new Parliament faces more important decisions than the previous Parliaments. With more power, there is more pressure from outside interests (such as governments, national party leaders, and national interest Groups) to break from the transnational party position if it conflicts with a domestic interest. As a result, Group cohesion is lower in legislative decisions, where the outcome has an immediate impact (66% on average, 75% for the EPP/ED and 80% for the PES), than in its own resolutions, where there is no immediate effect (72% on average, 85% for the EPP/ED and 88% for the PES).

So the EPP/ED is the least cohesive of the Groups. Previously it was more cohesive than the Socialists, but no longer, as the following table demonstrates. It shows ‘party cohesion’ by the Index of Agreement (IA), calculated by subtracting the party votes which go against the majority party vote and expressing the total as an average percentage.²³

INDEX OF PARTY COHESION

	1984-89	1989-94	1994-99	1999-2004
PES	62	79	89	85
EPP/ED	84	88	90	81
ELDR	70	86	80	88

As Dr Hix points out, the table shows that the decline in internal cohesion is higher for the EPP/ED than the PES or the ELDR. One reason for this is that the EPP/ED became the largest Group in 1999, and therefore ‘as the main agenda-setter, the decisions of the Group are more critical than for any other Group, and hence the pressure on its members is greater.’ But there is another reason, as the following table demonstrates:²⁴

CONSERVATIVE REBELLIONS AGAINST THE EPP/ED

National delegation within the EPP/ED	% of times delegates vote against the Group majority since 1999
Forza Italia (IT)	0.0
Union pour la démocratie française (FR)	0.8
Rassemblement pour la Rép.-Dém. Lib.(FR)	1.2
Christlich Demokratische Union (GER)	1.6
Partido Popular (SP)	5.6
Conservative Party (UK)	31.0

²² Briefing Note 1/00, ‘How MEPs Vote’ by Dr Simon Hix, London School of Economics and Political Science, April 2000.

²³ Source: S. Hix *The Political System of the European Union*, Macmillan(1999).

²⁴ Ibid.

As Dr Hix concludes:

In the first six months of the 1999-2004 EP, the majority of British Conservatives voted against the EPP/ED position in almost a third of votes.

The Labour Party, in comparison, voted against the PES whip 13.5% of the time. Whether this demonstrates that the Labour Party is more in tune with its Group's federalist tendencies or less inclined to break ranks is a moot point. The Liberal Democrats, at any rate, scored only a 1.6% differential.

THE EPP/ED: LEFT OR RIGHT?

After Malaga, the Conservative Party sought to justify its continued alliance with the EPP/ED on the grounds that it would 'maximise the influence' of centre-right political and economic policies in general, without compromising the Party's opposition to further integration.²⁵ A brief look at the EPP/ED's behaviour since 1999, however, shows this assumption to have been misguided.

Firstly it is necessary to understand that the Parliament does not correspond in the least to the Westminster model, where the assembly is the forum for debate between government and opposition, providing representatives with the opportunity to hold the executive to account. MEPs are 'representatives of the European Peoples'. This ambiguous designation fails to specify whether members' responsibilities lie towards their individual constituents, as non-national 'citizens of Europe', towards their respective nations, or simply towards their (generally arbitrary and little-understood) geographical constituencies. What and whom, do they represent, exactly? No-one seems sure, and the result is a confusion of motivations and alliances.

It is difficult to see how the EPP/ED can be considered a party of the right, in the British understanding of the term... Its leaders clearly sympathise with the social democrat consensus which prevails on the continent.

The first effect of this is that the 'Peoples of Europe' are further bemused and befuddled by their *soi-disant* representatives. The second is that the executive, however that is defined, is not held to account in any meaningful way. The Parliament's real function, it seems, is two-fold: to provide another institutional driver of European integration, chiefly by accruing more and more powers to itself (whether at the expense of other European bodies or of the national governments); and to generate what in American politics is called 'pork' for the nations and regions the members represent.

So it is that the traditional 'left-right' distinction is largely meaningless in the European context. This is one effect of the very diversity of Europe. If one were

²⁵ Maximising the Impact of the Centre-Right (www.conservatives.com/ep_cr.cfm/).

to explain the policies of the British Labour Party to a French voter, for example, he would think he was hearing about a party of the right; while a British voter would look at the manifestos of the French centre-right Parties such as the Union Pour la Démocratie Française (UDF) and see the platform of a more traditionally socialist party than that which now governs Britain. In the same way, it is difficult to see how the EPP/ED can be considered a party of the right, in the British understanding of the term. The official documents of the Group espouse a general commitment to free markets and criticise the drift towards ‘political interventionism and bureaucratisation’ and ‘the excessive politicisation’ of Europe’s institutions.²⁶ But in practice – both in their voting records and in political speeches – the Group’s leaders clearly sympathise with the democratic socialist consensus which prevails in various forms on the continent.

This is nowhere more evident than in the public pronouncements of Nicole Fontaine, the EPP/ED member who is currently President of the Parliament. Her speech to the European Council in Lisbon last year purported to represent the views of her Group:

They [the people of Europe] are scandalised by untrammelled capitalism, whose relocations, social dumping, ruthless exploitation of the disparities between the social and fiscal legislation of the Member States and remorseless pursuit of profit at the expense of working men and women have a direct and traumatic impact on their lives, both as communities and as individuals.²⁷

Her speech included calls for widespread social legislation at the workplace and for the redistribution of wealth. These anti-conservative ideas prompted a number of Conservative MEPs to write to Mrs Fontaine, objecting, in the words of one, to ‘the model of left-wing socialism which you articulated in Lisbon. Indeed, it is exactly this kind of interventionist socialism which has destroyed jobs, devastated nations and plunged tens of millions into a life of abject misery in recent history.’ Another commented of the speech that ‘Dennis Skinner would be proud of it!... This pseudo-Marxist rubbish is being issued by ‘our’ so called centre right ally. It further goes to illustrate how futile it is for us to remain members of this Group.’

