

บทคัดย่อ

ก้าวไปพร้อมกัน: การขยายสมาชิกของสหภาพยุโรปและประเทศไทย

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ในบทความนี้ ผู้เขียนพยายามชี้ให้เห็นว่า การขยายตัวของสหภาพยุโรปโดยเพิ่มจำนวนสมาชิกจาก ๑๕ ประเทศเป็น ๒๕ ประเทศ ในปี ค.ศ. ๒๐๐๔ นั้นเป็นเหตุการณ์พิเศษที่มีขึ้นเป็นเพียงการเพิ่มจำนวนสมาชิกของสหภาพยุโรปให้มีมากขึ้นเท่านั้น แต่เป็นความเปลี่ยนแปลงเชิงหลักการที่สำคัญอย่างยิ่งยวด เป็นการเริ่มยุคใหม่ของยุโรปที่ก่อปรด้วยสันติภาพ ตลอดจนเป็นการเปลี่ยนแปลงบรรดารัฐประเทศที่เคยจัดระบบเศรษฐกิจวางแผนเบ็ดเสร็จโดยรัฐแต่ผู้เดียวให้เป็นระบบเศรษฐกิจแบบตลาดเสรี นูรณาการใหม่ของสหภาพยุโรปนับเป็นการปิดฉากยุคมืดของประเทศสมาชิกใหม่จากยุโรปตะวันออกที่เคยมีอดีตผูกพันอยู่กับลัทธิคอมมิวนิสต์

และถ้าเราพิจารณาประชาชนที่เป็นเป้าหมายของการบูรณาการนี้ จะพบว่าประชาชนส่วนใหญ่เห็นด้วยกับทิศทางใหม่ของสหภาพยุโรป อีกทั้งยังเชื่อมั่นด้วยว่าทุกอย่างจะดีขึ้นหลังการบูรณาการยุโรปที่จะช่วยให้ความสัมพันธ์เก่าแก่ระหว่างหลายชาติดีขึ้นท่ามกลางสันติภาพใหม่ เช่น ความสัมพันธ์สันติในลักษณะใหม่ระหว่างเยอรมนีกับโปแลนด์ สาธารณรัฐเชคกับออสเตรีย ขณะนี้ ในประเทศสมาชิกใหม่ทุกประเทศมีการปกครองระบอบประชาธิปไตย (ซึ่งไม่เคยมีมาก่อน) มีการเลือกตั้งในระบอบรัฐสภา และมีสื่อมวลชนที่มีเสรีภาพ

แต่ในขณะเดียวกัน สหภาพยุโรปพร้อมสมาชิกใหม่ยังต้องร่วมกันเผชิญกับปัญหาที่ต้องมีมาตรการจัดการคือ “มาตรการโคเปนเฮเกน” (Copenhagen

Criteria) ครอบคลุมมาตรการสามประการ ทางการเมืองและกฎหมาย ทางเศรษฐกิจ ตลอดจนมาตรการที่จะเอื้อให้ประเทศสมาชิกใหม่สามารถปฏิบัติตามสนธิสัญญาที่จะบรรลุถึงเป้าหมายและคุณค่าของสหภาพยุโรป

ปฏิบัติการเพื่อบรรลุถึงวัตถุประสงค์นี้เปรียบเทียบได้กับ “ชิมโพนีที่ยังแต่งไม่จบ” เป็นนวนิยายรักที่ยังค้างอยู่ที่ทุกฝ่ายที่มีส่วนรับผิดชอบจะต้องร่วมทำงานด้วยกัน โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในประเด็นสิทธิมนุษยชน ความมั่นคงของระบอบประชาธิปไตย และระบบกฎหมาย เพื่อบรรณาการของยุโรปที่ยังไม่จบสิ้นเช่นกัน

**Growing Together:
The European Union Enlargement and Thailand**

Andreas List^{**}

Sawasdee krab,
Excellencies, Ambassador Schmallenbach,
Distinguished guests,

I have the privilege to kick off with the first presentation, and I promise that I will not abuse this privilege by lecturing you, by giving you too many boring historic details. Let me rather start on a personal note, to give an idea what the forthcoming 2004 enlargement of the Europe Union is about. I am sitting here, in front of you, as an Austrian, born in Vienna. My mother comes from an Austrian family, but was born in Budapest. My grandfather, still Austrian, was born in Trieste, an important town in the North of Italy. A part of my family stems from Germany, from the Rhine area.

