The Internationalism of the EFA

The history of the European Free Alliance (EFA) is linked to the European Parliament. It is therefore the history of nationalist parties learning to work together in an international arena and learning to use this international arena as a political tool to carry their objectives forward. The history of the EFA is also the history of international solidarity, whereby the MEPs of national parties took upon themselves to represent nations (even in other States than the one they belong to) with no representation as such; it is the history of Flemish MEPs defending the interests of Frisia, of Welsh MEPs as such; it is the history of nationalist parties combined to form a union based on a few central and defining values, which were to be elaborated over the years, notably during the annual general assemblies. In the Declaration of the Convention of Brussels (1981), the party defines itself as advocating “a form of integrated regionalism” which is characterized as a form of federalism “whereby decisions are taken at the lowest possible level”. Indeed, subsidiarity appears as the core political principle of the EFA, up to the individual level, in that the aim is “to enable the individual to realize to the fullest possible extent his own individuality and his place in society”. Solidarity is another key principle, whereby the EFA stands for “progressive social justice” and asserts that “the European federal authority has particular responsibility for helping less favoured regions to achieve equality”. Finally, let’s mention that the EFA develops a largely post-materialist and green approach from its creation: “the EFA advocates a new life-style that attatches more importance to well-being and health than to production and technical progress not aimed at satisfying genuine welfare needs. The EFA therefore wants to ensure that the economy, living conditions and social intercourse preserve their vital links with man and nature”.

From the 1990s, the EFA makes explicit those core ideological values in the statutes of the party, and notably in its article 1 [1999] or 3 [2005]. The first point [out of nine in the statutes of 2005] combines the aspiration to European unity, freedom of peoples, subsidiarity and solidarity [which apply to all the people of the world]. The second point calls for the “defence of human rights and the rights of peoples, in particular the right to self determination”. The third point reminds that the EFA stands for the protection of the environment and sustainable development. The eighth point put forward the EFA’s attachment to diversity [notably of culture and languages]. Let’s mention at last that the EFA stands for the principles of parliamentary democracy [point 5]; indeed, from the beginning [see notably the minutes of the General Assembly of Saint-Vincent, 22-25th November 1986] the EFA accepts only non-violent parties.

In 1995, after two years of debates, the EFA chooses to turn itself into a European political party following article 138a of the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty, 1992). This involves changing the name of the EFA as the “Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe – European Free Alliance” (DPPE-EFA). But it is only in 2004 that the EFA becomes a genuine European party, recognised as such by the European Parliament. From 2004 therefore, there is a formal distinction between the EFA as a group in the European Parliament (the MEPs and their staff) and the EFA as political party (with its own staff and agenda, and its location outside the European Parliament). The main motor and raison d’etre of the party, though, remains the MEPs until now.

If the EFA is one of the smallest European political parties, it has a very clear ideological identity, at least as far as the ideological core is concerned. Indeed, the party develops from the beginning a distinctive approach to politics around a few central and defining values, which were to be elaborated over the years, notably during the annual general assemblies. In the Declaration of the Convention of Brussels (1981), the party defines itself as advocating “a form of integrated regionalism” which is characterized as a form of federalism “whereby decisions are taken at the lowest possible level”. Indeed, subsidiarity appears as the core political principle of the EFA, up to the individual level, in that the aim is “to enable the individual to realize to the fullest possible extent his own individuality and his place in society”. Solidarity is another key principle, whereby the EFA stands for “progressive social justice” and asserts that “the European federal authority has particular responsibility for helping less favoured regions to achieve equality”. Finally, let’s mention that the EFA develops a largely post-materialist and green approach from its creation: “the EFA advocates a new life-style that attatches more importance to well-being and health than to production and technical progress not aimed at satisfying genuine welfare needs. The EFA therefore wants to ensure that the economy, living conditions and social intercourse preserve their vital links with man and nature”.

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1 For more data on the history of the EFA see the appendix, and notably the chronology of the EFA. See also Dauwen & Vanhaelewyn, 2006; Lynch, 1998; Lynch & de Winter, 2008; Seller, 2004; Bojutz, 2012.
2 But “the natural community in which the individual can fulfill himself is the ethnic community”.
3 It is not at all strongly in favour of organic farming, against nuclear energy and in favour of renewable energy (see notably the minutes of the Cardiff’s General Assembly of 1986, July 3-4th).
International issues are not part of the core values of the EFA, apart from a principled defence of solidarity with the people of the world. Indeed, international issues have not been at the centre of the activity of the EFA MEPs, as can be seen in the table below:

THE MEPs OF THE EFA AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Affairs:</th>
<th>Development:</th>
<th>International trade:</th>
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I | History

A. 1979-1982: THE FOUNDING TEXTS

In June 1979, eight regionalist and nationalist parties sign the Charter of Cooperation for the Construction of a Europe of the Nations (or “Charter of Brussels”). This Charter, which will lead directly to the Declaration of the Convention of Brussels (9th of July 1981), and therefore to the creation of the EFA, states already the first principles of the EFA on international issues:

Every nation in the world has the right to self-determination, for all of them), and that there was no need, or even it should be prevented, to go too deep, too far, in building a global EFA’s ideology. Therefore, it wasn’t desirable for the EFA to have a position on international issues (apart from defending the right to self-determination for any people in the world).

The creation of the EFA is in itself an internationalist statement since it refuses “isolationism” and aims to bring parties representing different nations to work together towards common goals. They therefore need common principles. The right of self-government is the first of those, which is defined as a universal right, and solidarity with all people of the world is an important value.
The Declaration of the Convention of Brussels, founding document of the EFA, reasserts and develop those principles, and notably that of solidarity. Indeed, the declaration states that “the EFA upholds the principle of solidarity with the developing countries. The people of the Third World have to be helped in their struggle for independence and social justice. An equitable distribution of labour on global scale, as well as fair remuneration for labour and raw materials are preconditions for the securing of world peace.”

Peace and pacifism are strong arguments for the EFA to have an international approach: "4.7. The EFA believes in the value of pacifism and wishes to see the gradual dismantling and transformation of the arms industry and the military machine. Mindful of the ‘no more war’ slogans of those who have fought at the front, it will campaign actively for total disarmament and the dismantling of military power blocs.

The construction of Europe is also a crucial component of the identity of the EFA, construction which has an international justification since it is seen as “an essential contribution to the problem of a world order”: “European policy must essentially be aimed at promoting peace, through a constructive approach to the problems of underdevelopment, the international decision of labour and world-wide cooperation”. This construction of Europe should also include Eastern Europe, element which is to be a key element of the EFA’s approach.

Nuclear arms are seen by the EFA as a threat to the existence of mankind and as such an absolute evil which must be resisted by all means.”

From the beginning indeed the rejection of nuclear weapons, and more globally of the “arms industry and the military machine”, is at the core of the EFA’s ideological identity.

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Therefore, for Dr. Coppieters, issues of defence are necessarily linked to issues of development. The last strong element of the text is his plea for a new NATO, in which Europe would become an autonomous entity and not anymore a USA’s protectorate.

The second source of the EFA’s position on international issues is elaborated by Plaid Cymru, and presented for the first time during the General Assembly of 1986 (Cardiff, 3-4th of July). Asking itself what would be a defence policy of a self-governing Wales, the paper suggests first that:

“A defence force dedicated solely to the territorial defence of Wales is not a realistic concept in today’s world. Military defence, and defence forces must be internationalised, ultimately to a world body like the United Nations, and immediately to a progressive European order.”

From there, the key concept of the text is that of “defensive deterrence”, “that is to say deterrence based not on the threat of destroying an opponent’s society but on making aggression costly in political as well as military terms and in making occupation untenable”. With such a point of view, nuclear disarmament, “the first priority of Plaid Cymru”, appears as realistic.

At EFA’s General Assembly of Brussels, on the 7th and 8th of September 1987, a debate on “Peace and security: the EFA view” is chaired by Maurits Coppieters, and based on his draft. Many amendments were submitted to the existing text, but Plaid Cymru submitted a text entirely replacing the draft. Jaak Vandemeulebroecke, EFA MEP and president, was of the opinion that Plaid Cymru’s text was better than the draft.

He suggested continuing the discussion on peace and security policy during the next EFA meeting, in Sardinia, spending then a whole day on the EFA view on peace and security. The final text would be adopted in Sardinia.

Indeed, Sardinia’s General Assembly is dedicated to peace and security issues. The debate shows a division between those that defend a strictly pacifist view (Carlos Garaikoetxea, from EA, Jill Evans, from Plaid Cymru, or Michele Columb, from PdFd’Az, for example), and those who think that violence could be legitimate sometimes (Max Simeoni, from UPC, or Neil Blaney, from the Independent, “Fianna Fail”). The adopted text though rejects “violence used for political ends”, in accordance with EFA’s deep core principles.

The EFA is defined as “non-imperialist”, “non-aggressive”, promoting the “spirit of co-operation”, in favour of “a world evolving irresistibly towards unity in diversity”. The “protection of human rights” but also of “the rights of the national communities” are two key objectives. As in the two previous texts, “security exceeds the narrow scope of military conceptions”, since

B. SARDINIA (1988): ELABORATION OF A DEFENCE AND INTERNATIONAL POSITION

If the principles are there from the beginning, the EFA waited until 1988, and the General Assembly of Cagliari in Sardinia (2-4th of May), to adopt a comprehensive vision on peace and international issues. This text itself, on “Peace and Security: the EFA view” is chaired by Dr. Maurits Coppieters during Bastia’s General Assembly of the 11th and 12th of April 1982. He conceptualizes in it a “Peace triangle: Safety, Human rights, Development”, claiming that “the regionalisation or decentralisation is an absolute condition for each of the three sides of this peace triangle”. He underlines as well strongly that “security” has a much broader meaning than only a military one, citing the Brandt report (1980) which says: “On world level, real safety cannot be achieved by the construction of an ever increasing weapon arsenal – defence in its narrow meaning – but by the creation of basic conditions for peaceful relations between nations and by solving not only the military but also the non-military questions that threaten peace.”

Appendix: Document 8c. Found in ADVN Archives, D 10956 4/1.

{8c} Appendix: Document 8c.

9. The adopted text is available in ADVN’s archives: the original draft in D 10954 (5/1) and Plaid Cymru’s text in D 10968 (2/1).

10. Minutes of Sardinia’s General Assembly (2-4th May 1988) : ADVN’s archives, D 10966 (2/1).


it can be weakened by all forms of violence, from economic sanctions to high unemployment rates or environmental degradations. “A sound peace policy must address [therefore] not only military problems but also those of a non-military nature”. “A growth in cultural exchanges” or “the removal of obstacles to trade” are indeed, for the EFA, key elements of a detente policy. Dialogue with Eastern Europe or with the Islamic world are other key elements. Indeed, EFA supports the “creation of a peacemaker Europe”, a “denuclearized Europe”, which wouldn’t be a “third block” but a proponent of “large-scale disarmament”.

In accordance with their extensive view on security issues, a second text is dedicated to the “European development policy”. Recognising “that the underlying causes of hunger in the world are political in origin”, the resolution promotes “North-South dialogue” and “international cooperation”. In order to resolve the financial and debt problems, it suggests that “the EEC should encourage western countries to adapt the interest rates accruing to repayments to reflect the per capita GDP of developing countries”. Indeed, the EEC should become an international actor and join directly the IMF, the World Bank, the FAO and the UNDP. The core of the EFA approach though is to assert strongly that development should focus on the interests of the local people, and not on those of the Western World: food aid for example should be recognised to all people (regardless of the frontiers inherited from colonisation). “Projects must meet the needs of the region receiving aid. They must be planned and implement¬ed in close collaboration with the local population”. Let’s mention in that last, that this text has already a green perspective. Indeed (point 13) since “maintaining the habitability of the planet must be the starting point for development cooperation”, the EEC must “lend its aid to the conservation of forests and to water supplies” and “prevent the tipping of harmful substances in developing countries”.

This strong concern of the EFA for the environment is developed in a third text adopted in Sardinia on “A European environment policy”. This resolution doesn’t focus specifically on international issues, but calls, among other things, for “a ban on the import of nuclear waste from third countries” or on the limitation of the exportation of pesticides “to those which are authorised within the EEC”.


After Sardinia, the EFA’s program on international and peace issues will not be truly res¬sessed until some time. As soon as 1989, the main elements will be integrated in the political platform of the Rainbow group in the European Parliament, of which the EFA is, for the first and last time, the main element. The Rainbow Group supports “free trade and cooperation between EC and EFTA and as much cooperation as possible between east, west and neutral Euro¬pean countries”, “opposition towards power blocks” and “real cooperation with the de¬veloping countries, rather than colonial and unfair trade relations”. As far as peace is concerned, the Rainbow Group is in favour of “effective arms control and mutually controlled reduction of armaments”13”. International and peace issues are not central in this political platform though.

The main focus of the international work of the Rainbow Group in the European parliament between 1989 and 1994 are the relations with Eastern Europe, region which is on a very quick path towards democracy, and where many new states are appearing with the implosion of the USSR, of Yugoslavia and of Czechoslovakia. Logically enough, the EFA focuses above all on making contacts with the new emerging nations, and on defending their rights and interests. The first EFA Newsletter [May 4th, 1992] proudly claims for example that “the Rainbow Group was one of the very first groups to advocate recognition of Croatia and Slovenia”. During the EFA’s General assembly of the 19th and 20th of October 1992 (Brussels), Jaak Vandemeulebroecke announces that the Rainbow Group will submit a urgency resolution to prevent a recognition of Serbia-and-Montene¬gro [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] as long as the Kosovo issue has not been democratically settled out.

The EFA also hopes to benefit from this opening of the East to develop and spread its idea of a Europe of the Peoples in Central and Eastern Europe. The EFA’s General assembly of the 19th and 20th of October (Brussels) asserts for example that: “The European Free Alliance will be in the vanguard as regards contacts with Central European political movements based on similar principles, i.e. which respect grass roots demo¬cracy, acknowledge religious and philosophical diversity as a positive value, and are socially progressive and active in peace and disarm¬ment policy”.15

Those hopes are not really successful though, and are sometimes problematic, notably con¬cerning the Slovak National Party, which turns out to be a far right movement, aggressive for example against the Hungarian minority.

13 ADVN, EFA’s archives, R.030613.33.
14 Let’s notice that peace and disarmament policies are considered as part of the core identity of the EFA here.
15 This was no for many members of the EFA. See for example the minutes of the EFA’s General Assembly of the 19-20th of October 1992.
D. FROM 2004: EFA AS A POLITICAL PARTY

2004 is a very important turning point in the life of the EFA. It is a European election year, and the EFA is transformed into a political party, which means notably a distinction between the group of EFA MEPs and the EFA party which could, theoretically, have different points of view and act independently. Indeed, until 2004, the political party was a de facto association, very much linked to the political group in the European parliament. Nevertheless, in reality I haven’t really noticed an empowerment of the EFA from the MEPs. Which could be a problem: the MEPs have their attention grabbed by the European Parliament activity, which is becoming more and more important. They don’t have time to think on long term issues nor to go in-depth on specific issues. This should be the role of the EFA and of the CMD, with intellectuals and activists from member parties. Another problem is that not all member parties want the EFA to have an in-depth political reflection.