The non-Conservative tendencies of the EPP/ED had been demonstrated the year before, only weeks before the Conservatives formally renewed the alliance at Malaga. The Cornillet report on the *Situation of Fundamental Rights in the Union 2000*, adopted in July 2001, recommended, inter alia,

- that a European day to be held to commemorate the Union Charter of Fundamental Rights and the text of the Charter distributed to all children;
- that the Member States make the naturalisation procedure more flexible, so that residents of foreign origin who so desire may acquire full citizenship;

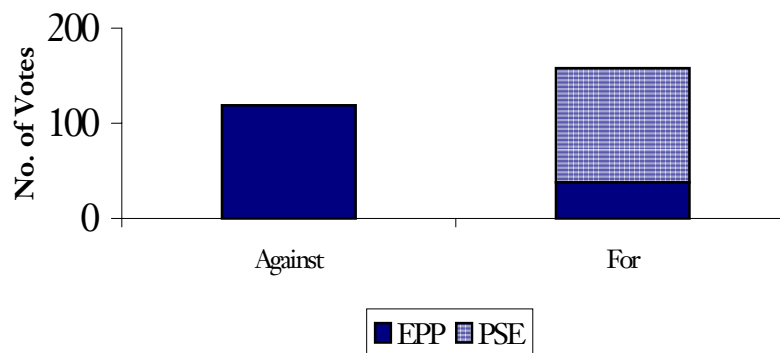
²⁶ Preface of the *EPP Action Programme 1999-2004*, adopted by the XIII EPP Congress in Brussels, 1999.

²⁷ 24 March 2000, addressing the European Council in Lisbon.

- that the Member States comply strictly with the minimum work age of 15 years, particularly as regards family firms, home working and agriculture, and penalise infringements.²⁸

The report was written by an EPP/ED member, but not a single Conservative voted in favour. The vote did not differentiate the European Socialists (PES) from the EPP/ED, but the Conservatives from their EPP/ED allies. While the EPP/ED President, Mr Hans-Gert Pöttering, voted with the Conservatives on this occasion, but the following graph tells its own story.²⁹

Votes on the Cornillet Report July 2001



NATIONAL INTERESTS

For all that the Parliament is the only pillar of the Union which is supra-national – that is, it has no institutional reference to the nation states – nationality nevertheless plays a major role.

National delegations often ignore their Group whip when they perceive that their national interest – as opposed to their Party interest – is threatened.

National delegations often ignore Group whips when they perceive that national interests are supported or threatened. Before each vote, every member receives advice on how to vote, not merely from their party and their Group but also from their embassy. This leads to many odd temporary alliances and back-room deals, and enables the large countries to get their way irrespective of the measure under consideration. The weighting of the Parliament gives Germany, in particular, a formidable block of votes: 99 German MEPs can be relied upon to vote together when required, while France and Britain and Italy can gather only 87 votes each.

²⁸ European Parliament report A5-0223/2001 Resolution adopted on 5 July 2001.

²⁹ Full details of the vote are in Annex II

At times alliances occur not only between different political parties from a single country, but also between separate countries on a *quid pro quo* basis. An example was the voting on the Lehne Report, endorsing the Take-Over Directive which would have introduced much-needed single market reforms particularly in the service and insurance sectors. The German Government feared that its firms in these sectors, already hit by the low value of the euro but and weakened by the structural protection the government has provided, would become the target of take-over bids from firms not burdened in the same way – as indeed they would, in the salutary spirit of the single market. Britain and France had been pressing for these reform for 12 years. But the report was rejected in July 2001.

The opposition of the German block vote – including the nominally centre-right CDU representatives of the EPP/ED – could be taken for granted. What is surprising is the number of Southern European parliamentarians who supported the Germans. The explanation is that the Germans had agreed to support the Greeks and Italians in their fight to keep their structural funds (the Brussels subsidies) after EU enlargement.

In response to this piece of manoeuvring the French and British media loudly and roundly condemned the lack of democratic accountability and transparency of the proceedings.³⁰ What is more significant is the way in which the MEPs divorced themselves from their ‘pan-national’ Group identities and voted for their countries’ entirely selfish interests – not a bad principle, perhaps, but one directly at odds with the principles of the single market, to say nothing of the spirit of the ‘common interest’ in Europe.

The EPP/ED had once again demonstrated the paucity of its command of free market economics. The vote shows how in the last analysis the economic principles on which the founding fathers built the European idea will not carry the day against the instincts for protectionism which, more than anything else, unite the politicians of the continent. It might be pointed out that the French, though they supported the British in this instance, betray the spirit of economic liberalism in the cause of safeguarding protected national industries as frequently as the Germans.

For questioning the Maastricht Treaty, the Partido Popular was expelled unconditionally from the EPP/ED...

INTEGRATION AND NON-INTEGRATION

If countries’ delegations frequently betray their Group membership in the name of national interests, the main loyalty of most MEPs is to the institutions of the Union and the process of further unification. This is most apparent by a comparison of what happened to two parties of the centre-right censured by the EPP/ED.

³⁰ ‘L’Allemagne provoque le rejet de la directive sur les OPA par le Parlement européen’, *Le Monde* 5 July 2001; and ‘European parliament rejects take-over directive’, *Financial Times* 5 July 2001.

In 1993 the Portuguese Christian Democrats (CDS), now called the Partido Popular, called for a referendum on the Maastricht Treaty and vowed to fight the drift against European federalism. As a result of this stance, with which many Conservatives would sympathise, it was expelled unconditionally from the EPP/ED.

The other case is that of the Christian Democrat Party of Austria, the Österreichischer Volkspartei (ÖVP). The ÖVP decided after last year's Austrian general election to end its power-sharing agreement with the Socialists and enter a coalition with the Austrian Freedom Party. The Freedom Party has been widely condemned throughout the world for its populist rhetoric, especially in regard to the Nazi era, and for its policies on immigration. In February 2000 the EPP/ED put the ÖVP under continual 'assessment', which only ended around nine months later. Tellingly, the Freedom Party also had a manifesto commitment to hold a referendum on continued Austrian membership of the EU. And it appears that it was the decision to drop this commitment, not a change in the Freedom Party's immigration policy or an obvious dilution of its rhetoric, that led to the ÖVP resuming its place as a full and respected member of the EPP/ED. Jörg Haider, the leader of the Freedom Party and Governor of Carinthia, has since been appointed to the European Committee of the Regions, to which no MEP has registered an objection.

