

# THE NEW FEDERALIST

Magazine of the Young European Federalists - Autumn 2004

**European Commission -  
the Rightful Motor of the EU**

*Feature Interview with  
Member of the  
European Parliament*

*The final compromise  
on the EU Constitution  
- a first analysis*

**25 National Campaigns for  
One European Parliament**

**Seminar  
Reports**

*Low Turnout 2004  
- Making Next Elections 'European'*

*European Public -  
the missing Link  
of European  
Integration*

# EUROPE - A NEW BEGINNING!



**The New Federalist  
Magazine of the  
Young European Federalists**

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# Welcome to the Autumn 2004 Edition

## Welcome to the Autumn 2004 Edition

Arielle Rouby

Europe is, after its newly elected European Parliament, its newly designated European Commission and its recently adopted, but not ratified, Constitutional Treaty, again at a crossroads.

### A newly elected European Parliament: A New Beginning?

Less than half of the European electorate expressed its views at the ballot box last June, an all-time low turnout in European Parliamentary elections. These Euro-elections 2004 represented a very serious betrayal of democracy for Europe. The apathy Europe's voters have shown, is a sign that they expected something different to what they were offered on 10-13 June 2004. No European debate or campaign, no trans-European topics, no media coverage and of course no European political programme characterised these sixth European elections. What else can be expected but a indifference in the elections? The new 730 elected Members of Parliament will have in their legislature the difficult task of overcoming the growing disinterest European citizens have towards their work.

### A new European Commission: A New Beginning?

Shortly after the EP election, a tremendous bargaining between the Heads of State and Government over the designation of the next President of the European Commission started. I did not help to give the European Commission the legitimacy it needed, on the contrary. After a mud -slinging match between the Heads of State and Government and days of talks without agreement, the EU-leaders agreed eventually at the end of June to propose the Portuguese Prime Minister, José Barroso as the new President of the European Commission. His designation has been formally approved one month later by the newly elected European Parliament. Is this secretive bargaining procedure of designation of the head of the

European Commission, the appropriated way to bring European citizens closer to the EU institutions? No! If one wants to see an EU of EU citizens, one will eventually see the necessity to democratically elect the President of the European executive. It will be in the hands of the 25 Commissioners in the upcoming two years to show the European citizens that their designation is a new beginning for the EU.

### Europe's Constitution: A New Beginning?

The Heads of State and Government perhaps gave *Europe a New Beginning*, when they agreed, after almost two and half years of intense negotiations and wheeler-dealing, on 17-18 June 2004 to have a Constitution for Europe. The compromise adopted by the EU leaders is a crucial milestone in European history, though not being a truly federal Constitution, this adoption remains a big step towards a more federal and more democratic Europe. One summit is conquered but it is still a hard climb to the peak of ratification! Getting the Constitution through all 25 Member States is the next big challenge the EU has to face. Thus, there is an urgent need to foster the debate about the Constitution and what it means for Europe and in particular for the European citizens to have the Constitution adopted.

Some vital European challenges, such as the ratification of the European Constitution, the decision of Turkey's possible accession and the move towards a more integrated and democratic EU have to be faced. It is not only the task of the newly elected EU institutions to take these challenges as *A New Beginning*, but it is foremost for us an opportunity to foster our federalist ideas in this new Europe!



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# The final compromise on the EU Constitution - a first analysis

## The final compromise on the EU Constitution - a first analysis

Florian Ziegenbalg

*On June 18th, 2004 an agreement over the Constitution was eventually reached by the European Council. Unlike at the December 2003 Summit, the Heads of States and Governments managed to avoid a second failure, but for the price of some compromises that watered down the original draft of the European Convention.*

The main task of this revision round (Convention plus Intergovernmental Conference, IGC) was to adapt the institutional arrangement to the enlarged Union and to democratic standards. Whilst the Convention started the debate on institutional questions very late, the IGC negotiations were dominated by them. Nonetheless, the IGC did not improve the arrangements foreseen by the Convention, on the contrary.

As a compromise the governments agreed to increase the number of seats in the *European Parliament* to 750. If this development continues, the efficiency of the Parliament will be in danger. It should be left to the Parliament to decide on its size. Furthermore, the aim of a digressive proportional representation of Member States in the Parliament is far from



The less democratic IGC at work

being reached. With a maximum of 96 deputies per country (minus three compared to the Convention's draft) and a minimum of six (plus two) the principle of "one man one vote" is neglected. Unfortunately, no single European election system was introduced or foreseen.

The Convention decided to integrate the

European Council into the institutional framework. One of the most debated provisions dealt with the establishment of an

“...the Heads of State or Government managed to avoid a second failure, but for the price of some compromises that watered down the original draft of the European Convention...”

electd President of the European Council with a term of two and a half years. The IGC did not clarify the competition between the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission resp. the *Foreign Minister* - a new post uniting the offices of the High Representative and the Vice-President of the Commission. There is a certain danger, that frictions between them might affect the efficiency and damage the coherence of EU's policies. It is obvious that the governments wanted to have a counterweight to the Commission's power.

The *Council of Ministers* continues to act as the main legislative body of the Union. Unfortunately the IGC did not constrain legislative decision making to the General Affairs Council, which could have been the first step towards a second parliamentary chamber.

The Constitution improved the transparency of the Council, in opening its work to the public. Differing from the Convention's draft, the IGC decided to convert the Presidency of the Council into a team of three Member States for a term of 18 months. Only the Council for Foreign Affairs is chaired by the Foreign Minister of the Union. The new system could lead to more coherence of the Council's work.

