

# The New Federalist

Magazine of the Young European Federalists - Winter 2003



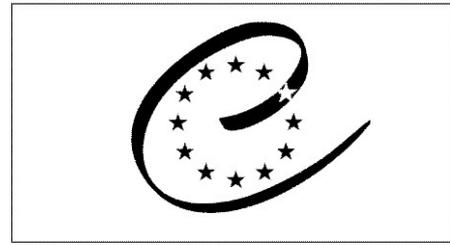
## CONVENTION VERSUS IGC



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

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# Welcome to the Winter 2003 Edition

Silke Kaul

In these times where people already get used to terrorist attacks that come closer and even touch European mainland without yet the 11/9, federalists look fearfully at the IGC. Heads of State argue about whether a future EU Foreign Minister should have the title of a minister or keep the title High Representative. They try to open the package and restart to negotiate on qualified majority voting, the composition of the Commission and other very important issues that are so close to our federalists' hearts. At the same time France and Germany discuss openly about a Franco-German Union. Whatever this means as a first step they proposed more economic co-operation - as if this were something new. Federalists are afraid of Heads of State being at odds about details while losing sight of the overall project: further European integration.

The Convention has been a major step in opening the process of Treaty revision to the public. The IGC now risks to negate this development by continuing their behind-closed-doors-discussion. It seems that right now our influence is very limited and we will have to accept the results as they will come out at the meeting of 12/13 December. But federalists do look ahead on the agenda. Two major events are coming closer: the final accession of new member states and the elections of the European Parliament. If we compare the accession of the new members with the German re-unification than we have to be

aware of a long mutual adaptation process. Expectations might be disappointed as economic progress will not be met immediately. The advantages of joining the EU might not necessarily be felt in the first years especially in times of economic recession. The more it is important to support our sections in the accession countries in their enthusiasm of campaigning for the EU. The EP election campaign offers a chance to bring Europe closer to the citizens not only in the accession countries but even more in "old Europe" where the EU is not necessarily of major public interest.

Together with Jon Worth, Elina Kiiski and Peter Bancroft also members of "The New Federalist" team I would like to use this forum to thank you, JEFFers, for offering us your support and having elected us in the new Executive Bureau of JEF Europe. This will give us a chance to continue campaigning for Europe at even more challenging positions. "The New Federalist" will continue to be our forum for political discussion with a new enthusiastic team soon to come.

Let's all hope that no major terrorist attacks also in Europe will be needed to bring European Heads of State to terms. European integration is not a matter of personal or national vanities but also global peace. Europe should have its role in creating peace in the world and fighting terrorism but peacefully and UNITED.



**Silke Kaul, resident in Bruges, is Vice President of JEF-Europe and Editor in Chief of The New Federalist.**

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# Results of JEF-Europe XVII Congress, Stockholm



Europe United at the 17th JEF-Europe Congress in Stockholm.

100 delegates and 60 observers from more than 30 different national JEF sections came together last weekend to look back at the work done the past two years and to decide the JEF policies and organisational priorities of the next 2 years.

Faithful to the JEF slogan "Simply A Generation Ahead", the Congress has adopted strong positions on the draft Constitution and current IGC process, as well on the upcoming European elections. Strong organisational priorities have also been set up, with the creation of a JEF "Southeast European Initiative" and the definition of the work plan for 2003-2005.

Last but not least, after the Congress thanked the outgoing Executive Bureau for its hard work during the challenging past 2 years, the new JEF-Europe team was elected to bring JEF into the European election campaign and the future challenges of European democracy:

A total of 14 nationalities are represented among the new Bureau and directly elected Federal Committee members.

If you wish to contact the newly elected team, please use: *name.surname@jef-europe.net* such as *jon.worth@jef-europe.net*

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*Other Federal Committee Members:* S. Holland, Jana Novotna, Georgi Markov, Philip Hessel, Dominique Ostyn, Virginie Delaury

# The Convention and Young People: a positive sign for the future

Alison Weston

As we approach our Congress in Stockholm at the end of October, it is a good time to reflect on where we find the European Union today. Since our Vienna Congress two years ago, there have been major changes in the European political landscape. The first phase of the historic enlargement eastwards has been completed, and the Union has engaged in a bold process of constitutional reform. Externally, the EU has begun to take on a more ambitious role in security policy, launching the first European police missions and military missions in the Western Balkans and the Congo - even though the Iraq crisis shows we still have far to go. Internally, there have been moves towards improving the EU's internal functioning and reforming the Union's flagship policies, such as the Common Agricultural Policy.

In 2004, we will have a renewed Europe: a Union of 25; a freshly elected European Parliament with its first representatives from the new member states; a newly-appointed European Commission; and, we hope, a new European Constitution. Can we, in this changing political landscape, begin to identify the shape of the Europe of the future?

In the changed political circumstances of this Europe, the fight for federalism and for European democracy will remain as necessary as ever, but it will need to evolve to remain relevant in the new European reality. The constitutional debate should not end, but we need to begin investing more energy in looking beyond constitutional questions towards constructing a European political entity, rooted in popular understanding and participation.

Building a democratic Europe of 25 will be a learning experience all around, for both old and new member states. The real process of enlargement will begin after 1 May, when the new countries become full participants in the

life of the Union, and as we work together to implement whatever new Constitution emerges from the Intergovernmental Conference. Even more difficult will be the process of building a European political consciousness across this larger Union. This must be the challenge for the federalists: bringing the citizens into a genuine European political process, and thus building the foundations for a true federal Europe.

The Convention was an important first step. Whatever the final Constitution looks like, the debate of the past two years has shown that the logic of the federalist solution for the democratisation of Europe is gaining ground. Without giving up on future constitutional improvements, we should now focus more attention on the substance of European political life, such as the development of genuine European-wide political parties. The political groups in the European Parliament need to be more confident in their differences, to make the most of the opportunities the Constitution provides, and to become strong political forces offering real choices to European citizens and the prospect of real change.

