

Bardi | Gagattek | Germond | Johansson | Kaiser | Sassano

The European Ambition

The Group of the European People's Party
and European Integration



Nomos

Luciano Bardi | Wojciech Gagatsek
Carine Germond | Karl Magnus Johansson
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Preface

This book presents the results of the research project “The European ambition – The Group of the European People’s Party and European integration”. With the aim of contributing not only to scholarly debate but also to the general public’s knowledge, it focuses on the impact of the Group of the European People’s Party (EPP) in the European Parliament on European integration following the first direct European elections in 1979. The book begins with an account of co-operation models of Christian Democrats in the Common Assembly, which had been established with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. It then covers four decades of the EPP Group’s input in the shaping of parliamentary debates, formulation of European policies and stimulation of the development of an institutional framework and a European party system. Interdisciplinary research on the Group’s impact on the democratic integration of Europe is long overdue given that it will enrich the current understanding of the European Parliament’s history. This book strives to close this gap and is the result of a series of initiatives launched with the EPP Group and the European University Institute working in partnership.

The EPP Group’s ambition for a united Europe was a decisive stimulus in the post-war history of European integration. Two founders of the European Communities and early members of the Group had been elected as President of the predecessor to the European Parliament: Alcide De Gasperi in 1952 and Robert Schuman in 1958. 70 years ago, on 9th May 1950, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman gave impetus to the idea of a European Community with his ground-breaking declaration. After his election as President of the European Parliament on 19th March 1958, he presented to the plenary his view on the political role of the Parliament and his political group’s European ambition:

“...elle [l’Assemblée parlementaire dans l’Europe des Six] a été le banc d’essai d’une vie démocratique élargie à l’échelle européenne, ce qui lui a permis de renforcer constamment son influence politique en exerçant un contrôle parlementaire sur l’action de la Haute Autorité. Elle a rendu vaines les craintes souvent exprimées d’une prédominance technocratique dans les institutions économiques européennes. Certes, l’Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l’Europe avait ouvert l’histoire des assemblées internationales où l’opinion parlementaire ne s’inspire

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pas de la seule défense des intérêts nationaux, mais relève essentiellement des options politiques fondamentales. Mais il faut souligner que c'est à l'Assemblée commune que la formation des groupes politiques a permis, dès ses premières sessions, de développer ce sentiment européen au-delà des particularismes nationaux ... Le fait d'avoir été le candidat unique des trois groupes politiques de cette Assemblée est pour moi un honneur inespéré et en même temps un engagement pour l'avenir. Mon appartenance au groupe politique le plus nombreux a pu justifier ce choix en vertu d'une tradition parlementaire et démocratique, mais je le déclare hautement, je ne serai, ici, ni le représentant d'un parti, ni celui d'un pays."¹

The research project was officially created on 12th July 2017, marking the EPP Group's call for a study on the Group's impact on European integration. The Alcide De Gasperi Research Centre on the History of European Integration, a joint undertaking of the History Department and the Historical Archives of the European Union at the European University Institute, responded to this call with a research proposal, which was carried out by an interdisciplinary and transnational team of scholars.

The Historical Archives of the EU and the Alcide De Gasperi Research Centre worked together closely in the past years with the former contributing its unique archival memory of European integration, which consists of the EU institutional archives, numerous private papers, and the archives of Federalist movements, European organisations and political groups in the European Parliament.

The EPP Group in the European Parliament and the Historical Archives have developed their fruitful co-operation over many years, starting with privileged electronic access to the Brussels-based EPP Group archives for researchers in Florence. This was followed by the introduction of an annual postgraduate grant programme on "Christian Democracy and European Integration", encouraging research which would make use of the Group's archival patrimony held in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Sankt Augustin and in the Brussels office.

This book was achieved thanks to a number of key actors, partners and contributors. Thanks must therefore go firstly to the EPP Group in the European Parliament; its Secretary-General Martin Kamp, the Group's longest serving Secretary-General, who prompted and supported the project with an open mind and interest in academic research; former Di-

1 *Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne*, 1 (Mai 1958), Débats, Compte rendu in extenso des séances, Session constitutive mars 1958, 31.

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rector of the EPP Group's Presidency Johan Ryngaert, who energised the project with questions and comments based on his deep insight into the Group's policies; Emma Petroni who has framed and managed the Group's archives with dedication for many years; and the various members of the Group, who participated in the series of interviews conducted for the project. Thanks must also go to the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for providing access to the EPP Group's archival deposit and supporting the consultation by digitising relevant documents.