The future standing of the *European*

## The final compromise on the EU Constitution - a first analysis

*Commission* will depend on the behaviour of different actors. It still remains in the hands of the European Council, after taking into account the elections to the European Parliament, to propose by qualified majority a candidate for the Presidency of the Commission. This candidate shall then be elected by the Parliament by a majority of its members. The European Council will still have an important space for manoeuvre, if the European parties do not nominate candidates for this post during the EP-elections campaign. It will be up to them and the political groups in the European Parliament to get a stronger connection between the President of the Commission and the political majority in the European Parliament.

The designation of the Commissioners remains also a decision of the European Council. This is a clear step back compared to the Convention's draft, where the European Parliament were asked to approve or not the nomination of the Commission as a College. Concerning the hotly debated issue of the size of the Commission, the IGC found a compromise. Until 2014 the Commission shall consist of one national per Member State, after that the number will be reduced, which will help the Commission to remain an efficient institution.

The most controversial issue in the IGC negotiations was about the *voting arrangements* in the Council of Ministers. Watering down the proposed clear system of the Convention, the IGC reached, after long and cumbersome negotiations, a compromise, which offers a lot more veto-positions. Now, the ordinary qualified majority consists of 55% of the Member States and of 65% of the population. A blocking minority must include at least four Council members. The draft does not clearly state, if the 65% or the four members are prevailing in case the two conditions do not correspond. In case of an initiative not tabled

by the Commission or the Foreign Minister, the qualified majority is equal to 72% of the Council members.

In general, the number of cases is increasing considerably, where QMV in the Council combined with the co-decision procedure with the European Parliament is applied. Now this procedure represents the ordinary legislative procedure. Nevertheless, there are still many policy areas left, where the European

“**If the Constitution is ratified - one thing we cannot be sure of - it might be the beginning of a new "Constitutionalisation" process of the EU. The next Convention should then lay down the foundations of a European federation.**”

Parliament has no say and/or the Council of Ministers votes unanimously on it. In those policy areas stagnation is very likely. Especially in CFSP neither the Convention nor the IGC found solutions, which would improve the coherence and strength of a *European Foreign and Security Policy*. Considering that a big majority of European citizens demand a greater role of the Union in CFSP, a good opportunity has been lost.

On the whole, despite all its shortcomings, the new Constitution can be seen as a step forward. Compared to the provisions of the Nice Treaty, the new Constitutional Treaty is a better, but not a completely convincing base for the enlarged Union. If the Constitution is ratified - one thing we cannot be sure of - it might be the beginning of a new "Constitutionalisation" process of the EU. The next Convention should then lay down the foundations of a European federation.



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# European Commission European Commission - the Rightful Motor of the EU

Peter Matjašič

The IGC of June 2004 has given us a Constitution but failed to nominate a candidate for the post of the President of the new EU Commission. How can it be easier to adopt a Constitution, the basic document which is supposed to tackle the issues of simplifying the legal framework of this supranational arrangement called the EU, achieving transparency of its decision-making process, thus diminishing the democratic deficit and bringing it closer to its citizens than select a person, who's going to hold office for a period of 5 years?! This leaves European citizens puzzled and in dismay, since it has nothing to do with common sense. In order to understand the complexity of this fact, we must first remind ourselves of the following: What is the role of the Commission? How is the President of the Commission elected and what are his powers?



Prodi and Barroso looking to the future of the Commission

The Commission has the task of representing the interests of the European Communities independently of those of the Member States. Why then select the President of the Commission among chiefs of states and governments behind closed doors, in the kennel of specific interests of Member States,

which is exactly what the Commission should be independent from? Clearly the crux of the matter is in the fact that the Commission has many powers and responsibilities: it is the

“This brings us to the painful fact that the EU is merely an international organisation, albeit a *sui generis* one, and can as such be only as strong as the Member States allow it.”

driving force and the guardian of the treaties; it has the right to propose legislation; it is the executive body, and it represents the Communities and negotiates agreements in the field of external relations. The Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam extended its role beyond the strict Community context, notably in the fields of common foreign and security policy and justice and home affairs. Therefore, the fact that the President of the Commission is nominated by the European Council could be seen as a safety-ward for Member States. This idea can be backed up by the quarrels over the latest nomination, when two camps each proposed their own candidate and dismissed the other as being either too federalist or too transatlantic or even from the "wrong" Member State, and by the feeling that the Heads of States and Governments are always looking for a weak president, as they want to keep the power and don't want the European executive to have a strong leadership. This brings us to the painful fact that the EU is merely an international organisation, albeit a *sui generis* one, and can as such be only as strong as the Member States allow it.

## European Commission - the Rightful Motor of the EU

After the effective introduction of the conventional method, which meant a step forward towards a more transparent and citizens-friendly EU, we have once again witnessed the agonizing and ineffective intergovernmental negotiations and horse-trading behind closed doors. How can the peoples and citizens of Europe have faith in the EU, when the President of the so-called EU executive is someone randomly pulled out of a magic hat? Of course it is not so simple - nothing in Europe is. The Treaty of Nice has modified the procedure for appointing the President and the members of the Commission. We have to keep in mind that the European Council only nominates a candidate and that it's the European Parliament which has the final say. Fair enough, since the Commission is after all accountable to the Parliament, which is a good thing.

However, we as the Young European Federalist would argue, not a good enough one. We want to see a future in which pan-European parties try to convince the European demos of the validity of their political programmes and give Europe a face by nominating their candidate for the President of the Commission, before the European elections and thus giving the European Parliament as the only institution directly elected to make decisions at a European level, the power to select and approve the person forming the executive of the European Union. Wishful thinking? Not really. If the Constitutional Treaty is ratified, the European Parliament will gain additional powers in the election process of the Commission President, which makes it more transparent and democratic, and represents a step in the right direction.

