

# A New Start for Europe: My Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change

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## Political Guidelines

for the next  
European Commission

## Opening Statement

in the European Parliament  
Plenary Session

Jean-Claude Juncker

Candidate for  
President of the European Commission

Strasbourg, 15 July 2014

## Setting Europe in Motion

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## Main Messages

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President-elect of the European Commission

Strasbourg, 22 October 2014



**Jean-Claude Juncker**  
Candidate for  
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and Democratic Change**

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# **A New Start for Europe: My Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change**

## Political Guidelines for the next European Commission

Over the past years, Europe suffered the worst financial and economic crisis since World War II. Unprecedented measures had to be taken by the EU institutions and national governments to stabilise Member States' economies, consolidate public finances and prevent the results of decades of European integration from being undone. The worst was avoided. The internal market and the integrity of the Euro zone were preserved. Slowly but surely, economic growth and confidence are now returning to Europe.

However, the crisis has taken its toll. More than 6 million people lost their job during the crisis. Youth unemployment has reached record highs. Several of our Member States are still far away from sustainable growth and adequate levels of investment. In many countries, trust in the European project is at a historic low.

The measures taken during the crisis can be compared to repairing a burning plane whilst flying. They were successful overall. Yet mistakes were made. There was a lack of social fairness. Democratic legitimacy suffered as many new instruments had to be created outside the legal framework of the European Union. And, after spending several years concentrating on crisis management, Europe is finding it is often ill-prepared for the global challenges ahead, be it with regard to the digital age, the race for innovation and skills, the scarcity of natural resources, the safety of our food, the cost of energy, the impact of climate change, the ageing of our population or the pain and poverty at Europe's external borders.

As we enter the new legislative cycle following the European Parliament elections in May 2014, **the time has come for a new approach.**

**As candidate for President of the European Commission, I see it as my key task to rebuild bridges in Europe after the crisis. To restore European citizens' confidence. To focus our policies on the key challenges ahead for our economies and for our societies. And to strengthen democratic legitimacy on the basis of the Community method.**

After having campaigned as the lead candidate of the European People's Party for Commission President ahead of the European Parliament elections – next to Martin Schulz for the Party of European Socialists, Guy Verhofstadt for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party, Ska Keller and José Bové for the European Green Party, and Alexis Tsipras for the Party of the European Left – I was proposed by the European Council as candidate for President of the European Commission on 27 June 2014. With this proposal, the European Council took

account of the result of the European Parliament elections – in which my party won the largest number of seats –, after having held appropriate consultations with representatives of the European Parliament.

For the first time, a direct link has thereby been established between the outcome of the European Parliament elections and the proposal of the President of the European Commission. This follows long-standing calls from the European Parliament echoed and repeated over several decades. It has the potential to insert a very necessary additional dose of democratic legitimacy into the European decision-making process, in line with the rules and practices of parliamentary democracy. It also is a unique opportunity for a fresh start.

After the confrontations of the election campaign, we now need to work together. In spite of our differences, there is a large convergence of views on the main priorities to be tackled at European level. And I want to work with all of you to build a broad consensus, across the EU institutions, on what we need to deliver for Europeans. And then follow words with action by delivering on what we have agreed.

This is why, after having exchanged views with all political groups of the newly elected European Parliament, I propose to renew the European Union on the basis of **an Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change**. An agenda that concentrates on the areas where the European Union is able to make a real difference.

My agenda will focus on **ten policy areas**. My emphasis will be on concrete results in these ten areas. Beyond that, I will leave other policy areas to the Member States where they are more legitimate and better equipped to give effective policy responses at national, regional or local level, in line with the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality. **I want a European Union that is bigger and more ambitious on big things, and smaller and more modest on small things.**

The ten policy areas to be tackled under my Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change are the following:

## 1. A New Boost for Jobs, Growth and Investment

My first priority as Commission President will be to strengthen Europe's competitiveness and to stimulate investment for the purpose of job creation. I intend to present, within the first three months of my mandate and in the context of the Europe 2020 review, **an ambitious Jobs, Growth and Investment Package**.

I do not believe that we can build sustainable growth on ever-growing mountains of debt – this is the lesson learnt in the crisis that we must now heed. I also know well that it is mainly companies that create jobs, not governments or EU institutions. However, I do believe that we can make much better use of the common EU budget and of Union financial instruments such as the European Investment Bank (EIB). We must make use of these public funds available at Union level to stimulate private investment in the real economy. We need smarter investment, more focus, less regulation and more flexibility when it comes to the use of these public funds. In my view, this should allow us to **mobilise up to €300 billion in additional public and private investment in the real economy over the next three years**.

For this, the investment environment has to be improved and fund absorption needs to be strengthened. The preparation of projects by the EIB and the Commission should be intensified and expanded. New, sustainable and job-creating projects that will help restore Europe's competitiveness need to be identified and promoted. To make real projects happen, we also have to develop more effective financial instruments, including in the form of loans or guarantees with greater risk capacity. A further increase in the EIB's capital should be considered.

The focus of this additional investment should be in **infrastructure, notably broadband and energy networks as well as transport infrastructure in industrial centres; education, research and innovation; and renewable energy**. A significant amount should be channelled towards projects that can help get the younger generation back to work in decent jobs, further complementing the efforts already started with the **Youth Guarantee Scheme**, the implementation of which must be accelerated and progressively broadened.

The **mid-term review of the Multiannual Financial Framework**, scheduled for the end of 2016, should be used to orient the EU budget further towards jobs, growth and competitiveness.

As regards the use of national budgets for growth and investment, we must – as reaffirmed by the European Council on 27 June 2014 – respect the **Stability and Growth Pact**, while making the best possible use of the flexibility that is built into the existing rules of the Pact, as reformed in 2005 and 2011. I intend to issue concrete guidance on this as part of my ambitious Jobs, Growth and Investment Package.

Jobs, growth and investment will only return to Europe if we create **the right regulatory environment and promote a climate of entrepreneurship and job**

**creation.** We must not stifle innovation and competitiveness with too prescriptive and too detailed regulations, notably when it comes to small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). SMEs are the backbone of our economy, creating more than 85% of new jobs in Europe and we have to free them from burdensome regulation. This is why I intend to entrust the responsibility for better regulation to one of the Vice-Presidents in my Commission; and to give this Vice-President a mandate to identify, together with the Parliament and the Council, “red tape” both at European and at national level that could be swiftly removed as part of my Jobs, Growth and Investment Package.

## 2. A Connected Digital Single Market

I believe that we must make much better use of the great opportunities offered by digital technologies, which know no borders. To do so, we will need to have the courage to break down national silos in telecoms regulation, in copyright and data protection legislation, in the management of radio waves and in the application of competition law.

If we do this, we can ensure that European citizens will soon be able to use their mobile phones across Europe without having to pay roaming charges. We can ensure that consumers can access services, music, movies and sports events on their electronic devices wherever they are in Europe and regardless of borders. We can create a fair level playing field where all companies offering their goods or services in the European Union are subject to the same data protection and consumer rules, regardless of where their server is based. **By creating a connected digital single market, we can generate up to €250 billion of additional growth in Europe in the course of the mandate of the next Commission**, thereby creating hundreds of thousands of new jobs, notably for younger job-seekers, and a vibrant knowledge-based society.

To achieve this, I intend to take, within the first six months of my mandate, **ambitious legislative steps towards a connected digital single market**, notably by swiftly concluding negotiations on common European data protection rules; by adding more ambition to the ongoing reform of our telecoms rules; by modernising copyright rules in the light of the digital revolution and changed consumer behaviour; and by modernising and simplifying consumer rules for online and digital purchases. This should go hand-in-hand with efforts to boost digital skills and learning across society and to facilitate the creation of innovative start-ups. Enhancing the use of digital technologies and online services should become a horizontal policy, covering all sectors of the economy and of the public sector.

## 3. A Resilient Energy Union with a Forward-Looking Climate Change Policy

Current geopolitical events have forcefully reminded us that Europe relies too heavily on fuel and gas imports. I therefore want to reform and reorganise Europe’s energy policy into **a new European Energy Union**. We need to pool our resources, combine our infrastructures and unite our negotiating power vis-à-vis third countries. We need

to diversify our energy sources, and reduce the high energy dependency of several of our Member States.

I want to keep our European energy market open to our neighbours. However, **if the price for energy from the East becomes too expensive, either in commercial or in political terms, Europe should be able to switch very swiftly to other supply channels.** We need to be able to reverse energy flows when necessary.

And we need to strengthen the share of renewable energies on our continent. This is not only a matter of a responsible climate change policy. It is, at the same time, an industrial policy imperative if we still want to have affordable energy at our disposal in the medium term. I strongly believe in the potential of green growth. **I therefore want Europe's Energy Union to become the world number one in renewable energies.**

**I would also like to significantly enhance energy efficiency beyond the 2020 objective, notably when it comes to buildings, and I am in favour of an ambitious, binding target to this end.** I want the European Union to lead the fight against global warming ahead of the United Nations Paris meeting in 2015 and beyond. We owe this to future generations.

#### **4. A Deeper and Fairer Internal Market with a Strengthened Industrial Base**

Our internal market is Europe's best asset in times of increasing globalisation. I therefore want the next Commission to build on the strength of our single market and to fully exploit its potential in all its dimensions. We need to complete the internal market in products and services and make it the launch pad for our companies and industry to thrive in the global economy, also when it comes to agricultural products.

I firmly believe that we need to maintain and reinforce a strong and high-performing industrial base for our internal market, as it would be naïve to believe that growth in Europe could be built on the basis of services alone. **We need to bring industry's weight in the EU's GDP back to 20% by 2020, from less than 16% today.** This should ensure that Europe maintains its global leadership in strategic sectors with high-value jobs such as the automotive, aeronautics, engineering, space, chemicals and pharmaceutical industries. To achieve this, we need to stimulate investment in new technologies, improve the business environment, ease access to markets and to finance, particularly for SMEs, and ensure that workers have the skills industry needs.