The results of the research were presented in a conference held at the EUI on 14th-15th November 2019. Thanks go to the discussants, who contributed their respective knowledge to the research, namely Sandro Guerrieri, Alfredo De Feo, Lorenzo Cicchi, Angela Romano, Martin Bull and Carlos Closa. Our gratitude must also go to the former Members of European Parliament, who enriched the debate with their personal testimonies, namely President Hans-Gert Pöttering and MEPs Jo Leinen and Andrew Duff.

At the Alcide De Gasperi Research Centre of the EUI, special thanks go to Prof. Luciano Bardi, Jacopo Cellini, Johannes Karremans and Silvia Sassano, who laid the project's foundations, co-ordinated the research team and liaised with the EPP Group. Finally, thanks go to the authors who contributed their knowledge and insight to the book, namely Wojciech Gagatsek, Carine Germond, Karl Magnus Johansson and Wolfram Kaiser.

Florence, 30th April 2020

Dieter Schlenker
Director
Historical Archives of the European Union
European University Institute

Introduction

Luciano Bardi and Silvia Sassano

This book is a study on the Group of the European People's Party (EPP). It traces the Group's origins in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Assembly and concentrates on its evolution throughout the four decades following the first universal suffrage elections of the European Parliament (EP), held in 1979. The stimulus for an academic research study investigating the EPP Group's objectives, strategies, actions, achievements and failures was provided by the Group itself. In response, this book aims to trace the Group's institutional, organisational and political trajectory in pursuit of what prominent exponents of the Group itself defined as its 'European ambition': the step-by-step achievement of levels of European awareness, commonality of values and co-operation, capable of enabling once arch-inimical nation states to live in peace and speak with one authoritative voice with the rest of the world. The expression 'European ambition' echoed the one used by EPP Group Chair Wilfried Martens when he referred to European political union in his speech at the XIII EPP Congress, held in Brussels in 1999.¹

This volume uses a dynamic approach to deepen the public's knowledge of the impact of the EPP Group's actions on European integration and on the EP. It also intends to provide an original contribution to the study of all political groups in the EP with a multidisciplinary perspective that does not currently exist in the literature. As the book aims to engage practitioners and the wider public as well as the scientific community, it presents descriptive and qualitative narratives besides quantitative analyses and hermeneutical outputs. It is divided into five chapters, which trace and assess the elements of the 'European ambition'. At the same time, it focuses on the political and organisational evolution of the EPP Group and its strategic view of Europe from 1979 onwards, within the framework of international Christian democratic co-operation since the end of World War II. The methodology used in this book follows a multidisciplinary approach based on history, political science, European law and political sociology.

1 EPP Group Archives (1994-1999), President EPP – Group – Martens – Speeches.

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Each chapter discusses the relevant literature within the legal framework regulating the European Union (EU) and the EP as well as European political parties. Each makes use of multiple archival sources, drawing upon the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU), the EPP Group's archives, the Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy (ACDP) and EU official documentation and data. All chapters rely on selected interviews with relevant actors (current and past EPP members and the EPP Group's support staff as well as other informed observers and experts).

The first chapter, authored by Wolfram Kaiser, discusses the history of the EPP Group in the European Parliament from its origins to the Maastricht Treaty, beginning with Christian Democracy's (CD) transnational co-operation after the end of the Second World War. Next, the author focuses on the Group's composition and internal governance from 1958 to 1992 as well as its evolving relationships with the EPP's central party organisation and other political groups in the EP. The chapter's final sections are devoted to the Group's 'European ambitions' of shaping two crucial functions of the EP: system-building and policy-making.

The second chapter, written by Karl Magnus Johansson, explores the role of the EPP Group in regards to EU treaty and institutional reform through an overview of six significant cases: the Single European Act and the Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice, Constitutional and Lisbon Treaties.

In the third chapter, Carine Germond sets out to explore the EPP Group's contribution to and role in shaping the development of the internal policies of the European Union. She focuses on four internal policy areas of strategic importance: agricultural, economic and monetary, social, and environmental policy.

The fourth chapter, authored by Wojciech Gagatsek, encompasses a broad area of the EU's external policies, including foreign policy, security and defence policy, development policy, commercial policy (external trade) and EU enlargement.

