

Dr. Tudi KERNALEGENN

Study

THE INTERNATIONALISM OF THE EFA



index

Introduction	04
--------------	----

Chronology of the EFA	28
-----------------------	----

The leadership of EFA	34
-----------------------	----

The MEPs of the EFA	36
---------------------	----

The General Assemblies of the EFA	48
-----------------------------------	----

EFA parties	50
-------------	----

Founding texts of EFA	54
-----------------------	----

Archives material	60
-------------------	----

Documents	64
-----------	----



Introduction

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 struggling for the rights of the Galician people, or of Corsican MEPs representing Breton and Occitan issues.

Speaking of the internationalism of nationalists may seem paradoxical. Nevertheless, it is from the beginning not only at the heart of the structure and the project of the EFA, but also of its world view, of its ideology. This is what we intend to study in this report, with the aim

to analyse the positions of the EFA and its representatives on defence, internationalist and peace policies from its creation, in 1981.

In 1981, a number of regionalist and nationalist parties combined to form a union based on cooperation, the European Free Alliance, with nine partners signing the Declaration of the Convention of Brussels. A permanent secretariat is settled, based in Brussels and directly linked to EFA's MEPs. Indeed, until 2004 at least, the EFA is above all a grouping of regionalist and nationalist MEPs: there is no distinct staff and most of the finances and ideological work is coming from the MEPs and their staff. From six member parties in 1981, the EFA develops very quickly: 21 full members in 1991, 22 in 2001 [the group stagnates in the 1990s from all viewpoints] and 36 in 2011.

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 change involves the renaming 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 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'être* of the party, though, remains the MEPs until now¹.

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*"². 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 green³ approach from its creation: "*the EFA advocates a new life-style that attaches 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 1984] the EFA accepts only non-violent parties.

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; Seiler, 2004; Bajulaz, 2002.

² But "*the natural community in which the individual can fulfil himself is the ethnic community*".

³ It is notably very 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^a

	Foreign Affairs: POLI [1979-1994], AFET [1994-now]	Development: DEVE	International trade: RELA [1979-1999], INTA [2004-now]
1979-1984			Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [1981-1982]
1984-1989	<i>Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [1984-1987]</i>	Willy Kuijpers [1984-1989]	
1989-1994	<i>Karlos Garaikoetxea [1991] Heribert Barrera i Costa [1991] Winifred Ewing [1989-1991]</i>	Winifred Ewing [1989-1994]	Luigi Moretti [1989-1992]
1994-1999	<i>Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [1994-1995]</i>	<i>Allan Macartney [1994-1997] Nelly Maes [1999]</i>	
1999-2004	<i>Nelly Maes [2002-2004] Gorka Knörr [1999-2001] Miquel Mayol [2001-2004]</i>	<i>Nelly Maes [1999-2004]</i>	
2004-2009	<i>Tatjana Ždanoka [2004-2007]</i>		
2009-2014	<i>Frieda Brepoels [2009-2013] Mark Demesmaeker [2013-2014]</i>		

If there has always been EFA MEPs dealing with international issues, they have rarely been full members in the concerned committees. The explanation is simple. Nelly Maes underlines that AFET is both a very demanding committee,

but with very little power⁵. For Jose Luis Linazasoro, EFA MEPs do not constitute a big group, and they therefore try to concentrate on topics that distinguish them from other MEPs, and where they can be useful for their

nation. Most of the issues raised in AFET and interesting for EFA MEPs (notably the rights of national minorities in the world) can be dealt as well in intergroups or even in friendship groups (interview, 7th of May 2012).

In the interviews I’ve done during the General assembly of Ljouwert (23-24th March 2012) it has appeared quite clearly that for many parties, notably the most conservative ones, the EFA should keep to its core business (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).

For other parties though, notably the most progressive ones, it is possible for the EFA to elaborate a coherent and comprehensive ideology based on its ideological core. The EFA should therefore develop a global reflection, which should never be restrictive and imposed to the member parties though.

This second tendency has dominated the history of the EFA (up to the 2000s at least), even though the EFA never developed a truly comprehensive program, and one can think that even if international issues have not been at the core of the EFA’s business, the group has tried to develop a reflection on it. This is what we are going to try to assess in this report, with a chronological approach first, and then a thematic one.

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-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.”

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.