... while the Austrian ÖVP was only readmitted to the EPP/ED once its coalition partners – Jörg Haider's Freedom Party – dropped its commitment to holding a referendum on continued Austrian membership of the EU.

In a statement released during this episode, the EPP/ED noted that 'only one party has in the past been expelled from the EPP/ED. The Portuguese CDS party (now called the Partido Popular) was expelled in 1993 for its opposition to European integration and in particular the Maastricht Treaty.'³¹ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the EPP/ED would rather do business with the associates of fascists, provided they do not question the integrationist consensus, than with determined euro-sceptics.

It appears that the EPP/ED would rather do business with the associates of fascists, provided they do not question the integrationist consensus, than with determined euro-sceptics.

It is the attitude to integration, not political virtue, which determines the respectability of a Group. The EPP/ED comprises parties whose improprieties

³¹ 'Political Bureau considers Austrian situation' – EPP/ED Press Release 10 February 2000.

far out-do anything achieved in the days of Tory 'sleaze', and whose political opinions are in some cases distinctly unpleasant. Yet these parties are fully-accepted members of the European establishment on the grounds that are supporters of the process of unification. The German CDU is mired in questions of financial impropriety dating from the era of Helmut Kohl, and has been known to put forward policies on immigration which rival those of the Freedom Party (as in the Lande elections in Nord-Rhine Westphalia in 2001³²). Parties of the French centre-right are under investigation in Paris for corruption on what appears to be a massive scale; the Belgian CDU government was brought down by a corruption and paedophilia scandal; members of the Italian CDU have alleged links to the Mafia; and many of the Spanish Partido Popular had strong links to the Franco dictatorship. But it is the Portuguese Partido Popular, who had the temerity to question the Maastricht Treaty, who were ejected from the Group.

Indeed there have been numerous attempts by the 'Tories' allies to have the Conservatives thrown out on the same grounds. A leading Belgian member puts his position succinctly on his website:

On fundamental issues, such as further European integration, the Conservatives have systematically developed a different voting behaviour from the rest of the EPP Group, after having done everything to influence the position of the Group.

It raises the fundamental question whether our form of co-operation in the European Parliament should continue. It is painful to see your ship being taken over by passengers who insult and humiliate you and steer the ship in a different direction. How can we, the architects of European unification, keep on justifying before our electorate that we have such anti-European bedfellows? If British conservatives keep on behaving like the Trojan horse, there is only one logical conclusion: Friends, let us separate.³³

A good idea. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that there exists a shadowy 'Schuman Group', also known as the 'Athens Group', reportedly 50-strong. Members may be of the centre-left or the centre-right, but they must be of the centre. They must accept a joint programme, confirming their 'belief in European integration on the basis of the community model'. The Group specifically exists – according to the Young EPP/ED Newsletter *YEPP News* – 'in order to balance the influence of the British Conservatives'.³⁴

More than left and right, therefore, and more than nice and nasty, the real divide in the European Parliament is between those who wish to see a greater concentration of power in Brussels and the *souverainistes*, who have a belief in co-operation between autonomous Nation States.

³² "What we need is blond German kids who already know at the age of three what a mouse click is," – *Der Spiegel* March 2001.

³³ Johan Van Hecke MEP Former president of the Flemish Christian Democrats (CVP) 12-03-2001 <http://users.pandora.be/johanvanhecke/Vrije%20Tribune.htm>

³⁴ See the *YEPP News* of January and March 2001.

The contest is highly unequal, of course. Most texts, from the conception to adoption, are federalist initiatives and are supported by an overwhelming majority. A large number of votes have less than 5% opposition and abstention, though the Rules of Procedure mean that unless a roll call is demanded by members there is no way to discover who has voted for what. An average Strasbourg plenary session will have less than a quarter of votes counted: the rest are passed by a show of hands.

Still, it is possible to discern the shape of a possible future Group of the non-integrationist centre-right in the records that do exist, such as the votes on the Schleicher Report on European political party funding, and the de Vigo report on the Nice Treaty. The former gave the go-ahead to the funding of national parties from the public purse – behaviour which had previously been ruled illegal by the Court of Auditors. The report itself was privately condemned by the Council of Ministers' own legal advisors, but passed anyway.³⁵ The de Vigo report, drawn up by an EPP/ED member in conjunction with a Socialist, criticised the 'unsatisfactory' Nice Treaty for failing to adopt 'the principle of extending co-decision to cover all the matters in which legislation is adopted by a qualified majority,' and regretted 'that the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union has not been incorporated into the Treaties.'³⁶ Both reports were passed with large majorities. Members who opposed them are listed in Annex II: many of these men and women, along with others who did not vote on these occasions, might be expected to join the new Group proposed in this paper.

Another important report which shows how the EPP/ED and the Conservatives are fundamentally unsuited was this year's Haug report on the Union's 'own resources', calling for the the creation of a centrally harmonised European direct tax.³⁷ The EPP/ED leadership wholeheartedly supported the initiative. As a result it was impossible for Conservative amendments (which require 32 signatures – some of the 35 Conservatives were absent that day) to be tabled under the auspices of the EPP/ED. The only way that the Conservative spokesman Den Dover was able to get amendments put forward was to beg signatures from other non-EPP/ED sovereignist MEPs, including some from the Labour Party, which brought down on him considerable antagonism from EPP/ED members.³⁸

The last word on the EPP/ED's attitude to European integration belongs to the Declaration which emerged from this year's EPP/ED Congress, held in Berlin in January. This announced that:

Europe is the prerequisite for the solution of the fundamental problems our nations face. As the essential means to this end,

³⁵ Schleicher Report A5-0167/200,1 *Statute and Financing of European Political Parties*.

³⁶ Mendez de Vigo Report A5-0168/2001, *European Parliament resolution on the Treaty of Nice and the future of the European Union*, Committee on Constitutional Affairs, PE 303.546.

³⁷ Haug Report A5-038/2001 on *European Union Own Resources*.