Even if 2004 is not a turning point as far as the positions of the EFA are concerned, we can mention that international and peace issues come back again in the foreground of their political discourse, probably thanks to the impetus of its president, Nelly Maes. Indeed, such issues were secondary in the Manifestos of 1994 and 1999, which is not the case in 2004. The EFA reminds its long term commitment in favour of “a multipolar world united against war and fighting injustice which are the main root causes of most conflicts”. Peace is the key stone to this approach: “For a world at peace
- It is essential to reject any form of aggression or violence as a means of imposing sets of values. We actively advocate non-violent means and dialogue for resolving conflicts.
- Conflict prevention and lasting peace requires a more equal balance in world trade and sustainable development. The EU has to take the side of people in developing countries in WTO negotiations.
- A binding code of conduct on the arms trade and to prevent the exploitation of resources by multinational companies at the European level would be a cornerstone on the way to a more just and peaceful world.
- The eradication of poverty must be the top priority.”

A second key stone concerning international issues is that of sustainability. To fight climate change, Europe has to implement the Kyoto Protocol without waiting for the US to do the same. It is not only an issue of environment, but also of energetic independence; the EFA analyses the US military attack on Iraq as a direct consequence of the high dependence of the US economy on fossil fuels.

At the first General Assembly of the EFA as a political party [8-9th November 2004, Brussels] as well, emphasis is put on international issues. Indeed, the main political issue to be discussed is the situation of the Kurdish people and their future situation within the European Union. In 2005, to give a last example of this renewed interest of the party for international issues, the EFA takes an active part in the fifth World Social Forum, where it co-organizes (with the Dalai Lama Foundation) a workshop about “Cultural Diversity and Democratic Deficit”. Pillar Gelunde, from ERC, underlines: “EFA is very much concerned about the alarming process of disappearance of cultural, linguistic and social diversity in the world. Humanity has to stop this process before we have come to a point of no return.”

Nelly Maes, president of the EFA, demands then an international and juridical instrument to protect cultural diversity, noticing that the market is not going to do such a thing27.

We haven’t been able to discover really an evolution of the EFA on international and peace issues. The principles that are still valid today [plurality, non-violence, subsidiarity, etc.] are present from the very beginning of the EFA.

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27 The Centre Albin Delalande was created in 2007 as the EFA’s European Political Foundation.

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The main instance of reflection on international issues during the 1990s is provoked by the Intergovernmental Conference of 1996, which was to result in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997. In a document synthesizing the position of the EFA, the party calls notably for a more efficient and coherent foreign policy. For the EFA, Defence must become a European competence, which ought to be both European (in relation to member States) and independent from the NATO. This European defence should favour non-military security tools to military ones. It should be based on democracy and human rights. The EFA supports as well the idea that the Common Foreign and Security Policy should become an internal European policy and not anymore simply an intergovernmental cooperation. Diplomatic and military competences should therefore partially and progressively be transferred to the European level. Concerning enlargement, EFA’s position is that enlargement should only be towards democratic countries, respecting human rights and the rights of minorities, and strongly wishing to become part of a federal Europe. Such “qualitative” criteria should be more important than “quantitative” ones.

In 2000, the Declaration of Brussels (9th of November) adopted during a meeting which gathered one hundred party leaders and Members of Parliaments, aimed to carve out a real niche for the regions within the European construction. The EFA’s defines in it as well their “progressive nationalism”, which “is universalistic in asserting those rights to communal self-determination that are open in principle to all people”, “is committed to sustainable development and respect for cultural and ecological diversity” and “is committed exclusively to peaceful means in the pursuit of political objectives”.

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II | Positions

The involvement of the EFA on international issues is diverse. Not surprisingly though, the main theme of its external activity is linked to its very own identity: the defence and promotion of minorities’ rights in the world. A second theme has been important from the beginning, which is the stance in favour of a united Europe since 1989] priorities have evolved though, notably concerning Eastern Europe and Enlargement.

A. EFA AND THE PROMOTION OF MINORITIES’ RIGHTS IN THE WORLD

For Freda Brønsegard:

“In international respect, we put a lot of emphasis on topics as self-determination for nations and regions in the world, the decentralisation of decision making and the protection of human rights for people of these nations and regions. Examples of topics would include the situation of the Kurds, the Basque peace process, the Berber, Tibet, the Uighur in China, Palestinians, and so on. Other political groups do this as well, but we do it much more, as we are specifically attached to this.”

Indeed, Jordi Bacardit Reguant, EFA Advisor on Foreign Affairs, is charged explicitly to follow very clearly defined topics: Palestine, Western Sahara, Kurdistan, “and more generally any issues dealing with minorities”, like Mapuche, Tibet, and so on. He sees his mission as making visible the idea that the EFA is a political party that defends minorities and act at an international level to defend the right to self-determination26. For Nelly Maes as well, when synthesising her work in AFET, she stresses her struggle for the Kurds, Palestine, Western Sahara and indigenous people [most notably Amerindians]27. And this interest of EFA’s MEPs appears to be in no way recent. In 1991, synthesizing his work in AFET, she stresses her struggle for the Kurds, Palestine, Western Sahara and indigenous people [most notably Amerindians]28. The issue raised systematically is that of the entry of Turkey in Europe, to which the EFA is radically opposed as long as the rights of the Kurdish people, and that of all the minorities of Turkey, are not respected. In the discussion on the accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU, the EFA stresses regularly the importance of meeting the Copenhagen criteria, which specify the need to respect the rights of minorities29. “The Road from Ankara to Brussels has to go by Diyarbakır” claims Günther Daunen (co-director of the EFA) at the first congress of the Democratic Society Party (DTP), on the 25th of June 2006, synthesising the EFA’s stance.

The links with the Kurdish parties are constant. The guests at the EFA General assembly of 2004 in Brussels for example [8th-9th November], a General assembly largely dedicated to Kurdistan, are Nazmi Gür and Nurhayat Altun from DEHAP30, and Derwish Fehro from the Kurdish Institute. As Nelly Maes states at this occasion, making clear the approach of the EFA: “The EFA had always focussed on the cultural and linguistic rights of minorities living in Turkey – particularly the Kurdish people. This does not mean that these are the only problems that Turkish and Kurdish people are facing. Our political choice is to focus on Kurds’ rights, as this is our care political business.”

Sign of this involvement in favour of the rights of the Kurdish people, many EFA MEPs are

26 Mall sent on the 1st of May 2012
27 Interview on the 7th of May 2012
28 Interview on the 3rd of May 2012
29 Jaak Vandemeulebrucke parliamentary activities in 1992 (ADVN, EFA’s archives, D 10960 4/1)
30 Report of the EFA meeting of the 8th of December 1981
31 Minutes of the EFA’s bureau, 6th of March 1982
32 ADVN, EFA’s archives, D 10969 3/1
33 Presso release, 6th of October 2004. See Appendix B.
34 The Demokratik Halk Partisi (Democratic People’s Party) was then the main Kurdish nationalist political party, which will merge with Leyla Zana’s Democratic Society Movement (DTH) in 2005 to form the Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi).
members of the EU-Kurds Friendship group [notably François Alfonsi and Frieda Brepoels].

Another important issue, though apparently strangely secondary for EFA members until recently, is the Palestinian issue. Indeed, this issue is hardly mentioned in the 1980s. In 1992, while presenting their work in the European Parliament, the only MEP mentioning his involvement in favour of peace and respect for human rights in the Middle East is Herbert Barrera i Costa, former president of the Catalan Parliament and member of ERC. He denounces indeed that the support of Europe in favour of Israel, does not take into account the rights of the Palestinian people, and calls for an ending of the trade agreement with Israel as long as this State does not respect the resolution 242 of the United Nations.

It is only from 2009 that this issue seems to become more central for the EFA, notably thanks to Jill Evans, who is the first EFA MEP member of the Delegation for relations with the Palestinian Legislative Council. The MEPS are visibly more active, notably in 2006, when Israel invaded Gaza during the Operation Summer Rains, and in 2009, when Israel re-invaded Gaza during the Operation Cast Lead. Thus, in 2006, in a press release, "EFA appalled by violence in the Middle East condemns the disproportioned Israeli armed response" and calls for an ending of the trade agreement with Israel as long as this State does not respect the resolution 242 of the United Nations.

The Palestinian issue comes back to the forefront after the Operation Cast Lead, in January 2009. Jill Evans, in the European Parliament, condemns the deliberate targeting of civilian buildings as crucial as school and hospitals by the Israeli army, and denounces that despite this aggression there are still talks in the EP about upgrading trade relations with Israel31. The motion voted at the EFA General Assembly on the 27th of March 2009, in Barcelona, is this time less ambiguous, focusing on "the sufferings of the Palestinian population" and the "extreme violence of the Israeli forces", condemning the "continued imposition of collective punishment on the population" and asking the EU "to suspend the EU-Israel association and to downgrade international co-operation with Israel".

Western Sahara is another constant theme of intervention. The EFA’s stance is clearly defined in a resolution of 198932: "Morocco should respect the resolutions of the International Organisations, remove its army, administration and colonists from the occupied territories, and accept the result of a self-determination referendum. The EFA MEPS are active from the beginning in the Intergroup of solidarity with the Sahrawi People. For example, in September 2000, three EFA MEPS [Carlos Bautista, Gorka Knörr and Eurg Wyn], members of the Intergroup, visit the camps of Sahrawi refugees in Algeria, meeting the president of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic and expressing their concerns over the recurring delays in the organisation of the referendum. The most important element of this solidarity inside the EP though, is the struggle for the exclusion of Western Saharan waters from the EU-Morocco fisheries agreement [the inclusion is indeed illegal in regard to international law, since Western Sahara is a non-self-governing territory], struggles which oscillates between drawbacks [notably in 2008], and successes [notably in 2011-2012]. As Jill Evans explains: "These natural resources belong to the people of Western Sahara and it is not for a few politicians in Europe or Morocco to carve them up amongst themselves."33

The EFA is clearly here defending the very principle of self determination, and the right for any people to control its own resources and benefit from their sources of income, as Frieda Brepoels confirms in a press release in 201134.

The solidarity with Tibet is also constant, though less often expressed. In a motion at the EFA General Assembly of Mallorca [11th of April 2008]35, the alliance defines clearly its position, deploring the violations of the rights of the Tibetan people by the Chinese and supporting without any ambiguity the Dalai Lama and the Government of Tibet in Exile constant efforts to "prevent violence and to bring about a peaceful political solution to the tragic situation in Tibet". Asserting "the Tibetan people's right to self determination", the EFA calls the EU to use its influence to facilitate the dialogue between the Government of China and the Tibetan Government in Exile, notably by creating a post of "EU special envoy to Tibet". Many EFA MEPS

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31 Jill Evans speech during the Plenary debate on the Middle East, 18.02.2009.
32 "1989. Paz e independencia para el pueblo Saharaui. El rol de los paises europeos".
33 In this term, the EFA members of this intergroup are Frieda Brepoels and JR Evans.
34 Source: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/intergroups/LtLt_VI_LEG_37_Western_Sahara_20120511.pdf
37 Press release, "EU rejects Moroccan rights over Western Saharan Waters", 30.11.2011. Let's notice that, exceptionally, five EFA MEPS are mentioned in this press release, showing clearly how important this issue is for the group.
38 See Appendix J.
have been member of the Tibet Intergroup in the European Parliament (Frieda Brepoels, Jill Evans Ian Hudghton and Alyn Smith as far as this term is concerned[37]).

The Amazigh Friendship Group is another testimony of the EFA’s commitment in favour of national minorities all over the world. It was created the 20th of April 2009 by François Alfonsi to support the Berber people, with the involvement also of Frieda Brepoels and Jill Evans. Notably active during the Arab Spring, the EFA MEPs use this Friendship Group to put forward the idea that a true democratisation in Northern Africa must bring new rights for oppressed minorities. They have thus followed closely the events in Libya or in Northern Mali, where they notably support the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad[38].

Let’s mention finally the Basque Friendship Group. Created in 2005, formed by fifteen MEPs (all the EFA MEPs, with also some MEPs from ALDE, GREEN, GUE and EPP), it meets once a month. Organizing press conferences and hearings in the EP, it launches press releases on peace issues [related to the situation in the Basque country] and invites people involved in the Basque or other conflicts to meetings in the EP.

B. THE EFA AND EASTERN EUROPE: FOR A UNITED EUROPE AND A MULTIPOLAR WORLD

The interventions of the EFA on Eastern Europe have been evolving throughout the years: in favour of a United Europe in the 1980s, in favour of the oppressed national and cultural minorities in the 2000s, to schematize. For Maurice Coïpbieters indeed, in 1987, "when we speak of Europe, we are talking about the whole of Europe. Europe as far as the Urals"[39]. The position of the EFA is to promote the creation of a European federation integrating Eastern Europe, to go beyond the blocs, and not create a new one: the EFA wants a multipolar world[40].

The years from 1989 have been great years for the EFA MEPs, at the forefront of the recognition of the new states in Eastern Europe[41]. For example, in 1991 and 1992, each MEP needs to show that he has been active in the fight for the recognition of the right of self-determination for the emerging nations of Eastern Europe . Heribert Barrera i Costa [1991] asserts that he has centred his interventions in the plenaries on “the international situation and the turmoil in USSR and Yugoslavia. In this respect, he has pleaded for the immediate reestablishment of the independence of the Baltic States and for the recognition of the right to self-determination of the people in the case of Yugoslavia, including the right to independence”. Luigi Moretti [1991] reminds that he took the floor in plenary to ask for the right of self-determination for the Baltic Countries. Max Simeoni [1991], in his interventions and resolutions, defended the Baltic Countries, Slovenia, Croatia and Kosovo. Mario Melis [1991] member of the ad-hoc delegation with the Baltic Countries, stressed that he went in the three Republics to establish the first contact between the EP and the three new political entities. Enrico Speroni [1992] focused as well on his support for the right of self-determination for the people of Eastern Europe, and mentions his visits to the Baltic Countries, to Croatia and Slovenia. Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [1992], finally, stressed the importance of this issue for his group, recalling that, as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, they were the first to promote the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. They were hardly any week in 1991, he claims, without close contacts with Croatian and Slovenian delegations.

Once Slovakia gets its independence (1st of January 1993), the main focus of solidarity with the oppressed minority is that of Kosovo, that the EFA supports from the beginning. Thus, the EFA votes a motion at its Brussels’ General Assembly of the 8th-9th of April 1999, expressing its solidarity with the people of Kosovo, asking that all Serbian troops leave the country and that Kosovo should be put under an international supervision, either from the UN or the OSCE. At the General Assembly of Mallorca [11th of April 2008], the EFA welcomes the declaration of independence of Kosovo and calls on the states which have not recognised the independence of the Republic of Kosovo to do so without further delay.

Apart from the Kosovo issue, the focus of the EFA from 1993 is on the oppressed minorities of Eastern Europe, and notably on the Hungarians of Vojvodina, Romania and Slovakia and the Macedonians of Bulgaria. Nelly Maes is famously active on that issue, organising conferences in Brussels and Strasbourg on the minorities in Slovakia[42] or maintaining contacts with Hungarians in Romania, as when she receives an ecumenical delegation of six Transylvanian church leaders in 2005 and regrets that “it is clear that in many ways Romania is not fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria. […] People who speak Hungarian, who go to the minority churches in Transylvania […] are discriminated over and over again”[43].

The EFA is also very careful on the respect of democratic rights and territories, regretting for example a deliberate policy of creating artificial territories in Slovakia and Poland, which do not respect historical, cultural and linguistic frontiers[44]. It demands as well that the pre-Milosevic autonomy should be reinstated in Vojvodina, and claims that it is thanks to the EFA that a resolution voted by the EP in September 2004 mentions this issue[45].