A continuing priority is to finish fixing the problems of our banking sector and to boost private investment. I have been a strong supporter of the development of **stricter controls on banks** through a Single Supervisory Mechanism and a Single Resolution Mechanism with a Single Resolution Fund that will be built up progressively. My Commission will be active and vigilant in ensuring that we implement the new supervisory and resolution rules fully, making European banks more robust so that they can get back to lending to the real economy.

Over time, I believe we should complement the new European rules for banks with a **Capital Markets Union**. To improve the financing of our economy, we should further develop and integrate capital markets. This would cut the cost of raising capital, notably for SMEs, and help reduce our very high dependence on bank funding. This would also increase the attractiveness of Europe as a place to invest.

**Free movement of workers** has always been one of the key pillars of the internal market, which I will defend, while accepting the right of national authorities to fight abuse or fraudulent claims. I believe that we should see free movement as an economic opportunity, and not as a threat. We should therefore promote **labour mobility**, especially in fields with persistent vacancies and skills mismatches. At the same time, I will ensure that the **Posting of Workers Directive** is strictly implemented, and I will initiate a targeted review of this Directive to ensure that social dumping has no place in the European Union. **In our Union, the same work at the same place should be remunerated in the same manner.**

We need more fairness in our internal market. While recognising the competence of Member States for their taxation systems, we should step up our efforts to **combat tax evasion and tax fraud**, so that all contribute their fair share. I will notably press ahead with administrative cooperation between tax authorities and work for the adoption at EU level of a Common Consolidated Corporate Tax Base and a Financial Transaction Tax. The proposed reinforced Union rules against **money laundering** should be adopted swiftly, and with an ambitious content, notably when it comes to the identification of beneficial owners and improving customer due diligence.

## 5. A Deeper and Fairer Economic and Monetary Union

Over the next five years, I want to continue with the reform of our Economic and Monetary Union to preserve the stability of our single currency and to enhance the convergence of economic, fiscal and labour market policies between the Member States that share the single currency. I will do this on the basis of the “Four Presidents Reports” and the Commission’s Blueprint for a Deep and Genuine Economic and Monetary Union, and always with Europe’s social dimension in mind.

The crisis has only been paused. We must make use of this pause to consolidate and complement the unprecedented measures we have taken during the crisis, simplify them and make them more socially legitimate. The stability of our single currency and the solidity of public finances are as important to me as social fairness in implementing necessary structural reforms.

I want to launch **legislative and non-legislative initiatives to deepen our Economic and Monetary Union** during the first year of my mandate. These would include a stability-oriented review of the “six-pack” and the “two-pack legislation” (as foreseen in this legislation); proposals to encourage further structural reforms, if necessary through additional financial incentives and a targeted fiscal capacity at Euro zone level; and a proposal for a more efficient external representation of our Economic and Monetary Union.

In the medium-term, I believe we need to re-balance the way in which we grant conditional stability support to Euro zone countries in difficulties. In the future, we should be able to replace the “**troika**” with a more democratically legitimate and more accountable structure, based around European institutions with enhanced parliamentary control both at European and at national level. I also propose that, in the future, any support and reform programme goes not only through a fiscal sustainability assessment; but through a **social impact assessment** as well. The social effects of structural reforms need to be discussed in public. I am a strong believer in the *social* market economy. It is not compatible with the social market economy that during a crisis, ship-owners and speculators become even richer, while pensioners can no longer support themselves.

## 6. A Reasonable and Balanced Free Trade Agreement with the U.S.

Under my presidency, the Commission will negotiate a reasonable and balanced trade agreement with the United States of America, in a spirit of mutual and reciprocal benefits and transparency. It is anachronistic that, in the 21st century, Europeans and Americans still impose **customs duties** on each other’s products. These should be swiftly and fully abolished. I also believe that we can go a significant step further in recognising each other’s **product standards** or working towards transatlantic standards.

However, as Commission President, I will also be very clear that **I will not sacrifice Europe’s safety, health, social and data protection standards or our cultural diversity on the altar of free trade.** Notably, the safety of the food we eat and the protection of Europeans’ personal data will be non-negotiable for me as Commission President. Nor will I accept that the jurisdiction of courts in the EU Member States is limited by special regimes for investor disputes. The rule of law and the principle of equality before the law must also apply in this context.

I will insist on **enhanced transparency towards the European Parliament** – which will, under the EU Treaties, have the last word on the conclusion of the agreement – during all steps of the negotiations.

## 7. An Area of Justice and Fundamental Rights Based on Mutual Trust

Our European Union is more than a big common market. It is also a **Union of shared values**, which are spelled out in the Treaties and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Citizens expect their governments to provide justice, protection and fairness with full respect for fundamental rights and the rule of law. This also requires joint European action, based on our shared values.

I intend to make use of the prerogatives of the Commission to uphold, within our field of competence, our shared values and fundamental rights, while taking due account of the diversity of constitutional and cultural traditions of the 28 Member States. I intend to entrust a **Commissioner with specific responsibility for the Charter of Fundamental Rights.** This Commissioner will also have the responsibility of

concluding the **accession of the Union to the European Convention of Human Rights**, which is an obligation under the EU Treaty.

**Discrimination** must have no place in our Union, whether on the basis of nationality, sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, or with regard to people belonging to a minority. I will therefore maintain the proposal for a directive in this field and seek to convince national governments to give up their current resistance in the Council.

**Data protection** is a fundamental right of particular importance in the digital age. In addition to swiftly finalising the legislative work on common data protection rules within the European Union, we also need to uphold this right in our external relations. In view of recent mass surveillance revelations, close partners such as the United States must convince us that the current safe harbour arrangements really are safe if they want them to continue. They must also guarantee that all EU citizens have the right to enforce data protection rights in U.S. courts, whether or not they reside on U.S. soil. This will be essential for restoring trust in transatlantic relations.

**Combating cross-border crime and terrorism** is a common European responsibility. We need to crack down on organised crime, such as human trafficking, smuggling and cybercrime. We must tackle corruption; and we must fight terrorism and counter radicalisation – all the while guaranteeing fundamental rights and values, including procedural rights and the protection of personal data.

As citizens increasingly study, work, do business, get married and have children across the Union, **judicial cooperation among EU Member States** must be improved step by step: by building bridges between the different justice systems, by strengthening common tools such as Eurojust; by making progress on new tools such as the European Public Prosecutor's Office which is designed to tackle criminal fraud which damages the EU budget; and by mutual recognition of judgements, so that citizens and companies can more easily exercise their rights across the Union.

## 8. Towards a New Policy on Migration

The recent terrible events in the Mediterranean have shown us that Europe needs to manage migration better, in all aspects. This is first of all a humanitarian imperative. I am convinced that we must work closely together **in a spirit of solidarity** to ensure that situations such as the one in Lampedusa never arise again.

On the basis of our shared values, we need to protect those in need through a strong **common asylum policy**. The newly agreed common asylum system has to be fully implemented, and divergences in national implementation removed. I also intend to explore the possibility of using the European Asylum Support Office to assist third countries and Member States authorities in dealing with refugees and asylum requests in emergency situations, where appropriate on the ground in a third country that is particularly concerned.

I want to promote **a new European policy on legal migration**. Such a policy could help us to address shortages of specific skills and attract talent to better cope with

the demographic challenges of the European Union. I want Europe to become at least as attractive as the favourite migration destinations such as Australia, Canada and the USA. As a first step, I intend to review the “Blue Card” legislation and its unsatisfactory state of implementation.

I also believe that we need to deal more robustly with **irregular migration**, notably through better cooperation with third countries, including on readmission.

I will entrust a **Commissioner with special responsibility for Migration** to work on this together with all Member States and with the third countries most concerned.

Last but not least, we need to **secure Europe’s borders**. Our common asylum and migration policies will only work if we can prevent an uncontrolled influx of illegal migrants. We therefore need to step up the operational capacities of the European border agency FRONTEX. A budget of just EUR 90 million a year certainly does not equal the task of protecting Europe’s common borders. We need to pool more resources amongst Member States to reinforce the work of FRONTEX and put European Border Guard Teams into action for quick deployment in FRONTEX joint operations and rapid border interventions. This is the joint responsibility of all EU Member States, North and South, which needs to be taken up in a spirit of solidarity.

We also need to apply and vigorously enforce our new common European rules to penalise **human traffickers**. Criminals who exploit the pain and needs of people in distress or suffering from persecution need to know: Europe is on guard and will bring them to justice at every turn.

## 9. A Stronger Global Actor

We need a stronger Europe when it comes to foreign policy. The Ukraine crisis and the worrying situation in the Middle East show how important it is that Europe is united externally. There is still a long way to go.

I believe we cannot be satisfied with how our common foreign policy is working at the moment. We need better mechanisms in place to anticipate events early and to swiftly identify common responses. We need to be more effective in bringing together the tools of Europe’s external action. Trade policy, development aid, our participation in international financial institutions and our neighbourhood policy must be combined and activated according to one and the same logic.

The **next High Representative for Europe’s Foreign Affairs and Security Policy** will have to be a strong and experienced player to combine national and European tools, and all the tools available in the Commission, in a more effective way than in the past. He or she must act in concert with our European Commissioners for Trade, Development and Humanitarian Aid as well as for Neighbourhood Policy. This will require the High Representative to more fully play his/her role within the College of Commissioners. To make this possible, I intend to entrust other external relations Commissioners with the task of **deputising for the High Representative** both within the work of the College and on the international stage.

I also believe that we need to work on a stronger Europe when it comes to **security and defence matters**. Yes, Europe is chiefly a 'soft power'. But even the strongest soft powers cannot make do in the long run without at least some integrated defence capacities. The Treaty of Lisbon provides for the possibility that those Member States who wish to can pool their defence capabilities in the form of a permanent structured cooperation. This means those Member States who wish to can engage in joint EU missions in crisis zones if needed, as would have been necessary from the start in Mali or in South Sudan. Member States should also create more synergies in defence procurement. In times of scarce resources, we need to match ambitions with resources to avoid duplication of programmes. More than 80% of investment in defence equipment is still spent nationally today in the EU. More cooperation in defence procurement is therefore the call of the day, and if only for fiscal reasons.