³⁸ Amendments 3,4,5,6 A5-038/2001/AM by Den Dover and others.

Europe is also an end in itself... Competence for – or the guidelines for – foreign and security policy, asylum and immigration, cross-border environmental policy, combating cross-border criminality, safeguarding the internal market, the Single Currency, and foreign trade policy, should reside at European level.

It also called for:

- a European Constitution, based on the Charter of Fundamental Rights;
- the harmonisation of immigration policy;
- greater co-ordination of economic policies in order to “make the euro more effective”;
- the backing of EU foreign policy by military resources, and;
- the creation of a common police force.

All of these points are against Conservative Party policy.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDIES

The profound difference between British Conservatives and their EPP/ED allies can be seen from a set of case studies. These examples are taken from the official Journals of the European Parliament and they can all be found on the Parliament's web-site.³⁹ Some of the cases date from before 1997 and show that even then, with a predominately europhile Conservative delegation, the alliance was an uneasy one.

In each case Conservative MEPs have found themselves either voting against the EPP/ED whip or abstaining. It should be pointed out that these reports are all of a serious nature. As we have seen the Conservatives vote against the EPP/ED in about a third of recorded votes. In less important – but often no less wrong-headed – legislation, such as directives covering trading standards, the Conservatives have often bowed to the majority will in order to keep the peace in the Group. It is fair to say that Conservatives would object, if they could do so freely, to closer to 50% of all initiatives of which the EPP/ED approve.

BOURLANGES/MARTIN 17 MAY 1995 – EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT POLITICAL PRIORITIES FOR THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE A4-0102/1995

This report endorsed:

- EMU;
- a common defence policy to guarantee the EU's borders;
- proposals to engage internationally by agreement under a form of QMV;

³⁹ <http://www.db.europarl.ep.ec/dors/oeil/en/default.htm>.

- increased powers for the Commission in Home Affairs;
- a greater role for Europol;
- fundamental social rights;
- the development of political citizenship;
- swingeing anti-discrimination proposals;
- a 'greater presidentialization of working methods' by the Commission;
- raising the QMV blocking threshold, and;
- a remit for the European Court of Justice in the Common Foreign and Security Policy and matters relating to the Schengen agreement on border controls.

The Conservatives found themselves alongside the Europe des Nations (EdN), opposing the EPP/ED.

DURY/MAIJ-WEGGEN 13 MARCH 1996 – AMENDMENT OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION A4-0068/1996

This report spelled out the Parliament's aspirations for the forthcoming inter-governmental conference, including:

- increased authority in Home Affairs matters (e.g. asylum) and police/naval/customs co-operation;
- greater use of QMV as 'the general procedure within the EU';
- the granting of new rights and obligations to the European citizen;
- the establishment of a European Peace Corps;
- transnational union rights; and,
- the formation of a Commission-run Common Foreign and Security Policy unit.

The EPP/ED voted in favour; Conservatives abstained, or voted with the EdN.

RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT TREATY (AMSTERDAM) 11 JUNE 1997 – PE R4-3068/1997

This report was based on the excessively integrationist Dutch draft for the Amsterdam Treaty.

The EPP/ED backed the report, while Conservatives abstained or voted alongside the EdN.

MENDEZ DE VIGO/TSATOS (AMSTERDAM DRAFT TREATY) 19 NOVEMBER 1997 A4-0347/1997

This covered the final version of the Amsterdam Treaty, which diluted the Dutch report but nevertheless extended QMV into the fields of defence, foreign policy and legal affairs.

The EPP/ED endorsed the summit's text. Conservatives opposed it alongside the EdN.

ANASTASSOPOULOS 15 JULY 1998 – UNIFORM ELECTORAL PROCEDURE A4-0212/1998

This report proposed a common (international) system of electing MEPs. Coupled with this was the identification of a percentage of the seats which would be fought from a common European party list, pooling the results from across the EU. It comments that the proposal ‘would also give European elections a more European dimension which would be less concerned with national political issues’.

At first it seemed the British would consent to a shabby compromise. The UK delegation leadership in Brussels, following negotiations with the EPP/ED, negotiated that 10% rather than 20% of the vote should be ‘pooled’ for the common list. This was only stopped when a eurosceptic staff member from Westminster, who happened to be visiting Brussels that week, was shown the draft by the UEN secretariat and briefed the UK press. As a result the Conservative vote split – seven went with the UEN, seven with the EPP/ED and two abstained.

CENSURE OF THE SANTER COMMISSION, 1999

The collapse of the Santer administration was triggered by a eurosceptic Green member. Along with other smaller Groups, the eurosceptic element of the EPP/ED supported the vote of censure on 14 January 1999. 70 EPP/ED MEPs, including all the Tories, voted against the Commission, while 112 of their colleagues (as well as 161 of the 198 voting socialists) supported the tainted Commissioners, in line with urgings of the Blair Government in the form of Pauline Green MEP, leader of the Labour delegation. The motion was rejected by 232 votes to 293, but nevertheless the Santer Commission resigned *en masse*, assuming collective responsibility.

Six months later, after the watershed elections of June 1999, the new President of the Commission, Romano Prodi, was voted in, and four of the eight former Commissioners eligible for re-election were reinstated with the support of the EPP/ED, the PES and the ELDR. Most Conservatives abstained. It was one of the first issues the newly-elected MEPs faced, and Mr Prodi threatened to resign unless his Commissioners were accepted; the agreement at Malaga had just been reached, and it was evidently felt that this was not the moment to start rocking the boat within the EPP/ED.

DUFF/VOGGENHUBER – 16 MARCH 2000 CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS A5-0064/2000

This initiative needs no introduction.

The vote saw the Conservatives in opposition to the EPP/ED and alongside the EDD and UEN. Only two other EPP/ED members joined them, while another two abstained.

DI LELLO FINUOLI 24 APRIL 2000 – ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION: COMBATING SERIOUS CRIME. A5-0178/2000

This report aimed at establishing EU competence in environmental crime, including the imposition of prison sentences which could not be superseded by the statute of limitations, since crimes might only be detected over a longer period of time. It also endorsed the involvement of Europol in this field.