39 http://www.francios-alfonsi.eu/Peuples Beberes_r12.html
40 EFA press release, 18th of October 2005, “Romany fails to respect basic human rights”.
C. PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE?

The issue of violence is central to the identity of the EFA, which defines itself as having a pacifist approach to arms trading, the refusal of terrorism, and a pacifist approach to defence policy.

The EFA has been from the beginning in favour of a strict control on arms exports, and has not given much thought to the topic. For Jill Evans, in 2001: "The gap between rhetoric and reality is still widening. It is unacceptable that we call for respect for human rights and at the same time contribute to the aggravation of violations, as long as arms are delivered to those countries concerned, human rights cannot be defended properly."64

Another aspect of the pacifist approach of the EFA is its condemnation of terrorism, which it repeats regularly, even when the terrorism comes from oppressed minorities. Thus, after the Mumbai train bombings of the 11th of July 2006, Nelly Maes reacts in the name of the EFA: "I unreservedly condemn the appalling terrorist acts that have been committed in Bombay with such terrible loss of life and a huge number of injured people. [...] Our Party stresses once more the necessity finding peaceful solutions and means for whatever conflict in the world. [...] There can never be any justification using violence in the pursuit of any kind of objectives; violence will always be counterproductive. Time after time we have seen that only dialogue can bring about peaceful, sustainable political solutions."65

This condemnation of terrorism is recalled regularly, notably concerning the Palestinian case. But for the EFA, violence coming from the majority, from the State, can also be assimilated to a kind of terrorism, which worsens the problem: "There won’t be peace in this region [the Middle East] until the Israeli government stops acting like the terrorists they seek to suppress!"66 suggests Nelly Maes in 2006. Indeed, violence can never be a way to fight against terrorism. For Jill Evans, in 2001: "The danger posed by terrorism cannot be resolved through military action. It must be addressed as part of a comprehensive political strategy, under the auspices of the United Nations."67

Dialogue and peaceful negotiations, if necessary under the "auspices" of the UN, are the only way to cope with terrorism, but also with any political problem. For Begona Lasagabaster, EFA’s Secretary general in 2006, in a press release on the Middle East: "We always claimed that there can never be any justification using violence in the pursuit of any kind of objectives; violence will always be counterproductive. Time after time we have seen that only dialogue can bring about peaceful, sustainable political solutions.68 More than being evil in itself, violence is rejected by the EFA because it is ineffective, unable to guarantee any sustainable solution. Violence creates counter-violence and divides societies. Political action should, for the EFA, have in itself the seeds of the future, something violence cannot offer."

Political action should, for the EFA, have in itself the seeds of the future, something violence cannot offer. What then should be a good peace and defence policy for the EFA? Since 1988, the federation has not given much thought to the topic.  

65 "EFA shows its solidarity with the victims of the Bombay terror blasts and deeply condemns the attacks", Press release, 8th of October 2001. 
66 "EFA appalled by violence in the Middle East condemns the disproportionate Israeli armed response", press release, 17th of July 2006. 
68 "EFA appalled by violence in the Middle East condemns the disproportionate Israeli armed response", press release, 17th of July 2006.
In 1992 though, the EFA’s General assembly adopts a resolution asserting:

“The European Free Alliance [EFA] is more concerned about the linking of European Political Union with defence policy. The Political Union must not develop into a military superpower – on the contrary, it should pursue an alternative peace policy, peace through disarmament, development and home rule.”

The main motion voted on this issue is that presented by Åland's Framtid at the General assembly of 2011, in favour of a European Peace Institute, giving the Åland Islands Peace Institute as an example. Through such an institute, the European could take the lead in facilitating the exchange of good practice and show true leadership through high level mediation, crisis management, preventive strategies and confidence building. That such a resolution is voted during an EFA’s General assembly reminds how, for the EFA, non-violence is a key to a desirable and effective common foreign and security policy that would support peace and democracy throughout the world.

D. ENVIRONMENT, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Development, finally, is also an important element in the definition of a specific EFAs approach, which have been attached to a strong development policy of the European Union towards the South, but a development policy which should be bottom-up, democratic and green, and a development policy justified by the consciousness that “we are all interdependent”.

The electoral platform of the Rainbow group for example, in 1994, advocates a “sincere and consistent development policy through asymmetrical trade concessions to developing countries in order to stimulate their economies and provide them with essential foreign capital”.

First, for the EFA, development should be bottom-up, focusing on “real people”, ensuring “they are included in the process”. As Nelly Maes explains in 2002:

“We need a system that is bottom up not top down. This must include more decentralised delivery systems and partnerships between the various players. Governments must give people the incentive to become key players in ensuring that their development is sustainable. […] Development can only be sustainable if it takes into account the views and needs of all people and not just of the rich nations. Participation of people, respect for language, culture and cultural values are conditions for equitable and sustainable development. We should make it a priority to work in partnership with the many communities in the world, building structures and systems that respect democracy, human rights and good governance.”

Indeed, “the success of any international agreement on sustainability depends on grassroots involvement”, and “solutions must be found as close as possible to the communities they affect”. Fundamentally, what the EFA rejects is a neo-colonialist approach to development, which an exogenous point of view and the imposition of external interests to local problems. Attached to subsidiarity and self-determination, the EFA logically defend the idea that any development policy must go through the local people, answer to their needs and respect their culture: the local inhabitants should be the actors of their development. As Ana Miranda explained in her introduction to the EFA’s General assembly in Ljouwert, on the 23rd of March 2012, “the autonomy of each people must be respected”.

But development must not be conducted in any case, in any context. It should, for the EFA, be linked to democracy and human rights. Thus, for the Catalan MEP Bernat Joan, at the meeting of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly in 2005:

“Development and democratisation are inextricably linked. The fact that a process of democratisation is underway in those countries which today are either in conflict or post conflict situations will certainly help support development in these countries.”

Similarly, the EFA insists “on human rights clauses in all international agreements between the Union and developing countries”, the non respect of which could provoke the end of the agreement. If development is the end, there are indeed necessary pre-conditions for it to be possible, and that is a free people, able to decide for itself, able to speak its mind. This is the condition for self-determination, including the choice of development one wants to have.

Another precondition of development, though more rarely present in their discourse, is the respect of the environment. For the EFA indeed, concern for environmental issues “must be tackled on a universal level”. This concern has been present since the beginning of the EFA. For example, at the General assembly of Cardiff [3-4th of July 1986] a resolution is adopted which use, as an argument against the use of nuclear energy, the fact that “most European countries are dependent on uranium extracted in the worst conditions by indigenous people exploited in countries like Namibia or at the price of the destruction of their traditional territory, as is the case for the Aborigines of Australia”. As Nelly Maes explains, the economic resources of local populations are dependent on their natural environment, but also on more general aspects, like the climate or pollution. Therefore, if one wants to preserve the power to self-determine, one needs to preserve the environment that sustains the people.

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35 5th of April 2011, Murikann, Åland.
36 As is expressed already by Winnie Ewing, member of the Committee on Development, in her summary of her parliamentary activity in 1991 (D 10958 3/1).
61 “To save the Earth we must protect her peoples”, press release, 11th of June 2002.
63 Catalan MEP emphasis inextricable link between democratisation and development, press release, 22nd of November 2005.
64 Rainbow Group electoral platform, 1994.
65 Ibid.
66 Interview, 3rd of May 2012.
67 “To save the Earth we must protect her peoples”, press release, 11th of June 2002.
68 Catalan MEP emphasis inextricable link between democratisation and development, press release, 22nd of November 2005.
69 Ibid.
70 Interview, 3rd of May 2012.
The concept of “defensive deterrence”, used notably by Plaid Cymru, is in my opinion the most interesting in that perspective, since it combines autonomy, pacifism and defence: the idea, with Switzerland as a model, is to make invasion so costly that it cannot be considered. Another important element related to EFA’s green approach, and developed notably during the Gulf War, is that of energetic independence: economic self-sufficiency appears in itself as an obstacle to any temptation for domination and aggressiveness in foreign affairs.

Conclusion

Can we conclude that there is a specific approach of the EFA on international, peace and defence issues? For a specific approach to exist, it should be linked to the ideological core of the EFA, which makes of this federation a unique family of political parties. The EFA’s ideological deep core is that of a minority nationalist organisation: the right to self-determination and self-government are central values, being inalienable democratic rights; subsidiarity is the core element of territorial politics, meaning that each decision should be taken at the lowest, closest, level possible; diversity, and especially cultural and linguistic diversity, is a positive value in itself. Every single member of the EFA agree on that deep core. The secondary core specifies the situation of the EFA in the nationalist family, since not all nationalist organisations in Europe can become members of the EFA: the EFA defines its nationalism as non-violent and peaceful, progressive (in favour of social justice) and civic (racism and xenophobia are condemned). It refuses isolationism (being in favour of human solidarity and recognising that all human beings are interdependent) and accepts parliamentary democracy. Those element are asserted in the EFA’s key texts although some EFA members might wish not to be “too dogmatic” on them, as is testified by the recent turn to the right of the EFA and asserted by some of the interviewees I’ve met. A tertiary core at last, though still dominant, is clearly not consensual anymore in the EFA, and includes a libertarian approach to politics, where the legitimacy of power and political decision is bottom-up and not top-down; a green approach, in favour of sustainable development and the protection of the environment; a post-materialist approach where “being” is more important than “having”; and a very strong stance against nuclear energy.

In that perspective, could we define a coherent and logical approach of the EFA on international issues? I think it is possible, as this report demonstrates. Without any doubt, the core of such an approach would be solidarity with all national minorities throughout the world, the recognition that each of them should have a right to self-determination and self-government [which does not mean necessarily a need for a state]. But, to respect subsidiarity, Europe should avoid absolutely any neo-colonialist approach: it should focus on the interests of local people and respect their world-view and socio-economical needs. The EFA is therefore strongly opposed to top-down approaches; a device or solution that works in a situation might not work in another. Refusing the distinction between centre and periphery, the EFA is in favour of a multipolar world: thus their opposition to the NATO for example [at least originally], and their promotion of a strengthened EU on Foreign affairs, and a strengthened UN, which would guarantee this multipolarity, that no nation dominates another. Deﬁning itself as non-violent, the EFA promotes also logically a non-aggressive and non-violent approach to military issues, and is strongly in favour of nuclear disarmament.
The Internationalism of the EFA

1. Chronology of the EFA

2. The leadership of the EFA

3. The MEPs of the EFA

4. The General assemblies of the EFA

5. EFA’s member parties

6. International, peace and defence issues in the key texts of the EFA

7. Archives

8. Documents:
   j. Motions of the General Assembly of 2008 on Tibet, Kosovo, and Palestine & Israel.
   k. Motion of the General Assembly of 2011: “Democratization in North Africa and the Middle East”

Appendix


Bibliography
Chronology of the EFA

1979
June 7-10th: European Parliament election. Maurits Coppieters, from Volksunie, is elected in Belgium, and Neil T. Blaney, from the Independent Fianna Fáil, is elected in Ireland. They take part in the creation of the Group for Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groupings and Members.

June: Signature in Brussels of the Charter of Cooperation for the Construction of a Europe of the Nations (or "Charte de Bruxelles") by eight regionalist and nationalist parties: Volksunie (VU, Flanders), Partei der Deutschsprachigen Belgien (PDB, German Community in Belgium), Fryskse Nasjonale Partij (FNP, Friesland), Union Valdôtaine (UV, Aosta Valley), Plaid Cymru [Wales], Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (CDC, Catalonia), Elsass-Lothringischer Volksbund (ELV, Alsace), Unione di u Populu Corsu (UPC, Corsica).

August 17-19th: Meeting of regionalist and nationalist parties in Bastia, during the International Congress of the UPC, where nine parties [the eight co-signatories of the Charter of Brussels plus the basque Partido Nacionalista Vasco] agreed to examine the prospects for political cooperation: the Declaration of Bastia.

The main focus of the document was the building of a Europe of the Peoples who were to have their own identity and inalienable rights.

1981
January 8th-10th: Study days in Brussels. "Stateless Peoples, Regionalism, Autonomy and Self Government in Europe”. Subsumation of the Charter of Brussels and the Declaration of Bastia under the heading of the European Free Alliance [still an amalgamation of similar parties with no structure], which results in a “Declaration of the Convention of Brussels”.

July 9th: Foundation of the European Free Alliance in Strasbourg with 9 Partners signing the Declaration of the Convention of Brussels: Volksunie, Partei der Deutschsprachigen Belgier, Fryskse Nasjonale Partij, Strollad ar Vro [SAV, Brittany], Independent Fianna Fáil [IFF, Ireland], Elsass-Lothringischer Volksbund, Unione di u Populu Corsu, Pays Occitan [Occitania], Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya [the last three signing only as observers]. A permanent secretariat is settled, with a steering group made up of a representative and an alternate from each of the signatory parties. The first bureau is composed of Roelof Falkena (FNP), Yann Fouéré [SAV], Ferdinand Moschenrosas (ELV), Fernand Lebrat (Observer for Occitania), Robert Ramirez [CDC], Maurits Coppieters [VU], R. Henneges [PDB] and Neil T. Blaney [IFF].

September 21st: The bureau of the EFA meets for the first time in Brussels. Jaak Vandemeulebroucke is elected as chairman, Maurits Coppieters as honorary chairman and Herman Verheirstraeten becomes the first General secretary, all three from VU.

1982
November 11-12th: Meeting of the EFA in Bastia. 9 parties sign the Second Declaration of Bastia, which served as an EFA platform for the 1984 elections: FNP, Parti pour l’Organisation de la Bretagne [POBL, Brittany], Parti Alsacien [PAL, Alsace], Volem Viure al Païs [VVAP, Occitania], Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya, Elsass-Lothringisch Volksbund, Unione di u Populu Corsu, Partei der Deutschprachigen Belgien, Fryskse Nasjonale Partij [FNP, Friesland], Strollad ar Vro [SAV, Brittany], Independent Fianna Fáil [IFF, Ireland].
The Internationalism of the EFA

1990
March: Lega Lombarda becomes a full member of the EFA.

1991
September: Unitat Catalana, Slovenska Skupnost [party for the Slovenian minority in Italy] and the Union für Süd Tirol [which broke away from the Südtiroler Volkspartei] join the EFA.

1992
May 4-5th: General Assembly of Brussels. The EFA speak out on the Maastricht Summit [9-10th of December 1991]. The EFA regrets that the Treaty doesn’t give more space to social policy, and that the Treaty is considered only as a dialogue between the Community and the twelve member States, without any active participation of the regions.

1994
March: Plaid Cymru leaves the EFA because of its discontent with Lega Nord.

1995
October 2-3rd: GA of the EFA in Brussels: EFA chooses to turn itself into a European political party following article 138a of the Treaty on European Union. This change involved the renaming of the EFA as the “Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe – European Free Alliance”.

1998
August 25th: Death of Allan Macartney, who is succeeded by Ian Hudghton. October: Jaak Vandemeulebroucke is replaced by Nelly Maes.

1999
April: After years of talk between the EFA and Lega Nord, EFA distances itself openly at last from the Lega Nord.

1983
April 22-23rd: Meeting of the EFA in Eupen. Issues discussed: languages, European elections of 1984

1984
June 14-17th: European Parliament election. Election of Jaak Vandemeulebroucke and Willy Kuijpers from VU and Michele Columbu from the Partito Sardo d’Azione. They take part in the formation of the Rainbow Group with the Greens [12 MEPs] and Danish eurosceptics [4 MEPs], each component constituting a separate subgroup. Winfried Ewing is re-elected for the SNP but stays within the Gaullist European Democratic Alliance.