Making Europe work for its citizens, not in spite of them, must be the aim of all federalists. JEF will need new ideas, imaginative solutions, and a willingness to look past old slogans towards new and innovative suggestions for establishing a more just, efficient and democratic Europe of which we can all be proud. It has been an extraordinary two years for the European Union and for the Young European Federalists. I am confident that our Stockholm Congress will begin two more extraordinary years for JEF of making this new Europe a more federal and democratic one.



**Dr Alison Weston is Vice President of the International European Movement**

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# A European Constitution - Breakthrough for European Democracy?

Jan Kreutz

The start of the Convention has launched a unique process: 210 politicians, representing different political levels in Europe, came together to write the first European Constitution. Today, as many governments threaten to open and weaken the carefully balanced result of the Convention, we have to carefully analyse the result of the Convention process. Were the Convention members able to arrive to more democracy, transparency and efficiency, as demanded from them? Or did they merely consolidate the status quo of a Union which is far from the will of its citizens?

## A Constitution that enables a more democratic Europe

Much has been said about the process of the Convention. It was surely more transparent and more open than previous IGCs. Also it allowed for participation of civil society and it enabled media to follow the negotiations. Nevertheless it will not be the nearly democratic process of the Convention, but its result that is relevant for history. Only if the Constitution will contribute establishing a European democracy, the Convention members will have accomplished their task. Evaluating the Constitutional draft, one can clearly say that it enables for a more transparent and more democratic Union. First of all did it contribute to simplifying the Union. I agree with those saying, the Constitution is still extremely long: it includes two Preambles, four completely different Constitutional Parts, 455 articles and several Protocols and Annexes. Especially in Part 3 it is also extremely complicated and contradictory. Nevertheless it is more "citizens-friendly" than the previous treaties. Several breakthroughs in simplifying the Union have been achieved. In the future, the Union will have a single legal personality, the pillar structure will be abandoned, procedures will be simplified and renamed and a clear division of competences will be established.

Even more important than simplifying the Union are improvements concerning the democratic procedures of the Union. The draft Constitution foresees the European Parliament - representative of the citizens interests - to be co-legislator in 32 fields of policy; until now has been 16. In the future, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers will decide on laws and framework laws, using the legislative procedure. Not only names have been simplified (previously words used for the same acts were directives and regulations), but also the number of legal acts has been reduced. The legislative procedure - a law framework law initiated by the Commission decided on by the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers - will be the rule for legislation in the future EU. The fact that the European Parliament receives full budgetary powers - a right traditionally reserved to national Parliaments - will further contribute to the development of a European parliamentary system.

Crucial is also that qualified majority voting was simplified and introduced as the rule for decisions making in the Council of Ministers. Qualified majority will be reached when a majority of member states, representing 60% of the Union citizens will be in favour of a proposal. Since qualified majority voting will replace the unanimity rule in many fields of policy, decision making will be more effective preventing single heads of governments block legislation in the different Councils of Ministers.

As parties are a precondition for every established democracy, strengthening European Parties in the Constitution is a decisive step forward. Not only does the Constitution explicitly mention the roles that parties play in Europe's representative democracy. Moreover does the Convention's result force European party families to develop into true parties. In the future, the President of the European Commission will be elected through a simplified



Jan Kreutz is a member of the Presidium of the Federal Committee of JEF-Europe.

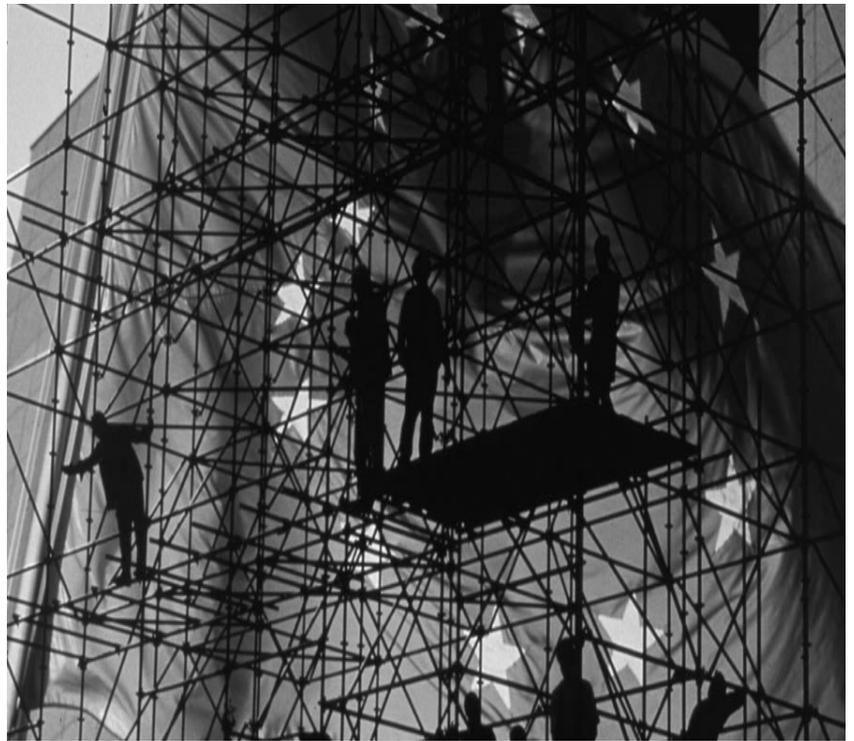
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rules will therefore be under pressure to present a single candidate for the European elections as well as a political programme. The result of the EP elections will determine the political direction of the future commission as well as the political leadership of the Union. This would - for the first time in European history - give the citizens a real say in Union politics and should help to increase participation in the European elections.