Though described by Bill Newton-Dunn, covering it for the Conservatives some months before he defected to the Liberal Democrats, as ‘not contentious’, the report naturally found opposition within the EPP/ED, but not from the Conservatives.

LANNOYE 23 JUNE 2000 – COCOA AND CHOCOLATE PRODUCTS INTENDED FOR HUMAN CONSUMPTION A5-0047/2000

Chocolate is one of the hardest perennials of European debate. The argument between the animal fats and the vegetable fats lobbies has been going on for twenty years. British business is on the vegetable fats side, while the EPP/ED takes the Brussels line – and voted with the Commission.

DIMITRAKOPOULOS 7 JULY 2000 – PREPARING THE NEXT INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE FOR THE YEAR 2000. A5-0058/1999

This report endorsed the Charter of Fundamental Rights as the groundwork for a Constitution for the EU. It also supported the establishment of trans-EU political parties, a regular aspiration in contemporary EU politics, and more widespread use of qualified majority voting.

The UEN Group expressed a hostile minority opinion, attacking the report for ‘reinforcing the European superstate’, ‘increasing its powers of coercion’, ‘engraving its principles in marble’ and only ‘superficially democratising it’. The EPP/ED, however, were content: Hans-Gert Poettering remarked that ‘extension of the majority decision making in the Council is the key to success’.⁴⁰ The Conservatives did not mount an opposition on this occasion. As the Conservative spokesman (the europhile Chris Beazely) had been able to withdraw a handful of objectionable elements, he informed his British colleagues that for ‘procedural reasons’ – these do not exist; he meant the conventions of good manners and the principle of consensus – they must abstain. The vote turned out to be so close that Conservative opposition would have defeated the report.

THE 2000 BUDGET

For the last five years the Parliament has refused to ratify the EU Budget presented by the Commission, due to unaccounted spending at levels which imply corruption, or at least chronic maladministration. The EPP leadership usually votes for the Budget to pass, but it is always defeated by a combination of Conservatives, Socialists and others.

In September 2000 Conservative MEPs proposed 400 cuts to the Budget, including:

- items involving partisan information on the merits of the euro;
- the 1 billion euros spent in support of the production of poor-quality tobacco which ends up being dumped on the Third World;
- Commission staff hospitality funds;
- and federalist lobby Groups.

⁴⁰ Comment made at the press conference held on 13 April 2000.

The EPP/ED opposed the majority of these cuts, while certain Conservatives were unable to operate freely in the vote due to their official EPP/ED positions. As usual, however, the Budget was rejected. As usual, however, the Commission has carried on regardless.

DUHAMEL 25 OCTOBER 2000 CONSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE TREATIES A5-0289/2000

A report on the 'constitutionalisation' of the Treaties and their agglomeration into a single text, i.e. a constitution for Europe. This would include a list of common values and fundamental rights, detailing the role of European political parties and the objectives of European integration. It holds up in particular a 'decentralised co-operative federal model'.

A UEN and EDD joint minority opinion criticised this approach, not least because it authorised a shadowy Convention to draw up a document with the object of making the EU 'a state which takes precedence over nations'. The EPP/ED in general endorsed it; the Conservatives did not. The Group discussions were not constructive. To quote one MEP present at a pre-vote meeting, 'Hans-Gert [Poettering] used the time-honoured ploy of saying, "we already know the views of our British colleagues", and as a result our Conservative case went completely by default.'

VAN LANCKER 25 OCTOBER 2000 – SOCIAL POLICY AGENDA A5-0291/2000

This report on the Social Policy agenda heavily endorsed 'very ambitious' fundamental and social rights, 'gender mainstreaming', working time reductions, health and safety legislation, a European-level right to strike, further workforce rights, equal pay, a common body of social legislation, and so on.

The report inevitably split the EPP/ED. The Conservative lobbied hard to have the EPP/ED propose amendments to the report. But in a closed EPP/ED meeting, as one Conservative puts it, 'speaker after speaker supported essentially socialist positions and insisted we vote for totally unacceptable socialist/integrationist proposals'.

WIEBENGA 13 MARCH 2001 – DISPLACED PERSONS: TEMPORARY PROTECTION IN THE EVENT OF A MASS INFLUX, MEMBER STATES' ADMISSION A5-0077/2001

This report, under discussion at the time of writing, encourages the sharing-out of refugees between member states (i.e. sending them away from Germany). Those moved would be granted residence permits without delay if they met specific Council of Ministers criteria, and would receive equal rights in terms of social security, remuneration, accommodation, medical care and welfare.

MENDEZ DE VIGO/SEGURO 31 MAY 2001 – THE TREATY OF NICE AND THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION A5-0168/2001

This report on the Treaty of Nice, written by two EPP/ED MEPs, is under discussion at the time of writing. It endorses the Council of Ministers' refusal to consider the renegotiation of the Treaty of Nice following its rejection by the people of Ireland.

SCHLEICHER 21 JUNE 2001 – THE STATUTE AND FINANCING OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL PARTIES A5 –0167/2001

Authored by an EPP/ED member, this report not only supports the establishment of a statute for European political parties and granting of financing criteria, but also calls for them to be granted a legal personality. It has serious implications for the status and financing of more national and non-federalist parties such as the Conservatives.

The EPP/ED Group has notably failed to take on board the alarm expressed by Conservatives over this and similar reports, which are under consideration.

CORNILLET 05 JULY 2001 – REPORT ON FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION FOR 2000. A5-0223/2001

Written by an EPP/ED *rapporteur*, this report endorsed widespread activity in the domain of ‘fundamental rights’, including:

- the establishment of various centres, ombudsmen, monitoring agencies, support funds and lobby Groups;
- the adoption of a common asylum policy;
- a European constitution based on the Charter; and,
- further working regulations concerning maternity leave and those who have been employed for less than two years.

It also called on the UK to ratify the Social Charter, anathema to Conservative policy.

In the final vote, the EPP/ED split, with two thirds (including the Conservatives) voting with Eurosceptic parties against the Cornillet-led remainder.