1986
January 1st: Spain joins the European Community. Among its 60 MEP, one from CDC, Carles Alfred Gasoliba i Böhnm, who doesn’t join the Rainbow Group though, preferring to enter the Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group [the two Basques from the PNV join the EPP]. Juan María Bandrés Molet, from Euskadikoa Ezkeria, joins the Rainbow Group.

July 3-4th: General Assembly in Cardiff, dedicated notably to issues of agriculture and energy.

July 13-20th: International conference of nationalist youth in Bilbao [Basque country].

1987
February 11-14th: General Assembly in Ljouwert [Friesland] dedicated notably to social issues and to the issues of minority languages and cultures.

July 6th: Spain first elected MEPs (on the 10th of June) join the EP. Carlos Garaikoetxea, from EA, is elected and joins the Rainbow Group.

1988
May 2-4th: General Assembly of Cagliari, dedicated notably to international, peace and environmental issues.

June 12th: Guernica manifesto.

1989
June 15-18th: European Parliament election. Re-election of Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [VU] and Karlos Garaikoetxea [EA], joined by Neil T. Blaney [IFF], Maria Melo [Psd’Az]. Max Simeoni [UPC], Winfried Ewing [SNP], Luigi Moretti and Francesco Speroni [Lega Lombarda] and Pedro Pacheco [Partido Andalucista] – NB: the last three MEPs were not members of the EFA subgroup at the beginning. EFA 9 members constitute with 4 Danish MEPs from the eurosceptic Folkbevægelsen mod EU the Rainbow Group [which they dominate for the first time].

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June 11-13th: European Parliament election. The EFA has 9 MEPs: Ian Hudghton and Neil MacCormick [SNP]. Jill Evans and Eurgi Wyn [Plaid Cymru]. Nelly Maes and Bart Staes [VU]. Carlos Bautista Ojeda [PAr]. Camilo Nogueira [BNG], Gorka Knörr [EA]. They decide to join force with the Greens to constitute the Greens/EFA group, with 47 members. Nelly Maes, as president of the EFA subgroup, is named first vice-chairwoman of the Greens/EFA.

12

Twelve nationalist youth organisations signed the Memorandum of Understanding, first step towards the creation of Young EFA.

1983
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June 12th: Guernica manifesto.

1989
June 15-18th: European Parliament election. Re-election of Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [VU] and Karlos Garaikoetxea [EA], joined by Neil T. Blaney [IFF], Maria Melo [Psd’Az]. Max Simeoni [UPC], Winfried Ewing [SNP], Luigi Moretti and Francesco Speroni [Lega Lombarda] and Pedro Pacheco [Partido Andalucista] – NB: the last three MEPs were not members of the EFA subgroup at the beginning. EFA 9 members constitute with 4 Danish MEPs from the eurosceptic Folkbevægelsen mod EU the Rainbow Group [which they dominate for the first time].

1990
March: Lega Lombarda becomes a full member of the EFA.

1991
September: Unitat Catalana, Slovenska Skupnost [party for the Slovenian minority in Italy] and the Union für Süd Tirol [which broke away from the Südtiroler Volkspartei] join the EFA.

1992
May 4-5th: General Assembly of Brussels. The EFA speak out on the Maastricht Summit [9-10th of December 1991]. The EFA regrets that the Treaty doesn’t give more space to social policy, and that the Treaty is considered only as a dialogue between the Community and the twelve member States, without any active participation of the regions.

1994
March: Plaid Cymru leaves the EFA because of its discontent with Lega Nord.

11-12 April: General Assembly of the EFA in Brussels. Suspension of the Lega Nord from the EFA. Moretti and Speroni leave the Rainbow Group.

June 9-12th: European Parliament election. EFA wins only 3 MEPs: Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [VU] and Winnie Ewing [SNP] are reelected, and are joined by a second SNP MEP, Allan Macartney. The Rainbow Group cannot continue and they join the European Radical Alliance group [dominated by Bernard Tapie’s Énergie Radicale]. Isidoro Sanchez Garcia, from Coalición Canaria, who was an observer in the EFA, was also part of this amalgam.

1995
October 2-3rd: GA of the EFA in Brussels: EFA chooses to turn itself into a European political party following article 138a of the Treaty on European Union. This change involved the renaming of the EFA as the “Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe – European Free Alliance”.

1998
August 25th: Death of Allan Macartney, who is succeeded by Ian Hudghton. October: Jaak Vandemeulebroucke is replaced by Nelly Maes.

1999
April: After years of talk between the EFA and Lega Nord, EFA distances itself openly at last from the Lega Nord.

June 11-13th: European Parliament election. The EFA has 9 MEPs: Ian Hudghton and Neil MacCormick [SNP], Jill Evans and Eurgi Wyn [Plaid Cymru], Nelly Maes and Bart Staes [VU], Carlos Bautista Ojeda [PAr], Camilo Nogueira [BNG], Gorka Knörr [EA]. They decide to join force with the Greens to constitute the Greens/EFA group, with 47 members. Nelly Maes, as president of the EFA subgroup, is named first vice-chairwoman of the Greens/EFA.
November: The PNV becomes an observer member of the EFA, and its MEP, Josu Ortuondo Larrea joins the EFA’s group in the EP as observer.

2000

November: More than one hundred representatives of EFA parties attend the Summit of Ministers, Party Leaders and Members of Parliament organised by the EFA in Brussels. The Assembly adopted the Declaration of Brussels. With this declaration, the EFA wanted to put the emphasis on the need to better take into account the regions in the European construction. Creation of EFA-Youth during the Summit. Mikel Irujo (EA) is elected as its first President.

2001

May: Gorka Knörr vacates his seat at the EP upon his election to the Basque Parliament and is replaced by Miquel Mayol i Raynal from ERC.

November: Observer status in the EFA granted to Ruch Autonomii Slaska (Silesian minority in Poland), the Moravskà Democratickà Strana (Union of Moravians, Czech Republic), Liga Transilvania-Banat (Romania) and Magyar Föderalista Párt (Hungarian Federalist Party, Slovakia).

2002

May: Spirit is granted temporary membership of the EFA-DPPE.

July: Bart Staes joins the Greens.

2003

July: Bautista Ojeda joins the Autonomous Government of Andalusia and is replaced by Juan Manuel Ferrández Lezaun (Partido Aragonés), who doesn’t join the EFA.

November: Observer status given to the Lithuanian Polish People’s Party.

2004

March 26th: The EFA becomes a genuine European party in Barcelona. Nelly Maes (Spirit) is elected president of the EFA and Jesús Maestro (ERC) as General secretary. The rest of the bureau are: Begoña Lacasarabaster (EA), Jill Evans (Plaid Cymru), Gustave Alirol (POC), Franco Piretta (PSd’Az), Roelof Falkena (Fryseke Nasjonale Partij), Bartolomiej Świderek (Silesian Autonomy Movement). Representatives of 31 parties (including 5 observers) signed the memorandum of association. The youth wing of the EFA is also formally established by 25 associations.

June 10-13th: European Parliament election. The EFA has 5 MEPs: Ian Hudghton and Alyn Smith for the SNP, Jill Evans for Plaid Cymru, Bernat Joan i Mari for ERC, Tatjana Zdanoka (from the Latvian party Par cilveka tiesībām vienota Latvija / For Human Rights in a United Latvia) who joined the EFA as an individual member. Josu Ortuondo (PNV) was ordered by his party to join the ALDE group.

October: EFA is recognised as a European party by the Parliament.

2009

June 4-7th: European Parliament election. The EFA has 7 MEPs: Ian Hudghton and Alyn Smith for the SNP; Jill Evans for Plaid Cymru; Oriol Junqueras for ERC; Tatjana Zdanoka for PCTVL; François Alfonsi for the PNC; and Frieda Brepoels for the NVA.

2012

January 1st: Ana Miranda (BNG) becomes MEP, replacing Oriol Junqueras (ERC).

February 1st: Mark Demesmaeker (N-VA) becomes MEP, replacing Frieda Brepoels (N-VA).

July 1st: Iñaki Irazabalbeitia (Aralar) becomes MEP, replacing Ana Miranda (BNG).

2013

November: Spirit opposes the adhesion of the N-VA, which therefore doesn’t join the EFA.

December: The PNV becomes an observer member of the EFA, and its MEP, Josu Ortuondo Larrea joins the EFA’s group in the EP as observer.

2014

January 1st: The EFA is officially recognised by the European Parliament as an official political party. The EFA’s group in the EP is led by Nelly Maes (Spirit) as president and Jesús Maestro (ERC) as general secretary. The rest of the bureau are: Begoña Lacasarabaster (EA), Jill Evans (Plaid Cymru), Gustave Alirol (POC), Franco Piretta (PSd’Az), Roelof Falkena (Fryseke Nasjonale Partij), Bartolomiej Świderek (Silesian Autonomy Movement). Representatives of 31 parties (including 5 observers) signed the memorandum of association. The youth wing of the EFA is also formally established by 25 associations.

June 20-23rd: European Parliament election. The EFA has 7 MEPs: Ian Hudghton and Alyn Smith for the SNP, Jill Evans for Plaid Cymru, Bernat Joan i Mari for ERC, Tatjana Zdanoka (from the Latvian party Par cilveka tiesībām vienota Latvija / For Human Rights in a United Latvia) who joined the EFA as an individual member. Josu Ortuondo (PNV) was ordered by his party to join the ALDE group.

2015

May: Bart Staes joins the Greens.
The leadership of the EFA

Presidents of the EFA
1981-1990  Jaak Vandermeulebroecke [VU], Flanders
1990-1991  Carlos Garaikoetxea [EA], Basque country
1991-1994  Winnie Ewing [SNP], Scotland
1994-1997  Jaak Vandermeulebroecke [VU], Flanders
1997-2000  Winnie Ewing [SNP], Scotland
2000-2010  Nelly Maes [VU then Spirit], Flanders
2010-incumbent  Eric Defoort [NVA], Flanders

General Secretaries of the EFA
1981-1994  Herman Verheirstraeten [VU], Flanders
1994-2004  José Luis Linazasoro [EA], Basque Country
2004-2005  Jesús Maestro [ERC], Catalonia
2005-2007  Begona Lasagabaster [EA], Basque Country
2007-2009  Bernat Joan I Mari [ERC], Catalonia
2009-2011  Marta Rovira [ERC], Catalonia
2012-incumbent  Jordi Solé i Ferrando [ERC], Catalonia

Presidents of the EFA Group in the Parliament
1999-2004  Nelly Maes [VU then Spirit], Flanders
2004-2009  Ian Hudghton [SNP], Scotland
2009-incumbent  Jill Evans [Plaid Cymru], Wales

General Secretary of the EFA Group in the Parliament
2004-incumbent  José Luis Linazasoro, Basque Country

Directors of EFA
2006-incumbent  Günther Dauwen, Flanders

EFA-Youth Presidents
2000-2001  Mikel Irujo [EA/Gazte Abertzaleak]
2001-2003  Pere Aragonès [J-ERC]
2005-2007  Lander de Bilbao [EA/Gazte Abertzaleak]
2007-2009  Rhisiart Tal-e-bot [Kernow X]
2009-2010  Jezz Anbleydh [Kerrow X]
2010-2011  Irati Aipzurua [EA/Gazte Abertzaleak]
2011-incumbent  Rocu Garoby [PNC-G]
## The MEPs of the EFA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Group name</th>
<th>EFA’s MEPs (group total)</th>
<th>MEPs by party</th>
<th>Committees</th>
<th>Delegations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989-1994</td>
<td>Rainbow Group</td>
<td>8(15)</td>
<td>Agrupaciones Independientes de Comunidades: - José SANCHEZ GARCIA</td>
<td>TRAN; ADRI</td>
<td>Maghreb; Iceland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coalición Galega: - José POSADA GONZALEZ</td>
<td>TRAN</td>
<td>Maghreb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 EFA was created in 1981, so technically speaking Neil T. Blaney and Mauritius Coppieters were not elected as EFA members. Winnie Ewing was MEP for the SNP but member of the Gauvin Group of European Democrats for Progress, Joachim Delors, of Südtiroler Volkspartei was in the Christian-democrat EPP.

2 Took part to many meetings of the EFA between 1980 and 1984 when he also became member of the Group for Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members.

3 Spain joined the European Communities in 1986, and its first elected MEPs joined the Parliament on the 6th of July 1987.

4 Not member of the EFA but of the Rainbow Group. Replaced Jan Gangelt Liguori (PNV – EPP) in the Parliament. He will join again the EFA MEPs in the Group of the European Radical Alliance between 1994 and 1999.

5 Not member of the EFA but of the Rainbow Group. Replaced Indaco Sanchez Garcia in July 1993. He will join again the EFA MEPs in the Group of the European Radical Alliance in 1999.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
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<th>Delegations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partido Andalucista</td>
<td>ADR; CULT</td>
<td>USA, Turkey (1992-1994)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Pedro PACHECO (1989-1990)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Dario DE LIO SANTOS LOPEZ (1990-1994)</td>
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<td>Partito Bardo d'Azione (Sardinia):</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SNP (Scotland):</td>
<td>DEVE; PECH (1990-1994)</td>
<td>ACP; Bolt. countries</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Max SIMIDINI</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Isidoro SANCHEZ GARCIA (1994-1996)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Coalición Galega:</td>
<td>BUDG</td>
<td>Israel</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Joaquín POSADA GONZALEZ (1999)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partido Andalucista (Andalusia):</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Miguel MAYOL, IRRAYAL (2001-2004)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* The Partido Andalucista is not member from EFA then, but their MEPs join the EFA subgroup nevertheless after a while.  
* Not member of the EFA but of the European Radical Alliance.  
* Idem
The Internationalism of the EFA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
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<th>Delegations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Euskal Alkartasuna (Basque Country): Mikel IRUJO AMEZAGA (2007-2009)</td>
<td>CULT; DEVE</td>
<td>ACP-EU JPA; Chile</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā (Latvia): Tatjana ZDANKA</td>
<td>LBE; AFET (2004-2007); DIRI; PETI (2007-2009); IMCO (2007-2009)</td>
<td>Russia; Caucasus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Plaid Cymru (Wales): JH EVANS</td>
<td>ENVI; REDI; FEEM</td>
<td>Pakistan; Gulf states (2004-2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- SNP (Scotland): Ian HUGGINS; Alyn SMITH</td>
<td>ECON (2004-2007); PECH; TRAN (2007-2009); IMCO; REGI (2004-2007); ASR (2007-2009); ITRE</td>
<td>Canada; Aust; B NZ; Switzerland; Norway and Iceland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- BNG (Galiza): Ana MIRANDA (2012-2013)</td>
<td>REGI; PETI; PECH; FEMM</td>
<td>Mercosur; Eurolat; Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ERC (Catalunya): Oriol JUNQUERAS (2009-2011)</td>
<td>PETI; CULT; ITRE</td>
<td>Mercosur; Eurolat; Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- NVA (Flanders): Frieda BREPELTS (2009-2011); DRDI; TRAN (2009-2011)</td>
<td>AFET; ENV (2011-2013); DRDI</td>
<td>Japan; Euromed; Mashreq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā (Latvia): Tatjana ZDANKA</td>
<td>LBE; PETI; EMPL (2009-2011); TRAN (2012-2014)</td>
<td>Moldova [VC]; Euonest; Russia</td>
</tr>
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<td>- Plaid Cymru (Wales): JH EVANS</td>
<td>ENV; AGRI; FEEM (2010-2012)</td>
<td>Iraq (2009-2001); Pakistan Legislative Council; Iraq (2011-now)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- PNC (Corsica): François AlFORSI</td>
<td>REGI; BUJD; CULT (2012-now); ECON (2009-2011)</td>
<td>ACP-EU JPA; Euromed; Maghreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- SNP (Scotland): Ian HUGGINS; Alyn SMITH</td>
<td>PECH; REDI (2009-2012); IMCO</td>
<td>Canada; Croatia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italic type writing for committees means: substitute VC: Vice-Chair / Vice-President C: Chair / President JPA: Joint Parliamentary Assembly