And what does the Chief of the Commission actually do? Well, first of all, he lays down guidelines within which the Commission is to

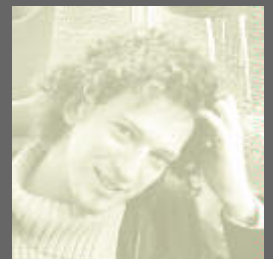
work. Unlike his predecessors, the new President-elect Mr. Barroso will, from the legal point of view, have free rein to both choose his own commissioners and choose where and how they will work. Furthermore, he will have the

**“We want to see a future in which pan-European parties try to convince the European demos of the validity of their political programmes and give Europe a face...”**

power to appoint Vice-Presidents from the members of the College as well as the right to ask individual Commissioner to resign on his request. The Commission President also has the right to attend the meetings of the Council of Ministers and the European Council, where he can exercise his personal charisma and leadership capabilities, the way Hallstein and Delors did.

Only time will tell how Mr. Barroso will cope with the challenges and duties that lay before him. In the mean time, let's hope that Mr. Barroso's lucky streak continues and that he can implement his ideas of a strong, more gender-balanced Commission and prove to be the bridge-builder between the EU's big and small countries, the rich and the poor, its old and new members, as well as rise above traditional left-right differences.

At the end we are left with the unresolved question of the composition of the future Commission, since the Constitutional Treaty has not really been able to answer it but rather postponed the debate. That's understandable if we see it as the core philosophical question on the structure of the EU - we see a federal future for Europe, and you?



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# Europe - A New Beginning?

## Europe - A New Beginning?

Arielle Rouby

Feature  
Interview

Europe is, after its newly elected European Parliament, its newly designated European Commission and its recently adopted, but not ratified, Constitutional Treaty, again at a crossroads. Mr. Richard Corbett kindly accepted to be

interviewed at the end of July 2004, to give us his view on this 'new beginning'.

A big thank you to him from all the TNF team.

### Member of European Parliament

Interview with: **Mr Richard CORBETT, MEP** United Kingdom

Socialist Group in the European Parliament, Member  
Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Member  
Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Substitute



**Question 1:** You have been re-elected as a PES member of the European Parliament. The EP elections (10-13 June 2004) has been for many Europeans a big disappointment as the campaign was far away from a proper trans-European debate, the media coverage was almost non-existent and only 45.3 % of the citizens went to the poll.

How would you explain this trend of low turnouts in European elections, i.e. growing indifference and disinterested of European citizens in the EP? What would you, as a MEP, suggest to do and do in order to motivate and involve citizens for the EU?

**1** The level of turnout was a disappointment, but it is important that we do not feed the mythology that the problem in decline in turnout in democratic elections is exclusively a European Parliament problem. It is not. Turnout has declined even more steeply in national Parliamentary elections in several member states. Turnout for US Congressional elections is even lower. This is a challenge for democrats at all levels, not exclusively related to the European Parliament.

One factor which is distinctive to the European Parliament is the fact that European parliamentary elections have no visible impact on the executive. In most European countries, people are used to voting in national parliamentary elections where their choice has a visible impact on the subsequent choice of government. That is missing in the European elections. The idea that the European Parliament should elect the President of the Commission, with political parties indicating their choices prior to the European elections, might well help in this respect.

**Question 2:** You have been an active member of the Constitutional Affairs committee within the EP. On the 18th of June the Heads of State and Government finally agreed to adopt a Constitutional Treaty for the EU.

Do you think that the recently adopted European Constitutional Treaty will make the EU more effective, more democratic, more transparent and more accountable to the citizens?

How do you assess the setbacks of the recently adopted Constitutional Treaty in comparison to the Draft Constitution (of the Convention)?

**2** Yes, the European constitutional treaty will indeed make the EU more effective, more democratic, more transparent and more accountable to the citizens - but it could have been better in all these respects! Now is, however, not the time to quibble over the details. Now is the time to campaign for its ratification.

**Question 3:** EU leaders have agreed a Constitution for Europe after almost two and half years of intense negotiations and wheeler-dealing and a hard and long way to its ratification is still ahead. Which ratification procedure would you be in favour of and why?

**3** It is up to each member state to follow the ratification procedure laid down in their own national constitutions and, where this allows a choice, to make their own choice. It would be wrong for the EU to lay down a particular procedure - indeed it has no power to do so at present, nor would it have under the new constitution itself.

**Question 4:** The European Council recently nominated Mr. Barroso to the new European Commission President. JEF supports very much the article 26 of the Constitutional Treaty, which gives the European Parliament the power to elect the President of the European Commission. Which role would you like to give to the EP in the decision of the election of the EC President?

Which role the current EP will have in the approval of the nominated EC President?

**4** See answer to question 1. above, last paragraph.



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# European public

## European public

### – the missing link of European integration

Philipp Hessel

Almost the entire continent was, at least for some weeks, focusing on only one thing, namely who would win the European football championship. On the other hand, the European elections were not followed by a real European-wide public debate. Before we are replacing the national flag through the European one, it might be necessary to stress once again the importance of a European public for the democratic development of the European Integration.

Politics requires a public discussion - No European democracy without a European public.

Only a European demos can cause consensus. It is an indispensable ingredient for the future evolution of political decisions in the European Union. Only the existence of political public opinion can justify an ever-growing role of the EU. A policy can only be successful, if it

probably depend on decisive historical events and their effects, whereby the negative ones might cause the biggest effect.

#### So what to do?

Waiting for historical events, which could catapult us, right into a European public space might not be satisfactory. Therefore, we should think about some initiatives, which could promote a European-wide attention.

One initiative could be the election of the President of the Commission, either directly or through the EP. This would push a European-wide debate and would also urge the European parties to be more competitive. Furthermore, this would probably encourage the media to "jump on the train" and to follow the elections with a "Europeanised" coverage.

The European media have a big responsibility in the development of a European demos. They should be more eager to report about European politics and launch more "European" topics. For instance guest-comments

or co-operation between different national broadcasting stations or newspapers would be more than appropriate.