^a bold type: full member
italic type: substitute
DROI: **Heribert Barrera i Costa [1991]**; Tatjana Ždanoka [2004-2009]; Frieda Brepoels [2009-2013]; Mark Demesmaeker [2013-2014]
SEDE: Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [1994-1997]
AFET: Foreign Affairs (Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy from 1994 until 2004)
DROI: Human Rights
SEDE: Security and Defence
DEVE: Development (and Cooperation until 2004)
INTA: International Trade (from 2004)
POLI: Political Affairs Committee [1979-1994]: ancestor of AFET
RELA: External Economic Relations [1979-1999]

⁵ Interview, 3rd of May 2012.

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.*

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 Policy⁶”, is the result of the fusion of two reflections. The first one, “Towards a European ‘Post Yalta’ policy”⁷, is first presented 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

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.

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.

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 report⁸ (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.”*

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)⁹. 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 Vandemeulebroucke, EFA MEP and president, was of the opinion that Plaid Cymru’s text was better than the draft¹⁰. 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 Columbu, from PSD’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)¹¹. The adopted text¹² 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 cooperation”, 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

⁶ Appendix: Document 8c. Found in ADVN Archives, D 10956 4/1.

⁷ Appendix: Document 8a.

⁸ The Brandt Report was written in 1980 by an Independent Commission first chaired by Willy Brandt, and focused above all on the North-South divide.

⁹ Appendix: “Defence policy – discussion paper”, Document 8b. Found in ADVN’s Archives, D 10953 3/1.

¹⁰ Both texts are available in ADVN’s archives: the original draft in D 10954 [5/1] and Plaid Cymru’s text in D 10968 [2/1].

¹¹ Minutes of Sardinia’s General Assembly (2-4th May 1988) : ADVN’s archives, D 10956 [2/1].

¹² Appendix: Document 8c. French version found in the EFA’s Digital Archives.

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 policy¹³”. 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 banned, except in situations of emergency, since it benefits only the European farmers and harms the local producers. Self determination 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 implemented in close collaboration with the local population”. Let’s mention at 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”.

C. EFA IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, BETWEEN PRINCIPLES AND PRAGMATISM (1989-2004)

After Sardinia, the EFA’s program on international and peace issues will not be truly reassessed again. 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 European countries”, “opposition towards power blocks” and “real cooperation with the developing 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 armaments¹⁴”. 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 Vandemeulebroucke announces that the Rainbow Group will submit a urgency resolution to prevent a recognition of Serbia-and-Montenegro [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 democracy, acknowledge religious and philosophical diversity as a positive value, and are socially progressive and active in peace and disarmament policy.”¹⁵

Those hopes are not really successful though, and are sometimes problematic, notably concerning the Slovak National Party, which turns out to be a far right movement, aggressive for example against the Hungarian minority¹⁶.

¹⁴ ADVN, EFA’s archives, D 10963 3/1.

¹⁵ Let’s notice that peace and disarmament policies are considered as part of the core identity of the EFA here.

¹⁶ This worries many members of the EFA. See for example the minutes of the EFA’s General Assembly of the 19-20th of October 1992.

¹³ Appendix: Document 8d. French version found in the EFA’s Digital Archives.

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 EFA¹⁷, 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".

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 CMC¹⁸, 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 Galiza Sempre Foundation) a workshop about "Cultural Diversity and Democratic Deficit". Pillar Dellunde, 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 thing¹⁹.

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.

¹⁷ See Appendix. Document 8e: "Les positions européennes de l'Alliance Libre Européenne - Parti Démocratique des Peuples d'Europe dans la perspective de la Conférence Intergouvernementale de 1996", digital archives of the EFA. I've found only a French version, although an English version certainly exists.

¹⁸ The Centre Maurits Coppieters was created in 2007 as the EFA's European Political Foundation.

¹⁹ <http://e-f-a.org/news.php?id=5>

The project of the EFA is defined at the General assembly of Sardinia in 1988, and has not been reassessed since then. Due to history (and most notably to the deep evolution of Eastern

Europe since 1989) priorities have evolved though, notably concerning Eastern Europe and Enlargement.

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, the integration of Eastern Europe in a common political project. Linked to its non-violent approach to politics, a third theme is also crucial: its involvement on peace issues. We will mention lastly, linked this time to EFA's green consciousness, its political work on the environment and sustainable development.