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15 Not a member of the EFA.
16 Member of the EFA group as observer (the PNV was not a member party of the EFA).
17 The PNV exploded in 2001, and both MEPs joined Spirit, the left-wing split from VU, which joins the EFA in 2002.
Standing Committees

- AFET: Foreign Affairs (Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy until 2004)
- DROI: Human Rights (from 2004)
- SEDE: Security and Defence (from 2004)
- AFCD: Constitutional Affairs
- AGRI: Agriculture and Rural Development (Agriculture, Fisheries and Rural Development between 1989 and 1994)
- BUDG: Budgets
- CDINT: Budgetary Control
- CULT: Culture and Education (Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport until 2004)
- DEVE: Development (and Cooperation until 2004)
- ECON: Economic and Monetary Affairs (Economic, Monetary Affairs and Industrial Policy between 1989 and 1994)
- EMPL: Employment and Social Affairs
- FEMM: Women’s Rights and Gender Equality (and Equal Opportunities until 2004)
- IMCO: Internal Market and Consumer Protection (from 2004)
- INTA: International Trade (from 2004)
- JURI: Legal Affairs (Committee on Legal Affairs and the Internal Market until 2004)
- LIBE: Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (Committee on Citizens’ Freedoms and Rights, Justice and Home Affairs until 2004)
- PETI: Petitions
- POLI: Political Affairs Committee [until 1994]: ancestor of AFET
- RETT: Regional Policy, Transport and Tourism (divided in 2004)
- RULE: Rules of Procedure, the Verification of Credentials and Immunities
- SDEI: Committee on Social Affairs, Employment and the Working Environment (1989–1999)
- TRAN: Transport and Tourism (from 2004 and between 1989 and 1999)

NB: until 1999, abbreviations are not fixed and may change according to languages. For example, the Committee on Youth (1984–1989) is YOUTH in English and JEUN in French. The rule for four-letters abbreviations though seems to be adopted in 1989 for all languages.
Profiles of the MEPs of the EFA

- François ALFONSI:
  http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96750/Fran%C3%A7ois_ALFONSI.html

- Herbert BARRERA I COSTA:

- Carlos BAUTISTA DJEDA:

- Neil BLANEY:

- Frieda BREPOELS:

- Michel COLUMBU:

- Maurits COPPIETERS:

- Diego DE LOS SANTOS LÓPEZ:

- Mark DEMESMAEKER:

- Jill EVANS:

- Winfred EWING:

- Juan Manuel FERRÁNDEZ LEZAU:

- Karlos GARAIOETXEA:

- Paul-Henry GENDEBIEN:

- Ian HUDGHTON:

- Mikel IRUJO:

- Bernat JOAN I MARÍ:

- Oriol JUNQUERAS:

- Gorka KNÖRR BORRÁS:

- Willy KULIPERS:

- Allan MACARTNEY:

- Neil MACCORMICK:

- Nelly MAES:

- Miquel MAYOL I RAYNAL:

- María MELIS:

- Ana MIRANDA:

- Luigi MIRETTI:

- Camilo Nogueira:

- Josu ORTUONDO LARREA:

- Pedro PACHECO:

- José POSADA GONZÁLEZ:

- Isidoro SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA:
— Max SIMONI:
— Alyn SMITH:
— Francesco SPERONI:
— Bart STAES:
— Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE:
— Eurig WYN:
— Tatjana ZDANOKA:

NB: there are mistakes and omissions in those pages. Archives [questions, resolutions, speeches, etc.] are available online only from the 5th term (1999-2004). For the four first terms, the archives are available in the Official Journal of the European Union: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOIndex.do?ihmlang=en.
The General Assemblies of the EFA

1981 (9-11th December): Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1982 (11-12th November): Bastia (Corsica – France)
1983 (22-23rd April): Eupen (German community of Belgium)
1984 (14-15th May): Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1984 (22-25th November): St Vincent [Val of Aosta – Italy]
1985 no G.A.
1986 (3-4th July): Cardiff (Wales – United Kingdom)
1987 (11-14th February): Leeuwarden [Friesland – Netherlands]
1987 (7-8th September): Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1988 (2-3th May): Cagliari (Sardinia – Italy)
1988 (1-2nd September): Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1989 (7-9th May): Bilbao (Basque Country – Spain)
1990 (28-30th March): Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1991 (11-12th March): Strasbourg (Alsace – France)
1991 (30th September): Ostend (Flanders – Belgium)
1992 (4-5th May): Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1992 [19-20th October]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1993 [18-19th October]: Cardiff (Wales – United Kingdom)
1994 [11-12th April]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1994 [5-6 Decembar]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1995 [2-3rd October]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1996 [7-8 March]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1996 [8th November]: Barcelona (Catalonia – Spain)
1997 [10th November]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1998 [12th June]: Cardiff (Wales – United Kingdom)
1998 [10-11th December]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1999 [8-9th April]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
1999 [19th November]: Strasbourg [Alsace – France]
2000 [12th May]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
2001 [30th August]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
2001 [8th November]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
2002 [27-28th June]: Brno (Moravia – Czech Republic)
2002 [14-15th November]: Bruges (Flanders – Belgium)
2003 [26-27th June]: Alghero (Sardinia – Italy)
2003 [13-14th November]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
2004 [25-26th March]: Barcelona (Catalonia – Spain)
2004 [8-9th November]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
2005 [28-27th May]: Rennes (Brittany – France)
2006 [10-11th May]: Brussels (Flanders – Belgium)
2007 [20th April]: Bilbao (Basque Country – Spain)
2008 [11th April]: Mallorca (Balears – Spain)
2009 [27th March]: Barcelona (Catalonia – Spain)
2010 [26th March]: Venice (Veneto – Italy)
2011 [15th April]: Mariehamn [Åland – Finland]
2012 [23-24th March]: Leeuwarden [Friesland – Netherlands]

The Internationalism of the EFA - 49
EFA parties
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original name</th>
<th>Name in English</th>
<th>Foundation</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of member parties</th>
<th>Number of associated parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Internationalism of the EFA -</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Number of member parties</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Number of associated parties</strong></td>
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</table>
Founding texts of EFA

International, peace and defence issues in the key texts of the EFA

June 1979: Charter of Cooperation for the Construction of a Europe of the Nations (or "Charter of Brussels")

Context: Signed in Brussels by eight regionalist and nationalist parties. "Every nation in the world has the right to self-government, the right to preserve and develop its own identity and cultural heritage. Every nation must be able to decide on its own system of government. [...]"

Isolationism runs counter to our concept of nationalism. We declare our solidarity with all peoples of Europe and the world, in particular those who suffer under foreign and dictatorial domination and those who are on the road towards full development."

19th August 1979: Declaration of Bastia

Context: Meeting of regionalist and nationalist parties in Bastia where nine parties agreed to examine the prospects for political co-operation. The main focus of the document was the building of a Europe of the Peoples who were to have their own identity and inalienable rights. No reference to international issues, apart from a commitment to struggle in the context of "international solidarity" and a conclusion stating: "By their presence in Corsica they [the signatories] symbolize the openness and fraternal solidarity of the Mediterranean peoples towards the other peoples of the world which are striving for liberty and dignity."

9th July 1981: Declaration of the Convention of Brussels

Context: Founding document of the European Free Alliance

"(...) 1.9. Isolationism runs counter to our concept of federalism. EFA declares its solidarity with all peoples of Europe and the world, in particular those who suffer under foreign and dictatorial domination and those who are on the road towards full development. The EFA is therefore in favour of proper recognition of the fundamental rights of individuals and nations. [...]"

4.6. The EFA upholds the principle of solidarity with the developing countries. The people of the Third World have to be helped in their struggle for independence and social justice. An equitable distribution of labour on global scale, as well as fair remuneration for labour and raw materials are preconditions for the securing of world peace.

4.7. The EFA believes in the value of pacifism and wishes to see the gradual dismantling and transformation of the arms industry and the military machine. Mindful of the "no more war" slogans of those who have fought at the front, it will campaign actively for total disarmament and the dismantling of military power blocs. Nuclear arms are seen by the EFA as a threat to the existence of mankind and as such an absolute evil which must be resisted by all means. [...]"

6.1. The federal construction of Europe is an essential contribution to the problem of a world order.

6.2. The Europe of the Peoples must be the fatherland of all the ethnic and regional communities that belong to the European historical and cultural tradition. This implies that close contacts must also be sought with the people living in the states of eastern Europe, to prepare their eventual integration into the Europe of the peoples and to prevent the existing pattern of blocs leading to a further alienation of these peoples.

6.3. The Europe of the Peoples should not be allowed to become yet another power bloc. On the contrary, European policy must essentially be aimed at promoting peace, through a constructive approach to the problems of underdevelopment, the international division of labour and world-wide cooperation."
11-12 November 1982: Second Declaration of Bastia

Context: Served as an EFA platform for the 1984 elections.

"The EFA's model means that each region has a mission for peace, that could be defined through three elements:

- security
- human rights
- development"

12th June 1988: Manifesto of Gernika

"[…] To us (…) the Gernika tree is not only a symbol of the liberties of the Basque Country: It is also the expression of international solidarity, a vindication of peace, flying the flag of freedom for each of our peoples. […] We are committed to the task to build a fairer, freer world with more solidarity, starting with our 'old' Europe. […] In this concert of nations, we do not forget the fraternal peoples of Eastern Europe with whom we jointly advocate an approach working towards a climate of peace, détente and respect for human rights. […] The parties united under the European Free Alliance reaffirm their support for peace, through their sustained insistence on putting into effect the liberties of their peoples and in international relations.

We refuse the use of violence and terrorism, even if those resorting to violence and terrorism assert political goals in justification. But by the same token, and with equal vigour, we denounce existing situations of institutional violence and, particularly, the derision and disregard of the collective rights of the natural communities in states considered as democratic.

Our concern for peace transcends the scope of our peoples. We refute the current policy of blocks and the temptation to turn the European Union into another power block. On the contrary, we advocate the dismantling of the military weapon stocks and, especially the nuclear arsenals from the Atlantic to the Urals. We champion the rapprochement to neutral countries and Eastern Europe, and solid and genuine co-operation with the Third World.

"[…] Our progressive 'nationalism' (…) has several characteristics that we consider essential: (…) We are committed to sustainable development.

9th November 2000: Declaration of Brussels

Context: More than one hundred representatives of EFA parties attended the Summit of Ministers, Party Leaders and Members of Parliament organised by the EFA in Brussels. The Assembly adopted the Declaration of Brussels. With this declaration, the EFA wanted to carve out a real niche for the regions within the European construction.

"[…] Our progressive 'nationalism' (…) has several characteristics that we consider essential: (…) - It is committed to social justice and the respect for equality and for human rights and the rights of minorities and it is resolutely opposed to racism and xenophobia of any kind; - it is universalistic in asserting those rights to communal self-determination that are open in principle to all people; (…) - It is committed to sustainable development and respect for cultural and ecological diversity; - Its is committed exclusively to peaceful means in the pursuit of political objectives. (…) EFA/DPPE (…) takes seriously the problem of poverty in countries beyond the EU and expresses strong solidarity with the developing countries, including particular responsibility for ACP countries.

1994: Rainbow Group electoral platform

"[3] External Economic Relations and Overseas Development Policy
- Rejects the current system of GATT that favours international competitiveness above all else. Rather, affirms the need for economies to be developed locally and regionally, particularly at the level of SMEs. At the same time, major international super blocs need to be broken up, enabling developing countries’ trading interests to be better represented in a permanent and balanced World Trade Organization which will ensure that international rules on environmental and social aspects are adhered to in commercial relations between trading partners. This will not only reduce instances of social dumping but remove previous relative competitive advantages acquired through the non-respect of environmental legislation.
- Insistence on human rights clauses in all international agreements between the Union and developing countries.

26th of March 2004: EFA Manifesto for the June 2004 European elections

"[…] Our ideology is in line with people’s desire to build a better world for present and future generations (…) With your vote we will continue to champion the following critical issue at the European Parliament: […] (k) Support for a common foreign policy for the EU. Security, defence and diplomacy must come together in a common EU body acting
strategy – cultural and linguistic as well as environmental. […] Fighting climate change has become a concrete example of European leadership. As well as its implications for the future of Europe’s energy and transport policies, the campaign against global warming has wider political implications. For instance, the high dependence of the U.S. economy on fossil fuels made the control of energy resources, especially oil fields, a major factor in the U.S. military attack on Iraq. Europe continues to lead on the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol without the U.S., the major emitter of CO2, which refused to sign. […] With over 1.2 billion of the world’s people surviving on less than 1€ a day, we are committed to the achievement of the eight UN Millennium Goals and Johannesburg commitments. Combating poverty and hunger, providing universal primary education, the empowerment of women and accessible health care are essential in achieving peace and justice.”

EFA European election Manifesto 2009:

“EUROPE IN THE WORLD
Common foreign and security policy
Security and foreign policy should aim at conflict prevention and community development. Achieving lasting peace in the Middle East and in other areas of conflict through negotiation is a requirement for world peace and stability. The root cause of terrorism should not jeopardise human rights. A treaty on the export of arms and a binding code of conduct on the arms trade is essential. We will also support EU action to end the use of chemical and biological weapons as well as cluster bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. EFA supports a nuclear free Europe. EFA urges the EU and its member states to recognise, encourage and respect all the demilitarised and neutral regions and nations who are determined and dedicated to remaining as such, in an uncertain and increasingly changing world.

Migration
We recognise the invaluable contribution that migration has made to Europe, socially, culturally and economically over many years, and believe that this important contribution will continue in the future. We view migration as a natural process in human life and it is in all our interests for the EU to deal with migration as effectively and efficiently as possible.

Equally, we recognise the many potential shared benefits of greater co-operation in asylum and immigration at EU level, and the important role that Europe could play in assisting the integration of new migrants included in the languages of the stateless nations. We also believe that we should uphold and defend people’s right to seek asylum and continue Europe’s proud tradition of offering refuge to the persecuted.

Solidarity with the developing world.
With over 1.2 billion of the world’s people surviving on less than 1€ a day, we are committed to the achievement of the eight UN Millennium Goals and the Johannesburg commitments. The combating of poverty and hunger, the provision of universal primary education, the empowerment of women and accessible health care are essential in achieving peace and justice.”

For a multipolar world united against war and fighting hunger and injustice which are the main root causes of most conflicts.

[8] Support for a peacekeeping role for the European Union when conflicts arises within and outside its borders. [...] For a world at peace
It is essential to reject any form of aggression or violence as a means of imposing sets of values. We actively advocate non-violent means and dialogue for resolving conflicts. Conflict prevention and lasting peace requires a more equal balance in world trade and sustainable development. The EU has to take the side of people in developing countries in WTO negotiations.