When it comes to **enlargement**, I fully recognise that this has been an historic success that brought peace and stability to our continent. However, the Union and our citizens now need to digest the addition of 13 Member States in the past ten years. The EU needs to take a break from enlargement so that we can consolidate what has been achieved among the 28. This is why, under my Presidency of the Commission, ongoing negotiations will continue, and notably the Western Balkans will need to keep a European perspective, but **no further enlargement will take place over the next five years**. With countries in our Eastern neighbourhood such as Moldova or Ukraine, we need to step up close cooperation, association and partnership to further strengthen our economic and political ties.

## 10. A Union of Democratic Change

The proposal and election of the President of the European Commission in the light of the outcome of the European Parliament elections is certainly important, but only a first step in making the European Union as a whole more democratic. A European Commission under my leadership will be committed to filling the special partnership with the European Parliament, as laid down in the Framework Agreement of 2010, with new life. **I want to have a political dialogue with you, not a technocratic one**. I intend to always send political representatives of the Commission to important trilogue negotiations and I expect the Council to do the same.

I am also committed to enhanced **transparency when it comes to contact with stakeholders and lobbyists**. Our citizens have the right to know with whom Commissioners and Commission staff, Members of the European Parliament or representatives of the Council meet in the context of the legislative process. I will therefore propose an Inter-institutional Agreement to Parliament and Council to create a mandatory lobby register covering all three institutions. The Commission will lead by example in this process.

I also intend to review **the legislation applicable to the authorisation of Genetically Modified Organisms**. To me, it is simply not right that under the current rules, the Commission is legally forced to authorise new organisms for import and processing even though a clear majority of Member States is against. The Commission should be in a position to give the majority view of democratically

elected governments at least the same weight as scientific advice, notably when it comes to the safety of the food we eat and the environment in which we live.

The relationship with **national Parliaments** is of great importance to me, notably when it comes to enforcing the principle of subsidiarity. I will explore ways to improve the interaction with national Parliaments as a way of bringing the European Union closer to citizens.

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If elected Commission President, my Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change will serve as the starting point for the Union's annual and multiannual programming. For this, we will also be able to draw on the 'Strategic Agenda for the Union in Times of Change', as adopted by the European Council on 27 June 2014, and on the orientations that will be given by the European Parliament in the months to come.

I believe that Europe's policy agenda must be shaped in close partnership between the European Commission and the European Parliament, and in cooperation with the Member States. **Political prioritisation as the basis for a better, more focused Union will only work if it is done in partnership between the Union institutions and the Member States, in line with the Community method.**

The role of the President of the Commission is to defend the general European interest. This involves working with everyone – whether in the euro or not, whether in the Schengen agreement or outside, whether supportive of deeper integration or not. My firm conviction is that we must move forward as a Union. **We do not necessarily all have to move at the same speed** – the Treaties provide for that and we have seen that we can work with different arrangements. Those who want to move further, faster, should be able to do so. This is particularly important in the Euro zone, where we need to continue to strengthen the foundations of the euro through deeper integration. And this should be done in such a way as to preserve the integrity of the single market and to protect the rights of those outside the Euro zone. As in any family, there will be tensions and disagreements from time to time. I made clear throughout my campaign that I am ready to listen to the concerns of every Member State and to help find solutions.

I intend to refocus the work of the new Commission on the basis of my Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change and its ten priorities. I intend to organise the new Commission in a way that reflects these ten priority areas and ensures swift and effective delivery on all of them.

I will do my utmost to ensure **a gender-balanced choice of leading personnel in the Commission, both at political and at administrative level.** Gender balance is not a luxury; it is a political must and should be self evident to everybody, including to the leaders in all capitals of our Member States when it comes to their proposal for the choice of members of the next Commission. This is in itself a test for the commitment of the governments of Member States to a new, more democratic approach in times of change.

On the basis of my Agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change and its ten priorities, I am today seeking election by the European Parliament. The larger the majority that supports me and my agenda today, the stronger will my hand be in forming the next Commission, and the more effective I will be in delivering swiftly on this agenda.

**“This time it’s different”** was the European Parliament’s motto for the election campaign. Let us jointly show that we are able to make this promise a reality. That together we are able to really change and renew Europe. And that we will jointly work to re-gain citizens’ trust in the European project. I will do my utmost to make this difference.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized 'J' followed by a long horizontal line that tapers to the right.

Jean-Claude Juncker

## A new start for Europe

### Opening Statement in the European Parliament Plenary Session

*Strasbourg, 15 July 2014*



On 25 May the voters of Europe spoke to us. They sent us powerful, if sometimes contradictory, messages. Today, and in the years to come, we have to respond. That means meeting their expectations and addressing their concerns, their hopes and their dreams. Because in Europe there is a place for dreams. It is here, in the European Parliament, the seat of European democracy, that I will set out the broad lines of the work of the new Commission. These broad lines – this outline, if you will – has been sent to you in writing in all the official languages, because all languages have the same dignity. And I would like to thank the translators who worked through the night on a text that I finalised late yesterday evening. The Commission's detailed work programme will be a product of the College as a whole and you will be asked to place your seal on it with your vote in the autumn.

This Parliament, which has just started its term in office, is different from its predecessors. You are the first Parliament to truly elect, in all senses of the word, the President of the Commission. You will elect him in a new spirit. In the aftermath of the elections, you insisted that the results, produced by universal suffrage, had to be taken into account. By so doing, you gave Article 17(7) of the Lisbon Treaty its true democratic and political meaning. If you had not stood firm, that Article would have forever remained a dead letter. You stood up for democracy, and you were right to do so. A Parliament which upholds democracy is performing a noble task and does not deserve to be subjected to bitter, unjustified criticism or to have its motives unfairly challenged. I should also like to thank the other front runners, or 'Spitzenkandidaten', who helped to ensure that our democratic debate was a lively one. If the political group of one of the other front runners had won the election, I would have been the first to call on this assembly to entrust that person with the task of setting up the new Commission.

The European Parliament and the Commission are both Community institutions *par excellence*. It's therefore only right that the President of the Commission and the President of European Parliament, on the one hand, and European Parliament and the Commission on the other, should have a special working relationship with each other. We will be Community players, not working against the European Council or against the Council of Ministers. We are not building Europe in opposition to countries or nations, which are not a footnote in history but here to stay. We, Parliament and Commission, will act in the general interest, and I want us to do it together.

The European Council proposes the President of the Commission. That does not mean he is its secretariat. The Commission is not a technical committee made up of civil servants who implement the instructions of another institution. The Commission is political. And I want it to be more political. Indeed, it will be highly political. Its make-up must reflect the plurality of the majority of ideas which take shape. When the European Council organises its internal structure, I hope it will be inspired by the same principle.

The President of the Commission is elected by your assembly. That does not mean he is at your beck and call; I'm not going to be the European Parliament's lackey. But do not doubt for one moment my willingness to remove a Commissioner who no longer benefits from your trust, or my willingness to take action, in principle by way of a legislative proposal, when you call on me to do so.

In similar vein, no restrictions will be placed on the right to pose questions. The same arrangements will continue to apply.

I intend to ask the Commissioners to be present more often at key moments of important 'trilogues' and I would like the Council to be there too. I will ensure that the lobbyist register is made public and mandatory. I would like ordinary people in Europe to know who has been to see who, and who has spoken to whom, and I would like the other institutions to follow suit.

I will make sure that the procedural rules governing the various authorisations for GMOs are reviewed. I would not want the Commission to be able to take a decision when a majority of Member States has not encouraged it to do so.

In general, let us avoid ideological debates which only sow division. Let us replace them by virtuous debates based on strongly-held beliefs and far-reaching ambitions. Let us opt for a pragmatic approach. Let us focus our efforts on achieving tangible results which benefit all Europeans. Let us not try the public's patience by indulging in institutional debates which prevent us from focusing on what really matters - the people of Europe. And I call on governments to try harder to resist the temptation, when they address their national electorates, to criticise decisions that they actually took together in Brussels.

If you said 'yes' in Brussels, don't say 'no' elsewhere. And never again say after a Council meeting that you won and the others lost. In Europe we win together, and we lose together too.

If Europe seems hard to understand, it is because, all too often, we caricature it. Let us put national navel-gazing to bed. In Europe we should play as a team. Let us apply the Community method. Yes, it is demanding, but it is effective, it is tried and tested and it is more credible than intergovernmental wrangling. We need to restore the Community method.

Europe has lost some of its credibility.

The gap between the European Union and its citizens is widening. One has to be really deaf and blind not to see this.

Very often, the European Union finds itself with some explaining to do, and many times under pressure to deliver when it comes to explaining Europe better.

Europe needs a broad-based agenda for reform.

The status quo does not provide us with a full range of tools. It has to be extended. People are often afraid of reforms. They find them threatening and risky. But taking no risks is far riskier. We must take risks in order to make Europe more competitive.

As the European Union, we have lost some of our international and global competitiveness.

We have fallen behind because we have stood still. Now we must fight to get ahead again.

Competitiveness is often confused with one-sided social regression but competitiveness is not achieved through social regression. Competitiveness is achieved by developing a broad range of approaches. Competitiveness is essential to make the European Union a more attractive location. A location for people, for investors.

This includes the principle that the economy has to serve the people and not the other way round. The economy must serve the people.

This means that internal market provisions cannot be valued more highly than social provisions, which would otherwise just be minimum standards. The internal market does not automatically have priority; social factors must also play a role in Europe.

I am an enthusiastic supporter of the social market economy. 'Prosperity for all' was what Ludwig Erhardt said. Not 'prosperity for just a few'. 'Prosperity for all' must be the maxim followed in both economic and social policies alike. In view of the crisis, people often say that the social market economy has failed. It is not the social market economy which has failed but those who, out of greed for profit, for money and for easy money, have disregarded the cardinal virtues of the social market economy.

The social market economy can only work if there is social dialogue. Social dialogue suffered during the crisis years. Now it must be resumed at national and especially at European level. I would like to be a President of social dialogue.