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

For Frieda Brepoels:

"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 Uyghur 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."²⁰

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-determination²¹. 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)²². And this interest of EFA's MEPs appears to be in no way recent. In 1991, synthesizing his work on international issues, Max Simeoni, MEP for Corsica, stressed that he had worked in favour

of the Kurds, the Sahraouis and the Amerindians, through interventions and resolutions. This focus stresses one message, "of great value" according to Jaak Vandemeulebroucke: "the democratic right to more autonomy. This way may not be the most radical nor the quickest, but it is with no doubt the most fundamental. Because it claims first 'No more wars', offers worthy alternatives and professes tolerance and respect for human rights"²³.

The solidarity with the Kurds is probably the most enduring one for the EFA. As soon as 1981, the EFA mentions that "representatives of Kurdish parties visited us in Brussels, asking us to launch a campaign in the European Parliament in Strasbourg"²⁴. Indeed, in 1982, the EFA was to help the Kurds to organise a press conference in Strasbourg with representatives of all the Kurds movements in Western Europe²⁵. During the Gulf War, the EFA used the context to put forward the Kurdish issue in the European Parliament, pointing out though that the interest of the EP for the Kurds had been as short lived as the duration of the war. One of the most important focuses of intervention for the EFA has been the support for the Kurdish political prisoners. In December 1994 for instance, Jaak Vandemeulebroucke, president of the EFA, wrote Klaus Kinkel, President of the Council, a letter to support four Kurd MP, Leyla Zana among them, which were condemned to 15 years imprisonment for the "crime" of being "separatist"²⁶.

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 minorities²⁷. "The Road from Ankara to Brussels has to go by Diyarbakir" claims Günther Dauwen [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 DEHAP²⁸, 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 core political business."*

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

²³ Jaak Vandemeulebroucke parliamentary activities in 1992 (ADVN, EFA's archives, D 10960 4/1).

²⁴ Report of the EFA meeting of the 9th of December 1981.

²⁵ Minutes of the EFA's bureau, 6th of March 1982.

²⁶ ADVN, EFA's archives, D 10969 3/1.

²⁷ Press release, 6th of October 2004. See Appendix 8h.

²⁸ 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).

²⁰ Mail sent on the 1st of May 2012.

²¹ Interview on the 7th of May 2012.

²² Interview on the 3rd of May 2012.

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 Heribert 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 2004 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 a stronger response from the EU [17.07.2006]. A few months later, Jill Evans insists: “The gravity of the situation means we have to consider the imposition of EU trade sanctions against Israel if the killing of civilians continues” [press release, 9.11.2006]. The idea that the EU-Israel

association agreement, which gives Israel preferential access to the EU market, should be reviewed to pressure the Israeli government into meaningful peace talks with the Palestinians is a recurrent demand from the EFA MEPs.

To make official the EFA point of view, a motion is adopted at the EFA’s General Assembly of Mallorca, on the 11th of April 2008²⁹. Recognising both Israel’s right to exist and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the EFA calls for the peaceful coexistence of an independent Palestinian state and of a state of Israel. Calling for an immediate end to all acts of violence and to a respect by all parties of international law, one can nevertheless be surprised that the motion puts both sides on a same level in the articles 3 and 5, as if there were not an aggressor and a victim. Despite those ambiguities, from which we might infer that there is no consensus inside EFA on the Palestinian issue, the motion clearly asks that the economic blockade of the Gaza strip should be ended, condemns the strategy of the Israelis to divide the Palestinian territory with enclaves, roadblocks and walls, and calls for an end to the Israeli occupation and continuing construction of illegal settlements in the occupied territories.

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 Israel³⁰. 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 1989³¹: 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 People³². For example, in September 2000, three EFA MEPs (Carlos Bautista, Gorka Knörr and Eurig 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 referendum³³. 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 2006], 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.”*³⁴

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 2011³⁵.

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]³⁶, 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

²⁹ Jill Evans speech during the Plenary debate on the Middle East, 18.02.2009.

³¹ “1989. Paz e independencia para el pueblo Saharaui. El rol de los países europeos”.

³² In this term, the EFA members of this intergroup are Frieda Brepoels and Jill Evans.
Source: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/intergroupes/List_VII_LEG_07_Western_Sahara_20120511.pdf

³³ Activity report, June 1999 – July 2001 [D 10972, 3/1].