CHAPTER FIVE

ALTERNATIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

There are two options for Conservative MEPs in the second half of this Parliament: to remain in uncomfortable alliance with the EPP/ED, or to form a new Group. The following tables compare the *status quo* against the situation arising from the creation of a possible “Bloc Tory” Group, composed only of Conservative MEPs plus those continental and Irish members who have already agreed in principle to such a Group, together with those whom the Parliament Rules would oblige to join it. Certain members, especially the Irish Fianna Fail MEPs, would have nowhere else to go, prevented by domestic politics from joining the EPP (due to the presence there of Fine Gael) or the ELDR (whose leader, Pat Cox, is an Irish Liberal).

This Group would be likely to include the great majority of the Conservative MEPs, six French RPF members, two Portuguese, three Dutch MEPs, one Dane, nine Italians and seven Irish. These figures are drawn up with the expectation that three or four Conservatives would defect to the EPP/ED or the Liberals (ELDR). This should not be unduly damaging to the Tory cause – after all, when Bill Newton-Dunn defected to the Liberal Democrats earlier in this Parliament, the event caused hardly a ripple in the British press. The advantages far out-weigh such considerations.

The Conservative Group would then become the third biggest Group, thus gaining a seat at the Conference of Presidents and considerably greater speaking rights. The right of centre would be strengthened in plenary. The Conservative Group could use its position to generate greater concessions from

the federalists. A two-party strategic alliance on an issue could now rely upon 258 votes as opposed to the more cumbersome multi-party alliances which are required at present.

There follows after that the more likely scenario (Bloc Tory II), in which a number of extra members would join, including six further Gaullists.

STATUS QUO: NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES PER GROUP

	B	Dk	G	Gr	Spain	Fr	Irel	Italy	Lux	Holl	Aus	P	Fin	Sw	UK	Total
EPP	6	1	53	9	28	21	5	34	2	9	7	9	5	7	36	232
PES	5	3	35	9	24	22	1	16	2	6	7	12	3	6	30	181
ELDR	5	6			3		1	8	1	8			5	4	11	52
Verts/ALE	7		5		4	9	2	2	1	4	2		2	2	6	46
GUE/NGL		1	6	7	4	11		6		1		2	1	3		42
UEN		1				3	6	9				2				21
TDI	2					5		12								19
EDD		4				9				3					2	18
NI					1	7					5				2	15
Total	25	16	99	25	64	87	15	87	6	31	21	25	16	22	87	626

BLOC TORY I: NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES PER GROUP

	B	Dk	G	Gr	Spain	Fr	Irel	Italy	Lux	Holl	Aus	P	Fin	Sw	UK	Total
EPP	6	1	53	9	28	21	4	34	2	9	7	9	5	7	3	198
PES	5	3	35	9	24	22	1	16	2	6	7	12	3	6	30	181
BLOC TORY		1				6	7	9		3		2			33	61
ELDR	5	6			3		1	8	1	8			5	4	11	52
Verts/ALE	7		5		4	9	2	2	1	4	2		2	2	6	46
GUE/NGL		1	6	7	4	11		6		1		2	1	3		42
UEN						3										3
TDI	2					5		12								19
EDD		4				9									2	15
NI					1	1					5				2	9
Total	25	16	99	25	64	87	15	87	6	31	21	25	16	22	87	626

BLOCK TORY II: NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES PER GROUP

	B	Dk	G	Gr	Spain	Fr	Irel	Italy	Lux	Holl	Aus	P	Fin	Sw	UK	Total
EPP	6	1	53	9	28	21	4	34	2	9	7	9	5	7	1	196
PES	5	3	35	9	24	22	1	16	2	6	7	12	3	6	30	181
BLOC TORY		1				12	7	9		3		2			35	69
ELDR	5	6			3		1	8	1	8			5	4	11	52
Verts/ALE	7		5		4	9	2	2	1	4	2		2	2	6	46
GUE/NGL		1	6	7	4	11		6		1		2	1	3		42
TDI	2					5		12								19
EDD		4				6									2	12
NI					1	1					5				2	9
Total	25	16	99	25	64	87	15	87	6	31	21	25	16	22	87	626

COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS

As things stand under the d'Hondt system the EPP/ED and the PES have by far the most Committee Chairmen, eight and six respectively. The Liberal Democrats, the Greens and the Left alliance have one Chairmanship each. The Conservative MEPs currently have one Chair, the Environment, held by Caroline Jackson (they held vice-chairmanship of Foreign Affairs too, until Bill Newton-Dunn defected to the ELDR, taking the post with him).

The following table shows the order of choices each Group currently has in the parcelling-out of chairs under d'Hondt.

STATUS QUO: COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS PER GROUP

EPP/ED	PES	ELDR	VERTS	GUE	UEN	EDD	TDI	NI
1	2	8	10	12				
3	4							
5	6							
7	11							
9	14							
13	16							
15								
17								

BLOC TORY I: COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS PER GROUP

The table below shows how a new Group would hold two Committee Chairmanships while the EPP would have six and the PES five. Thus the Conservatives and their supporters would immediately double the number of Chairmanships, getting choices 7 and 17. The only disadvantage of the proposal is that we would lose the powerful Environment committee chair, which would be taken by a Group with greater seniority.

EPP	PES	BLOC TORY	ELDR	VERTS	GUE	UEN	EDD	TDI	NI
1	2	7	8	10	12				
3	4	17							
5	6								
9	11								
13	14								
15	16								

BLOC TORY II: COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS PER GROUP

This scenario would deliver the fifth and fifteenth choice of chair to the new Group, while the vagaries of d'Hondt would mean that the ELDR would gain a Committee chairmanship from the EPP.

EPP	PES	BLOC TORY	ELDR	VERTS	GUE	UEN	EDD	TDI	NI
1	2	5	8	10	12				
3	4	15	19						
6	7								
9	11								
13	14								
16	17								

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The Conservative Party is currently going through a period of internal stress. It would be a pity if they allowed this to distract them from the opportunities the moment presents in Europe.

There would, inevitably, be some opposition to the move proposed in this paper, and not least from certain Conservative MEPs of the generation prior to 1999. There may be the odd defection if it were acted on, by members who would find a more comfortable home with the Pro-Euro Conservatives or another EPP affiliate.