To keep a place attractive, you need growth, not recovery plans funded by borrowing which generate short-term effects with no long-term impact on the labour market. What we need is sustained growth over decades. What we need is an ambitious package for employment, growth, investment and competitiveness. Why do we need this? Because we have to draw many people in Europe back to Europe, back into the centre of things. Growth packages, competitiveness packages, investment programmes all have one aim which is to bring people back into the centre of society.

A 29th state is currently emerging within the borders of the European Union. It is the state where people without jobs live. A state in which young people became unemployed; a state in which we see people excluded, set back and left by the wayside. I would like this 29th Member State to become a normal Member State

again. This is why I am proposing an ambitious investment programme. By February 2015, I would like to have put forward this ambitious package for growth, investment, competitiveness and jobs.

I would like us to mobilise EUR 300 billion in public and above all private investments over the next three years. We will do this and I would be grateful if the European Parliament would support me on this path. We can do this through the targeted use of the existing structural funds and of the European Investment Bank instruments already in place or to be developed. We need coordinated investment in infrastructure projects; investments in the field of broadband, in energy networks, and we need investments in transport infrastructure in the centres of industry. We need a reindustrialisation of Europe. We also need investments in the industrial sector, in research, development and renewable energies. Renewable energies are not just the purview of ecological do-gooders. Renewable energies and their development is a *sine qua non* if tomorrow's Europe really is going to create lasting, consistent and sustainable locational advantages which are directly comparable with those of other world players.

If Europe invests more, Europe will be more prosperous and create more jobs. Investments are the best allies of the unemployed. In parallel with that, we must develop the Youth Guarantee. I would like us to gradually raise the age limit from 25 to 30. Investments can only be made in a target-oriented fashion if we actually make progress on reducing red tape, especially in relation to small and medium-sized enterprises.

Small businesspeople are not big money men. Small businesspeople work hard and create jobs. We must do more for small businesspeople, especially by resolutely eliminating bureaucratic over-regulation. We must deliver in applying the principle of subsidiarity. Since the Maastricht Treaty, we have been talking about the correct application of the subsidiarity principle. What we are doing, however, is not sufficient. Our speeches last longer than our efforts to make real headway in reducing red tape, and to ensure that the European Commission - and the European Union - concerns itself with the really major European issues instead of interfering from all angles in every detail of people's lives. Not every problem that exists in Europe is a problem for the European Union. We must take care of the big issues.

All this must of course be put in place in line with the Stability Pact. We will not change the main elements of the Stability and Growth Pact. The European Council decided this. I will stick to this in the coming years.

Stability was promised when the single currency was introduced. Stability is not just an entry requirement but an ongoing requirement. Stability was promised. Europe cannot break its promises. I will not break them.

However, the European Council correctly established that we should also use the margins of flexibility which the Stability Pact as reformed in 2005 and 2011 contains in order to maximise the growth factor. We have done this in the past and we will do this to a greater extent in the future. Which brings me to my concern that what we have initiated and achieved in the past should not be underestimated. I was President of the Eurogroup and am glad that I no longer am. It was really no laughing matter. I would also hazard a doubt as to whether the job for which I am applying today will be more agreeable. However, during the crisis, which was not a crisis of the euro but a debt crisis, we had to repair a burning plane whilst flying. This was not easy and does not meet all the demands of great statesmanship or rules of

sophisticated political aesthetics but we did manage to keep the whole Eurozone intact.

A little over a year ago, speculators of every provenance were wagering that the Eurozone would collapse. That did not happen. Bets were placed in many financial centres that Greece would leave the Eurozone.

I did all I could, and I am proud that Greece, this capable people, this great nation, is still a member of the European Economic and Monetary Union.

But we also made mistakes. Repairing a burning plane mid-air is no simple matter; you sometimes get your fingers burnt.

If, in the future, further economic adjustment programmes were to be introduced (although I see no need why this should be the case in the next few years), I would like to see a very rigorous social impact study carried out before any adjustment programme is implemented. I would like to know how adjustment programmes impact on people's lives. In future there will be no adjustment programmes unless they are preceded by a thorough social impact assessment.

I would be glad if we had a plan B whenever adjustment programmes are on the agenda. A plan B we could refer to if macro-economic predictions prove incorrect. If there is less growth in a country than the basis of an adjustment programme demands, then it must be possible to adjust the adjustment programme. I am therefore in favour of setting out a parallel plan B.

I would like us to reconsider the instrument of the Troika.

The European Parliament has stated in reports on the subject that the Troika as it works at present lacks democratic substance. It does lack democratic substance; it lacks a parliamentary dimension. We must review the Troika and make it more democratic, more parliamentary and more political. We will do this.

We cannot spend money we do not have. We have to replace deficits and debts by ideas. The ideas are there: we must make better use of the opportunities of the digital technology which knows no borders. We must break down national silos in telecommunication regulations, in copyright and in data protection standards. We have to break down national silos as far as the management of radio waves is concerned. We must knock down these barriers, these hurdles to growth. Roaming charges in Europe have to disappear and they will disappear. If we are successful in implementing a real digital single market, we can generate €250 billion of additional growth in Europe. We will do it.

We need, as it was so often said during the Ukrainian crisis, a resilient energy union with a forward-looking climate change policy. We have to reorganise Europe's energy policy into a new European Energy Union. We need to pool resources, combine infrastructures, and unite our negotiating power vis-à-vis third countries. We need to diversify our energy sources and reduce the high energy dependency of several of our member states.

I want the European Union to become the world number one in renewables. We will contribute significantly to enhancing energy efficiency beyond the 2020 objective notably when it comes to buildings. A binding 30 % objective for energy efficiency by 2030 is to me the minimum if we want to be credible and forward-looking. We cannot pretend to be the leader as far as climate change policy is concerned if we do not become more credible when it comes to energy efficiency.

The internal market has to be completed. If we are successful in this, we will add another €200 billion of added value to the European economy. We have to do it.

We have to complement the new European rules for banks with a Capital Markets Union. To improve the financing of our economy, we should further develop and integrate capital markets. This would cut the cost of raising capital, particularly for small and medium-size enterprises.

Free movement of workers has always been one of the key-pillars of the internal market. I will defend that principle.

Free movement is an opportunity, not a threat. The rules will not be changed. It will be up to national authorities to fight against abuse or fraudulent claims. I will initiate a targeted review of the Posting of Workers directive and of its implementation. We have to fight social dumping and we will do it.

I will combat tax evasion and tax fraud. I am in favour of the adoption at EU level of a Common Consolidated Corporate Tax Base and a Financial Transaction Tax. We have to fight against money laundering and we will do it.

With regard to economic and monetary union, let us not lose sight of the fact that the crisis is not over.

The crisis is not over.

The crisis is not over as long as there are 25 million men and women out of work. The crisis will be over when full employment has been restored. And if we are going to do that, we need closer coordination of our economic policies. We need to establish economic governance. And we will. We must continue to insist that the necessary structural reforms, which in the medium term, will help to boost European economic growth, are put in place. If the members of the economic and monetary union make a concerted effort, then we should consider financial incentives to accompany that process. We should consider giving the Eurozone its own budget capacity.

It is absurd for one of the strongest currencies in the world to be represented by any number of different parties who very often contradict each other, and we should put a stop to it. I want the Economic and Monetary Union, and the euro, to be represented by a single chair and a single voice in the Bretton Woods institutions.

While I'm on the subject of Bretton Woods, I would like to say a few words on the free trade agreement with the United States. I am in favour of concluding this agreement. It is my view that the two largest economic areas and the two biggest democracies in the world can work together in the interests of Americans and Europeans alike. That said, the agreement will not be concluded at any price. We cannot abandon our health standards. We cannot abandon our social standards. We cannot abandon our data protection standard. I would not want data protection to form part of the negotiations with our American friends. Nor would I want parallel, secret courts set up. We are areas governed by the rule of law, so, in the United States and in Europe, let us apply the law.

And let us ensure that these negotiations are as transparent as possible. I say this to you: if we do not publish the relevant documents – and I do not mean documents on negotiating strategies – this agreement will fail. It will not be accepted by public opinion, it will not be accepted by this Parliament, it will not be accepted by our national parliaments if there is a mixed agreement. So let us be more transparent,

because in fact we have nothing to hide. Let us not give the impression that we are not being upfront, let us operate transparently and make the documents public.

The European Union is a union built on values. And we are credible to the outside world if we demand high standards of ourselves when it comes to fundamental values. I will appoint a Commissioner who will be in charge of applying the Charter of Fundamental Rights. I would like the EU to join the Council of Europe's European Convention on Human Rights at the earliest opportunity.

The Anti-Discrimination Directive will remain on the table and I will try to persuade the Council to adopt at least the core proposals as soon as possible.

Legal immigration and illegal immigration concern our fellow citizens on an almost daily basis. We need a common asylum policy, and I will put one forward. We need to think about the legal immigration that Europe will sorely need over the next five years. Let us do just as well as the United States, Canada and Australia. We can achieve what they have always managed to achieve.

Let us protect our external borders. Let us protect our external borders. Let us combat the criminal groups who make money off of other people's misery. Let us help would-be immigrants in their own countries, before they get on a boat to cross the Mediterranean. And let us establish better solidarity between Northern and Southern Europe. Illegal immigration and the refugee crisis are not the problems of Malta, Cyprus, Italy or Greece, they are the problems of Europe as a whole.

I do not want to say a great deal about foreign policy. We urgently need a common foreign and security policy. It would be fine by me if the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy were no longer thwarted by the Foreign Ministers of the Member States and I will ensure this does not happen. A common foreign policy also needs a common external image.

The High Representative, with a very broad own remit, will be supported by Commissioners responsible for other sectors.

In defence matters, it is not about establishing the European Union as an alternative model to NATO. Both have to work together and cooperate. In the defence sector we must have enhanced cooperation which the Lisbon Treaty also provides for. On procurement, in particular, we need to work together more rather than against each other, to obtain what we both need.

In the next five years, no new members will be joining us in the European Union. As things now stand, it is inconceivable that any of the candidate countries with whom we are now negotiating will be able to meet all the membership criteria down to every detail by 2019. However, the negotiations will be continued and other European nations and European countries need a credible and honest European perspective. This applies especially to the Western Balkans. This tragic European region needs a European perspective. Otherwise the old demons of the past will reawaken.