The fifth and final chapter, written by Luciano Bardi, concentrates on the Group's role as a crucial component in the EP party system and its core. Through an analysis of quantitative data, it also assesses the Group's institutional impact and positioning within the EPP party's wider organisation. Finally, it explores the Group's role in the relationship between the EP and other EU institutions, namely the Commission and the Council(s).

This study is justified due to the interest it can elicit in a wider pool of potential readers and due to the significance of the scientific contribution it can provide. Its relevance for anyone interested in European political phenomena as regards the EPP Group, especially in comparison with other political groups, is evident. For more than four decades, the EPP Group

has played an important role in shaping the EP and the EU's institutional and democratic development. European elections have no doubt enhanced the strength and legitimacy of the political groups in the EP and have fostered the development of a party system at European level, at least in the parliamentary arena, defined as consisting of the political groups it includes, their relative strength and their structured interactions. At European level, a structured party system only exists in the parliamentary arena, whilst it is fragmented into 27 different national ones in the electoral arena and has yet to develop in the governmental arena (Bardi, Katz and Mair 2015). This explains the importance of political groups in the EP. Moreover, genuine European political parties, with complex parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations, have developed as well.

The EPP and its Group have long been at the centre of this process (Hix and Lord 1997; Kreppel 2002). In particular, the EPP, along with the Liberal (ALDE, now Renew Europe) and the Socialist (S&D) Groups, forms what is referred to as the European party system's core (see Bardi in Chapter 5 of this book). The core shares a common imperative mission: to strengthen the EP vis-à-vis the other EU institutions and enhance the supranational dimension of the EU in the process. This common objective has led the three groups to collaborate on institutional and constitutional matters, no doubt accelerating the EP's acquisition of significant powers (see Johansson in Chapter 2 and Bardi in Chapter 5 of this book).

Thus, the political groups of the EP continue to have a fundamental role in the institutional development of the EP and the EU. This is particularly true of the EPP Group due to several factors, not least the numerical primacy that the Group has enjoyed for the last five EP terms. However, as the analysis in the rest of this volume reveals, the long-standing Europeanist and institutionalist legacy inherited from the Christian Democratic Group and the commitment and competence of EPP MEPs are equally important. The Group has had a strong institutional presence throughout its history, which, in turn, has always allowed it to be a protagonist in the drafting and approval of the norms that regulate the functioning of the EP. This does not necessarily result in any direct advantages being gained but certainly ensures that the EP's institutional evolution follows a path which is consistent with the Group's objectives.

For a long time, the EP's political groups were, politically and organisationally, the most relevant component of European political parties and instrumental in the latter's growth. European political parties are indeed strong within the European Parliament where the groups have exhibited high levels of cohesiveness and inclusiveness (the ability to incorporate new national party delegations). Conversely, they are weak outside the EP,

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as demonstrated by the comparative irrelevance of their extra-parliamentary organisational structures, which consisted of loose federations of national parties with very few resources (Bardi 1994; Hix and Lord 1997; Kreppel 2002; Hix and Roland 2007).

This brief discussion has highlighted the objective centrality of the EPP Group and the system of political groups in which it operates: Both appear to be relevant foci of scientific research as well. Indeed, European political parties, as named and defined in Regulation EU 1141/2014, have been the object of keen interest in academic literature. They are, after all, important actors in the development of the European Communities (EC) and subsequently the EU. This has been true at least since Ernst Haas' suggestion (in 1958) that European political parties' growth provides an essential analytical focus for the assessment of the EU's political system. Since the EP's first universal suffrage elections, scholarly interest in the development and potential role of EU-specific political parties has grown considerably. The political groups in the European Parliament have not been the object of comparable attention. Moreover, even the most relevant study of a single EP political group (Fontaine 2009), which was an impressively informative and detailed account of the EPP Group, did not provide a systematic analysis of its intra-party and interinstitutional relations.