Activity in the European Parliament is characterised by a consensual style of politics quite at odds with the more robust Westminster tradition. Respectability is key. For nearly ten years the Conservative MEPs have tried to accommodate themselves to this style with, as we have seen, little success. The process of European integration moves on apace, and the alliance with the EPP/ED has served only to diminish the influence to which the Conservatives are – given their size – entitled. It has ensured that the voice of the Party most in tune with the aspirations of many of Europe's citizens – in favour of the co-operation of independent nation states, not in favour of rule from Brussels – is rarely heard above the chant of 'ever-closer union' proclaimed by all the other large national parties. It is time that Conservative MEPs represented their constituents in the manner that those who elected them expect.

There are two forms of political pressure: voice and exit. The former method is that adopted by the Conservatives hitherto – the hope that by staying within the consensus, by maintaining the respectability so beloved of continental politicians, it might be possible to bring the Union more into line with its

citizens' wishes. The other method – exit – is now called for: to leave the Group which we have been unable to convert to the values of the free market and national independence, and establish a new one which, by dint of argument, will attract both European politicians and their voters.

While in Brussels the momentum for further integration grows and grows, out in the countries of the Union opposition to such a process seems also to be growing. The scenarios outlined in the preceding chapter are conservative estimates of the strength of the new Group. It is not far-fetched to assume that existing parties in the European Parliament, such as the Bavarian Christian Democrats (CSU), might come over in time; it is certainly not far-fetched to assume that the new Group would strike a deep chord with voters both in the existing Union and in the accession countries. The alternative is an ever-widening gap between the politicians and the people, and the growth of parties which, while they defend the principle of national autonomy, are very far from the respectable British tradition of liberal patriotism.

The Conservative Party, for all that it is looked at askance by integrationist politicians on the continent and in Britain, is the most respectable political party in the world. It has championed the principles of democracy and freedom for longer than any other European party has been in existence, and during periods when many existing parties, including those that now rule in Brussels, were explicit apologists for various forms of totalitarianism. To conclude that we will sacrifice 'respectability' in Europe by following the proposal outlined here would be to place the opinion of Brussels politicians above the opinion not only of Conservative members in the UK, but above that of an enormous and unrepresented constituency on the continent.

It is this opinion the Party should be seeking to represent. An opinion which holds that what we need is a wider, not a deeper Europe. A Europe that respects its citizens rather than its leaders. A Europe of freedom, both for individuals and for nations. A Europe that is free to trade, and encourages the poorest nations to do the same. The Europe, in short, that Churchill envisaged: 'the largest common measure of the integrated life of Europe that is possible, without destroying the individual characteristics of its many ancient and historic races.'⁴¹

⁴¹ BBC broadcast, 23 March 1943, quoted in Hugo Young, *This Blessed Plot* (Macmillan, 1998).

ANNEX I

THE PARLIAMENTARY RULES OF PROCEDURE: GROUPS

RULE 29: FORMATION OF POLITICAL GROUPS

1. Members may form themselves into groups according to their political affinities.
2. A political group must comprise Members from more than one Member State. The minimum number of Members required to form a political group shall be twenty-three if they come from two Member States, eighteen if they come from three Member States and fourteen if they come from four or more Member States.
3. A Member may not belong to more than one group.
4. The President shall be notified in a statement when a political group is set up. This statement shall specify the name of the group, its members and its bureau.
5. The statement shall be published in the Official Journal of the European Communities.

RULE 30: NON-ATTACHED MEMBERS

1. Members who do not belong to a political group shall be provided with a secretariat. The detailed arrangements shall be laid down by the Bureau on a proposal from the Secretary-General.
2. The Bureau shall also determine the status and parliamentary rights of such Members.

RULE 31: ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN THE CHAMBER

The Conference of Presidents shall decide how seats in the Chamber are to be allocated among the political groups, the Non-attached Members and the institutions of the European Union.

ANNEX II

THE 'NO' VOTERS

The following lists, of those who voted against and abstained from voting on three controversial integrationist Parliamentary reports, give an idea of some of those who might be expected to make up the proposed new Group. Some of them would never join, of course – there are Socialists, Greens, and Liberals among them – and some, such as extreme nationalists, would not be invited to join. But the numbers give some idea of the potential.

VOTING ON THE CORNILLET REPORT⁴²

AGAINST: 141

EDD: Belder, Blokland, van Dam

NI: Berthu, Garaud, Hager, Kronberger, de La Perriere, Raschhofer, Souchet, Thomas-Mauro

EPP/ED: Andria, Arvidsson, Averoff, Bartolozzi, Beazley, Berend, Bethell, Bowis, Bradbourn, Bushill-Matthews, Callanan, Carlsson, Cederschiöld, Chichester, Cunha, Daul, Deva, Dover, Ebner, Elles, Evans Jonathan, Fatuzzo, Ferber, Ferrer, Fiori, Flemming, Foster, Gahler, García-Margallo y Marfil, García-Orcoyen Tormo, Gemelli, Goepel, Gomolka, Goodwill, Grönfeldt Bergman, Hannan, Harbour, Hatzidakis, Heaton-Harris, Helmer, Hermange, Hortefeux, Inglewood, Jeggle, Karas, Keppelhoff-Wiechert, Khanbhai, Kirkhope, Koch, Konrad, Korhola, Langen, Langenhagen, Lechner, Lehne, Lisi, Mann Thomas, Mantovani,

⁴² *The Situation of Fundamental Rights in the Union 2000*, adopted in July 2001.