A binding code of conduct on the arms trade is essential. We will also support EU and a binding code of conduct on the arms human rights. A treaty on the export of arms is a requirement for world peace and stability. The eradication of poverty must be the top priority. […]

IV – A Safer Planet for Our Children
Sustainability is at the heart of our political
### Archives material

**The EFA’s website**

http://www.e-f-a.org/home.php

**EFA’s digital archives**

- EFA GA and Bureau [by year]: 165 files
- EFA General texts [by year]: 88 files
- Studies: 55 files

**ADVN (Antwerpen): European Free Alliance Fonds**

1. **Herman Verheirstraeten secretariat, 1st series of files**

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2. **Herman Verheirstraeten secretariat, 2nd series of files**

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3. José Luis Linazasoro’s secretariat

3.1 General
3.1/1. Press clippings on the EFA and José Luis Linazasoro. 1987–1990. 1 folder
3.1/5-6. File concerning the EFA’s general functioning. 1988–1996. 1 bundle and 1 folder.
3.1/7. 1990–1997. 1 bundle

3.2 Meetings
3.2/1. Brussels, September 7–8, 1987. 1 folder
3.2/2. Sardinia, May 2–4, 1988. 1 folder
3.2/5. O strerror, September 30, 1991. 1 folder
3.2/8. Cardiff, October 18–19, 1993. 1 folder
3.2/10. 1994–1996. 1 bundle
3.2/12. 1997–2000. 1 bundle

3.3 Elections

3.4 Other files
3.4/1. Documents regarding ACP/EU and Lomé. s.d., 1993–1999. 3 bundles
3.4/6. 1998–1996. 1 folder

3.5 Press office, 2000–2002 (Eluned Haf)
4/3. Documents regarding MEPs’ activities. 2000–2002. 4 bundles, 6 folders and 2 items
4/42. File concerning Greens/EFA-Group. 2001. 1 bundle
4/43. File concerning post–September 11. 2001. 1 folder
Towards a European Post Yalta Policy

Dr. Maurits Coppieters

The regionalist (nationalist, autonomist) parties should, as spokesmen of the regions and communities in Western Europe, in view of the E.E.C. and the further European unification, be conscious of their place in the "peace triangle": safety - human rights - development.

Well then, the regionalisation of decentralisation is an absolute condition for each of the three sides of this peace triangle. The regions and the communities have to obtain the structured possibilities and power to set the positive alternation processes (on socio-economic, political or cultural level) going or to influence them.

The regions and communities, within the centralistic states and within the E.E.C., are thus confronted with the total peace problematic, namely:
- the human and people's rights
- the positive development of a broad well-being
- the (un)safety within the Atlantic alliance

The interior dimension of the struggle for (more) self-government has, in other words, also an obvious and connected international dimension.

Our struggle for (more) self-government is part of the highest ends of the peace movement - a world in continuous development towards unity/diversity.

It dawns yet more and more on public opinion that 'safety' has a much broader meaning than only a 'military' one. Just as the Brandt-report (1980) says: "On world level, real safety cannot be achieved by the construction of an ever increasing weapon arsenal - defence in its narrow meaning - but by the creation of basic conditions for peaceful relations between nations and by solving not only the military but also the non-military questions that threaten peace.

National sovereignty has since long stopped being the only safety object in Europe. Now it is mainly a certain development-model (economic, social, political and cultural) that has to be protected. It is precisely about this point that East and West are opposed to each other.

The threat can differ completely in its form from only the aggressive neighbour (r.e. Poland). Think about the policies of "economic" sanctions, threats of the supply of raw materials, political and/or military conditions for assistance etc.

For the rest, the present world crisis shows that our economic-social well being cannot be protected in military ways.

-------------------------------------------------------------------
The governments of R.W.G. countries refuse to recognize the European Scope of the nevertheless striking manifestations of political interest and activites:
1. The growing peace movement in Europe and in the U.S.A.
2. The human rights (especially in Latin America)
3. The falling rate of political Europe.
It is the right time to breathe new life into the Euro-policy.
The regionalist, nationalist parties can and must give the impetus to it! For this purpose, we have to arise back to the 'Treaty of Brussels', and to the framework of the 'Council of Europe' and of the Western European Union.

Directives than should be:
1. The withdrawal of the countries of the Treaty of Brussels from the integrated NATO-system (not from the NATO!) with the aim of building up a European command within the frame of a European integration, with a corresponding consultation centre, that functions as a European heart in the Atlantic consultation.
2. The working out of a European defence strategy within the frame of the NATO (decrease of weapons, rearrangement of weapons, lessening of military effectiveness in Central Europe, nuclear-free zones etc.) Therefore, the European-directed powers have to be mobilized.
3. The working out of a more efficient European control on negotiations about nuclear weapons between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

Summarizing, it can be said that the structuring of the trans-Atlantic dialogue and the European political construction are two sides of the same political necessity and task.

Within the painful awakening to an ever clearer European dependence on the U.S.A., yes of a nearly protectorate situation, it is not sufficient any more that the regions free themselves from the strangling grip of the national dualism; the degree of their interaction independencies will also regulate their freedom of movement. A regional (national) foreign policy has thus to be woven into the aims and forms of the autonomy. At the European forum and with European elections in prospect, we must thus dare say that the 'Treaty of Rome' had finished being the draft-brow of European integration. The importance of the 'European Council' to work out a common policy on the basis of consultation, gives the proof that the instrument itself is not adapted anymore. The reason is more than clear: instead of clamping over to an own formation of power (political, military) on international level, the Europe of ten has changed into an economic free trade zone of which the political conduct on an over-political thinking was left to the NATO.

The further construction of Europe urgently has to be supported by new ideas and on a broad popular basis:

Leading principles:
1. cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe is the only guarantee for European safety.
2. European autononmy within the NATO, so that an end can be put to American blackmail.
3. Abolishment of all obstructions to the commercial trade between East and West. The E.E.C. has to be able to present a kind of Marshall-plan to Eastern Europe.
4. A non-commercial tackling of the development aid on total mutual basis.
5. Refusal of the economical-financial exhausting situation of preponderance policy on military domain, which is alarming to the Soviet Union and fosters the stagnation.

United and NATO continue the splitting of Europe.
Against this dangeroust stagnation, we have to outline other policies, not only within our own party program, but also if possible, via the autonomy regional structures.

Europe can no longer be regarded and treated in function of NATO, but, precisely reverse NATO must be in service of Europe. The NATO not only has to guarantee our safety military, she also and directly has to negotiate with Eastern Europe and must thus create conditions for a safe society.

This European realises demands a European policy centre. It can no longer be that all - also Europeans - decrees are taken in the national centres. The states are, and remain until now the real obstacle to a European political union, carried by many native countries, with hundred flags.
II | Defence policy-discussion paper

1. A defence policy must be relevant and appropriate to the needs of Wales. Defence expenditure must relate to what needs to be defended. British military policies have not only been increasingly expensive, but irrelevant to Wales. The excessive military budget which is being spent on Wales' behalf must be drastically curtailed and the funds reallocated to the social and economic areas where the 'defence' of Wales is most urgent.

2. A defence force dedicated solely to the territorial defence of Wales is not a realistic concept in today's world. Military defence, and defence forces must be internationalised, ultimately to a world body like the United Nations, and immediately to a progressive European order.

3. The Welsh defence force would therefore have a capacity for deployment in support of United Nations peace keeping work. It would, in conjunction with other British and Irish defence forces undertake a cooperative commitment to peace keeping and conventional defence in Europe. Internal roles for a professional armed force within Wales would include assistance in civil emergencies, provision of rescue services, fishery protection, and other petrol services.

4. The first priority of Plaid Cymru defence policy is to secure real progress towards nuclear disarmament. This would be achieved by the following. Working with CND Cymru to make a nuclear free Wales a reality. The relinquishing of the 'independent' British Nuclear capability. The removal from Wales and the other countries of Britain of all American nuclear establishments, and of facilities which are necessary to sustain an American nuclear presence in Europe. A commitment to N.F.D. and a nuclear free Europe achieved by NATO abandoning its nuclear strategy, sending reciprocal measures of disarmament by the Warsaw pact. The commitment to de-nuclearise NATO would however be unconditional and not dependent on such reciprocation. It follows that it would be unacceptable for such a nuclear free Europe to remain under the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

5. The British Government must seek to initiate a process of nuclear disarmament in Europe by staying in the NATO alliance on the condition that it moves decisively towards dismantling its nuclear strategy. This would imply NATO taking the following steps:
   1. Withdrawing Pershing II and cruise missiles.
   2. Declaring a policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons.
Preface

For many of a political party’s credibility look at its defence policy. This is the area more than any that tests a party’s willingness to combine idealism with political practicality, short and long term aims, and the difficulty of ‘selling’ policy to a public conditioned to believe in the need for ‘defence’ on the present scale and with the present means.

Whereas present British defence policies would be totally objectionable, the opposite extreme of rejecting any defence policy whatsoever would be as good as suggesting that Plaid Cymru is after all a party of romantic idealists.

But worse still, such a policy of pure pacifism would be so electorally unacceptable that it would guarantee that no practical progress towards disarmament would be achieved. The price of idealistic purity would be pure impotence.

We cannot choose our starting point – we must begin from the present situation, with our membership of NATO, nuclear arms, and the military polarisation between East and West. But most important, we must begin with the preconceptions, prejudices, disinformation and misinformation of the Welsh voter with their conditioned ideas regarding the Soviet threat and the presumed justification for the present military policies.

Radical change must be introduced gradually, and in digestible pieces, or it will be very difficult to convince the public of the possibility of any real change. Leadership by achievable steps is essential.

The primary aim is nuclear disarmament in Europe. The price of making that achievable is a definite policy of conventional disarmament, however inherently distasteful that is to us in Plaid Cymru. We must stomach the possibility of a temporary increase in defensive conventional arms as the condition of making nuclear disarmament acceptable to our public.

There is not a simple choice between pacifism and arms defence. There are degrees of disarmament and of militarism. Arms defence is not synonymous with and does not necessarily lead to militarism. Specifically, a policy of purely defensive disarmament, without the ability to attack or invade (such as Switzerland’s) and without the present militarist mentality, would be a major moral departure from the present critical situation, and it would be achievable.

Territorial national defence alone is not meaningful in today’s world. Armed forces must be internationalised, ultimately under the United Nations, but over the foreseeable future some concerted European defence is necessary. As we cannot choose our starting point, and because of the enormous strength of political forces which would resist the dismantling of NATO, the only realistic option is to work to transform NATO into a defensive non nuclear agreement, but which would not develop into a third world force.

Most NATO countries are already non nuclear in the sense that they do not themselves possess nuclear arms. In this the moral responsibility and opportunity for Britain and France to realise a non nuclear Europe is enormous.

In order to attract a response on the part of the Soviet Union it is necessary for Europe to distance itself militarily from the U.S. by the removal of American nuclear arms and systems from Europe, a declaration that Europe no longer wishes to be under the American continental nuclear umbrella, and by ending European dependency on American conventional arms.

This does not lead to or represent an anti American stand point, it is just the necessary condition for attracting a substantial response in terms of nuclear and conventional disarmament on the part of the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to understand the history and mentality of the Soviet Union, and interpret to our people the true nature of the alleged ‘Soviet threat’. While the Soviet Union is politically aggressive in the world, though ineffective, it is militarily defensive in its entire posture and attitude. It is characterised by a deep sense of insecurity, with good cause in view of its history. This sense of insecurity is fed by its shaky economy, its lagging technology and the instability of its empire.

The Soviet Union has not the least intention of attacking the West. Further more, because of the quality of its armed forces, and its geographical situation, it does not have the ability to overrun the West and maintain a permanent military occupation. It is barely able to do that in its satellite states in Eastern Europe.

It is the Soviet perception of Western military and economic power that makes it strive to maintain such armed strength, and to match each technological advance in armament by the West. There will be no change in the perception while NATO continues to surround the Warsaw pact from Norway to Turkey, and while American missiles based in Europe are within minutes of nearly all major Soviet cities.
III | Peace and security policy
Sardinia, 2-4 May 1988

1. The European Free Alliance is an association of political parties which are essentially non-imperialist and non-aggressive. Our internationalism is reflected in our past and in our struggles for self-determination. The EFA believes that there will only be real cooperation in Europe when all its countries, nations and regions are able to deploy their capacities at an international level, together constituting a genuine force for peace.

2. The European ideal of EFA, a Europe of peoples, is an alternative to the domination of militaristic nation states which are responsible for the many conflicts which we see today. Our principles of action will help to build a future in which conflicts will give way to the spirit of cooperation.

3. The struggle for self-determination in our countries cannot be separated from its international aspects. Our struggle for self-determination has adopted the same ultimate objective as the pacifist movement: a world evolving irresistibly towards unity in diversity. Accordingly, our international policy must target the following objectives:

- protection of human rights and the rights of the national communities to which individuals naturally belong,
- prosperity for all,
- the development of a rational security policy.

4. Security exceeds the narrow scope of military conceptions. Violence can take many forms and may vary a good deal in intensity: an aggressive neighbour, economic sanctions, blocking supplies of basic necessities, high unemployment rates, environmental degradation, or the continued exploitation of the third world.

5. A balanced peace policy is a policy which tries to combat violence in all its forms and which essentially aims at creating the conditions required to establish peaceful relations between nations and peoples. A sound peace policy must address not only military problems but also those of a non-military nature, in order to contribute to building a better world.

6. The problem of North-South relationships is quite as important as the clash between East and West. Furthermore, it is now more essential than ever to pay attention to armed conflicts in the Near and Middle East, where demarcation lines and conflicts of interest should be considered in accordance with very different criteria.

7. The European Free Alliance welcomes the INF which has been concluded between the USA and the USSR, in which it sees the first negotiated reduction in nuclear arms and a first step, small but important, towards a demilitarized Europe. The EFA will encourage the conclusion of further agreements leading to the reduction of the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, the conclusion of a nuclear test ban treaty, the limitation of conventional weapons and tighter controls on the international arms trade.

8. The triple-zero option is necessary but not sufficient if it only affects ground-based missiles. The USA and the USSR are not the only nuclear powers: dismantling must involve the others - at least, as a first step, in an international conference. Alongside the denuclearization of European space, we must also consider the matter of terminating French nuclear testing in the Pacific, which disregards the integrity of the people who live there.

9. The withdrawal of a whole series of nuclear weapons from western Europe will open the way for a revival of European thinking. Western Europe has an opportunity to develop its role and to become an active mediator between the two superpowers.

10. A more integrated western Europe would entail:
- the rejection of violence used for political ends,
- the principle of non-aggression,
- the rejection of the deterrence theory,
- the use of regional policy (for example, demilitarised zones in central Europe, simultaneously incorporating regions of eastern and western Europe) as an effective contribution to peace,
- the principle which states that co-operation between eastern and western Europe is the only possible guarantee of lasting peace and security,
- the opening of dialogue with the Islamic world,
- an end to oppression, occupation and the unjust violation of the right of peoples to self-determination.

11. The European Free Alliance calls for a dynamic policy of detente, leading to the growth of a climate of stability between eastern and western Europe through the intertwining of interests, increased mutual commitments and the encouragement of cooperation. Genuine detente assumes a growth in cultural exchanges, the removal of obstacles to trade and the conclusion of an agreement between the EEC and COMECON. But it also means expanding networks of contacts at every level, in a dialogue between the authorities and “independents”.

12. The unification of Europe in security terms must go hand in hand, within the EEC, with an extension of defence to the whole scope of peace policy and a reactivation of the East-West dialogue. It does not aim at establishing a third block.