### **Much more could have been achieved!**

It would be lying to say that the Convention fulfilled all hopes concerning European democracy. Most of the general rules concerning the set up of institutions and about procedures of the Union, as laid down in the first Part of the Constitution, go in line with those of a democracy in federal structures. Nevertheless there are many exceptions from these rules, which weaken the Convention's result substantially. There are nearly more fields of policy, where exceptions to the rules of qualified majority decisions and the legislative procedure are applied, than fields of policies where the rules itself apply. Not only in foreign and defence policy, but also concerning economic, social, asylum- and immigration policy and parts of the budget unanimity will remain. Mindless rounds of negotiations and horse trading without any outcome threaten to further analyse a Union with 25 and more member states.

Furthermore the Constitution gives a lot of rights to the European Council, the only body of the Union which is not subject to control of any other Union organ and which is hardly controlled by the national parliaments. Although the European Council is not allowed to enact legislation, it is the body deciding on the principles and guidelines of Union policy, thus limiting the freedom of legislation for the elected European Parliament and the Council of Ministers. Furthermore the European Council proposes the European Commission President. Despite the fact that it has to propose a candidate "in light of the elections to the European Parliament", the European Council is not forced to propose a candidate the European Parliament is likely to favour. Despite the fact that the European Parliament is allowed to reject such a candidate, it is likely that many parliamentarians will give in to pressure of their national governments to accept the European Council's proposal. The development of a European parliamentary system with



### **How much does the Constitution build European Democracy?**

strong European parties would be hindered in such a case.

### **So what next?**

Despite the shortcomings of the Constitution, the proposed text is a clear improvement of today's treaties. It represents a milestone in Europe's development towards a true democracy. We have to prevent that this achievement is reversed. As it was especially the heads of governments who prevented crucial reforms for a democratic Europe within the Convention, it is more than likely that opening the Convention package through the Intergovernmental Conference could only weaken this result. Therefore we as JEF should strictly reject any attempts by the heads of states and governments to open the Convention result.

Even if the governments respect the nearly democratic exercise of the Convention and their result, a European Democracy requires more than a 200 page document filled with legal terms. In the coming months, European citizens need to be convinced of the need for this Constitution and the content needs to be communicated to them. A constitutional spirit can only be developed, when the citizens accept the constitution. This exercise cannot be done by governments only, but must be supported by us JEFers, the avantgarde for Europe.

# For a Europe of Peace

Nicola Vallinoto

From 9 to 12 October in Perugia was held the 5th Assembly of the UN of the peoples dedicated to Europe and organized by Round Table Peace. It has been an important hearing of the global civil society concerning Europe and its responsibilities towards the world. More than 200 representatives of the world civil society, local institutions, parliaments and international institutions from more than 100 countries participated to the assembly. Between them:

Mario Soares, Federico Mayor, Candido Grzybowski, Vandana Shiva, Susan George, Roberto Savio, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Mario Lubetkin, Riccardo Petrella, Cora Weiss, Giuliano Amato, Eveline Herfkens. The programme of the Assembly consisted in 5 plenary sessions and 10 seminars. In the call for action "The Europe we want" was underlined that "The founding countries of Europe, the countries that after centuries of wars were the first to have the inspiration and capacity to

start building Europe as an instrument of peace and reconciliation, have to shoulder great responsibility. These countries bear the responsibility to develop a democratic European Constitution, which will reject war

and will provide for European government accountable to the European Parliament and capable of speaking to the world with one voice." and "The Europe we want is the Europe of the people who, according to the

“  
The Europe we  
want is the Europe  
of the peoples  
”

principle of subsidiarity, prizes local governmental institutions and civil society assemblies as fundamental players for its democratic and federal development, in view of a global democratic government. UEF and JEF Italy participated actively in the work of assembly also in the March for peace.

Lucio Levi, executive member of WFM, was speaker in the seminar of Friday morning "The role of Europe in the future of UN and of inte



the experience of the European Parliament in order to start a similar approach for a World Parliament. Levi also proposed a single seat in the Security Council for the EU and the transformation of the Security Council in a Council of the Great Regions of the world. The seminar was organized by Ubuntu network that is engaged in a World Campaign for in-depth reform of the System of International Institutions. Other relevant speakers were Federico Major, Cora Weiss, Richard Falk and IFM representative Victoria Clarke too.

On Saturday the 11th the final session "Europe and the world: the commitment of civil society" of the assembly was held at Turreno arena with the conclusions of some leaders of pacifist movements divided into 4 thematic panels. In the 1st panel, the economic one, Gianfranco George, vicepresident of Attac, underlined the need of a political Europe as an alternative to US unilateralism vision to build a different and multilateral world. In the 3rd panel, the political one, Antonio Papisca, Padua University, proposed a Universal Convention, similar to the European convention, to propose reform of the UN, made up of representatives

States grouped by regions, international institutions, national parliaments, local institutions and ONG and civil society. The aim of this ad-hoc assembly is to propose a new chart for UN. Guido Montani, general secretary of MFE (Italian section of UEF) underlined the

constitution discussed by IGC is not democratic and the need to modify it. He proposed a large mobilization of European people to request that European Parliament ask for a constituent convention in order to eliminate the veto vote and to insert the right to peace as a fundamental value of the European constitution.

On Sunday October the 12th, at least 150.000 people participated in the March for Peace from Perugia to Assisi (25 km.). 200 Italian federalists coming from Sicily to Veneto, joined the March, distributing thousand of leaflets "Who want peace ask European federation". The final meeting in Assisi was concluded by the intervention of Jo Leinen, president of UEF. His speech, interrupted several times by thunderous cheers, stressed the need of a



**From European democracy to a reform of the United Nations**

European democratic government able to speak with a single voice and a UN reform with a single seat for EU in the Security Council and the proposal of a World Parliament.