The few years leading up to the first elections of the European Parliament saw a revamping of the Europeanist drive that gave European integration a solid start in the early 1950s after the failure of a more ambitious project in the late 1940s. That success, often attributed to the pragmatism and realism of Jean Monnet's gradualist intuition, was also massively idealistic, as the project was shared and owned by other important European leaders, most of them Christian Democrats. Monnet broke the stalemate caused by the scepticism surrounding the federalist idea of the United States of Europe as a supranational institutional entity to be formed in one step with a single treaty. He conceived of a gradualist approach that would lead to a European federation in successive constitutional steps, starting with the creation of institutions for the integration of one crucial economic sector (the coal and steel industry). This method, which was termed neo-functionalism because of its sectoral nature (Haas 1958), was accepted by Schuman and the other 'founding fathers' and applied through the approval of a succession of treaties. During the 1970s, the EPP and its Group embraced the institutionalist and supranationalist traditions respectively embedded in Jean Monnet's and Robert Schuman's approaches (for the latter see Schlenker in the Preface of this book).

From a scientific perspective, a dedicated study of the EPP Group is therefore necessary, not only because it will fill an obvious gap in the liter-

ature, but also because it is an opportunity to investigate the impact on the elected Parliament of the very same Europeanist and federalist tradition that was a driving force in the establishment of the European Communities. The 1976 Manifesto of European Christian Democracy envisaged “a personalist, communitarian society, rooted in Christian values and founded on the dignity of the human being” whilst also stating “its commitment to the political integration of the [European] continent, with the goal of setting up a European government with independent powers and a parliament resulting from general and direct elections” (Cellini 2018: 86). Although the values and ideals at the Manifesto’s core were universalistic, the concern for the creation of instruments for their affirmation in Europe was explicit. The European People’s Party was founded mere months after the Manifesto was approved. European Christian Democrats felt that the implementation of their idea of Europe required effective institutional and political means, such as those provided by an integrated party at European level. This organisation would potentially overcome the limitations and shortcomings of both the European Union of Christian Democrats (EU-CD) and CD Group in the European Parliament.

Promoting European Christian values and European political integration were therefore one and the same. One could even surmise that the pursuit by the EPP, as a Party and a Group, of more secular/political objectives, including the EU’s institutionalisation, was tantamount to claiming the relevance of European Christian roots. As was consistently the case with these principles and their very *raison d’être*, the CD Group, followed by its EPP successor, took positions that clearly aimed to strengthen an institutional approach to European integration, as recommended by various reports on the state of EU institutions over the course of the 1970s. Moreover, the Group took strong stances in favour of the conferral of budgetary powers to the EP and, prominently, the completion of the operational process that would lead to the first universal suffrage election of the EP. In some of these cases, the CD and EPP Groups acted as veritable driving forces, whereas they limited themselves to taking favourable positions in other cases.

Be that as it may, the analysis in this volume demonstrates that the Group, as is consistent with the foremost objective of its ‘European ambition’, contributed strongly to the breaking of the institutional stalemate afflicting the EC in the 1970s. In the decades that followed, this legacy allowed the Group to pursue an integrationist strategy towards a supranational Union, despite the progressive, albeit relative, erosion of its Christian democratic identity. This was determined by the crisis faced by many traditional Christian democratic parties in Western Europe and the mo-

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mentous historical events following the fall of the Berlin Wall as well as the subsequent expansion of the EU to East-Central and South-Eastern Europe. The ultimate, yet still very remote, objective of the ‘ambition’ could be the creation of a common European identity based on personalistic and universalistic values rooted in the notion of human dignity. Such values are part of the Christian tradition. However, as they are also present in secular visions, they are compatible with many of the parties that were more recently incorporated into the Group.

The study will therefore analyse how the EPP Group has pursued its ‘European ambition’. Analytically but also conceptually, the ‘European ambition’ is much more than a simple idea about European integration. It consists of the following different but connected values/ideals, objectives and means/instruments.

Values – Christian values, principles and ideals as understood in a universalistic manner (based on human dignity) and, more specifically, in a supranational way.

Institutional objective – European federal state through a gradual approach. Intermediate institutional objective which is also a means of achieving the primary one – institutional strengthening and empowerment of the EP.

Political means/strategy – achievement of hegemony in the EP through a strong institutional presence/activism and political alliances (creation of a core group with S&D and ALDE; selective collaboration with the Greens).

Organisational means – achievement and maintenance of numerical prevalence in the EP and a presence in all Member States, mainly via its ability to attract sister (or at least ‘cousin’) parties across successive EU enlargements.