13. The creation of a Paris-Bonn axis, intended to promote new forms of European cooperation, has recently been suggested. It is difficult to imagine the development of such an initiative. Recent events (combined military manoeuvres, the joint construction of a military helicopter, the proposals for a military Eureka programme, the establishment of a Franco-German defence council) lead us to fear that this initiative owes more to a distorted concept of security than of a commitment to disarmament.

14. NATO has been diverted from its original aim. It is now the United States which is trying to involve Europe in the defence of its interests, presented as being those of us all. EEC Member States which are also part of the NATO alliance must be able, in the short-term, to study all the decisions which NATO commits them to take without time pressure, to present their own security model and to establish an innovative foreign policy. In the longer term, there should also be a review of the NATO treaty as a whole in order to re-focus existing armaments policy, which should be defensive rather
than offensive, thus also reducing the excessive defence costs.

15. The Helsinki Accords must be respected in their entirety. The Accords concluded should be regarded as indivisible, including the respect of human rights. It will also be essential to the success of the peace policy that the processes which should lead to more openness, freedom and democracy and the respect of human rights in eastern Europe should take a significant step forward, and be highlighted by tangible changes. Glasnost is a significant and encouraging development which must be reflected in events, including measures to help the many political prisoners.

16. The European Free Alliance therefore demands that Europe’s foreign policy be governed by the following fundamental principles:
   - encouragement of all efforts which support the creation of a peacemaker Europe. A dialogue between the EEC and countries such as Switzerland, Sweden and Austria would be particularly opportune. The strengthening of European cooperation with neutral and non-aligned countries will create new opportunities for “satellite” countries;
   - support for countries and regions which, in both East and West, take practical measures to promote peace by creating demilitarised zones and work to have these policies recognised;
   - contributing to the creation of a denuclearized Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and a rejection of any effort to drag the EEC into a confrontation between the superpowers;
   - encouragement for the non-proliferation of weapons throughout the world by strengthening the role of the United Nations;
   - support for the initiatives of either superpower which aim to limit armaments and strengthen disarmament cooperation;
   - denuclearization will not solve all the issues. Security in Europe will be achieved by a defence policy which should be clarified, in particular in respect of the alternatives founded on the balance of power between existing or revised conventional arsenals;
   - large-scale disarmament (denuclearization, reduction of conventional arsenals, etc.) requires attention to the impact on jobs and the foreign trade of the countries concerned. Restructuring with a view to the manufacture of socially useful products requires planning, not only at national level but also regionally and in Europe;
   - support for all the initiatives designed to introduce or boost the control of the production and export of weapons, munitions and military hardware; all embargos on arms intended for countries at war or caught up in internal conflicts should be supported and respected; support for all initiatives for the conversion of the arms industry to production for peaceful ends;
   - cooperation with all European countries in the economic, social, cultural and environmental fields;
   - support for any initiatives designed to ensure the respect of human rights.

17. The European Free Alliance reiterates that its long-term aim is the gradual dismantling of blocks and the end to the nuclear arms race. EFA will oppose any initiatives designed to update or deploy new nuclear arms in western Europe and will lend its support to organisations working for peace and disarmament and which are also looking for a new political direction. The European Free Alliance proposes to replace the defence policies of the traditional European parties with an alternative solution focused on the future, realistic and such as to promote peace in the world.
IV | Towards a European development policy

Sardinia, 2-4 May 1988

1. The European Free Alliance recognises that the underlying causes of hunger in the world are political in origin, and directly linked to trade between the richer industrial countries of the north and the poorer under-developed coutries of the south. The European Free Alliance believes that any serious development policy must consist of two approaches:

1.1. The North-South dialogue, or the international regulation, in accordance with international laws and treaties, of the relationships between rich industrial countries and countries of the third world. This dialogue will cover political as well as economic, financial, cultural and military areas.

1.2. International cooperation, or the way in which rich States aid and support countries in the third world and stimulate development in the different areas of social life.

All European policies for the development of the third world must take account of these two aspects; they must work towards these two objectives and set out the means to achieve and harmonise them simultaneously.

The North-South dialogue

2. The European Community must take measures without delay to re-launch the North-South dialogue, to nurture it and to conduct it successfully. To this end, the Council of Ministers must be guided by the European Parliament, on the basis of the resolution adopted during the February 1987 session.

3. Even if other industrial countries outside the Community are not inclined to take up this dialogue, the Community must, in its own interest, seek to establish contacts and to take up the discussion with the partners who are willing to do so. Preparations for dialogue might be made under the auspices of the Lomé Convention, without excluding the other developing regions.

4. In terms of the current problems, the following initiatives must be taken:

4.1. Financial and debt problems: because of the current international debt crisis, the EEC should encourage western countries to adapt the interest rates accruing to repayments to reflect the per capita GDP of developing countries, while arrangements for future loans should be linked to the encouragement of social and development programmes and the fair distribution of income.

4.2. Problems concerning raw materials, price-setting and the build-up of stocks: a study is required into any coordination of STABEX-SYSMIN systems with UNCTAD agreements on raw materials, and their extension to countries outside the Lomé Convention and the poorest countries, along with a study into the possibility of setting up a ‘stabimp’ (stable import) system for strategic imports [or example oil].

4.3. In terms of current proposals for detente and disarmament, the European Community must present suggestions for the allocation of these newly-available budgets to development, in rich and poor countries alike. The Community must use its influence to ensure that disarmament benefits development throughout the world.

4.4. Universally applicable rules must be drawn up for multinational companies and financial institutions, in parallel with the universal rules of conduct for labour relations, social laws and the prohibition of child labour, all in accordance with the standards laid down by the International Labour Office and the Council of Europe.

4.5. Agreement must be reached on an international code of conduct protecting the different cultures, the rights of peoples, tourism, etc.; this code must be based on openness and the meeting of cultural communities everywhere in the world, while giving priority to dynamic development.

4.6. Efforts must be made to establish democratic structures both between countries and within the states themselves, without imposing a model of unity but giving pride of place to the rights of every citizen to participate in social life.

5. The European Community must prepare carefully for the international conferences which are organised on the North-South problem, and the European Parliament must be involved in these preparations. The same also applies to the UNCTAD and GATT, to international conferences on food or health and population issues, etc.

To improve preparation for these conferences and to ensure that the voice of Europe is better heard, the Community must without delay join the following organisations: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the FAD and the UNDP.

International cooperation

6. The European Community must ensure that the Member States respect their undertaking to devote 0.7% of their gross national product to development aid, and declare its intention of increasing this figure to 1% of GNP, while ensuring that this aid is not bound to the purchase of products or services provided by the EEC.

7. In terms of international cooperation, the European Community has a dual task:

7.1. It must coordinate the different measures taken by its Member States and regions in developing countries; it must harmonise them and provide monitoring.

7.2. Where applicable, it must itself take certain initiatives, for both special and trans-regional projects.

8. Within the Community itself, it must ensure that public awareness is raised appropriately in the course of education and social-cultural training, through non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and voluntary fund-raising.

9. International cooperation, on the part of the Community itself and of the separate Member States and NGOs, depends on a fair partnership, respect for different cultures.
and local support. In many third world countries, the delimitation of borders has divided peoples and cultures unnaturally. Decolonisation cannot be regarded as an end in itself, but as a step on the way to self-determination for all peoples.

10. The Lomé Convention has need of new resources, and the strands relating to culture and human rights must be more detailed. To date, the Lomé Convention has been focused on the former European colonies. The Convention must be extended to the poorest countries.

11. International cooperation must primarily aim at self-sufficiency in food supplies. To this end, the food strategy set out by the former European commissioner K. Pisani provides an ideal framework.

12. In this context, the European Community must review its food aid. Food aid is only acceptable as a way of meeting needs in an emergency. In every other case, food aid must be removed to terminate the current practice which puts food aid at the service of the national interests of farmers and European consumers instead of benefiting developing countries. European agricultural policy itself must take account of the consequences of this option. The EEC must increase its financial aid to developing countries in order to demonstrate the extent of its commitments.

13. Maintaining the habitability of the planet must be the starting point for development cooperation. The community must therefore lend its aid to the conservation of forests and to water supplies. It must prevent the tipping of harmful substances in developing countries.

14. To exploit their own natural resources, these countries must be provided with the means to educate junior and senior management personnel, equipping them with sufficient knowledge and technical skills to enable them to conceive and execute plans.

15. Projects must give preference to the poorest groups in the population and call for their cooperation. Projects must meet the needs of the region receiving aid. They must be planned and implemented in close collaboration with the local population, and be appropriate to their culture. Projects must be such as to produce lasting results, hence the need to include measures ensuring continuity from the start. Instruction, training, infrastructures and adapted technologies all play an important part.

16. The projects set up by the Community must also encourage cooperation between different developing countries in the same region and cooperation between regions.

17. In the context of rules of conduct and international social laws, the Community must encourage its own economic sector (in particular SMEs) to invest in developing countries in the area of knowledge and technology transfer and promote scientific research into issues relating to health, energy supplies, and biotechnology. Policy should reflect the needs of the population and be appropriate to the infrastructure of the developing country.

18. The Community should encourage local councils, municipalities, and regional authorities to take aid initiatives by entering into twinning arrangements with third world regions. The parties which are members of the European Free Alliance could promote this initiative in the regions in which they have a political impact.
Choix d’une politique étrangère efficace et cohérente

Depuis 1989 a été instaurée une situation totalement nouvelle, qui peut être décrite comme suit:

- le conflit unique, possible et frontal a fait place à de nombreux conflits possibles, diversifiés selon le point de départ, y compris à une dimension géographique moindre, et se reposant souvent même pas sur un différend idéologique;
- l’équilibre entre les puissances impérialistes est rompu en faveur des États-Unis,
- l’OTAN a, dans une certaine mesure, perdu sa légitimité,
- les pays d’Europe centrale et orientale, qui étaient autrefois paradoxalement y adhèrent pour protéger des forces nouvelles tendances impérialistes russes,
- le potentiel nucléaire de l’Union soviétique est mort, et ce morcellement a aggravé les risques de prolifération des armes nucléaires;
- les conflits traditionnels sont répartis sur le territoire de l’Europe.

1. Une politique étrangère plus efficace et plus cohérente de l’Union européenne s’impose, en conformité avec une politique commerciale et une politique de coopération au développement communautaire et lointaine, au respect des droits de l’homme et des peuples, la protection de l’environnement, à la recherche d’un règlement pacifique des conflits, à un processus de désarmement mondial, à une «réduction substantielle du commerce des armes et à la reconstruction des industries et des dépenses militaires vers des activités pacifiques et durables».

2. L’Union européenne doit définir son propre concept de la sécurité européenne.

- la défense doit devenir une compétence de l’Union;
- la sécurité de l’Union est une notion commune, s’appliquant à l’ensemble de l’Europe (ce principe ne suffit pas à un rapprochement, le problème du territoire européen de l’Union soviétique);
- ce principe s’applique dans la même mesure à tous les pays situés sur le territoire européen;
- l’Europe doit avoir un concept de sécurité autonome et une défense indépendante. La sécurité européenne relève des Européens;
- l’Europe doit garantir la protection des droits de l’homme et des peuples, la voie vers un ordre européen est continuellement assurée par la démocratie, le respect des droits de l’homme, ainsi que le développement économique, social et culturel;
- l’Europe doit continuer à se réunir en faveur de la paix et de la sécurité en dehors de son territoire, ce qui nous serait confisqué avec le rôle négatif de gendarme supposé des États-Unis comme cela s’est produit lors de la guerre du Golfe;
- l’Union européenne doit tenir compte de la volonté des peuples et des assemblées législatives des régions qui ont particulièrement à faire de bases et de servitudes militaires, indispensables à la mise en œuvre de la sécurité et de la défense européennes.

3. Les institutions de défense et de sécurité doivent être simplifiées. Les États européens furent partie de nombreuses organisations visant directement ou indirectement à la sécurité: l’Union européenne, l’OTAN, la Cour contre les violations des droits de l’homme, l’OSCE, l’ONU, etc., sans parler des institutions qui dépeignent des initiatives distinctes (par exemple la Pacte de stabilité). Il convient d’y apporter d’urgence clarté et simplicité.

4. L’ALE: PDSE souhaite que la PESC devienne une politique internationale de l’Union et cherche d’eine simpliciter coordination à nouveau. Au cours de la CSG, il doit prévoir un transfert partiel et progresif des compétences diplomatiques et militaires à l’Union. L’Organisation pour la sécurité et la coopération en Europe peut devenir le lieu d’élaboration d’un concept de défense européenne autonome, cette solution est préférable aux accords bilatéraux. Le premier pas réalisé dans l’organisation de l’Union de l’Europe occidentale (UEO), démocratique, dans le cadre institutionnel de l’Union européenne, comme le prévoit le traité de Maastricht. Le secrétaire général de l’UEO doit être invité à adhérer à l’UEO, au sein du cadre des missions de Petersberg, afin de coopérer aux opérations de maintien de la paix et aux opérations humanitaires ainsi qu’à celles liés à la gestion des crises, en sorte que les pays participants pour leurs neutralité seraient autorisés à ne pas participer à d’autres volets d’une politique commune de «style » qui porteraient atteinte à cette neutralité, la sécurité collective, par exemple.

5. L’élargissement de l’Union doit s’effectuer pour des raisons de paix et de sécurité plutôt qu’en fonction de considérations économiques. La région du globe constituée par l’Europe doit, de même, se soumettre à de nouveaux processus décisifs pour s’impliquer, sans aucune forme de contrôle démocratique, dans des interventions militaires décidées par des organisations régionales, supranationales ou extra-européennes.

6. Pour atteindre ces objectifs, l’Union européenne doit développer les instruments d’une politique étrangère de paix et de sécurité permanente, associée à une stratégie commune dans le cadre des Nations unies, de l’OSCE et d’autres organisations internationales compétentes en la matière.

7. Dans ce contexte, l’Union européenne et ses États membres doivent concevoir de contribuer à la mise en place d’un système mondial de prévention des conflits, à l’interdiction de toutes armes nucléaires, avec contrôle opérant de la réalité du désarmement, à la consolidation et au développement du droit international et à la création d’instruments de médiation dans les conflits régionales ou autres, à la demande des parties concernées.
VI | To save the Earth

THE EUROPEAN FREE ALLIANCE
in the European Parliament

PRESS RELEASE

Strasbourg, June 11, 2002

Outcome of the Bali preparatory meeting for the World Summit on Sustainable Development

To save the Earth we must protect her Peoples

The European Free Alliance (EFA) in the European Parliament today called on EU representatives to the World Summit in Sustainable Development to set up action plans in partnership with developing countries focusing on real people and to ensure they are included in the process. Nelly Mass MEP, EFA President and member of the parliament’s Development Committee said:

"After the failure of Bali, we doubt whether a Summit such as the one in Johannesburg has any chance of being successful. Our hopes fade each time opening parities to international summits fail to fulfil their promises, allowing the United States to highjack the process. If international agreements of this sort are to be worth the paper that they are written on, then they need to start involving real people throughout the world who are responsible for implementing any decisions."

"We need a system that is bottom up not top down. This must include more decentralised delivery systems and partnerships between the various players. Governments must give people the incentive to become key players in ensuring that their development is sustainable.

"Europe must go its own way to develop action plans in partnership with developing countries. These action plans should focus on people and their participation in the process. The ACP-EU partnership could serve as a framework for national governments in a regional approach."