The Peace Round Table launched, during the World social forum 2003, a signature campaign to ask for the inclusion in the European Constitution of the following statement, resembling

article 11 of the Italian Constitution: "Europe repudiates war as a means for settling international disputes and recognizes peace as a fundamental right of persons and peoples. Europe contributes to the creation of a

peaceful and democratic international order; for this purpose it promotes and supports the UN strengthening and democratisation process and the development of international cooperation?."

Italian federalists have worked, since the 4th Assembly in 2001, together with the pacifist movement. The campaign "Europe repudiates war" is the first result of this common path. The active participation of federalist movement during the last assembly and the March for peace has been a good chance for widening the network for European and World federation.

“ **At least 150,000 people participated in the March** ”

**Nicola Vallinoto is a member of JEF Italy.**

# Farewell of the Executive Bureau

**Peter Stempel**

*It is the evening of the day  
I sit and watch the children play  
smiling faces I can see  
But not for me  
I sit and watch as tears go by  
(As Tears go by; The Rolling Stones)*

To write an article on these past two years, the two years of our EB mandate is a strange situation. It is weird because the end of our term is so near - and over when you all read this - and also because the time since our election in Vienna seems to have passed by in a wink.

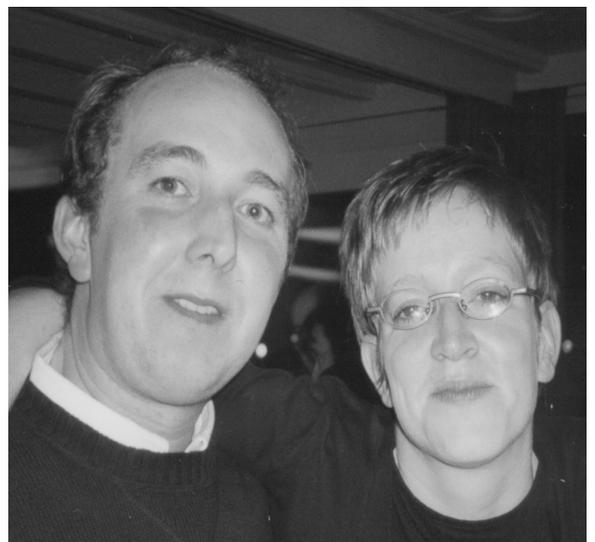
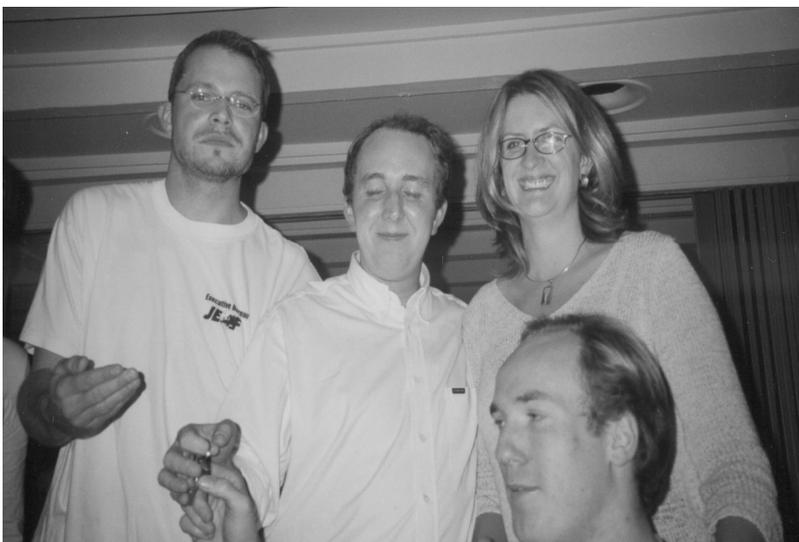
When we had our internal evaluation in Formia this late summer, we discovered that quite a lot of things have changed during our mandate, both for the organisation and for us as individuals. None of us really knew what we were getting into after the Congress 2001. Some have been FC members before, some active in our national sections, but besides having had the possibility to sneak in to one of the last Vacca-era Bureau meetings we had no idea, what was ahead of us. And we would be surprised!

Most of us knew each other quite well from before, some had been working on the New Federalist, and Alison was a luminary of the organisation for some years. So we didn't have

the fear of not being able to work as a team which was right and wrong at the same time. Personal problems hardly existed in the Bureau, and this was definitely one of our biggest assets. I can't remember one serious fight during those years. But that didn't mean that we had the dynamics of a team from the very beginning. I remember Marianne mentioning the reaction of her and Niki after our first proper Bureau meeting in Brussels. They were looking at each other in desperation wondering where this all would go to. But it went and it went well!

We found the right track and our position in the structure very fast. We had the right tasks for the right people, and even if it was sometimes annoying to feel limited to a certain number of assignments, we stuck to this division method of the times to keep the wheel spinning in the same speed.

The path for our work was fortunately already obviously paved by the two major developments on the European level - Enlargement and the Convention. Most of our efforts have been connected to these issues, which were evidently the interest of JEF and its members. The focus on the Convention, its drafts and its members asked for new strategies of lobbying and persuasion. They were found in two of our most useful instruments, the constitutional-convention.net website including the regular conven-





The departing EB members (mainly) smile in Forna at one of the last EB's of the term

on bulletin, and our efforts in the Youth Contact Group.

The bulletin has shown to become an incredibly successful tool to keep both our members informed about the developments in the convention, but we also managed to reach a lot of people outside our organisational structures. Journalists, politicians, youth activists, you name it. And the website became after the official Convention site, the second most visited web forum on this particular issue, far ahead of sites set up by political parties, or other interest groups.

And the cooperation with a variety of strong European players in the Youth Contact Group showed its results both in the Youth Convention and in the passed resolutions, which have been

handed out to the public and - of course - to the Convention members. The joint voice of the political youth organisations definitely had a much stronger impact, than single efforts could have managed. And JEF had a leading role in this!