The relevance of the components of the EPP Group’s European ambition can be traced through this volume’s five chapters. As the previous discussion has revealed, Christian values are the foundation of the Group’s Europeanist vocation. Although this is a separate theme, analytically, it is closely intertwined with the Group’s primary institutional objective: the gradual creation of a European federal state. The connection between the two emerges clearly in Chapter 1 as Wolfram Kaiser’s historical analysis focuses on the role played by the Christian Democrats in the debate on the future progress of European integration since the early post-war period. Although the analysis concentrates specifically on the ECSC and the European Eco-

conomic Community (EEC), it goes as far as to include Altiero Spinelli's acceptance of the relevance of Christian Democracy's European roots during the debate on the Draft Treaty on the European Union (1984). This compatibility of values is also demonstrated by the EPP Group's decision to support Spinelli's initiative despite the fact that he belonged to the Communist Group (see Bardi in Chapter 5 of this book). Similarly, the Christian tradition appears in subsequent discussions on treaty reform (see Johansson in Chapter 2 of this book). Specifically, proposals for including references to the Christian heritage of Europe were part of the debate on the Constitutional Treaty (see Gagatsek in Chapter 4 of this book).

In her chapter, Carine Germond outlines, amongst various successful proposals for inclusion in the text of the Maastricht Treaty by the EPP Group, the subsidiarity principle and describes it as "an integral part of a Christian vision of Europe". Germond also focuses on the Christian notion of solidarity, responsibility, respect and social justice in the context of social policy. This is not surprising as these chime perfectly with traditional Christian values. Conversely, the relevance of Christian views in shaping the EPP Group's position on environmental policy and even EU financial and budgetary governance is less expected, even if it is limited to its social dimension.

Likewise, Wojciech Gagatsek repeatedly refers to values or ethical attitudes that can cement or break apart positions on key external policies in his analysis. For example, values such as freedom, democracy and human rights are discussed as foundations of a possible convergence between the United States and the EU in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). As regards development policy, however, the discussion juxtaposes issues such as abortion and freedom of religion with policy actions, such as the effort to ensure access to drinking water. In other words, the EPP Group considers a free trade area as an opportunity rather than a danger given its ideological orientation in favour of the defence of human dignity and peace and against poverty and war. Finally, Christian values also emerge as important elements in the analysis of the evolving EPP Group's cohesiveness and identity (see Bardi in Chapter 5 of this book), as successive EU enlargements have required the incorporation of parties coming from traditions that are not explicitly Christian.

The EPP Group's primary institutional objective, the achievement of a European federal state, is a theme running through all five chapters. In Chapter 1, Wolfram Kaiser juxtaposes the EPP Group's outstanding role in promoting EC/EU constitutionalisation with the lack of unity on this matter on the part of the PES. In Chapter 2, Karl Magnus Johansson illustrates how the EPP Group's statement that the Draft Treaty should be used as a

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basis for further EU integration and constitutionalisation found a concrete application in successive treaty reforms, beginning with the Single European Act. The gradualist nature of the EPP's approach to EU constitutionalisation is thus confirmed by the Group's role in promoting successive treaty reforms. After the Nice Treaty (2001), the EPP Group played a crucial role in establishing the Convention for the elaboration of a Constitutional Treaty (2004) and its outcomes. After this initiative's failure, the Group continued to encourage the adoption of a new treaty, an effort which came to fruition with the 2007 Lisbon Treaty.

The Group's position on the 'deepening vs. widening' dilemma, which animated the debate at European level after the collapse of Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, was that the latter is not possible without the former, as is well argued by Wojciech Gagątek in his discussion of enlargement policy. As expected, institutional deepening is not the main focus of Carine Germond's dissection of treaty reform. Given her chapter's focus on policy, she highlights, amongst other things, the timetable set for the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the creation of an independent European Central Bank (ECB) whilst discussing the Maastricht Treaty.

Luciano Bardi concentrates on the EPP Group's role in promoting the parliamentarisation and democratisation of the EU through non-constitutional means. In particular, he discusses the Group's changing positions on its assessment of the potential impact of electoral reform, especially as concerns the creation of transnational lists in EP elections, the Europeanisation of political parties and representation at EU level. In his analysis, this assessment is partially connected to a discussion of the *Spitzenkandidaten* initiative as a means of modifying the political balance between supranational and intergovernmental institutions in favour of the former.