Marinos, Martin Hugues, Mauro, Mayer Hans-Peter, Mayer Xaver, Mennitti, Menrad, Mombaur, Müller Emilia Franziska, Nassauer, Nicholson, Niebler, Nisticò, Parish, Perry, Podestà, Poettering, Posselt, Provan, Purvis, Quisthoudt-Rowohl, Radwan, Rovsing, Rübig, Sacrédeus, Santer, Santini, Sartori, Scallon, Schierhuber, Schleicher, Schnellhardt, Schröder Jürgen, Schwaiger, Sommer, Stenmarck, Stenzel, Stevenson, Stockton, Sudre, Tajani, Tannock, Theato, Valdivielso de Cué, Van Orden, Vidal-Quadras Roca, Villiers, Vlasto, Wenzel-Perillo, Wieland, von Wogau, Wuermeling, Xarchakos, Zacharakis, Zimmerling, Zissener

TDI: de Gaulle, Lang, Le Pen, Martinez, Vanhecke

UEN: Angelilli, Berlato, Camre, Crowley, Fitzsimons, Gallagher, Hyland, Muscardini, Pasqua, Queiró, Ribeiro e Castro

ABSENTIONS: 50

EDD: Abitbol, Bernié, Butel, Esclopé, Raymond

ELDR: Gasòliba i Böhm, Pesälä, Sánchez García, Väyrynen, Virrankoski

GUE/NGL: Alavanos, Alyssandrakis, Bakopoulos, Bertinotti, Bordes, Brie, Cauquil, Cossutta, Di Lello Finuoli, Eriksson, Frahm, Kaufmann, Korakas, Krivine, Manisco, Marset Campos, Meijer, Patakis, Puerta, Schmid Herman, Seppänen, Sjöstedt, Sylla, Uca, Vachetta, Wurtz

EPP/ED: Bastos, Costa Raffaele, Fourtou, Gil-Robles Gil-Delgado, Grossetête, Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou, Lulling, Marini, Pack

PES: Dehousse, Souladakis, Wynn

TDI: Gobbo

UEN: Segni

VOTING ON THE SCHLEIDER REPORT⁴³

AGAINST: 80

EDD: Abitbol, Belder, Bernié, Blokland, Bonde, Butel, Coûteaux, van Dam, Esclopé, Krarup, Kuntz, Mathieu, Raymond

ELDR: Beysen, van den Bos, Pesälä, Pohjamo, Väyrynen, Virrankoski

GUE/NGL: Alyssandrakis, Eriksson, Figueiredo, Frahm, Korakas, Meijer, Miranda, Patakis, Schmid Herman, Seppänen, Sjöstedt

NI: Berthu, Hager, Kronberger, Raschhofer, Sichrovsky, Souchet, Thomas-Mauro

EPP/ED: Beazley, Bethell, Bowis, Bradbourn, Callanan, Corrie, Deva, Dover, Elles, Foster, Goodwill, Helmer, Hernández Mollar,

⁴³ *The statute and financing of European political parties*, adopted in June 2001

Khanbhai, Kirkhope, McMillan-Scott, Parish, Perry, Provan, Purvis, Sacrédeus, Stevenson, Stockton, Sturdy, Tannock, Villiers

TDI: Bigliardo, Cappato, Dell'Alba, Della Vedova, Dupuis, Gobbo, Martelli, Speroni, Turco, Vanhecke

UEN: Camre, Ribeiro e Castro

Verts/ALE: Gahrton, Lipietz, Schörling, Schröder Ilka, Wuori

ABSENTIONS: 17

ELDR: Andreasen, Busk, Dybkjær, Haarder, Jensen

GUE/NGL: Bakopoulos, Boudjenah, Koulourianos, Manisco, Markov, Wurtz

NI: Gorostiaga Atxalandabaso

EPP/ED: Costa Raffaele

PES: Martin Hans-Peter

UEN: Queiró

Verts/ALE: Lucas, Voggenhuber

THE MENDEZ DE VIGO/SEGURO REPORT⁴⁴

AGAINST: 98

EDD: Abitbol, Belder, Bernié, Blokland, Bonde, Butel, Coûteaux, van Dam, Esclopé, Holmes, Krarup, Kuntz, Mathieu, Raymond, Sandbæk

ELDR: Pesälä, Pohjamo, Väyrynen, Virrankoski

GUE/NGL: Eriksson, Figueiredo, Frahm, Krivine, Markov, Meijer, Miranda, Modrow, Patakis, Schmid Herman, Seppänen, Sjöstedt, Sylla, Vachetta

NI: Berthu, Garaud, Gorostiaga Atxalandabaso, Montfort, Souchet, Thomas-Mauro, Varaut

EPP/ED: Bradbourn, Bushill-Matthews, Chichester, Corrie, Deva, Dover, Elles, Evans Jonathan, Goodwill, Harbour, Heaton-Harris, Helmer, Inglewood, Khanbhai, Kirkhope, Konrad, McMillan-Scott, Nicholson, Parish, Perry, Provan, Purvis, Sacrédeus, Scallon, Stockton, Sturdy, Sumberg, Tannock

PES: Martin Hans-Peter, Rothley, Valenciano Martínez-Orozco

TDI: Bigliardo, Bonino, Dell'Alba, Della Vedova, Dillen, Dupuis, de Gaulle, Gollnisch, Lang, Le Pen, Martelli, Vanhecke

UEN: Camre, Caullery, Marchiani, Queiró, Ribeiro e Castro

⁴⁴ *The Treaty of Nice and the future of the European Union*, adopted in May 2001.

Verts/ALE: Ahern, Bautista Ojeda, Boumediene-Thiery, Gahrton, MacCormick, McKenna, Maes, Schörling, Staes, Wyn

ABSENTIONS: 59

GUE/NGL: Ainardi, Alavanos, Bakopoulos, Boudjenah, Di Lello Finuoli, González Álvarez, Jové Peres, Morgantini, Vinci, Wurtz

EPP/ED: Bastos, Bayrou, Bourlanges, Coelho, Cornillet, Costa Neves, Cunha, Decourrière, De Sarnez, Florenz, Fourtou, Graça Moura, Lamassoure, Lulling, Morillon, Pacheco Pereira

PES: Balfe, Bowe, Cashman, Dehousse, Désir, Evans Robert J.E., Ford, Gill, Honeyball, Howitt, van Hulten, Kinnock, McAvan, McCarthy, Martin David W., Miller, Moraes, Naïr, Piecyk, Read, Simpson, Skinner, Titley, Whitehead, Wynn

UEN: Berlato, Muscardini

Verts/ALE: Celli, Echerer, Lambert, Lucas, Nogueira Román, Wuori

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