The Bureau also made clear from the beginning that we are aiming at an improved contact to and support of our sections and individual members. The response we received during our term confirmed that we've done quite well - even if there is always space for improvement! Several new sections and contact groups have been established in these two years. Malta, the Netherlands, Moldova, Turkey, and the SEE countries are some good examples for our very own enlargement. And we are not done yet! There are still some spots left on the continent...

Let me conclude by saying, that it made us very proud having the chance to serve this organisation for two years. It was no easy task, it wasn't always fun and it took a lot of our free time - but it was certainly worth it! And so we leave with a weeping and a laughing eye, and we wish our successors all the best for their projects and challenges in the coming two years.

*This coming and going is driving me nuts  
This to-ing and fro-ing is hurting my guts  
So get off the fence, it's creasing your butt  
Life is a party let's get out and strut  
You're not the only one with mixed emotions  
You're not the only ship adrift on this ocean  
**(Mixed Emotions; The Rolling Stones)***



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# Caucasus - Another Balkans for Europe?

Vusal Mammadov

The early 90-ies. End of the USSR and communist era. National, ethnic tension through the whole post-Soviet space. Unfortunately, as a citizen of Azerbaijan I "had an opportunity" to observe all these events. Beginning by the end of 80-ies, masses in USSR were seeking for their own identity and this process was accompanied by the loss of belief in communism, the ideology, which was regulating almost all spheres of life. But here USSR and KGB generals played their last chances and escalated "nationalist tendencies". That brought to very bitter situation in some parts of the ex-Soviet space, in particular in Caucasus.

“ Perhaps this analysis contains much of emotions rather than rationalism ”

From bitter experience of Europe we know that, values of vital importance, like Peace and Security should never be left at the disposal of ultra-rights. But unfortunately, nations living in Caucasus didn't obey to this rule and at the moment as a consequence of it both sides have

martyrs, displaced people and etc. I would like to share with you, dear JEFers an observation of mine. Perhaps this "analysis" contains much of emotions rather than rationalism but however I am pretty sure that you will understand what I mean.

I invite you to have a look at the picture given opposite. This is a monument and it is located in a small city of Azerbaijan, Sumgait, with a population of 500,000. The monument was built to preserve the memory of people who died for peace and it is one of those monuments that were inherited from Soviet Era.

Nowadays the monument is in bad condition. It is not a secret that USSR used everything for its purposes and it had also its own interpretation for Peace, it was also made a tool for ideology. The motto for peace in USSR was "Peace to world" and the main threat for peace was so-called "aggressive, capitalist block" as this was being imposed to millions by the machines of ideology. Millions were brought up with these ideas. But with the collapse of communism as an ideology collapsed also its system of values and after 1991 the process which I call "the chaos values phenomenon" took place. On the other hand, let me emphasize that till that time communism as an ideology was regulating all spheres of people's lives. Sudden people lost it and the first years were really hard for them as they had an emptiness in the middle of their lives. As a result people became a little bit "irresponsible" about global issues and that led to the "devaluation" of values, including one of the most important: the Peace. I consider it to be a real threat. People shouldn't share "a fragmented vision of Peace".



what degree do the futures of Azeri youth depend on the European Union?

By the year of 2004 Europe is going



The monument of Peace in Sumqait, Azerbaijan

large and thus it is getting closer towards the Caucasus. Problems at Balkans haven't been solved yet and all of us saw that Balkans played a role of "indicator" showing inefficiency of the EU in such a case. And it is a real danger for Europe if the national problems in Caucasus are not going to be solved, even though not in short term, but surely in medium or long terms. I would like to strengthen my hypothesis" with the words of Mr. Fischer from his very famous "European Federation" speech.

"Following the collapse of the Soviet empire the EU had to open up to the east, otherwise the very idea of European integration would have undermined itself and eventually self-destructed. Why? A glance at the former Yugoslavia shows us the consequences, even if they would not always and everywhere have been so extreme. An EU restricted to Western Europe would forever have had to deal with a divided system in Europe: in Western Europe integration, in Eastern Europe the old system

of balance with its continued national orientation, constraints of coalition, traditional interest-led politics and the permanent danger of nationalist ideologies and confrontations. A divided system of states in Europe without an overarching order would in the long term make Europe a continent of uncertainty, and in the medium term these traditional lines of conflict would shift from Eastern Europe into the EU again."

**“ Let me emphasize that until that time communism as an ideology was regulating all sphere’s of people’s lives ”**

Trying to avoid exaggeration, I would like to tell that JEF is playing its role much better than EU or other European institutions. In Azerbaijan we believe that JEF helps us to integrate into European Youth Movement and thus Azeri youth understand that they are also a part of something global.

In conclusion I would like to say that, we have a sample of Balkans. Let us not repeat the same mistakes in Caucasus. Let the Caucasus not become another Balkan for Europe.

**Vusal Mammadov is a member of JEF-Europe and is resident in Azerbaijan.**

# After the War on Iraq and the European Constitution: Pre-emptive strikes by the EU next?

Gerrit F. Schlomach

During the last year the international scene was dominated by the war against Iraq, provoking controversies about a common European strategic vision and about the future of transatlantic partnership. At the same time, the European Union continued to work on its institutional architecture in the Convention and undertook first steps to conduct its own military missions with the operation in DR Congo. [Before the American intervention in Iraq started, there was a lively discussion about strategy, resulting in the *US National Security Strategy*, which was presented in September 2002. After 8 countries openly supported the US position on the Iraqi war and a disputed *mini summit* on defence by Belgium, France, Germany and Luxembourg took place, European heads of state realised need for action.] The European Council mandated the EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, M. Javier Solana to prepare a *European Security Strategy*. His task was to bridge the transatlantic misunderstand-

ings concerning the use of force and to make progress towards a common European strategic culture. At the council session in Thessaloniki in June 2003 Solana presented his first draft with the title "A Secure Europe in a Better World", which is going to be adopted in its final version in December 2003. In this article I analyse the so called Solana paper, criticise it and put a value on the European strategic consensus.