The main intermediate objective of the EPP Group's 'European ambition' is the empowerment and institutional strengthening of the EP, yet it is not only a goal but also an instrument by which the Group may exert influence in the EU. Indeed, in this book's analysis, the EPP Group's commitment to EU constitutionalisation and institutional deepening goes hand in hand with a commitment to a more powerful EP. In Wolfram Kaiser's chapter, the CD/EPP Group's idea that the empowerment of the EP is a "*conditio sine qua non*" for a federal Europe is clearly spelled out. At the same time, Kaiser demonstrates that the CD Group was convinced that a more powerful Parliament would pave the way for a more active and influential role of political parties in EC/EU integration.

This aspect is addressed in each chapter. According to Karl Magnus Johansson, the extension of the EP's powers of co-decision through various

treaties and growing tendencies toward EU parliamentarism strengthen the partisan dimension of EU politics. In Chapter 3, Carine Germond connects the political groups' ability to influence legislation with the legislative empowerment of the EP in those internal policy areas in which it gained new competences after 1979. Conversely, Wojciech Gagatsek's chapter discusses how the relative lack of EP powers in some specific policy fields can make membership of the corresponding EP committees less attractive to MEPs. In a counter-intuitive way, this confirms the importance of the connection between EP empowerment and partisan activism at EU level. In Chapter 5, Luciano Bardi stresses the role of EP party groups, and that of the EPP Group in particular, in the EP's empowerment through their initiatives and support for treaty reforms and other, less direct methods. An important case in point is the use by political groups of the EP's budgetary powers to exercise parliamentary political control over the executive during the Santer Commission resignation, even if the EPP Group was more of a bystander than a protagonist.

The pursuit of the intermediate and primary objectives of the EPP Group's 'European ambition' requires a vision and strategy for the acquisition of the necessary political resources. The diversity of political opinions across Europe ensures that no political group can obtain an absolute majority in EP elections. This can be compensated for with adequate institutional strategies, political alliances and networking within the EP and beyond. Luciano Bardi discusses the relationship between the political groups' electoral strength and their ability to obtain relevant institutional positions in the EP at length. He also presents original data to demonstrate that this relationship is far from being a linear one. In fact, it is connected with a group's ability to form solid alliances, such as the one that includes the parties belonging to the EU party system's core.

Furthermore, transnational party networks, informal channels and personal relations are important resources for groups in the context of negotiations and policy discussions. Wolfram Kaiser pays particular attention to this matter and points out how the EPP Group tried in the past to compensate for the lack of EP formal powers through informal networking mechanisms. Moreover, he describes the transnational Christian democratic networks' impact on the EPP Group's internal constitution as well as on its ideological orientation and programmatic commitments. Likewise, Johansson draws attention to the ways in which the EPP Group promotes initiatives outside the EP by involving parties and civil society representatives at national level as well as how it uses party networks within and around the European Council to influence treaty reforms. Luciano Bardi addresses another aspect of this strategy: the constitutionalisation, through

Chapter 2 Constitutionalising the Union: The Role of the EPP Group¹

Karl Magnus Johansson

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the role of the European People's Party (EPP) Group in the European Union's (EU) constitutional reform and the overall process of constitutionalisation.² The chapter addresses three interrelated research questions. Firstly, what did the Group want? Secondly, how did the Group attempt to achieve its goals? Thirdly, what did it achieve? The chapter addresses this topic and these questions empirically through a focus on how the EPP Group sought to influence, either directly or indirectly, the course and outcome of the negotiations leading to the adoption of the successive treaties over the past three decades.

In this context, influence means successful attempts to change an outcome from what it otherwise would have been in the absence of the action. Influence is difficult to observe and measure in practice. However, attempts can be made to identify the prime movers behind influence attempts, even if this too may be difficult considering the multiplicity of actors and the complexity of chains of causation or causal networks.

The chapter covers six attempts at political group influence in constitutional reform from the 1980s to the 2000s: the negotiations leading to the adoption of the Single European Act (SEA, 1986), the Treaty of Maastricht

1 Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the project workshops at the European University Institute in Florence in November 2018 and March 2019, as well as at the final conference held there in November 2019. For helpful comments and suggestions, I wish to thank Alfredo De Feo, my fellow project participants, in particular Luciano Bardi, and the two research assistants Jacopo Cellini and Johannes Karremans for their valuable readings of my drafts and for their editorial and research assistance. I also wish to thank Martin Kamp and Johan Ryngeaert of the EPP Group Secretariat for their valuable input, as well as Emma Petroni at the EPP Group archives for her support.