If a federal "big bang" is unlikely to happen, then we have to focus even more on transparency within the decision-making procedures and the European and national institutions. The Constitution is surely a step in that direction, but there is also still a lot to improve.

Lastly, there is still a huge knowledge deficit regarding, not only the institutional side of European politics, but also the possibilities and benefits of the European integration, which must be diminished.



**“Politics requires a public discussion - No European democracy without a European public.”**

is supported by its citizens. Therefore, the future course of integration will highly depend on the creation of a European demos.

In many cases different national associations with their discourses and events prevail the "over swapping" of national issues into a European discussion. Another fact, which explains the almost non existence of a European Demos are the different historical, cultural and economical backgrounds of each Member State.

A European demos may only gradually grow, more particularly in waves thanks to historical European events and their effects. Undoubtedly there is already a European public space ("espace public européen") with a variety of actors that use this space frequently for their communication. Nonetheless, it will



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# 25 national campaigns for one 25 national campaigns for one European Parliament European Parliament

Jessica Pennet

The European elections have always been characterised by several factors such as low mobilization of the citizens, discussions about national issues... Many political scientists studied them and the main conclusions that we can draw about European election campaigns are the following:



Election night in the Parliament

- \* the European topics have a very low visibility in the media;
- \* when they do appear during the European electoral campaign, it is mainly to present some national issues;
- \* the European agenda is very often hidden behind other

newsworthy topics;

- \* the tone of the campaign presentation in the media is mainly neutral, impeding the lively political debate that takes place on other political issue;
- \* finally, although the fact that the EP is not a well known institution plays a part in the low turnout of the citizens, the choice of candidates often unknown to the most plays against the visibility of these elections.

The European election of June 2004 was supposed to be different. Indeed this election took place after a series of important events for the EU, starting with the debate about the adoption of the Constitutional project and reaching its climax on the 1st of May, with the entry of 10 new countries in the EU. This alone could have been sufficient material for debate in every European country.

Nevertheless in 2004, nothing changed. Even if one month before the

election some countries were starting to debate about the eventuality of Turkish accession to the EU, the ratification of the Constitution etc..., when the official campaign started, all of this stopped. Presentations on TV got more and more national, characterised by the debate whether or not to sanction the actual national government. When European topics were treated, it was on a very neutral tone, mainly pedagogical about how to vote, but never presenting a real issue for debate.

In addition, the fact that there were so many lists (452 lists in the 25 countries, which means 18 lists per country), did not make this election neither visible (it was impossible for the media to give enough space to all of these parties) nor more understandable for the citizen (how can people believe that about 20 different European projects exist in their country?).

So finally, we can't be surprised of the result... people either did not vote, or mainly voted on the issue whether or not to sanction

“The European election of June 2004 was supposed to be different...  
Nevertheless in 2004, nothing changed...”

their government. It seems that political parties, in agreement with the media, did not have the desire (or the capacity) to "Europeanise" the debate. It is now our duty as JEF to start thinking for solutions that may prevent us from having - again - the same campaign in 5 years time. Some proposals of the Convention may help us in that way, but there will be still a lot of lobby work to do on our political parties and on the media, if we want to put the EU and its issues at the centre of the debate!



Jessica Pennet  
President  
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She is writing her masters on the European election campaign on TV in France, Germany and Spain

# Low turnout 2004

## Low turnout 2004 - making next elections 'European'

Joanna Miksa

There is one clear conclusion coming out of last European elections - it is quite difficult to call them 'European'. For the first time the gap between politicians and citizens was more than visible, proving that citizens reject the way European politics is being made. It is even more significant in view of the recent enlargement. The newly elected European Parliament has been given the weakest mandate in its 25 years long history - despite the fact that its power will significantly increase according to the European Constitution.

Ignorance, lack of ideas or belief in Europe, lack of understanding what role the European Parliament should play in minds of politicians - these are roots of the problem both in old and new Member States. New Member States are not excused for failing to communicate with the citizens. Yet there was no good example coming from their Western colleagues either, as to the ways of tackling the turnout issue. It is up to politicians who claim to care about Europe to spread the message to the citizens and make the campaign 'European'. Instead, voters were not even given a choice in these elections. The only clear vision of Europe was that of Euro-skeptics or even 'Euro-enemies' such as Robert Kilroy-Silk. Low turnout was not at all a surprise - voters boycotted another debate on internal issues, a debate, which had little to do with shaping the future of Europe. To put things straight - if politicians themselves are not convinced about the idea of truly 'European' elections, how can one expect a 'European' debate? If they are not able to leave behind the schemes of national politics and present constructive European vision to the citizens, how can the latter be willing to participate in 'European' elections?



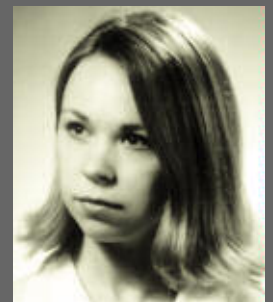
If this failure is not to be repeated, if citizens are to identify themselves with Europe, European elections campaign needs to go way beyond national debate. A necessary tool is the existence of real European parties with a clear vision of Europe. This would make the discussions in the European Parliament resemble the national ones and thus make them more comprehensive for citizens. Moreover, if these parties were forced to

**“The newly elected European Parliament has been given the weakest mandate in its 25 years long history - despite the fact that its power will significantly increase according to the European Constitution.”**

compete with each other for power in the EP just like it takes place in national parliaments, the quality of debates would undoubtedly increase. And European elections campaign could no longer concentrate on internal problems of the member states but would become a stage of a real European competition.

Last but not least, EP elections still have little influence on nomination of a new President of the European Commission. European political parties must present their candidates for this post. Give Europe a face - as simple as that - and citizens will see the link between the vote cast and impact on European policy-making. They simply need to feel their vote changes something.