## The common ground - a wide understanding of security policy

[The long-time observer, Philippe Schoutheete, commented, "the importance of the ESS is that it exists".] Someone can ask, are the described difficulties above cleared out? In the first place, Solana stresses in his paper that in the strategic environment after the Cold War the European economic giant turns pale, when it comes to the insignificance of foreign and security affairs. [The EU's vulnerability arises from regional conflicts in



The EU and the US share different strategic priorities.

...ence, climate change, migration and energy dependence, but not from a direct military aggression.] In accordance to this wide understanding of security policy, not reducing security only to military means, the focus lies on three new main threats: Terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass-destruction (WMD) and failed states suffering organised crime. As consequence the strategy balances tradition-

EU priorities (conflict prevention, poverty reduction and good governance within a regional dialogue) with a new risk assessment. If we take de Schoutheete comment into account, we see the positive effect of ESS, urging the EU member states to reconcile their different views of threats.]

### **But still a lot of questions**

However, if we look at the details a lot of questions remain still open. The ESS notes, for example, the proliferation of WMD as a main threat, but there are no facts in the paper backing up these claims. How can one measure the threat of WMD in general and especially for Europe? Subsequently, Solana outlines three strategic objectives : Establishing stability and good-governance around Europe, strengthening the international multilateral order and entering old and new threats. For him, the presence of effective multilateralism bases on three pillars: United Nations framework, democracy and international law. But what does "effective multilateral institutions" mean for the Union in practice? A single EU seat in the Security Council by reforming the UN system? More support to international financial organisations (WTO, Worldbank)? Exactly when answering these questions national and EU interests often clash. The present strategy does not indicate a way out of the discussion among current member states and future ones between a bipolar world vision and a multipolar one. Then, the paper suggests a wide set of instruments to achieve these aims, ranging from early and rapid to robust intervention. This means countering threats at their points of origin, a preventive and robust strategy in an early phase and a toolbox with civilian and military options.

In consequence the ESS does not preclude



Large questions about Global Strategy remain unanswered.

the use of force as a last resort under certain circumstances. However, what is the correct interpretation of a robust strategy and preventive action and what are the differences to US understanding of it? Finally, the whole paper emphasises the necessity of a continued transatlantic co-operation to confront threats and to assure security. After the Berlin Plus agreement, which defines the EU and NATO

relationship in missions, and first experiences with the EU-led operation in Macedonia under the assistance of the Alliance, what should be the level of autonomy for EU forces? The ongoing debate about an own European military

headquarters proves that the stability of this agreement rests uncertain.

After analysing the *European Security Strategy* we can draw a conclusion with a citation of Fraser Cameron (Director of Studies at the European Policy Centre), "Well Done Javier - now for the difficult part!" Besides the questions mentioned above, the paper claims policy implications for Europe, demanding higher defence expenses to guarantee a more effective structure and adapted capabilities. The future will show, if the strategic consensus could make full use of its abilities in the political process by reducing transatlantic misunderstandings?

“**How can one measure the threat of WMD in general and especially for Europe?**”

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# E111 - Are you sure you packed Everything?

Allan Siao Ming Witherick

November 2003 I attended my first JEF Congress. It was an interesting event, being an observer. I was able to see how many colleagues I already had among their ranks. I had met people at a variety of events, from Malaysia and Denmark, to Poland and Belgium.

I found that people I knew were friends with those from Latvia and so on. Once more reminding me just how small Europe is, but also of the need to act as multipliers to ensure that other benefit from the same opportunities which we have enjoyed to learn of other cultures.

It was an inspiring event, sometimes dry, but then when are constitutional changes not? This in it's own right is one of the new challenges that we have to face, as well as the usual apathy towards Europe.

Sadly however this is not what will stick in my mind from the event. The thing I will remember most is being incredibly ill on the Sunday, and sadly not alcohol induced as originally thought (self inflicted illness is somehow comforting, you know that you can avoid it in future!).

Ill all day on Sunday, I was only just able to fulfil my duties as an additional scrutineer, but little else, I did not even say proper goodbyes! After the Congress I joined some of the others at a restaurant, but having not been able to keep water down all day, I found my condition deteriorating. By the afternoon, I was losing touch with time and reality! Indeed, at one point I recall wondering what the Finish health care system was like- bare in mind I was in Stockholm.

As a result, and concerns from my

colleagues, I was taken to hospital by ambulance. Two things struck me more than anything else, well at least which I can recall. My gladness for having Travel Insurance, although I had left the documents at home, and my utter relief that I had packed an E111 form with me.

For those who don't know, an E111 form is reciprocal agreement between European Countries which says that if you are ill, your host country is asked to help you, in the same way that we would help people from their country.

It's one of those things, often forgotten and seldom used, but a subtle way in which the European Union has the ability to reach out in

the lives of every person who chooses to travel. Unlike the Euro which people use every time they travel, this is part of the benefits of the Union which you hope never to use.

But how does this effect Federalism? Again it's the growth of hidden values between the countries. Whilst we might not look towards an integrated health care system, there are some interesting cross border relations. Already the UK is looking at the cost of sending some patients overseas due to the cheaper costs.

So for me, sat in a hotel awaiting new flight home, two morals we should all recall.

**DO** take out Travel Insurance, and remember the documents, (leave copies at home so that friends, parents or relatives can intervene if needed).

**DO** remember your E111 form if relevant, it is one of the things which I hope never to use again, but I know my luck.

“It's one of those things, often forgotten and seldom used”



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# Is there Unity within Diversity in the EU?