Telling you this may shed some light on the *sense of togetherness* that this EU enlargement is about. And I think I am the typically

* A presentation from the international seminar "*Growing Together: The European Union Enlargement and Thailand*" given at the Le Royal Meridien Hotel, Bangkok on 10 July 2003

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example of the *homo europeus*, the European being, as I am sharing this sense of togetherness. And this is why we could speak in certain ways about an *unprecedented* enlargement at this time. It is very easy to attribute features like historical, or unprecedented, to a certain political development. So, let's have a very quick look back into history.

In 1957, the 6 founding fathers signed the Treaty of Rome. At that time, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg created the beginning of what is today the European Union. In 1973, Denmark, Ireland and UK joined. You may call this a logical, but delayed enlargement, because of hindrances for the UK to join earlier. In 1981 Greece joined, this time for different reasons. It was rather meant to export political stability to a country that has overcome difficult times under an autocratic regime.

And a similar political motive was behind the 1986 enlargement, when Spain and Portugal joined; bringing the total membership to 12. Then the "easy enlargement", as I would call it, was in 1995, when Austria, Sweden and Finland joined. Easy insofar, as 3 small wealthy, neutral countries came in, bringing in lots of fresh money, but without much noise.

And soon, in 2004, a large number of 10 new countries will be joining. These can roughly be divided into 2 groups: 2 Mediterranean Islands, i.e. Malta and Cyprus, and 8 countries from Central and Eastern Europe. The idea is to let them join

a success story. A success story that exceeds half a century, a time of peace. The division of the whole continent after the WW II and the Cold War is finally over.

Here we need to ask: *why* do we enlarge? What is the propelling reason behind this? I told you my introductory story. I gave you a little hint on this, on the historic reason.

This integration finally brings to a close a very dark chapter, one of the darkest chapters of European History. The new members leave behind a dark past, the communist past. We have been cut off from each other for 40 years. And it is a kind of sense of homecoming, if you want; therefore, the 2004 enlargement is fundamentally different from most preceding ones.

This is not about just adding a few more members to the Union.
This is not just about exporting political stability.
This is about to set up a new, peaceful Europe.

You shouldn't forget that for many centuries, European history has been written with blood and tears. The cultural links that bind us together, the sense of togetherness, interestingly, is very strong among elites. Chopin is a part of French music history as he is of Polish history, and Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* premiered in Prague, not in Vienna. Some of the finest examples of 18th century Baroque architecture outside Italy are to be found in the Baltic States.

Ambassador Schmallenbach will brief you about the economic reasons of enlargement. Let me just mention the figure of about 450 million consumers. The number is a bit optimistic; probably we should include Khun Pansak into that number. But after all, the overarching idea of this enlargement is agreement on common values. We agree to be together, to have similar ideas about democracy and solidarity, and we share the respect for human rights.

Now we have to ask: *who* are the people, who want to enlarge? Or, maybe we should ask who are the people who oppose enlargement? The overall answer is simple: everywhere, inside the current EU of the 15, and among the electorates of new member states, there is general and majority approval of this enlargement.

Most people acknowledge this enlargement as a necessity, and as an opportunity for all parts of our good old continent. Citizens within the current EU 15 can be roughly divided into a few groups. There is the group of idealists. They say, the EU should enlarge, as a matter of principle. And there is the group of realists. They say: we need to enlarge – small is maybe beautiful, but bigger is better.

And those who are afraid of enlargement are feeling – or fearing – the economic consequences. They warn: Just imagine the jobseekers coming into the current Union. But overall, much more

than half of the population welcomes or gladly accepts enlargement.

Later we will hear about the cost of enlargement. And enlargement costs money to European tax payers. And some are afraid of these costs. But consider this: isn't the real question this: can we afford *not* to enlarge? What will be the cost of staying where we are?

Then you have other groups, i.e. the citizens, the electorates in the new member states. You hear some people saying: everything was better before, and our country should first get its own act together. Yes, there is a process of transformation taking place, and change has brought about unemployment.

Remember: this is not a simple an enlargement. This is a *fundamental* shift in paradigms: From a failed State operated, planned economy to a liberal market economy.

A majority of people realizes that building peace and reconciling Europe is so important. And many are ready to pay the price. Think of the reconciliation between Germany and Poland, or think of the difficult relationship between the Czech Republic and Austria. Now we find each other as new neighbours in the new, peaceful environment.