EU politics must be attractive for the citizens if the words 'European elections' are to mean what they should.



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# European parties 2004: European parties 2004: beyond the Constitution beyond the Constitution

Ernesto Gallo

## *European elections and European parties*

Is there any Europe-wide party system? We might say that there are (at least, formally) European parties, but what about a system? If under system we mean a stable set of rules which structure a political struggle in order to take on power, many doubts may arise.

“Despite the recent enlargement and the chance to get the first pan-European Constitution, most parties' campaigns have been played at national levels and focusing on national issues.”

Despite the recent enlargement and the chance to get the first pan-European Constitution, most parties' campaigns have been played at national levels and focusing on national issues. No great surprise. However, in many cases, European parties are still quite weak federations of national parties, which aim mainly at domestic goals and concentrate on getting power where power currently resides. Despite recent choices by Mr Barroso and Monti, which show the increasing attractiveness of a role in the Commission, a national minister is still usually considered to be more important than the chance to fight for a new, and different, power in Brussels.

## *European parties and European groups*

Let's however have a look at more optimistic data. Since 1979 the European Union has widened from 9 to 25 Member States, with different histories and political cultures. However, in the meantime the number of effective European parties has fallen. The total seat percentage of the three main groups (EPP, PES, and ELDR) has risen from 63.4% in 1979

to current 75.96%. One-party groups, still 6 in 1994, have disappeared. It seems plausible to say that a kind of relatively structured and stable Europarty system is slowly emerging. With some very important distinctions, anyway, especially for us federalists.

On the one hand, parties still show a clear lack of collective identity and institutionalisation. Few people across EU countries would identify the leaders of current European parties and their structures are still mainly rooted into national politics. On the other hand, things change if we consider Groups in the European Parliament. Over the last years their members showed a growing identification with European politics and issues and developed an encouraging attachment to their European role. Data reveal an increasingly strong cohesiveness in voting behaviours and it has been remarked that groups constitute the core of EU parties. For us federalists, good news and a good tool where to start from.

## *European parties, European groups and European federalists*

EP groups, in a way, can be seen as a vanguard of less-integrated European parties. Having developed a stronger European identity, they could play a role in involving the whole structure of the still fragile EU party federations. European parties should show that problems and issues can be solved only at a European level. Furthermore, European parties should be promoted to the centre of power which should be the proper place where to struggle for Leftist or Rightist ideals in the XXIst century, as Spinelli suggested it more than sixty years ago.

We federalists of course can play a significant role in this process. Groups and parties will mobilise if they will feel a strong and constant demand for Europe, and it is up to us to let them feel that demand. They will definitively choose to struggle for a stronger and fully democratic European power if, and

## European parties 2004: beyond the Constitution

when, we will show them that European citizens really support our requests. Lobbying activities on parties presuppose a wider involvement of active citizens at many levels, from municipalities to Brussels.

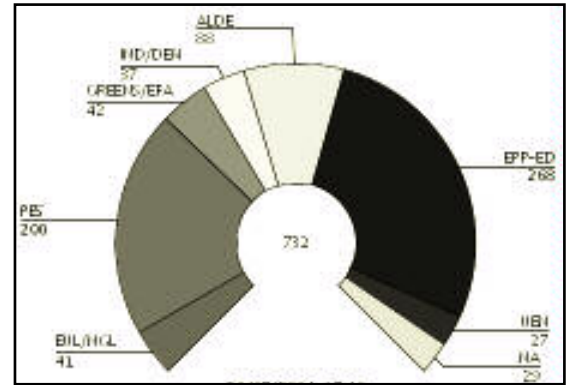
### European federalists and intergroup federalists

We should already have one ally: the newly constituted Federalist intergroup in the European Parliament. If EP groups are the vanguard of European parties, the intergroup can play as a vanguard of the groups themselves. Its members have realised that their different goals can be accomplished only if the battlefield is brought to the European level. This is however not enough. Resistances on governments' side, both from older and newer Member States, appear to be still quite strong. We have to convince intergroup's members that the match deserves to be

the intergroup gathers the most advanced among MEPs, we might create a common front (art.46, by the way, offers us the chance to collect one million signatures to "mobilise" the Commission), to ask Governments to convoke a new Convention to deal with unsolved and most urgent problems, such as the ones concerning economic and security matters.

Some Governments might be sceptical about the need to rethink in the short run the issue of voting procedures in some fields. What would really be crucial, is the need to reach, as far as these matters are concerned, a kind of "agreement to

disagree". As it has already happened with the Euro, with Schengen Agreements etc., the states which are in favour of majority voting in Foreign and Economic Affairs should have the opportunity to implement it, while the other ones could, if they wish so, join them later, while at the same time enjoying the benefits of the European Constitution. Current Europe- and world-wide problems are increasingly urgent: a



**“...we federalists, EP groups and the intergroup can all play an important role, but only if we join our forces and aim at ambitious, long-run goals.”**

played.

To achieve the last goal we should be brave enough to suggest aims which deserve a deep political effort and commitment. Europe needs majority voting in fields such as fiscal and monetary policies, let alone the whole matter of Foreign and Security Policy. Long-lasting problems, from widespread unemployment to terrorism's threats, require proper answers as soon as possible. The intergroup could be the arena in which federalist suggest answers to the shortcomings of the Draft Constitution, especially as far as unanimity voting in the above mentioned matters is concerned. As EP groups are the core of European parties, and

settlement according to which states could agree to pursue similar goals in different ways, or with a different pace, but still in a common constitutional framework, might be a good exercise of democracy and an adequate answer to several current challenges, as recently stated by the Greek Premier Mr Karamanlis. Such scenarios however require a strong commitment on many sides: we federalists, EP groups and the intergroup can all play an important role, but only if we join our forces and aim at ambitious, long-run goals.