**Martina Petkova**

There is no doubt that diversity is inherent in Europe. It comes as a logical consequence of the long and agitated historical development which underlies the European civilisation. As the EU is entering a new era of a closer cooperation, involving not only the present member States but also the would-be members, the issue of diversity in Europe is becoming of paramount importance. If co-operation has started on economic ground and has spilled over the political and other fields, it is now creating even stronger links between the states within the "Common European Home" and any peculiar national features are being dissolved and highlighted.

Probably the most obvious evidence of diversity is the stunningly large number of languages spoken on the EU territory. But since language is one of the fundamentals of identity and culture, it may be arguable for many people whether we could talk about European identity *par excellence*. Religion is another striking unity because Christianity is represented by its three branches: Catholicism, Protestantism and the Orthodox Church. Neither should we underestimate the antagonism between the two former blocs on both sides of the Iron Curtain during nearly half a century which has also led to differences in the way of life and points of view between the western and Eastern Europeans.

With all this in mind, diversity seems undeniable and well grounded. However, it is reasonable to claim that certain unity does exist within Europe as well. It is mainly the set of common values that underpins unity: democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights and freedoms, free market economy, etc. They are shared by all Member States and Acceding countries and are a *conditio sine qua non* for every state willing to become a EU member.

Hence the amazing conclusion: diversity goes hand in hand with unity or, otherwise viewed, they are two sides of the coin called "European identity". The existence and pres-



What makes up our European Identity?

ence of both of them is what makes our continent extremely interesting. Of course, differences are sometimes an impediment for quicker and deeper integration. It should be pointed out that on certain occasions the European countries, especially the Candidate Countries during the negotiation process, have been forced to sacrifice one or another national feature or habit in the name of mutual understanding and further progress. However, it would be completely wrong to draw the drastic conclusion that diversity should be erased and instead of it unity should be favoured. Every European nation and minority, no matter how small it is, has the right, also the duty, to preserve and defend its identity. Europe would not be so unique if even one *its cultures* did not exist. The heritage of every European country is rooted in the common historical tradition and values. In parallel with this, diversity is spread and maintained. That is how every national culture in Europe is an indispensable piece in the coloured jigsaw called "European civilisation".



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# Action against Member States

Thomas Anderson Thrane



Threat to Europe's values?

**Resumé:** *The European Union has been criticized for not reacting against Berlusconi's exclusive control of the mass media and political power, outside the reach of the Italian courts. Yet, for a range of broader political reasons, the path of action taken by the EU Member States against Austria following the rise to political power of Jörg Haider should not be followed in the case of Berlusconi's person and/or rule in Italy.*

The Draft Constitution Treaty maintains the rule of law as a foundation of European democracy. Since the coming into force of the Rome Treaty in 1957, law has governed the relations between a growing circle of major and minor countries, as well as between supranational organs and the citizens of Europe. The rule of law constitutes a democratic value and the base of protection of the rights of citizens and companies.

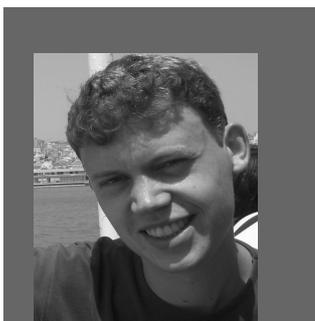
Europe not only has a right to protect the values that it is built upon, but

also a duty to do so. When once in a while, Europe is challenged by trends that do not fit into the broad value picture, Europe reacts. This was the case with Haider's Austria and may be the case with Berlusconi's Italy.

However, the Union should not react against every act that does not fit fully. Clearly an inflexible overreaction, the anti-Austrian campaign was an example of the way, Europe should not go. Obvious mass media concentration and immunity before the courts definitely worry, but

no evidence of abuse has been presented. Although flexibility and leniency should not be confused, Europe's values and integrative process are not exposed to any real threat from Berlusconi's person or government.

A real threat to the European integrative process and values, however, is served by the political alienation felt by considerable parts of the European population. The various No's (Sweden once, Norway and Denmark twice each) and a close-to-a-No in France send a powerful political signal. The feeling of the Union's lack of legitimacy is the major problem facing ever closer integration. This is why successful referenda on the Draft Constitution in all countries that are going to the polls should not be taken for granted, in particular in Scandinavia, France and some of the adjoining countries. The Union, the Member States and the European population must face this extremely serious challenge, and must do so in a flexible way that respects subsidiarity. Centralised action against dissident and frustrating Member States and their leaders is not the way forward. Proportional democratic address to actual problems is.



Thomas Anderson Thrane was President of JEF-Århus (1999-2001) and a member of the board of JEF-Denmark (1998-2002).

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# Yes in the Czech Referendum

Ivo Maryška

The Czech referendum on accession to the EU took place on 13th to 14th June 2003. We have decided to launch a campaign directed on various target groups starting from 9th May, itself a symbolic date. The project was realized by 5 national coordinators and around 15 regional ones. In retrospect, the campaign in all its various locations and aspects (all our 14 local sections have participated) meant a huge step forward for our organization in both our working methods as well as our perception by others.

Here are the main elements of our campaign:

1. **Declaration YES IN THE REFERENDUM** - we have drafted a declaration which, while politically correct, expressed a clear support for YES in the up-coming referendum. We addressed NGOs (mainly member organizations), universities and libraries and other organizations to give their name in support of the declarations. In the end we succeeded in collecting 144 organizations of 9 (out of 14) regions from all over the Czech Republic.

2. **Focus on the regions** - we have addressed regional small communities, cities and villages. This allowed us to point far more



Ivo Maryška speaking at a public meeting.

attention to us than in large cities.