I would have liked to speak to you in greater detail about the industrial policy that we will need to set up in Europe to boost industry's share of European GDP to 20%. I would have liked to speak to you in greater detail about Ukraine, whose people I salute today. We believe that Ukraine is a European nation and that its place is in Europe.

I would have liked to explain to you in detail why I believe it is necessary for all EU Member States to put in place a minimum wage and basic guaranteed income. We will take action to achieve that end.

I would have liked to spell out my belief that services of general interest and public services should be safeguarded and cannot be subject to the fashionable whims of the day. Let us stand up for public services in Europe!

I would have liked to speak to you about Africa, a continent so often unhappy and forgotten. But a continent which is rich in resources, particularly human resources. Let us not forget Africa and let us end the appalling scandal, the absolute tragedy in which a man dies of hunger every six seconds and 25 000 children die of hunger every single day. As long as 25 000 children are dying of hunger every day, Europe will still have work to do. Europe has a responsibility to change this situation.

Yes, we have to start afresh, we have to hear the people who spoke to us on 25 May. But the time is not ripe for a revolution. And it is not ripe for a counter-revolution either. If we want Europeans to fall in love with their Europe again, let's tell them we are proud of Europe. Let's tell them we are proud of what we have achieved in the last few decades.

It is often claimed that the question of war or peace has been settled for good. But in reality, an unhealthy vacillation between war and peace is still part of Europe's present. Indeed, as we have just seen in the border regions of the EU, peace is not a permanent fixture of our continent.

We should be proud of our fathers' and mothers' generation, of our grandparents' generation, who, when they came back from the battlefields and the concentration camps, prayed time and time again that there would be no more war - a political programme which has proven its worth. Yes, we owe our forefathers a great deal.

Let us be proud that in the 1990s we were able to make a success of enlargement, to reconcile European history and geography and to put an end to the disastrous post-war order whereby Europe was divided in two, seemingly for ever. We reunited European geography and history not by force but by conviction, and I would like to pay homage to those in Central and Eastern Europe who decided to take history into their own hands. Not to be victims of history, but to make history. And by the way, let us end this talk about 'old' and 'new' Member States. There are Member States. Full stop.

And let us be proud that we set up the single currency. The single currency does not divide Europe, it protects Europe.

I was my country's Finance Minister for twenty years. Every six months I had to travel to Brussels to organise monetary realignments. Every six months I experienced 'live and in colour' just how dangerous monetary disorder was for the European economy. On very many occasions I witnessed the loss of dignity experienced by a state which had to devalue its currency to remain competitive. I witnessed terrible scenes in which states which needed to boost the external value of their currency agonised over losing markets, and states which needed to devalue were stricken by the fear of a massive incursion and a disorderly return of inflation.

If we had still had the European monetary system when the events in Ukraine erupted and when the economic and financial crisis struck and Europe became the epicentre of a worldwide battle, Europe today would be in the throes of monetary

war. France against Germany, Germany against Italy, Italy against Portugal and Spain, and so on and so forth. Thanks to the discipline and the ambitions of the euro, we have a monetary order which protects us. The euro protects Europe.

Greece, let us not forget, did not want to leave the eurozone. And we did not want Greece to leave either.

If we had not done what we did in the last few decades, if we had not made Europe a peaceful continent, if we had not reconciled European history and geography, if we had not set up the single currency and if we had not established the world's largest internal market in Europe, where would we be now? We would be nobodies, we would be weak, we would be defenceless. Today, thanks to the hard work and convictions of our predecessors, Europe is a continent which ensures that its inhabitants can live in peace and relative prosperity.

I do not want a Europe stuck on the sidelines of history. I do not want a Europe which watches while other powers take action and move forward. I want a Europe at the heart of the action, a Europe which moves forward, a Europe which exists, protects, wins and serves as a model for others. In order to make that happen, let us draw inspiration from the principles and convictions handed down to us by the great Europeans who were there at a time when we were still nowhere. Allow me to pay homage to Jacques Delors, a great President of the European Commission. True, not everyone can be a Delors, but he is my teacher and my friend, and his work will inspire me every day. I would also like to pay homage to François Mitterrand, who said that nationalism leads to war. Mitterrand was right.

And I want to pay homage to Helmut Kohl, the greatest European I ever had the good fortune to meet.

Let us follow their example: they had patience, courage and determination. We should have the same courage, the same determination, the same patience. We should have the courage, the patience and the determination that long journeys and big ambitions demand.

We can do great things together for Europe, for Europeans and for the whole world.

Thank you for your attention.

**Jean-Claude Juncker**  
President-elect of the European Commission

**Setting Europe in Motion:  
President-elect Juncker's Main Messages  
from his speech before the European  
Parliament**

Statement in the European Parliament plenary session  
ahead of the vote on the College

Strasbourg, 22 October 2014

## Setting Europe in Motion: President-elect Juncker's Main Messages from his speech before the European Parliament

Statement in the European Parliament plenary session ahead of the vote on the College

### Time for Action

"From Ukraine to Syria, to the Middle East and North Africa, our neighbourhood remains shaky and unstable. Scores of immigrants arriving at Europe's external frontiers in search of a better future remind us of the need to reconcile the quest of solidarity with the demand for safe borders. And cross-border health threats like the Ebola epidemic have seized citizens with an understandable degree of fear.

**We cannot and will not sweep these mounting problems under the carpet. We cannot and will not turn a blind eye.** That is why I insist that the time for European action is now. That is why I state loud and clear in front of this House that Europe's problems cannot be put on the back burner."

### Breaking out of Silo Mentalities

"When I presented my new team on 10 September, I wanted to show that I wish to deliver quickly and effectively. That is why my Commission will not only look different but will also work differently. Not as the sum of its parts, but as a team. Not through silo mentalities, clusters and portfolio frontiers, but as a collegiate, political body. I want a political, executive Commission at the service of the common good and of Europe's citizens."

### Addressing Concerns

"The hearings have revealed a broad consensus around the team that I have proposed. You have, however, also expressed some concerns – during the hearings and in your contacts with me. I am ready to swiftly address the issues that you identified as relevant to the functioning of the new Commission.

I listened to you carefully and will briefly explain how I want to address your concerns on a number of issues:

1. A new Slovenian Commissioner, Violeta Bulc, passed her hearing in record time. This was possible thanks to the portfolio changes completed without any delay. Violeta will be responsible for the **Transport portfolio**, while Maroš Šefčovič, an experienced member of the outgoing Commission, will be Vice-President in charge of **Energy Union**.

2. I have decided to enlarge Frans Timmermans' remit to include the horizontal responsibility for **sustainable development**. As you know, sustainable development is a principle enshrined in the EU Treaties (Article 3 TEU) and should thus be taken into account by all institutions in all their actions and policies. It is also part of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights for which Frans is horizontally in charge. Sustainability and environmental concerns are important to our citizens. We have the tools to address them in the new Commission: with powerful green portfolios that have big budgets and regulatory teeth.

3. Responsibility for **medicines and pharmaceutical products** will stay with the Directorate-General for Health because I agree with you that medicines are not goods like any other. The relevant policy will be developed jointly by Vytenis Andriukaitis and by Elżbieta Bieńkowska, who showed her incredible talents in her hearing.

4. **Space policy** can make an important contribution to the further development of a strong industrial basis in Europe – one of the priorities of my Commission. It is for this reason that I have decided it will remain in the remit of the Directorate-General for the Internal Market and Industry, in the safe hands of Elżbieta Bieńkowska.

5. Last but not least, I have decided to place **Citizenship** under the responsibility of Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner in charge of Migration and Home Affairs – issues, very close to the heart of Europe's citizens – who will work in close cooperation on this matter with Justice and Consumers Commissioner Vera Jourova. I wish at the same time to reiterate my confidence and trust in Tibor Navracsics who performed excellently in his hearing and demonstrated a strong European commitment – which is why you considered him qualified as Commissioner."

### **Investor-to-state disputes**

I took note of the intense debates around investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations. Let me once again state my position clearly, that I had set out on 15 July in front of this House and that you will find in my Political Guidelines: My Commission will not accept that the jurisdiction of courts in the EU Member States be limited by special regimes for investor-to-state disputes. The rule of law and the principle of equality before the law must also apply in this context.

The negotiating mandate foresees a number of conditions that have to be respected by such a regime as well as an assessment of its relationship with domestic courts. There is thus no obligation in this regard: the mandate leaves it open and serves as a guide.

I had thought my commitment on this point was very clear but I am happy to clarify and reiterate it here today as a number of you have asked me to do so: In the agreement that my Commission will eventually submit to this House for approval there will be nothing that limits for the parties the access to national courts or that will allow secret courts to have the final say in disputes between investors and States.

I have asked Frans Timmermans, in his role as First Vice-President in charge of the Rule of Law and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, to advise me on the matter. **There will be no investor-to-state dispute clause in TTIP if Frans does not agree with it too.**

I am confident that – with your support – we can negotiate an ambitious trade agreement with the U.S. along these lines, with full respect of European interests and the rule of law.

### **Bridging the Investment Gap**

"Let me be clear when I say that my Commission, like every Commission before it, will treat Member States equally. And we will be tough when we need to be tough. **It**

**is time we had a real 'grand bargain', a broad coalition of countries and the main political parties who will work together on a three pillar structure: structural reforms, fiscal credibility and investment.**

The response to the current economic challenges cannot be top-down. I do not believe in miracles - there is no magic bullet or growth button to push in Brussels. Structural reforms, fiscal credibility and investment at national and EU level have to go hand in hand."

"The level of investment in the EU dropped by just under €500 billion, or 20%, after its latest peak in 2007. **We are facing an investment gap. We have to work to bridge that gap.**

Europe can help make this happen. As you know, I intend to present an ambitious €300 billion Investment package for Jobs, Growth and Competitiveness.

I will not now tell you all the details of what this package will contain. How can I when my new Team has yet to even meet to discuss it?