³⁴ Press release, 3rd of May 2006.

³⁵ Press release, “EU rejects Moroccan rights over Western Saharan Waters”, 14.12.2011. Let’s notice that, exceptionally, five EFA MEPs are mentioned in this press release, showing clearly how important this issue is for the group.

³⁶ See Appendix J.

²⁹ 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 concerned³⁷).

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 Azawad³⁸.

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 right to self-determination and support for the new states in the 1990s, in favour of the oppressed national and cultural minorities in the 2000s, to schematize. For Maurits Coppieters indeed, in 1987, "when we speak of Europe, we are talking about the whole of Europe. Europe as far as the Urals³⁹". 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 world⁴⁰.

The years from 1989 have been great years for the EFA MEPs, at the forefront of the recognition of the new states in Eastern Europe⁴¹. 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 [1992], 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 a self-determination struggle in Eastern Europe 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 Slovakia⁴² 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 again⁴³".

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 frontiers⁴⁴. It demands as well that the pre-Milosevic autonomy should be reinstalled in Vojvodina, and claims that it is thanks to the EFA that a resolution voted by the EP in September 2004 mentions this issue⁴⁵.

³⁷ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/intergroupes/List_VII_LEG_08_Tibet_20120524.pdf

³⁸ http://www.francois-alfonsi.eu/Peuples-Beberes_r12.html.

³⁹ EFA General Assembly, Brussels, 7-8th of September 1987.

⁴⁰ Bajulaz, 2002, p. 81-82.

⁴¹ ADVN, EFA's archives, D 10958 3/1 & D 10960 4/1.

⁴² "Bilan d'activité, juin 1999-juillet 2001", D 10972 3/1.

⁴³ EFA press release, 18th of October 2005, "Romania fails to respect basic human rights".

See also: Nelly Maes activities (1999-2001): D 10972 (3/1).

⁴⁴ "Bilan d'activité, juin 1999-juillet 2001", D 10972 3/1.

⁴⁵ "Report of EFA mission to Vojvodina", 11th of November 2005.

Last issue worth mentioning, and still problematic until now, is the issue of Macedonians in Bulgaria. Their political party, OMO Ilinden-Pirin, is created and banned in 1999. Even if it becomes observer of the EFA only in 2006 and full member in 2007, the federation follows this problem from the beginning, putting pressure on Bulgaria to recognise the party and the rights of the small Macedonian minority. Nelly Maes writes thus a letter, on the 8th of November 2005, to the President and the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, asking them to recognize the existence of the Macedonian minority and to allow Omo Pirin to

register as a legal political party. In another letter, on the 16th of January 2006, she reminds the Prime Minister of Bulgaria that the European Court of Human Rights stated that the ban of Omo Pirin was illegal. It is logically therefore that Bernat Joan, among others, “had no other choice than to vote against the positive verdict” on the progress of Bulgaria towards EU membership. The EFA denounces in a press release, in June 2006, the double standards of the MEPs, who even rejected a clause calling on Bulgaria to respect the European Courts of Human Rights’ judgements⁴⁶.

C. PACIFISM AND NON-VIOLENCE?

The issue of violence is central to the identity of the EFA, which defines itself as representing non-violent nationalism, and refuses therefore parties that support violence among its members. This issue has three dimensions as far as international policies are concerned: arms trade, 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 exportations. It promoted for example a wide scale reconversion of the arms industry, as in 1992 when its MEPs suggested, with only partial success, the creation of a new budget line for the EU, named RECARM, which would help to finance the redevelopment of regions affected by the crisis of the arms

industry⁴⁷. Without refusing arms trade per se, they fight against its most extreme elements. For example, in 2000, Nelly Maes “urge that an immediate and total ban on the use of depleted uranium be put in place⁴⁸”. In 2006, Jill Evans asks for a total ban on cluster bombs for being inaccurate and indiscriminate, noting that their effects on the civilian population in Iraq and Lebanon have been devastating. “These awful weapons have no place in a civilised world⁴⁹”. The EFA fights also for a ban on arms trade with countries who don’t respect human rights and with non-democratic regimes⁵⁰. In 1992, the EFA urged for example that no more weapons should be supplied to Turkey⁵¹. In 2001, Nelly Maes explained:

“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.^{52”}

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 counter productive. Time after time we have seen that only dialogue can bring about peaceful, sustainable political solutions.*^{53”}

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 worsen 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^{54”} 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.*^{55”}

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 Begoña 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 counter productive. Time after time we have seen that only dialogue can bring about peaceful, sustainable political solutions.^{56”}

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 never has [or then, rotten seeds].