3. **Propagation materials** - with help of the MATRA program of the Kingdom of the Netherlands we managed to produce over 29.000 pieces of various

propagation materials (mainly book markers, little schedules, postcards and small posters). They had a carefully chosen unified graphic theme - a stylized question mark going through all the various motives of the campaign.

4. **Target groups: young people, badly addressable groups** - we distributed the propagation materials in clubs and bars (postcards being a welcome object there). A very good way of reaching otherwise hardly addressable groups was putting propagation materials into books in book-stores (to that end we closed partnerships with book stores in Prague and elsewhere).

5. **Discussion rounds with elderly people** - we incorporated into the activities before the referendum a whole-year project which is run by our organization and is financed by the Ministry of Foreign affairs. It focuses on organizing discussion rounds with elderly people about European integration. We produced special propagation materials destined for seniors and distributed them in the houses for elderly where discussions took place.

6. **Regional high profile discussion meetings** - in regions we organized several meetings with top EU and Czech speakers for the general public, which attracted media.

## Results of the Czech Referendum:

77,33% PRO  
22,67 CONTRA

55,21% participated



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# Zadar Training Days

Katarina Grgas and Mitja Brus

Adriatic sea, wine, fish, great people and JEF. What do they all have in common? The simple answer would be: training days in Zadar, Croatia, held from 18th- 21st September, where 40 people from the South-East Europe gathered to share their experiences and to gain some new knowledge in the pleasant atmosphere of this Mediterranean part of Croatia.

This seminar was, in a way, a proving fact that some great things have been done in Ohrid in February, whose participants were determined on creating a special network of young people who would work on building and strengthening the relations between the countries in the Balkan region. The main aim of Zadar seminar was, in line with their efforts, to provide young, present and future JEF members with an opportunity to meet and discuss, to give them an incentive to establish or strengthen JEF sections in their respective countries, and to learn and share their thoughts and opinions in order to create a bet-

ter cooperation between the sections in the region. Thanks to the main organiser and initiator JEF Norway, in co-operation with JEF Slovenia and with the help of JEF Croatia, participants were given some great lectures about the project management, fund-raising, organizational structures, as well as some basic facts about the EU, its institutional framework and the future of Balkan countries in the sense of an enlarged Europe. Many of the participants were not (yet) JEF members so we had a few interesting lectures about the federalism, JEF and its structures and values as well.

The seminar was a successful combination of a high-grade theoretical and practical work with the nice socializing among participants and extremely attractive cultural content. The first day started with the social activities and ice-breaking games where the participants had a chance to get to know each other better before the forthcoming mutual assignment. Furthermore, they were able to establish



A photo of the participants of the Zadar seminar.



Participants were able to enjoy the beautiful Zadar.

network" of friendships as a great fundamental implementing common future projects. In the days that followed, we have discussed about the issues of how to get involved with the work of NGO, about project management and fundraising. The participants themselves are given an assignment; they were divided into 6 groups and had to come up with their own draft project proposals (on conducting an International Conference and Regional Seminar, developing Promotion Campaign in respective Countries, publishing JEF-Balkan newsletter, implementing the idea of promotional JEF-Balkan Bus, and carrying out a pan-European Street Action). As a result of this demanding, but very efficient task, many different projects were created. Some of them are given a good basis and a support for their realization and are already in the process (i.e. Regional Seminar in Budapest).

However, the culmination points of the seminar for the participants were the fish picnic and the boat trip to the beautiful National park Kornati, where they were offered a unique opportunity to enjoy the beauties of Croatia's coast and islands. Thanks to the nice wine, a bit strong travarica (national drink made of herbs), refreshing swimming in Tela cica and the most beautiful sunset, the mood of the trip was full of spirit and joy. Exhausted from the interesting day full of excitements, the participants were still able to find some strength to finish the trip with the presentation of their countries. Apart from the laughs and fun, one could find some interesting foreign drinks and food on the boat. Whereas the international



The seminar saw some blue-sky thinking about strengthening regional co-operation in South East Europe.

evening continued on the beach, the calming sound of waves warned us it was a time to go to sleep...

Our work on the seminar resulted in several major conclusions. We have realized the great importance of the support of JEF Europe in the development of a closer cooperation among the sections in the Balkans, emphasized also in a joint resolution, drafted at the seminar. In addition, we created a greater awareness of confidence building among each other and reinforced the belief in the future success of their efforts in creating a regional network for strengthening communication among them.

The seminar got an excellent feedback and the organisers were more than satisfied because our goal was achieved: friendships have been made, new knowledge acquired, and the biggest acknowledgement was a happy smile on the participants' faces when they were leaving, knowing we will meet soon again on some other seminar whose idea was born in Zadar.



**Mitja Brus is Secretary General of JEF-Slovenia and a member of JEF-Europe board of Auditors**

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**Katarina Grgas is the President of JEF-Croatia.**

# Calendar of Events

## JEF Europe Secretariat

### 6-8 February

Berlin, Germany. "European Elections". International seminar.  
info@jef.de / www.jef.de

### 20-21 March

Genova, Italy. UEF Congress.  
uef.european.federalists@skynet.be / www.federaleurope.org

### 21-28 March

Barcelona Catalunya, Spain. "Overcoming North-South divisions – An approach to the Euro-Mediterranean co operation". International seminar and FC.

### 1 May

Accession day. 10 new member states join the EU of 25.

### 9 May

All over Europe. Europe Day. Simultaneous celebrations and events throughout Europe.

### Mid May

Czech Republic. International Seminar.

### 10-13 June

All over Europe. European Parliament Elections.

## 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 "Europe!-A Generation Ahead" involves a lot of expenses. Thus we would be very grateful for every donation.

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Bank/branch code: 001  
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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, 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 in the future of Europe. Shape the future you want.

JEF members carry out the following activities 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, increasing 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 members with information, publications and support, and offers its members the following activities: transnational campaigns, like the one for a European institution 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.

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