You will just have to have a little faith. You have my word that my College will start working on this day and night from the moment we take office.

**If you give us your support today, we will present the Package before Christmas.** This is not a promise, it is an affirmation."

### **The First legislative initiatives of the Juncker Commission**

"Every day, Europe is losing out by not **unlocking the great potential of our huge digital single market.** Jobs that should be there are not being created. Ideas – the DNA of Europe's economy! – do not materialise to the extent they should. Let us change this for the better."

"In tomorrow's increasingly competitive world, Europe will only be able to thrive if we **get it right on Energy Union.**

In view of the discussions that will take place in the coming days on this, I would plead with Member States to find an agreement in the European Council so that we can go to Paris with a clear mandate. We all have to be pulling in the same direction if progress is to be made."

### **Conclusion**

"Citizens are losing faith, extremists on the left and right are nipping at our heels, our competitors are taking liberties. It is time we breathed a new lease of life into the European project.

Huge challenges await us. It is up to us to shape these challenges. If we want a role to play in the future we have to play it now. It is up to us to ensure that the handwriting of the European Social Model is clearly visible in everything we do. Because Europe is the protective shield for all of us who can call this magnificent continent their home.

I stand here in front of you, in this House that is the beacon of European democracy, and **call upon you to set Europe in motion again.**"

**SPEECH/14/705**  
**EUROPEAN COMMISSION**  
**Jean-Claude Juncker**

Statement in the European Parliament plenary session ahead of the vote on the College

*Strasbourg, 22 October 2014*

## **Time for Action**

Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés,

Dans un discours que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous présenter en date du 15 juillet, je vous ai présenté les orientations générales et droits dont dispose le Président désigné de la Commission sur la base du traité.

Ce ne fut pas un exercice de style: ce fut un exposé de programmes, un exposé de projets, un exposé de contenus, un exposé d'ambitions.

Les commissaires qui formeront, si vous l'investissez, mon Collège, sont tenus à ces orientations générales. Je ne demande pas aux commissaires une obéissance aveugle. Comme je l'ai dit à Bruxelles, lorsque j'ai présenté le Collège : à mon âge, on ne commence pas une carrière de dictateur. Je voudrais que les commissaires se sentent libres. On a demandé au Président désigné de la Commission de tout faire pour composer un Collège politique, alors respectez le fait que les commissaires aient des opinions politiques et alimentent, par leurs réflexions, les débats au sein de la Commission. J'ai été élu Président de la Commission sur la base d'un programme qui me lie au Parlement européen. J'ai un contrat avec vous, Monsieur le Président, et avec le Parlement européen, et je compte respecter les termes du contrat que j'ai exposés devant vous durant l'été de l'année en cours.

La Commission qui prendra ses fonctions, si vous en êtes d'accord, au 1er novembre, succèdera à celle de José Manuel Barroso, qui fut Président de l'institution pendant dix années. Je voudrais rendre ici hommage à José Manuel Barroso qui fut Président pendant une époque, à vrai dire, difficile. La Commission Barroso a dû gérer la crise économique et financière et ses conséquences. La commission Barroso a su intégrer dans les multiples dispositifs communautaires, treize nouveaux Etats membres. Je considère que José Manuel Barroso a fait un bon travail et que, très souvent, il fut critiqué d'une façon qui, parfois, m'apparaissait comme étant pénible. Monsieur Barroso a bien mérité de l'Europe et je voudrais le remercier pour l'extraordinaire travail qu'il a accompli.

En juillet, je vous avais promis de composer une Commission politique ; je vous avais dit que la prochaine Commission serait politique, et qu'elle serait très politique; Ce fut comme un souhait œcuménique que beaucoup d'entre vous ont exprimé. La Commission n'est pas un attroupement de hauts fonctionnaires anonymes. Les

directeurs généraux, tous compétents, doivent obéir aux commissaires, et non l'inverse.

Donc, j'ai tout fait pour avoir des "poids lourds" désignés membres de la Commission par les gouvernements et par le Président désigné.

Les hommes et les femmes qui composeront mon Collège, ont exercé des fonctions importantes dans leurs pays respectifs, des fonctions de haute responsabilité. La Commission se composera de quatre anciens premiers ministres, de dix-neuf anciens ministres, de trois anciens ministres des Affaires étrangères, de plusieurs anciens ministres des Finances, de sept commissaires sortants et de huit commissaires ayant été membres du Parlement européen. Cela traduit le fait que la Commission se doit d'être très politique.

Je vous avais promis une Commission plus politique : sa composition dénote qu'elle sera plus politique que celles qui l'ont précédée. Je vous avais promis en juillet une Commission plus efficace, là encore, souhait partagé par la plupart de ceux qui forment cette assemblée. J'ai choisi de réorganiser l'architecture de la Commission. J'ai fait le choix de nommer, chose qui ne s'était pas faite auparavant, un premier Vice-président en la personne de Frans Timmermans, que je voudrais saluer tout particulièrement ce matin.

J'ai fait ce choix parce que je le connais depuis des siècles ; j'ai fait ce choix, aussi pour apporter à la Commission l'équilibre politique que la désignation des différents commissaires n'a qu'insuffisamment imposé ; j'ai lu, dans la plupart des journaux européens, que Frans Timmermans sera ma main droite : j'espère que de temps à autres, il sera aussi ma main gauche, mais cela sera difficile.

J'ai nommé plusieurs Vice-présidents. J'ai nommé Vice-présidente, puisque le traité le prévoit, la Haute représentante; j'ai aussi eu l'intention de nommer la commissaire aux Affaires budgétaires Vice-présidente, puisque l'élaboration et l'exécution du budget sont en fait horizontaux par nature ; puis, j'avais l'idée de demander aux anciens Premiers ministres d'exercer les fonctions coordinatrices au sein du Collège. Les premiers ministres sont habitués à ce difficile métier de coordonner les travaux des autres. Parfois, ils réussissent, parfois ils ne réussissent pas, mais ils savent de quoi il s'agit lorsqu'il s'agit de coordonner. Donc, j'ai demandé à ceux qui furent Premiers ministres d'être Vice-présidents de la Commission. J'ai décidé de charger Frans Timmermans de l'application du principe de subsidiarité, la dérégulation, comme on dit en français ; C'est une affaire importante. Nous avons dit, et nous avons promis aux électeurs et aux citoyens européens de faire de l'Europe une machine, une instance, une ambition, une fabrique, qui s'occuperait des grands problèmes et qui délaisserait les petits sujets qui trouvent mieux réponse dans les pays membres respectifs et au niveau des collectivités locales. Monsieur Timmermans veillera aux principes de la better regulation. Lourd travail, qui concernera tous les commissaires, puisque tous les commissaires doivent participer à cet effort de redressement de l'Union européenne, de ses réflexes et comportements politiques. J'ai décidé de charger Frans Timmermans, également, du développement durable : ambition importante, projet qui porte loin, souci qu'il faut avoir au quotidien. Je ne pouvais pas suivre en ses propositions, votre commission de l'environnement qui voulait que la compétence « développement durable » soit attribuée au Vice-président en charge de la croissance et des investissements : j'ai choisi de demander à Frans Timmermans de prendre soin de cet aspect particulièrement important de notre action collective, parce que déjà la charte des

droits fondamentaux, observation de laquelle dépendra une bonne partie du travail de Monsieur Timmermans, prévoit déjà le respect du développement durable, tout comme l'article 3 du traité le prescrit.

Les Vice-présidents que j'ai choisis seront en charge des priorités de la Commission que je vous avais exposées en juillet de cette année. Un Vice-président sera en charge de l'Union de l'énergie, dans toutes ses dimensions, y compris les énergies renouvelables et alternatives. Un Vice-président sera en charge de la croissance et de l'investissement ; un Vice-président sera en charge du marché numérique européen ; et un Vice-président sera en charge de l'euro et du dialogue social. Ce ne sont pas de petits chefs, qui instruiraient les autres commissaires. Les commissaires de la Commission sont égaux en droits : ce sont des Vice-présidences de projets, des coordinateurs, des animateurs, des rassembleurs, des organisateurs d'idées et d'initiatives. J'ai noté, pendant les auditions parlementaires et dans la partie vertueuse de l'opinion publique publiée, beaucoup de doutes et beaucoup d'interrogations au sujet de ces animaux inconnus que sont des Vice-présidents coordinateurs des travaux de la Commission. J'ai été surpris de devoir lire cela. Tout le monde m'avait dit que la Commission devait fonctionner de manière plus efficace. Tout le monde, ou presque s'était plaint du fait que le Collège était composé de 28 commissaires, soit un commissaire par pays : ils sont trop nombreux. J'avais le choix entre une organisation architecturale revue ou un morcellement des compétences, de façon à ce que je puisse les distribuer parmi 28 commissaires. Alors, la question est simple : soit vous voulez 28 commissaires, travaillant chacun dans leur coin, se vautrant dans l'esprit de clocher, s'occupant de petites compétences, qui verraient le jour après avoir morcelé et mis en pièces les compétences qui sont celles de la Commission, soit des commissaires évoluant sous l'égide amicale de Vice-présidents qui coordonneront leurs travaux. Si vous vouliez une Commission comme elle fut, vous auriez dû me le dire. Mais si vous voulez une Commission plus efficace, une Commission qui prenne soin des grandes ambitions de l'Europe, qui les organise, qui les structure, alors, il n'y a pas d'autre choix que de charger un certain nombre de Vice-présidents de la mise en application de grandes priorités politiques de la commission.

Je vais vous donner deux exemples : il y a un Vice-président à l'euro et au dialogue social et il y a un commissaire aux affaires économiques, financières et fiscales, et un autre commissaire aux affaires sociales. Puis, il y a le semestre européen. Il est évident que le Vice-président en charge, doit coordonner les initiatives de la commissaire aux affaires sociales et du commissaire aux affaires économiques et financières. Le semestre européen n'est pas un semestre économique et financier. Le semestre européen, les recommandations pays par pays qu'émettra la Commission doivent, nécessairement prendre en considération les aspects sociaux de la construction économique et monétaire de l'Europe.