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.

⁴⁶ Press release, 30th of June 2006, “EU double standards on Bulgaria criticised”.

⁴⁷ Parliamentary activities of Jaak Vandemeulebroucke, 1992 [D 10960 4/1].

⁴⁸ “The Salana Syndrome: a deficiency of information”, press release, 17th of January 2000.

⁴⁹ “Plaid MEP backs cluster bomb ban”, press release, 17th of November 2006.

⁵⁰ See notably the conclusion 11 of the motion “Democratization in North Africa and the Middle East” adopted in Mariehamn at the the EFA’s General Assembly of the 15th of April 2011.

⁵¹ EFA Newsletter n°2, July 17th 1992.

⁵² “EU still lacks a coherent approach to human rights”, press release, 18th of January 2001.

⁵³ “EFA shows its solidarity with the victims of the Bombay terror blasts and deeply condemns the attacks”, Press release, 8th of October 2001.

⁵⁴ “EFA appalled by violence in the Middle East condemns the disproportioned Israeli armed response”, press release, 17th of July 2006.

⁵⁵ “Statement on the US-led Military Strikes in Afghanistan”, press release, 8th of October 2001.

⁵⁶ “EFA appalled by violence in the Middle East condemns the disproportioned 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 Ålands Framtid at the General assembly of 2011⁵⁷, 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 EFA's approach, which has always been attached to a strong development policy of the European Union towards the South⁵⁸, 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"⁵⁹. 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.*⁶⁰"

Indeed, "the success of any international agreement on sustainability depends on grass roots involvement", and "solutions must be found as close as possible to the communities they affect"⁶¹. 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."*⁶²

Similarly, the EFA insists "on human rights clauses in all international agreements between the Union and developing countries"⁶³, 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"⁶⁴. 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 explains⁶⁵, 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, ones need to preserve the environment that sustains the people.

⁵⁷ 5th of April 2011, Mariehamn, Åland.

⁵⁸ 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].

⁵⁹ Jill Evans, "Uniting People – Celebrating Diversity. The European Free Alliance in Johannesburg [24-29 August 2002]", press release, 10th of July 2002.

⁶⁰ "Catalan MEP emphasis inextricable link between democratisation and development", press release, 22nd of November 2005.

⁶¹ Rainbow Group electoral platform, 1994.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Interview, 3rd of May 2012.

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 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.

⁶⁶ As opposed to state-wide or dominant nationalism.

Bibliography

- BAJULAZ [Carole], *Le Parti Démocratique des Peuples d’Europe – Alliance Libre Européenne. Une alternative politique dans le système partisan de l’Union européenne*, unpublished dissertation, Institut d’Études Politiques de Grenoble, 2002.
- DAUWEN [Günther], VANHAELEWYN [Mathieu], *European Free Alliance: Voice of the peoples of Europe. The first 25 years (1981-2006)*, Brussels, EFA, 2006.
- LYNCH [Peter], “Co-operation between regionalist parties at the level of the European Union. The European Free Alliance”, in DE WINTER [Lieven], TÜRSAN [Huri] ed., *Regional parties in Western Europe*, London & New York: Routledge, 1998.
- LYNCH [Peter], DE WINTER [Lieven], “The shrinking political space of autonomist parties in an enlarged Europe of the Regions”, *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 18, n°5 n, 2008.
- LYNCH [Peter], “Le délitement du régionalisme suite à l’élargissement de l’Europe? Le futur de l’Alliance libre européenne-PDPE”, in DELWIT [Pascal] ed., *Les partis régionalistes en Europe. Des acteurs en développement?*, Bruxelles: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2005.
- SEILER [Daniel-Louis], “The Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe [DPPE-EFA]”, in DELWIT [Pascal], KÜLAHCI [Erol], VAN DE WALLE [Cédric] eds., *The Europarties Organisation and Influence*, Bruxelles: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2004.