"Development can only be sustainable if it takes into account the views and needs of all people and not just the rich nations. Participation of people, respect for language, culture and cultural values are conditions for equitable and sustainable development. We should make it a priority to work in partnership with the many communities in the world, building social systems that respect democracy, human rights and good governance."

Jill Evans MEP (Plaid Cymru-The Party of Wales), Member of the European Parliament’s Environment Committee added:

"If the Johannesburg summit and any other future international conferences are to be a success, new structures for global governance are needed. Otherwise the bullying tactics of the US will become the norm. It is unacceptable that USA and Australia used Bali as veto calls for the Kyoto protocol to be ratified by all parties. A World Environmental Organisation is desperately needed to be an arbitrator in such international environmental disputes. But such an organisation would only function if it were properly scrutinised by not just national and international parliaments, but also at sub-national and regional assemblies, where the policies are implemented."

The European Free Alliance will visit regional co-operation projects in South Africa during the World Summit on Sustainable Development as part of their “Connecting People - Celebrating Diversity” campaign. (More information on tour visit)

For more information: Press Office of the European Free Alliance

VIII | Turkey must give EU a date

EFA

http://www.e-f-a.org

6.10.04 Turkey must give EU a date

When will human rights be respected?

In the discussion on the accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU, the European Free Alliance (EFA) stresses once more the importance of meeting the Copenhagen criteria, and more specifically respecting human rights and the rights of minorities. Commenting on the European Commission’s report today, we stress “that a yes for starting negotiations is only possible if Turkey meets the Copenhagen criteria and follows a clear timetable for the implementation of all the reforms”.

“In the field of human rights and the rights of minorities, Turkey is still lagging behind. As a European political party, we define the rights of regions, cultures and peoples as the cornerstone of a United Europe under construction. We acknowledge that Turkey has made considerable progress towards joining the European Union and the values it embodies. But in practice, various violations of human rights remain a reality in Turkey. The reforms announced over the past months may not merely be paper reforms. On the contrary, their implementation should be closely monitored. Amongst other things, this applies to gender equality, the separation of Church and State and the Habeas Corpus rights”, according to Nelly Maes, President of EFA.

Torture is still a part of reality in many Turkish prisons and police stations. The right to education in the Kurdish language is virtually non-existent. Reluctantly, the government accepted the use of the Kurdish language, but only outside the school system.

After the armed struggle and the destruction of hundreds of Kurdish villages, a real dialogue was never established, let alone real peace and recognition of the Kurdish minority and Kurdish culture. For the EFA, these are crucial elements of the Copenhagen criteria that have not been met. Every state should meet these criteria if they want to become part of the European community of values. Turkey has to accept the possibility of a suspension of the negotiations in the event of serious and persistent breaches of fundamental human rights.

Turkey must decide for itself if it wants to subscribe to these European values. Throughout the negotiation process, EC monitoring should focus on a sustainable solution for the Kurdish problem and on respect for human rights in general. With the suspension clause added and once the negotiations have started, the accession of Turkey will not only be a matter of practical proceedings and time. Therefore, the negotiation process may be suspended. The Member States and the European Commission have an overwhelming responsibility in making Turkey respect clear deadlines for implementation.

By: 06/10/2004

IX | EFA defends cultural diversity

EFA

http://www.e-f-a.org

EFA defends cultural diversity at the World Social Forum

Several representatives of the European Free Alliance (EFA) are participating these days in the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brasil.

EFA co-organizes with the Galiza Sempre Foundation a workshop about Cultural Diversity and Democratic Deficit. Günther Daumers, Co-director of EFA, will be one of the intervenants and will talk about the necessity of a multilingual and multicultural society. Xosé Manuel Beiras, "Presidente Fundación Galiza Sempre" and member of the Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG) and Hamilton Pereira, President of the "Fundação Perseu Abramo (Brasil)" will form the panel. Esquerda Republicana de Catalunya’s representative Pilar Delgado is also participating in this WSP, as well as Camilo Naguesa, former EFA MEP from the BNG.

Nelly Maes, President of EFA, demands:

“An international and juridical instrument protecting cultural diversity. The market is not going to protect the cultural and Cultural products and services cannot be seen just as products and should therefore be linguistic diversity. On the contrary, each year, UNESCO expresses said, 30 languages die, exempted from WTO negotiations. The EU must take the lead in this debate and as an example they should recognise all the regional languages in the EU and make them an official language.”

Pilar Delgado, (ERC) declared:

“We welcome that this year one of the main WSP themes is Protecting Diversity, plurality and identity. EFA is very much concerned about the alarming process of disappearance of cultural, linguistic and social diversity in the world. Humanity has to stop this process before we have come to a point of no return.”

EFA is closely collaborating with it partners from the European Greens in several actions during this WSP and has been participating in the WSP since its foundation in 2001. Promoting diversity and peace has always been EFA’s main demand.

By: 07/03/2009
Motion on the situation in Tibet [ENG]

The European Free Alliance and the European Free Alliance youth

Deplore the continuing violation of the rights of the Tibetan people by the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC);

Strongly condemn the incidences of imprisonment, torture, forced sterilisation of Tibetan women, rape, forced labour, restrictions on religious observance, restrictions on the use of Tibetan language, restrictions on the expression of Tibetan culture; actions against the Tibetan people which may constitute genocide under international law;

Welcome His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Government of Tibet in Exile’s consistent efforts to prevent violence and to bring about a peaceful political solution to the tragic situation in Tibet;

Strongly encourage renewed contact between the government of People’s Republic of China and the envoys of HH the Dalai Lama in China and Tibet;

Urge China to without delay release Tibetan political prisoners;

Urge the IOC and China not to take the Olympic flame through Tibet, as it will be seen as a provocation by Tibetans and might give the Chinese government extra reason to increase the repression of the population;

Reaffirm the importance of full respect for the human rights of the Tibetan people, and in particular of ensuring the implementation of the Tibetan people’s right to self-determination;

Express concern at the lack of coherent and effective European policy on Tibet to ensure respect of the rights of the Tibetan people and to promote a political resolution of Sino-Tibetan issue;

Regret that the European Union (EU) dialogue with the PRC on human rights has not yet had significant positive effect on the situation in Tibet;

Are furthermore convinced that the EU and national governments and parliaments can and must develop an effective policy aimed at bringing about a speedy and sustainable political solution to the Sino-Tibetan issue;

Call for solidarity between in all nations, stateless nations and regions, in their support for Tibet’s right to self determination;

Note that China’s use of the Olympics to use as propaganda for world harmony while at the same time crushing all dissent in Tibet is obscene. All European athletes competing in the Olympics should look to their conscience and decide if they wish to take part in a competition in a state that is committing acts of genocide against Tibetans;

We therefore,

1. Urge the Council and Commission of the European Union to implement the resolutions of the European Parliament on Tibet;

2. Call on the EU to, as a matter of urgency, to create the post of EU special envoy to Tibet in order to facilitate dialogue between the PRC Government and HH the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan Government in Exile (and the Tibetan Youth Congress);

3. Call on the EU to increase medical assistance to the whole of Tibet. Recent information shows that many wounded people don’t go to hospitals because Chinese authorities arrest every injured person. Also, Doctors without Borders should be granted access to all parts of Tibet.

4. Call on the EU to initiate the formation of independent international monitoring committee to be sent to Tibet and granted access to all parts of Tibet, not only in the TAR, but also in the provinces Amdo en Kham;

5. Call on the EU and all European governments to use every opportunity to strongly impress upon the government of the PRC to build on the re-establishment of contact with the representatives of HH the Dalai Lama and to immediately embark upon earnest and sincere negotiations with the object of finding a just and lasting political solution;

6. Call on the EU to keep the performance of its human rights dialogue with the PRC under regular review in accordance with the agreed benchmarks and to establish a permanent secretariat to be responsible for the effective conduct of this dialogue in the future;

7. Call on the EU and the national governments of European states to raise the issue of the Tibetan people’s right to self determination;

8. Call on the European Parliament, national parliaments, and the EU Commission and Council to actively monitor whether the treatment of Tibetans by the PRC authorities is affected by the privilege granted to China to host the 2008 Olympic Games; and if there is no significant improvement, to call upon the global Olympic Family and its representatives, including the International Olympic Committee to take appropriate actions;

9. Calls on Heads of Governments and Heads of States to boycott the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in the event there is no resumption of dialogue between the Chinese authorities and His Holiness the Dalai Lama;

EFA General Assembly, Mallorca, 12th of April 2008.
**Motion on Kosovo (ENG)**

The European Free Alliance

1. Recognises the right of people of Kosova to self-determination;
2. Welcomes the declaration of independence of Parliament of Kosova on 17 February 2008;
3. Strongly condemns the isolated acts of violence which followed this declaration;
4. Expresses its disappointment that Kosova’s independence was not unanimously recognised by all 27 Member-States of the European Union and calls on those states which have not recognised the independence of the Republic of Kosova to do so without further delay;
5. Expresses support for the highest standards of minority rights for the non-majority ethnic groups in Kosovo, namely Serbs, Turks, Bosniaks and others, and calls upon them to participate in Kosovó’s institutions;
6. Calls upon the Commission, Parliament and the Council to speed up Kosovó’s European integration, having in mind the requirements and obligations of membership;
7. Expresses support for Serbia’s EU perspective and calls upon the Commission, Parliament and the Council to intensify the effort to support pro-European elements in Serbia with a view to integrating Serbia into the EU;
8. Underlines that the requirements of International Tribunal in De Hague should be met prior to any concessions made by the EU towards Serbia in the integration process.

EFA General Assembly, Mallorca, 11th of April 2008.

**Motion on Palestine and Israel**

The European Free Alliance

1. Recognises that 2008 is the 60th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel and recognises its right to exist;
2. Notes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and supports the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, peacefully coexisting with the State of Israel. EFA condemns the fact that for 40 years Palestinian territories have been under semi-permanent occupation;
3. Condemns all acts of violence in Israel and the Palestinian territories caused by all sides and expresses its deepest sympathy for the civilian population affected by the violence in Palestine and Israel;
4. Welcomes the fact that at the international conference held in Annapolis all parties expressed their wish for a new start of negotiations with a view to the establishment of a sovereign and viable Palestinian State, alongside a safe Israeli State. Regrets the lack of action since the conference;
5. Reiterates its call for an immediate end to all acts of violence; calls on Israel to cease military actions killing and endangering civilians, and extrajudicial targeted killings; calls on Hamas, following the illegal takeover of the Gaza Strip, to prevent the firing of rockets by Palestinian militias from the Gaza Strip into Israeli territory;
6. Believes that the policy of isolation and the blockade of the Gaza Strip has failed at both the political and humanitarian level; reiterates its call to all parties to fully respect international law, and notably international humanitarian law;
7. EFA asks for an immediate end to the economic blockade of the Gaza strip, with priority to medical and food transports, since the Palestinian economy is brought close to a point of total collapse;
8. EFA believes that all damages induced to infrastructure funded with foreign money in the Palestine territories should be refunded by the one causing the damages;
9. EFA explicitly want to draw more attention to the situation of the Palestinians and our partners will undertaken all useful action to inform the general public about the deteriorating situation;

EFA strongly believes that a viable Palestinian State and a sustainable solution with peace can only be reached if the Israelis stop the strategy of creating more and more enclaves, divided territories, roadblocks, building of walls in the Westbank;
- Calls for and end to the Israeli occupation and continuing construction of illegal settlements in the occupied territories;
- Calls for a release of all Israeli and Palestine political prisoners including Palestinian Members of Parliament;
- EFA will work with Palestinian and Israeli organisations working for peace and justice;

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Motion 8:
Democratization in North Africa and the Middle East.

Text of the motion:

Introduction
A democratic wave has swept Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain and has reached, at different scales, and with hitherto less dramatic effects, other North African and Middle Eastern countries such as Jordan, Syria, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Algeria, Yemen as well as the West Bank Palestinian Occupied Territories. In some cases, this wave is channelled by the enlightened pro-active ness of new leaders, in others, it crashes on despots’ ruthless resistance.

Even if the future, including short term, remains unpredictable and if everything is teaching us to remain as careful as possible in our judgement and reaction, it is quite clear that what we are witnessing is civil societies from the North African and Middle East regions asking for more democracy. These regions are undergoing democratic uprising. This uprising is bringing about deep and spectacular changes, in the very vicinity of Europe. These are Historic moments.

The people and civic activists, who, with great courage and massive sacrifice, have generated this unfolding of heroic events, deserve our greatest respect and admiration.

The agenda of these democracies in the making is huge, filled with challenges, all of which will be just as many tests for their civil societies.

Now not only can we guess that nothing is consolidated or certain in Egypt or Tunisia, but we know that repression is well underway, with its usual atrocities, in Libya and Bahrain. Just as much as we can see some countries softly evolving towards more democracy and the Rule of Law, we are currently witnessing aggressive stiffenings of many regimes, as well as a clear, and tragic, reversal of situations in countries like Libya.

Basic features of situation:
- Gross violations of human rights, military repression of civic orderly movements.
- Humanitarian emergency situation in some of those countries.
- Massive migration movements.

Challenge:
Redefine Europe’s basic political frames dealing with the Euro-Mediterranean region.

Conclusion:
For these reasons, and in this context the EFA, its members and partners, wish to stress the following, and prompt robust mobilization of the EU on these topics and items:

1. The EFA wishes to acknowledge the immense causal importance, and awful tragedy, of the heroic death of “Tarek al-Tayyib Muhammad Bouazizi” commonly known as Mohamed Bouazizi².
2. EFA respects these societies’ self-determination and believes that it is their duty, right and responsibility to define and decide for their own futures. In this line, EFA demands the recognition and respect of the rights of the different minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic, cultural, sexual, etc.) that coexist in the Northern African and Middle East regions; and their right to be involved in the re-shaping of their own future political, social and economic structures.
3. EFA calls the EU to stand by the Middle Eastern and North African civil societies and forces of democratization to assist them in a perilous and difficult transition.
4. EFA asks the EU to take a firm stance and launch adequate actions against the violent repression of uprising civil societies.
5. EFA considers that the EU should tackle, as soon as possible, the humanitarian assistance that should be provided to civilians in these countries.
6. EFA strongly supports and calls for the earliest possible democratic elections, fully respecting and embedding these societies’ pluralistic composition, and channelling in a peaceful way natural and common dissent.
7. EFA calls for EU coordinated solidarity with

² Mohamed Bouazizi was a Tunisian street vendor who set himself on fire on December 17, 2010, in protest of the confiscation of his wares and the harassment and humiliation that was allegedly inflicted on him by a municipal official. This act became the catalyst for the Tunisian revolution and was the starting point of the sequence of historical events that we know.
Southern Europe countries directly concerned by the migratory movements, and to take the multi-layered dimension of immigration seriously.

8. EFA thinks that the representatives of the EU institutions should get in touch, as soon as possible, with elected representatives in the newly freed Northern African and Middle Eastern countries, and to jointly develop comprehensive plans and strategies aimed at embedding wide and ambitious socio-economic partnerships.

9. The EFA fully supports an ambitious, consistent and robust redefinition of the EU’s policy for the Mediterranean region. Deeper economic integration should be stimulated through easier market access and softening of barriers; along with a new and strong democratic political structure defined by justice, social cohesion, solidarity transparency, and free elections.

10. EFA encourages the countries in North Africa and Middle East to strongly invest in education, progresses of literacy, end of corruption and women empowerment.

11. The EFA demands European Member States to stop delivering arms to non-democratic regimes.

Mariehamn 15th April 2011.