This is why we have an electorate of people saying Yes in the acceding countries. There is an enormous amount of agreement on this. This explains the huge percentage of Yes votes in the various

referenda held so far. Formally, enlargement is about to take place next year. But the benefits of this transition are already visible:

In all new member States, we have today democratically elected governments and multiparty Parliaments. In all countries we see free media. In all countries, we have a judiciary largely or totally independent from outside influences.

Politically speaking, never in history, Central and Eastern Europe has been so stable and peaceful as today. The economic reforms are underway, in an instant you will hear more in detail. Already now, we can say trade between the EU15 and the new member States grew rapidly.

Over the last 10 or so years, we gradually got closer. The GSP was extended from the European Union to the 10 new States. Plus the European Commission launched a huge programme of financial assistance. The programme is called “Phare” It is the biggest and most comprehensive program of assistance ever launched in history. It amounts approximately to 3.2 billion Euros annually, to be spent in the 10 new member States.

As I said, getting together is sometimes like a date, it is a sometimes-difficult relationship that needs to be nurtured to develop. At the beginning, there is a shy encounter. After that, the question is: shall we, or shall we not? And once the clear answer was ‘Yes, we shall’, a formal association process was set in motion; the tool of which was the conclusion of Europe

Agreements between the Union and individual new member States. The agreements cover political dialogue, they cover the establishment of a free trade area, they cover what we call “legal approximation” – which means bringing the legal body of the Union, the body of laws and regulations in the EU, in line with the law of the acceding State.

In 2004, enlargement will therefore not come as a shock; it has been well prepared for over 10 years. And these 10 years have been very successfully invested. Formal applications have been launched in the mid 90’s. As in any love affair, this is a two-sided story. The European Union has launched an invitation. The EU invited 10 new member states to apply for membership, so the applications were the logical consequence of the 1993 invitation. In 1993, the EU defined the criteria for membership. These are the so-called “Copenhagen criteria”. They concern basically 3 areas.

One is ‘democracy.’ New countries should have stable institutions; they should respect the rule of law, and respect human rights, and protect and promote minorities. The second criteria is ‘market economy.’ New countries should have the capacity to cope with competitive pressure. Thirdly, new countries should have the capacity to fulfill the obligations deriving from the treaties. They should be able to achieve the values and the aims of the Union.

The negotiations were sometimes difficult. They were divided into 31 chapters, some more difficult like agriculture, and some easier ones like education. The European Commission has always

screened the so-called achievement. Achievement means that the body of law, to which I referred earlier, is fully in line with the EU and the respected new member states. This existing body of law is called the '*Aquis* or *Aquis Communautaire*.'

And finally, the wedding rings were exchanged, through the accession agreement signed in May in Athens, at the cradle of democracy. This accession has to be ratified by all Parliaments of current and future member States. This leads us to a very simply question: All ends that ends well. But: *where* does it end, where does the Europe end? Accession in 2004 is not an end to history, and it is not an end of history of enlargement.

Negotiations with Romania and Bulgaria continue; Croatia has applied for membership. The Italian Ambassador said an instant ago that logically there are countries that should and could, and probably will, join one day.

And such, the unfinished symphony – or unfinished love story, if you want – may continue. One day, it could be Switzerland and Norway, maybe Iceland. I don't know whether these are true love stories. Maybe one day they turn out to be marriages of convenience. And with regard to Turkey, I would like to quote Commissioner Verheugen, who is responsible for enlargement. He said "the European Commission will evaluate progress, particularly in the field of human rights, democratic stability, democracy, and the rule of law. There is a close link with the Turkish contribution and helping to settle the Cyprus issue."

We have seen that the forthcoming enlargement – as important as it is – is not the end of history of enlargement. Enlargement will go on, but it must be accompanied by another important development: that is institutional reform.

The European Union has to change its working mechanism for various reasons. For the time being, there are more questions than answers how to do this.

Many Europeans perceive the European Institutions as remote and technocratic, they call them the ‘Brussels machinery.’ The European citizen, as I said before, broadly accepts the aims of the European Union, but he does not always perceive the connection between these aims and the work of the institutions.

It is a kind of a paradox: the Europeans want to see “more Europe”, they want to tackle together unemployment, security and other important issues; social, political, economic issues, but they don’t want to have the European Union having a say in all aspects.