Il y a tout un débat autour du "Triple A". Tout le monde aime le "Triple A". En fait, au sein de la zone euro, il reste deux pays auxquels le "Triple A" a été conféré ; l'Allemagne et le Luxembourg. L'Allemagne a de bonnes chances de le garder et pour le Luxembourg, cela reste à voir. Mais je voudrais que l'Union européenne retrouve et se dote d'un autre "Triple A". Moi, je voudrais que l'Europe ait le "Triple A" social: le "Triple A" social est aussi important que le "Triple A" économique et financier.

Nous avons désigné un Vice-président à la croissance et à l'investissement. Il coordonnera l'action de tous les commissaires qui contribueront à la politique de

croissance et d'investissement ; la commissaire aux transports, le commissaire à l'économie numérique, encore une fois le commissaire aux affaires économiques et financière et fiscales le commissaire en charge des affaires sociales et de l'emploi, le commissaire en charge de la mise ne place du marché unique et des capitaux, la commissaire en charge du marché intérieur et ainsi de suite.

Si nous voulons présenter aux Européens, et donc d'abord au Parlement, un paquet d'investissements ambitieux, il faudra que quelqu'un l'organise. Et comme il y a plusieurs compétences qui doivent être fusionnées, comme il y a plusieurs commissaires qui doivent faire confluer vers le centre, leurs différentes politiques, il est évident qu'un Vice-président devra coordonner les travaux. Je veux mettre fin aux silos, je veux mettre fin à ce mode de gouvernance qui veut que chaque commissaire travaille dans son coin ; je veux mettre fin à la mentalité de clocher que l'on peut distinguer bien souvent en observant les travaux de la Commission.

J'attire votre attention sur un aspect que pratiquement aucun commentateur n'a relevé : le grand perdant de cette nouvelle architecture, c'est moi... Pour la simple raison que j'ai délégué une bonne partie de mes prérogatives présidentielles aux Vice-présidents. On ne peut pas mettre en place des Vice-présidences de projets si le Président continue à évoluer à la tête de la Commission come tel fut le cas jusqu'à présent. Mais je voudrais dire ici que pour qu'un point soit mis à l'ordre du jour de la Commission, je veux d'abord avoir l'agrément et l'accord du Vice-président en charge de la coordination. Mais celui, je voudrais le dire sans menace, qui délègue ses prérogatives, peut, s'il le faut, aussi les reprendre. Pour le reste, les Vice-présidents sont en charge des travaux qui, jusqu'à présent, furent la prérogative du Président de la Commission.

Je vous avais promis, en juillet, de veiller à ce que la nouvelle Commission se compose d'un nombre suffisant de femmes : nous avons neuf commissaires féminines, soit le même nombre que celui qui caractérisa la commission Barroso. J'ai dû lutter pour voir les gouvernements nationaux me proposer neuf membres féminins. Fin juillet, deux semaines après vous avoir parlé, nous avons trois femmes désignées par les gouvernements : j'ai dû convaincre bon nombre de gouvernements d'envoyer une commissaire femme, et j'ai dû récuser beaucoup de candidats masculins : je ne vous dirai pas lesquels parce que je ne voudrais pas mettre dans l'embarras les premiers ministres que j'ai réussi à convaincre de proposer une femme commissaire. Mais à vrai dire, neuf femmes sur 28 commissaires, cela reste ridicule.

Alors, comme nous faisons tous partie, en principe, de partis politiques nationaux, comme en principe, nous tous, nous connaissons nos premiers ministres, commencez dès demain matin à sensibiliser les gouvernements nationaux à cette question. Et je suis un peu gêné de devoir vous dire cela, parce que le Luxembourg n'a pas désigné une femme. Il le fera sans doute la prochaine fois, puisque Mme Reding fut commissaire pendant quinze années.

Je vous avais dit, mes chers amis, lors du débat que nous avons eu en juillet, que j'allais écouter attentivement les hearings. Comment ne pas écouter des hearings? J'ai suivi avec intérêt, je dois dire, variable, les auditions parlementaires, 29 au total. Je vous avais dit en juillet que la Commission n'est pas le secrétaire général du Conseil européen ni du Conseil des ministres et que je ne serais pas le valet du Parlement européen. J'ai aussi écouté ce que vous avez dit et j'ai cru bon de tirer un certain nombre de conséquences des auditions qui se sont déroulées sous nos

yeux. La commissaire proposée par la Slovénie a dû être échangée par une autre commissaire slovène et j'ai décidé de lui attribuer le portefeuille important des transports. Comme je ne voulais pas remettre en cause l'architecture de base de la Commission, j'ai choisi de nommer Monsieur Šefčovič en charge de l'Union de l'énergie puisqu'au cours des années écoulées, il fut déjà Vice-président et a donc une idée de ce que peut représenter le travail de coordination que je lui demande d'effectuer. Je vous ai déjà dit que j'ai proposé à mon ami Frans Timmermans d'enrichir son portefeuille par toutes les politiques liées au développement durable. J'ai écouté avec beaucoup d'attention tous ceux qui se sont plaints du fait que j'avais désaffecté les compétences en matière de médicaments et des produits pharmaceutiques en les faisant passer du portefeuille du commissaire à la santé vers celui en charge du marché intérieur. Je n'avais pas l'idée – et ceux qui me connaissent le savent pertinemment – que les médicaments, les produits de santé et l'activité médicale elle-même, seraient une marchandise comme une autre : la santé n'est pas une marchandise. Et donc, sensible à l'appel qui me fut lancé de remettre de l'ordre dans cette distribution des compétences, - ce fut un souhait exprimé durant les auditions parlementaires, ce fut un souhait largement repris par une bonne partie des professions médicales – j'ai décidé de réaffecter ces compétences au commissaire à la santé.

La politique de l'espace, à mes yeux, est un domaine prometteur. Il m'a semblé plus adéquat de charger la commissaire en charge du marché intérieur des politiques de l'espace, comme tel fut le cas lors des compositions des Commissions précédentes. La citoyenneté, oui, j'ai suivi vos débats sur cette question et j'ai été sensible à un certain nombre de remarques qui traduisent un malaise et j'ai donc choisi d'attribuer le dossier de la citoyenneté au commissaire en charge de la migration et des affaires intérieure, compétence à partager évidemment avec la commissaire à la justice. J'ai ajouté au dossier de Monsieur Navracsics, les sports.

Finally, Mr. President, I took note of the intense debates surrounding investors-to-state dispute settlements in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment partnership negotiations. Let me once again state my position clearly, which I had set out on 15 July in front of this house and which you will find in my political guidelines: I will not accept that the jurisdiction of courts in the EU Member States be limited by special regimes for investors-to-state disputes. The rule of law and the principle of equality before the law must also apply in this context. The negotiating mandate foresees a number of conditions that have to be respected by such a regime as well as an assessment of its relationship with domestic courts. There is thus no obligation in this regard: the mandate leaves it open and serves as a guide. I had thought my commitment on this point was very clear but I am happy to clarify and reiterate it here today as a number of you have asked me to do so: In the agreement that my Commission will eventually submit to this House for approval there will be nothing that limits for the parties the access to national courts or that will allow secret courts to have the final say in disputes between investors and states.

I have asked Frans Timmermans, once again, in his role as First Vice-President in charge of the Rule of Law and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, to advise me on the matter. There will be no investor-to-state dispute clause in TTIP if Frans does not agree with it too. I am confident that – with your support – we can negotiate an ambitious trade agreement with the U.S. along these lines, with full respect of European interests and the rule of law. I am strongly committed to the ambition of concluding a trade agreement with the U.S. but I have promised to this Parliament

during the campaign that I will be attentive to European rules. We have to negotiate with the Americans. Frans will lead this agreement to its end, but I wanted to be as clear as possible on this very issue.

Herr Präsident, ich rede jetzt in der Sprache des Weltmeisters – obwohl der Weltmeister, zur Zeit eine erkennbare Formschwäche hat.

Der Präsident denkt, das war eine vorübergehende Schwäche. Auch Deutsche müssen sich daran gewöhnen können, dass Sie dauerhaft schwächer sein könnten.

Ich möchte einige zusätzliche Erklärungen abgeben zu einigen Fragen, die in der Debatte der letzten Woche eine hervorgehobene Rolle gespielt haben.

Ich hatte im Juli versprochen, ich würde ein 300 Milliarden Euro schweres Investitionspaket vorlegen. Investitionen sind lebenswichtig für die europäische Volkswirtschaft und für die Menschen, die in Europa leben und arbeiten. Europa leidet zurzeit an einem starken Investitionsrückgang von über 20% im Schnitt → im direkten Vergleich mit dem Vorkrisenjahr 2007, 36% Investitionsrückgang in Portugal, 64% Investitionsrückgang in Griechenland. Volkswirtschaften, in denen nicht investiert wird, können nicht wachsen. Und Volkswirtschaften die nicht wachsen, können keine Beschäftigung sicherstellen. Dieses Investitionsprogramm liegt mir sehr am Herzen. Ich möchte hier in aller Deutlichkeit sagen, dass alle Versuche, die inzwischen selbstverständlich gestartet wurden, um mich von diesem Vorhaben abzubringen, nicht fruchten werden: ich werde dieses Investitionsprogramm vorlegen.

Dieses Investitionsprogramm kann nicht durch weitere Schulden finanziert werden. Wir müssen dafür Sorge tragen, dass durch intelligentes Einbringen öffentlicher Geldmittel, Privatinvestitionen angekurbelt werden. Die Wirtschaft muss wissen, dass auch sie eine Aufgabe in der Gesellschaft zu erfüllen hat. Nicht nur Staaten sind für die Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit zuständig, sondern die Wirtschaft ist mitverantwortlich ihren Teil zu leisten. Ich appelliere deshalb an die europäische Wirtschaft, ihren Teil beizusteuern, damit sich die Lage auf den europäischen Arbeitsmärkten verbessert, und damit es zu einem Investitionsfluss kommt, den wir dringend benötigen, um von der Stelle zu kommen.