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# How to bash the sceptics

## How to bash the sceptics

Stefan Kūmarāge Schou



Some are falling out of love with the European Union...

Following the EP-elections, the group for a Europe of Democracy and Diversity (EDD) roughly doubled its size from 18 to 31 and changed its name to Independence and Democracy (ID). The group consists of two wings, the withdrawers and the sceptics. The

two dominating withdrawers are the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and Polish Family League (LPR), and the dominating sceptics are the "June people", Danish June Movement (JM) and Swedish June List (JL). The EDD was led by Jens-Peter Bonde of JM, while the presidency now consists of two people, one from each wing. This has happened because the JM was slaughtered at the Danish elections, cut by two thirds down to one mandate, Mr. Bonde. The UKIP however, went from 3 to 12 seats. Power changed.

The article briefly introduces the two wings and how to fight them as well as European scepticism in general.

### The withdrawers

Both the UKIP and LPR are far-right populists. The UKIP's success is much due to Robert Kilroy Silk, a TV-celebrity and now UKIP



Some actively campaign to leave Europe

favourite. It is however difficult to take them truly serious, when the nominee for the EP's committee on women's rights declares, for example, that no small business

man with a brain in the right place would ever hire a pregnant woman. And this comes from a man, who ought to represent the women of his constituency, who always manage to bring food on the table at the right time.

Even the UKIP have faced domestic difficulties because they are joining the Polish Family League in the EP. The LPR party leader Roman Giertych has reportedly praised Hitler's labour policies and their youth organisation, All-Polish Youth, is a skin-head group, which among other activities, has violently bashed gay rights demonstrations. The Polish Campaign against Homophobia has declared

“The June Movement is especially interesting because they have - since their birth - been the de facto mother ship of pan-European EU-scepticism.”

LPR the most homophobic political party in Poland. Even the Anti-Semitic and Racism unit of the Tel-Aviv University is closely monitoring the LPR.

### The pragmatics

The June People are a totally different story. Both the June Movement and List are declared cross-party, but are in fact mainly centre-left. This is also why it is highly unlikely that the ID group will work, even as a marriage of convenience, when the balance of power has shifted to the withdrawers.

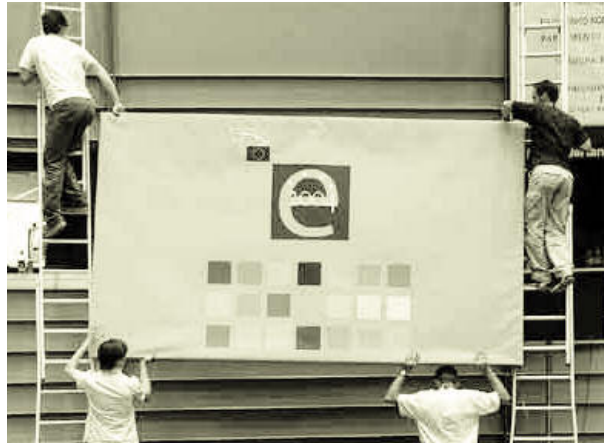
Especially the June List has been pressured domestically because of their new friends in Europe. Although it has been difficult to get any specifics on what they actually want to achieve in the EP, they have successfully sold

## How to bash the sceptics

themselves as the pragmatic position, as they are in favour of Europe with a common trade but against a political union. That strategy proved to be successful, with even the centre-left people of the List becoming respectable economists in business suits. The Party leader Mr. Nils Lundgren is the very personification of this strategy as a trustworthy and credible alternative to the establishment.

It seems however inevitable they will run into major problems on their own. Not only because of the suspicious EP-grouping but they have gained much support from the centre-right conservatives and business in general, and when these realise that the JL MEPs are in fact centre-left, JL will most certainly face the same prospects as JM; they will automatically lose the centre-right voters.

The JM is especially interesting because they have - since their birth - been the de facto mother ship of pan-European EU-scepticism. They have supported sceptics all over Europe as much as they could. In addition, Mr. Bonde has led initiatives such as the EUobserver, EUabc and pan-European demand for referendums. Politically they have also proven dangerous, since their scepticism is very pragmatic and changes over time. In the beginning, they were against any kind of political union. Now a strong EU on say environmental issues is accepted.



Posters about voting for Europe- but do they say enough?

established political parties all over Europe. This represents the real threat to European federalism because, if we do not fight them on their pragmatics, we will in fact be the radical position; doomed to failure. European federalists must express pragmatic, progressive policies for a federal Europe. European federalists must, from the dream of federalism, not only deduce pragmatic, progressive policies, but also push forward on them to fight the pragmatic resistance.

The UKIP and LPR are far out of reach for even basic common sense and should basically be left over to the authorities. In order to fight the June people, we need to establish a continuous information service so that the EU is not just brought up at scandals and referendums. The EUobserver is a very good

“European federalists must express pragmatic, progressive policies for a federal Europe.”

### How to win

A closer analysis of why JM lost the election and how to fight them in the future is interesting as they not only represent a Danish mother ship, but also the pragmatic resistance, i.e. the non-radical position. This pragmatic resistance can be found also in more

idea, but unfortunately driven by the sceptics. European federalists should take their responsibility

seriously and establish a pro-, pan-European news service to ensure continuous coverage, also on issues that do not hit the front page in commercial papers due to lack of scandals. A pan-European campaign for the European Constitution is a good place to get us started actually working for the dream.



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# Boskovice and Prague, Czech Republic Seminar, 15-22 May, 2004

## "European Elections: The First Time in the Enlarged European Union"

Jana Novotna

The dominating theme of the seminar and international conference "Quo Vadis Europa 2004?", were the European elections and the European Parliament. The timing of the seminar was sharp; it was held just 3 weeks after the fifth enlargement of the EU, and 4 weeks before the European elections. Thus participants had a unique chance to go through the important current issues.