And we have to be very clear about this: there will be no progress if the will of the electorates is not taken seriously into account. The citizen expects tangible benefits from the Union. And there is an institutional answer to this: we need to improve the democratic life of the Union; we need to have more understandable procedures and clear competences. A Union of six may never feel the need to change, but a Union of 25 with the mechanics of the 6 will become

unmanageable, and hence there is a need to improve the workings of the institutions.

And finally, the question is: what role has the Union to play in the world? Europeans want to see “more Europe”, and they want to see “more Europe” projected into the future, they want to see “more Europe” involved in foreign affairs and security issues. And all these are ambitious tasks, which require a response. And such an answer is intended by the draft Constitution. The draft Constitution was elaborated by the so-called Convention. The Convention was a conference chaired by Mr Giscard d’Estaing, and it worked out the single, basic document, which is the draft of a European Constitution. The Convention submitted a proposal in June, a month ago. Here are a few elements of this text. In very rough terms, what is contained in that draft?

There is a proposal for an EU President. Possibly he or she can be an elderly leader from one of the member States. There is an EU Foreign Minister proposed, who should be assisted by a European Diplomatic service. German Foreign Minister Fischer is seen as a possible candidate. In the law making Council of ministers, majority voting will become the rule. That is reducing the possibility for a national veto.

And there will be maybe a maximum number of 15 Commissioners. Therefore, not every Member State may have one commissioner anymore. And most importantly, there will be a more powerful European Parliament. The European Parliament

has always benefited from reforms; this will certainly be the case this time as well.

How to follow up? Ambassador Janfolla has mentioned the inter-governmental conference. It will convene in October, and it has to formally adopt this proposal. And hopefully we can discuss the outcome of the conference in our next seminar with Dr Charit and the Center for European Studies.

Finally, let me conclude by saying this: We are a Union of different people.

We are French, and Spanish, and German, and Italian, and Austrian, and Irish, and so forth. The diversity of our family is protected though the Treaty. This diversity is also a reality, even if we share the sense of togetherness. Clearly, we have diverging views and arguments. We hackle about import tariffs and quotas, we argue about the mad cow disease, and the distribution of structural funds and about farm aid. We cannot abolish conflict. We will always have varying interests. •

But we have learned to address conflicts in a civilised manner. We argue about national interests – or about what some believe to be national interests – only to find out that very often solutions on a European scale work much better for everyone. European integration is a splendid achievement. Look what we have achieved throughout the last 50 years. European integration is still today a most remarkable and unprecedented approach. You have

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no other region in the world, which is integrated to the extent of the European Union.

As we stand in for the same values – peace and democracy, solidarity and human rights - we want to protect and promote them inside the Union. And we try to promote them outside. After all, the European Union is by far the largest donor of development assistance and humanitarian aid in the world. War and hatred have been passed down in Europe from generation to generation. All this is now a thing of the past.

Today, we take peace and democracy, and solidarity for granted. But we need to work on these values on a daily basis. And I may assure you: we *will* work on them.

Thank you very much - khob-khun-krab.



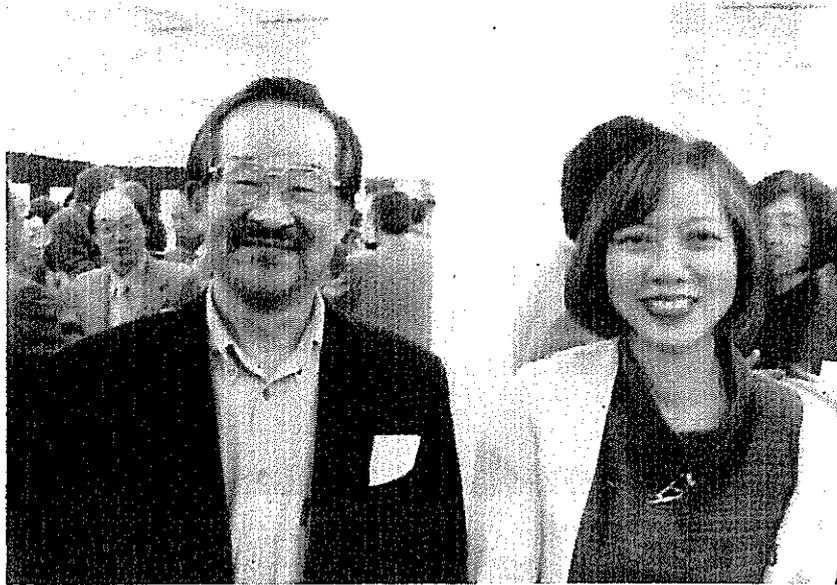
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