Ich werde dieses Investitionsprogramm nicht, wie ursprünglich geplant, in den ersten drei Monaten meines Mandates vorlegen, sondern der zuständige Vizepräsident Jyrki Katainen und ich werden es noch vor Weihnachten vorlegen. Es besteht Eile und wir müssen dieser Forderung so schnell wie möglich gerecht werden.

Dieses Investitionsprogramm wird nicht ein Konjunkturprogramm sein, wie man es in den siebziger Jahren in einigen Mitgliedsstaaten versucht hat, auf den Weg zu bringen. Konjunkturprogramme sind Strohfeuerprogramme. Was wir brauchen, sind zielorientierte Investitionen, die mittelfristig zu mehr Wachstum führen: Investitionen, die die Kraft der europäischen Wirtschaft stärken. Es geht nicht darum einfach Geld in die Hand zu nehmen, um den Eindruck zu erwecken, man täte etwas. Es geht darum, Geld zu mobilisieren, um gemeinsam mit dem Privatsektor mittelfristig die Wachstumskräfte und das Wachstumspotential in der Europäischen Union zu stärken. Das, sage ich auch deshalb, weil die Hauptaufgabe, die vor uns liegt, die Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit ist. Und die Bekämpfung der in vielen unserer Mitgliedstaaten skandalös hohen Jugendarbeitslosigkeit braucht, nicht nur, aber, vor allem, die Unterstützung der privaten Wirtschaft.

Im Rahmen dieser Gesamtanstrengungen, müssen wir selbstverständlich auch an der europäischen Digitalagenda und am digitalen Binnenmarkt arbeiten. Mein Kollege Günther Oettinger wird sich um dieses wichtige Sachgebiet kümmern. Allein die Investitionen, die in diesem Bereich getätigt werden müssen, werden einen Wachstumsschub von etwa 250 Milliarden Euro in den nächsten Jahren zur Folge haben. Wir werden dieses Projekt umsetzen.

In den letzten Monaten wurde viel über den Stabilitätspakt moniert und diskutiert – aber wenig nachgedacht. Auch hier möchte ich Klartext sprechen: Ich halte mich an das – und die Europäische Kommission insgesamt auch –, was der Europäische Rat am 27. Juni diesbezüglich gesagt hat: die Regeln werden nicht geändert. Alle 28 Regierungen waren sich im Juni ausnahmslos einig, dass das Regelwerk nicht angetastet wird.. Aber das Regelwerk wird sehr wohl mit der gewissen Flexibilität angewandt, die die einschlägigen Vertragstexte und andere Rechtstexte vorsehen. Wir werden tun, wozu der Europäische Rat uns aufgefordert hat; wir werden tun, was ich bereits am 15. Juli vor diesem Haus gesagt habe: Haushaltsdisziplin muss sein, Flexibilität muss sein und Strukturreformen müssen sein. Ohne Strukturreformen, die dauerhaft zu einer Belebung der europäischen Wirtschaft und der europäischen Arbeitsmärkte führen, kann es keine Flexibilität geben.

Aber ich möchte auch einigen Kollegen nahelegen, sich von der Vorstellung zu verabschieden, dass nur eine überzogene Austerität und eine exzessive Sparpolitik automatisch zu einer Wiederbelebung der Wachstumskräfte und der arbeitsmarktpolitischen Impulse führen. Es ist umgekehrt auch nicht so, dass Defizite und hohe Schuldenstände automatisch zu Wachstum führen. Wenn es so wäre, dass hohe Defizite und Schuldenstände zu Wachstum führten, dann müsste Europa wachsen wie noch nie in seiner Geschichte, denn wir hatten noch nie so viele Schulden zu verantworten, wie es heute der Fall ist. Aber zu denken, dass Haushaltskonsolidierung allein wachstumsfördernd ist, ohne von der notwendigen Flexibilität und den notwendigen Strukturreformen und Investitionen begleitet zu werden, ist ebenso falsch. Wir brauchen deshalb beides: Haushaltsdisziplin und wachstumsorientierte Politik in Verbindung mit Investitionen, damit wir uns, mit der gebotenen Geschwindigkeit, in die Zukunft bewegen können.

Finalement, j'ai observé, Mesdames et Messieurs, que beaucoup d'interrogations sont nées autour de ce que j'ai dit en juillet en matière d'élargissement. J'ai nommé un commissaire à la politique de voisinage et aux négociations d'adhésion. Un certain nombre de vos commissions ont proposé de renommer ce portefeuille en le nommant "commissaire au voisinage et à l'élargissement". J'ai choisi, après un débat méticuleux, d'abord avec moi-même, puis avec un certain nombre de mes amis, de nommer ce portefeuille "commissaire aux négociations d'élargissement". Moi, je ne veux pas tromper les gens, ni les peuples: ne donnez pas l'impression à ceux qui sont pays candidats, qu'ils pourraient devenir membres de l'Union européenne au cours des cinq années à venir. Il n'y aura pas de nouveaux membres durant le mandat de cette Commission: ce n'est strictement pas faisable.

Alors, ne racontons pas d'histoires. Ne faisons pas croire à ceux qui attendent l'adhésion que celle-ci pourrait intervenir au cours des cinq années à venir. Bien évidemment, les négociations d'élargissement continueront avec le même élan, avec la même verve, avec le même engagement que tel fut le cas jusqu'à présent. Et je voudrais saluer les pays candidats à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne en leur disant que, oui, les négociations seront accélérées s'il le faut, mais il n'est pas réaliste de considérer qu'elles pourraient être menées à bon port d'ici 2019.

Enfin, il y a un autre problème qui me tracasse et qui vous tracasse, et qui est scandaleux: ce sont les factures non payées de l'Union européenne.

C'est un vieux problème. Monsieur Verhofstadt, avec qui j'ai été ministre du Budget, déjà, à l'époque, au Conseil du budget, nous avons découvert les factures non payées: l'Union européenne, pour être crédible, ne peut pas être un mauvais payeur. L'Union européenne doit honorer ses engagements.

Voilà, Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, les quelques éclaircissements que je voulais apporter à nos débats et à vos interrogations qui furent multiples.

Nous évoluons dans un contexte international qui nous montre, jour après jour, que nous vivons dans un monde de plus en plus dangereux. Le mouvement que l'on appelle l'Etat islamique est l'ennemi des valeurs européennes: nous ne pouvons pas accepter de tels agissements.

La crise d'Ebola demande une réaction forte, rapide, organisée et concentrée de l'Union européenne: je n'ai pas l'impression que nous ayons été à la hauteur quand il s'est agi de lutter contre cette épidémie.

Je constate, avec une énorme tristesse, que tant que le phénomène frappait le seul continent africain, nous n'avons rien fait. Le jour où l'épidémie est arrivée en Europe, nous nous sommes mis en mouvement: il aurait fallu nous mettre en mouvement auparavant.

Les problèmes liés à la migration illégale restent entiers. J'ai demandé à l'ancien ministre des affaires étrangères de la Grèce et à l'ancien ministre grec de la défense de prendre en charge ce dossier, tout comme j'ai demandé au commissaire chypriote en charge de l'aide humanitaire de se rendre le plus rapidement possible en Afrique pour marquer la présence sur place de la Commission européenne. Les problèmes liés à la migration illégale et à la migration légale, seront traités comme de véritables priorités par la Commission qui, j'espère, entrera en fonction au 1er novembre.

Je redis ce que j'ai déjà dit en juillet: je voudrais que nous redécouvriions les vertus de la méthode communautaire. Je voudrais que cette Commission et ce Parlement se fassent les chantres, les artisans et les architectes d'une redécouverte de la méthode communautaire.

La méthode intergouvernementale, dans l'urgence et sur le moment, a ses vertus, mais je crois au triangle vertueux entre le Parlement, le Conseil et la Commission et je voudrais que nous redécouvriions cette méthode.

Je vous ai dit que nous nous sentons liés par un contrat élaboré pour une durée de cinq années avec votre Parlement. La première instance de référence de la nouvelle commission sera le Parlement. Le Parlement qui a fait en sorte, que les conséquences normales, naturelles, du scrutin du 27 mai, de l'expression du suffrage universel, soient tirées.

Je concède que, parmi nous, il y a ceux qui n'étaient pas en faveur de voir les partis politiques présenter des têtes de liste. Cela fut fait et je vous le dis aujourd'hui, je le dis surtout à ceux qui n'ont pas aimé ce processus: vous ne reviendrez pas là-dessus.

En 2019, la campagne électorale européenne sera une véritable campagne paneuropéenne et tout le monde saura, avant de se rendre aux urnes... La démocratie est aussi européenne, elle est continentale et, en devenant plus démocratique, l'Europe n'enlève rien à l'importance des Etats et à l'importance des nations... Des nations, qui, je le répète, ne sont pas des inventions provisoires de l'histoire : elles sont faites pour durer et l'Europe doit respecter les nations et les Etats membres. On ne construit pas l'Europe contre les nations, qui ont leurs traditions, leurs vertus, leurs richesses, leurs raisons d'être. On ne construit pas l'Europe contre les Etats membres, mais avec les bonnes volontés que nous rencontrons partout en Europe, au niveau de la société civile, au niveau de nos sociétés, au niveau de nos Etats membre, au niveau de nos parlements nationaux.

Je vais vous dire ma conviction: ma conviction est que cette Commission sera la Commission de la dernière chance: soit nous réussissons à rapprocher les citoyens européens de l'Europe, soit nous échouons. Soit nous réussissons à faire de l'Europe un ensemble politique qui s'occupe des grandes choses et qui délaisse les petites choses, soit nous échouons. Soit nous réussissons de concert avec les Etats membres, avec les gouvernements, avec les parlements, avec les partenaires sociaux, à réduire dramatiquement le niveau du chômage, soit nous échouons. Soit nous redonnons une perspective aux jeunes Européens, soit nous aurons échoué.

Je voudrais que nous saisissons cette chance pour faire bouger l'Europe : l'Europe le mérite et je compte sur vous, Monsieur le Président, Mesdames, Messieurs, pour appuyer la Commission dans ses multiples tâches qui sont devant nous, qui sont devant vous et qui sont devant les Européens.

Je vous remercie de votre attention soutenue