The elections of the EP took place in each Member State of the EU with different rules. Proposals for one single election system to the EP and debates about it are nothing new. However, with the accession of the Czech Republic and nine other new Member States to the EU the debate is revived in a new shape.

During the seminar debates it was stressed, that the election campaigns are reflecting national and international issues rather than European ones. It was also underlined that the almost non existence of European political parties and their further

development are also reasons why European issues are absent from the election campaign.

Many questions still remain open, even after the JEF seminar in Boskovice and the UEF international conference, which took place in Prague at the end of the week "Quo vadis



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Europa 2004?" European Union: enlargement - elections - constitution.

Nonetheless, the seminar was a chance to create a platform for discussions to questions related to the European integration and contributions for the creation of a unified Europe in the new era.

# Tromøya, Norway Seminar, 20-25 June, 2004

## "EnGENDERing Europe!"

Siri Holland

Do gender perspectives concern politics, community life, organisations, and society in general at all? Why do we not have gender equality in all social and political settings today? And why did JEF pass a resolution for increased gender balance in our own organisation at the last Federal Committee meeting? These were questions addressed by 30 young Europeans gathered on the island of Tromøya, Norway, June 20th - 25th.

Engender means to create something new or bring about a change. And that was exactly what we were doing, trying to put focus on gender aspects in integration and communication in JEF, other organisational work, and in society in general. There were debates, discussions,

simulation games and working groups, and thoughts were challenged, barriers broken, and new ideas developed. But most of all; strong devotion to the matter was awoken in all of us. We believe in an enGENDERed Europe.

Beside all the serious business that always goes on in JEF-seminars, there was also time for a lot of social activities with some funny insights into the cultures of different countries.

The enGENDERing seminar was a success; thanks to the participants, who contributed to making this one of the best seminars in a long time. A follow-up is already in the making and judging by the devotion of the participants, JEF

will continue to have a focus on gender issues also in the future. As always we are a generation ahead - we have taken the first steps towards engendering Europe!



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# Ljubljana, Slovenia Seminar, 4-17 July, 2004

## "Summer University Brave New Europe 2004 - A New Beginning?"

Tina Fistravec and Marko Bucik

It was at the beginning of July, when 35 undergraduate students from 25 European countries gathered in Ljubljana to attend JEF Slovenia's International Summer University "Brave New Europe". For two weeks the participants discussed European issues with some of the most prominent EU experts (among others Desmond Dinan, David

Phinnemore, Giovanni Grevi, Fiona Creed, Philipp Agathonos etc.). The programme covered a wide range of issues from history and institutions of the EU to law, economics and current issues of the EU. Throughout these two weeks, the participants showed a great

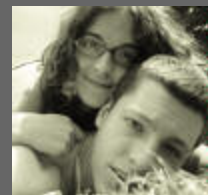
deal of enthusiasm for learning new things and overcoming cultural differences and stereotypes. They had the chance to attend lectures, participate in workshops, debate in panel discussions, test their skills in the simulation game and enjoy the visits to

governmental institutions and foreign embassies. Academic work aside, a wide range of social activities took place: European Night, African Night, trip to Bled and Bohinj, EuroQuiz, Theater Night, Movie Night, Boat ride on Ljubljanica river and many more. In the late evenings we were all enjoying the crazy Ljubljana night life.



It is worth saying that the participants left Ljubljana with a special memory in their hearts and the readiness to engage more in youth activism. The motto of BNE

2004 "You are only as big as the dreams you dare to live" will stay alive in everyone's mind - there will always be enough crazy young people running from Helsinki to Lisbon or Ankara daring to challenge and question the status quo.



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# Chisinau, Moldova Seminar, 8-16 August, 2004

## "New Europe - Human Rights Issue in the New Neighbouring Countries of the EU"

Daniela Leanca

The first international seminar organized by JEF Moldova, but definitely not the last, took place in the capital Chisinau and gathered more than 40 young Europeans. Courses were held during 6 working days with experts speaking about the issues concerning Human Rights in EU neighbouring countries, especially in Moldova.

The courses were supplemented by working groups in which participants gave a lot of examples of disrespect of human rights (HR) in their own countries, issues like gender discrimination, freedom of speech, national minorities, xenophobia, violence, trafficking in human beings etc. Since people in these ex-

communist countries do not know their rights, we came to the conclusion that JEF can contribute a lot in this field to improve the respect of HR, through co-operation with other NGOs in informing people, making informative courses in schools and try to make young people better understand the importance of respecting HR. Young people are the future of Europe - this is why they first have to be informed about and made aware of their rights and then learn to respect the rights of others.

The informal part of the seminar was enriched by a trip to Old Orhei, a historical village with an unusual landscape, where the participants saw a monastery built in a rock and visited the Old Orhei museum with Roman, Dacic and Turkish archaeological discoveries.

This seminar was dissimilar to previous JEF-seminars and it reminded us that human rights are an important issue and their respect a pillar on which we keep our Peaceful Europe.

Some of the participants were also interviewed for national television for their views on how the European Union could help Moldova resolve some of its own conflicts.



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# Times of Change Times of Change

## “SG-Goodbye” “SG-Goodbye”

Marianne Bonnard

172 days abroad, 18 different countries visited, 25 grant applications submitted: I could sum up my years in the JEF secretariat with many figures. But I won't because no statistic can describe the richness of my time at the JEF-Europe secretariat. No statistic, but people, JEF friends from all over Europe, made me like Norwegian brown cheese, dive in the wonderful Ventotene see waters, dance Sirtaki in a Greek Taverna, drink all sort of Balkan waters, hassle Europe's top politicians with federalist propaganda and even paint pro-EU slogans by night at a Slovenian border. For all of that I would like to say thank you to the JEF members all over Europe. Thank you for making worth the long hours spent in the office in Brussels; thank you for making me discover who I am: French and

European, and in the end simply human. Rich of all these experiences, I am now heading towards new horizons. In the

“*einmal JEF - immer JEF*”  
(once JEF - always JEF)

autumn, I will start working in Quebec on Canadian federalism issues. Europe will not be far away though: there is a lot to learn from each other and I will proudly take with me overseas the JEF way of thinking "*a generation ahead*".