2 For simplicity the chapter uses the abbreviation EPP Group, even for the period (1999-2009) during which the Group was called the European People's Party and European Democrats (EPP-ED).

Karl Magnus Johansson

or the Treaty on European Union (TEU, 1992), the Amsterdam Treaty (1997), the Nice Treaty (2001), the Constitutional Treaty (2004) and the Lisbon Treaty (2007). The chapter also discusses the Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, which was adopted by the European Convention in 2003, but treats it mainly as a prelude to the analysis of the EPP Group and the Constitutional Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty. The story begins in Dublin, where the EPP – both the party and the Group – gathered in 1984; it ends in Lisbon in 2007, when the current treaty was adopted.

The chapter purports to document the role of the EPP Group and its networks in the context of treaty negotiations in Intergovernmental Conferences (IGCs), which have resulted in wide-ranging constitutional and institutional changes since the mid-1980s (Laursen 2012a, 2016a, 2016b and references therein). This analysis will pick up the thread where Wolfram Kaiser left off in Chapter 1, after the discussion of the Draft Treaty of the European Union (DTEU). Since the mid-1980s and into the late 2000s, the politics of the European Communities (EC)/EU have amounted to a near-permanent IGC. IGCs constitute milestones in the history, process and long-term patterns of European integration, and they have resulted in wide-ranging treaty changes, considered to be ‘history-making’ decisions (Moravcsik 1998).

While treaty reforms in the EU involve a complex set of actors, and the complexity of IGCs also reflects the complexity of the broader EU system, general EU bargaining and decision-making, the existing literature on IGCs often treats these processes as unique and as mainly involving national players representing governments. However, there is a much wider range of actors involved and the significance of their role in the treaty reform process is a matter of empirical research. While the growing impact of the European Parliament (EP) has already been addressed by the literature (e.g. Christiansen and Reh 2009), the role of political groups has generally not been taken into consideration.

This chapter examines the effects of the EPP Group’s role on treaty reform in these instances, drawing on a combination of primary and secondary material and relying on complementary forms of primary material. For reasons of space, the chapter does not cover in detail the content of every treaty or the positions of Member States. Instead, the focus is on the informal and the formal relationship between the treaty-making process, the EPP Group and its networks. These are actors who handle inputs into the policy process by operating through transnational transmission systems at the interface between the national and the European levels. How informal integration interacts with formal integration is the central question in this research (Christiansen and Piattoni 2003; Johansson 2017; Middlemas

1995; van Heumen and Roos 2019; Wallace 1990). By drawing also on previous research on the history of European Christian Democracy (e.g. Kaiser 2007), the chapter aims to demonstrate that transnational partisanship is one dimension or category of informality in European integration. In doing so, an analytic-narrative approach will be adopted (Bates et al. 1998). Such analysis seeks to draw broad, applicable theoretical generalisations from specific historical examples or particular cases, from explanations of political outcomes in case studies. It uses close analysis of cases to illuminate important general issues.

The chapter thus attempts to recount the EU's constitutionalisation through the microcosm of politico-individual ties. It concludes that, while the EPP Group has been able to shape treaties, its influence is bounded insofar as it is conditional on favourable circumstances in general and particularly on government links and the standing of government leaders. This finding, developed in the concluding discussion of this chapter, has important implications for our understanding of the mechanism through which political actors affect the process and outcome of EU decision-making and treaty negotiations. It also contributes to the literature on the 'constitutionalisation' of the EU, the reasons for integration and the logic of pooled sovereignty.

The chapter is divided into seven sections. The next six sections present the results of the exploration of the influence of the EPP Group on the treaties, addressing the main question of what collective influence the EPP Group had over the content of these treaties. The chapter concludes by summarising the findings and discussing the broader implications of the chapter for existing and future research.

The EPP Group and the Single European Act (1986)

In February 1984, the EP had passed the DTEU with the pivotal contribution of the EPP Group, after a long negotiating process (see Kaiser in Chapter 1 of this book). However, for its provisions to be enacted, the agreement of the Member States and the ratification of national parliaments was necessary, and this was soon regarded as an extremely unlikely outcome. Instead, the process of EC reform took another route. At the Fontainebleau summit in June 1984, the Member States decided to set up a committee to discuss treaty reform. The committee, known as the Dooge Committee after its Irish chairman, former Minister for Foreign Affairs James Dooge, consisted of personal representatives of the Heads of State and Government plus one representative of the Commission, and was