Last, I will not forget JEF: after all, I still have officially 10 years of JEF membership in front of me and beyond will certainly remain faithful to the old saying "*einmal JEF - immer JEF*" (once JEF - always JEF)!



Marianne Bonnard,  
former  
Secretary General  
2002-2004  
JEF-Europe

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## “SG-Hello” “SG-Hello”

Joan Marc Simon

I'm very pleased to announce that since the 1st July I'm JEF-Europe's new Secretary General!

We are living times of incertitude in Europe, and even after the Convention it

seems that, we Europeans, are still thinking about what we want to be when we grow up... In JEF, we might sometimes have the feeling of not knowing where to go either. However, in my opinion, this is what makes these next two years with you especially interesting and crucial. Europe and JEF: What next?

Furthermore, we have our campaign Give Europe a Face and for sure we will have to mobilise citizens for the ratification of the European Constitution.

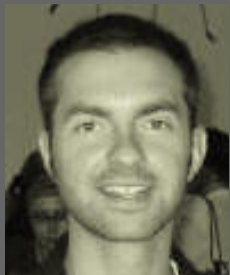
It is time for new challenges. A tremendous work has been done by the last secretariats in order to set a solid basis for the organisation. In this sense I am

“I would like to invite all of you, to join us and work for Europe and for JEF with even more enthusiasm in the future!”

delighted to devote myself to build on this basis a dynamic secretariat in the coming two years.

So, a huge amount of work stands in front of us and it has to be done with joy. Having fun while learning is one of our best assets and with you around I'm sure we will have both.

Finally, on behalf of the new secretariat I would like to wish Marianne Bonnard the same success in her new projects as she had with JEF. Also, I would like to invite all of you, to join us and work for Europe and for JEF with even more enthusiasm in the future!



Joan Marc Simon,  
incoming  
Secretary General  
JEF-Europe

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## Do you want to support JEF not only morally but also financially?

Of course running an activity from the size of the new Convention project "Give Europe a Face" involves a lot of expenses. Thus we would be very grateful for every donation.

You can make a donation by bank transfer to:

Name of account holder: JEUNESSE EUROPEENNE FEDERALISTE  
Name of the bank: FORTIS BANQUE  
Name of branch: AGENCE SCHUHMANN  
Address of the bank: Rue Archimède 21  
1000 Bruxelles, Belgium  
Bank/branch code: 001  
Bank account number: 001-1128794-81  
BIC code: GEBABEBB (swift code)  
IBAN: BE36 0011 1287 9481

Or if you prefer, you can send a cheque, accompanied with the form below to:

JEF-Europe  
Chaussée de Wavre 214d  
B-1050 Bruxelles

I,	(name) want to support JEF-activities with a donation of	Euros.
Address		
Telephone		
E-mail		

If you wish your friends and colleagues to receive The New Federalist, do not hesitate to send us their addresses, and we will send them a free copy of the next edition!

## Call for Contributions

**Enjoyed this edition of The New Federalist? Or maybe you think that you could do better?**

Well now's your chance! If you think that you could write a suitable article then get in contact with the Editors! Every issue we try to include a range of articles from across Europe and covering a wide range of topics, but all of them are written by people just like you.

They range in size from 250 words for a very short report to a thousand for a two page feature. Articles with suitable quality photographs are especially welcome.

Help to make The New Federalist YOUR Magazine.

## Calendar of Events

### SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER

- \* 4-9, Ventotene seminar, Italy
- \* 11-16, Balkan Training days,  
Neum, Bosnia and Herzegovina
- \* 26-3, International Seminar, Sofia, Bulgaria

### JANUARY

- \* 20-23, Big Give Europe a Face event,  
Brussels, Belgium  
(Date to be confirmed)

### OCTOBER-NOVEMBER

- \* 1-8, JEF training days, Malta
- \* 24-1, JEF International seminar and FC,  
Oostende, Belgium

### MARCH

- \* 20-27 JEF International seminar and FC,  
Ljubljana, Slovenia

You can register for our regular e-mail newsletter from JEF at <http://www.JEF-Europe.net/>



The Young European Federalists (JEF) is a supranational non-party political youth organisation with over 30,000 young members from 35 European countries. The aim of JEF is to work for the creation of a European Federation, as a step towards a peaceful, just and democratic world order.

Build the Europe you want. The European Union is one of the biggest achievements of the European history, but it is still far from what the European citizens are entitled to expect. A true European Federation is needed to fully achieve democracy, economic prosperity, social justice and environmental protection. With JEF you can have your say on the future of Europe. Shape the future you want.

JEF members carry out the following actions on the national, regional and local levels: putting forward the arguments for a European Federation, lobbying governments and decision-makers to support our vision of Europe, raising public awareness of European unification and its importance, promoting federalism, the political thought of "unity in diversity".

JEF-Europe, the supranational level of the organisation, provides its sections with information, publications and support, and offers its members the following activities: transnational campaigns, like the one for a European Constitution and the enlargement of the Union, public events and demonstrations at the important European summits, to show that citizens support federal Europe, seminars on European unification and federalism, allowing young people from all over Europe to meet each other.

JEF is the youth section of the Union of European Federalists and is member of the International European Movement and the World Federalist Movement.

**Become an activist  
for European unity  
and federalism!  
Join JEF.**

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