Appendix

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:
 - a. “Towards a European ‘Post Yalta’ policy”, by Dr. Maurits Coppieters [Bastia, 11–12th November 1982].
 - b. “Defence policy – discussion paper”, text presented by Plaid Cymru at EFA’s General assembly of Cardiff [3–4th July 1986]
 - c. “Peace and Security Policy”, text adopted at the General assembly of Sardinia, 2–4th May 1988.
 - d. “Towards a European Development Policy”, text adopted at the General assembly of Sardinia, 2–4th May 1988.
 - e. “Les positions européennes de l’Alliance Libre Européenne – Parti Démocratique des Peuples d’Europe dans la perspective de la Conférence Intergouvernementale de 1996 – 3. Choix d’une politique étrangère efficace et cohérente”
 - f. “To save the Earth we must protect her Peoples”, press release, 11th of June 2002.
 - g. “Uniting People – Celebrating Diversity. The European Free Alliance in Johannesburg”, press release, 10th of July 2002.
 - h. “Turkey must give EU a date”, press release, 6th of October 2004.
 - i. “EFA defends cultural diversity at the world social forum”, press release, 7th of March 2005.
 - j. Motions of the General Assembly of 2008 on Tibet; Kosova; and Palestine & Israel
 - k. Motion of the General Assembly of 2011: “Democratization in North Africa and the Middle East”



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 “*Charter of Brussels*”) by eight regionalist and nationalist parties: Volksunie [VU, Flanders], Partei der Deutschsprachigen Belgier [PDB, German Community in Belgium], Fryske 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 co-operation: 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, Fryske Nasjonale Partij, Strollad ar Vro [SAV, Brittany], Independent Fianna Fáil [IFF, Ireland], Elsass-Lothringischer Volksbund, Unione di u Populu Corsu, País 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 Moschenross [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 País [VVAP,

Occitania], Plaid Cymru, Rassemblement Populaire Wallon [RPW], UPC, PDB and VU.

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. Winifred 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 Gasòliba i Bòhm, 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 Euskadiko Ezkerra, 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 youths in Bilbao [Basque country].

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

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], Mario Melis [PSd’Az], Max Simeoni [UPC], Winifred 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 Folkebevægelsen 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 García, 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 McCormick [SNP], Jill Evans and Eurig Wyn [Plaid Cymru], Nelly Maes and Bart Staes [VU], Carlos Bautista Ojeda [PA], 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 Knórr 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 Moravská Democatická 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.

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

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 Lasagabaster [EA], Jill Evans [Plaid Cymru], Gustave Alirol [POC], Franco Piretta [PSd'Az], Roelof Falkena [Fryske Nasjonale Partij], Bartolomiej Swiderek [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 cilvēka 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.

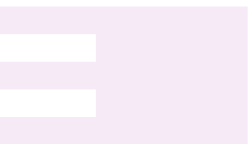
2012

January 1st: Ana Miranda [BNG] becomes MEP, replacing Oriol Junqueras [ERC].

2013

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

July 1st: Iñaki Irazabalbeitia [Aralar] becomes MEP, replacing Ana Miranda [BNG].



The leadership of the EFA

Presidents of the EFA

1981-1990	Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [VU], Flanders
1990-1991	Carlos Garaikoetxea [EA], Basque country
1991-1994	Winnie Ewing [SNP], Scotland
1994-1997	Jaak Vandemeulebroucke [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	Begoña 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

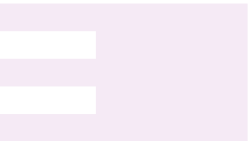
2004-incumbent	José Luis Linazasoro, Basque Country
----------------	--------------------------------------

Directors of EFA

2004-2006	Eva Mendoza, Andalusia, and Günther Dauwen, Flanders.
2006-incumbent	Günther Dauwen, Flanders

EFA-Youth Presidents

2000-2001	Mikel Irujo [EA/Gazte Abertzaleak]
2001-2003	Pere Aragonès [J-ERC]
2003-2005	Jonas Dutordoir [Prego/Spirit]
2005-2007	Lander de Bilbao [EA/Gazte Abertzaleak]
2007-2009	Rhisiart Tal-e-bot [Kernow X]
2009-2010	Jezz Anbleydh [Kernow X]
2010-2011	Irati Aizpurua [EA/Gazte Abertzaleak]
2011-incumbent	Roccu Garoby [PNC-G]



The MEPs of the EFA

Session	Group name	EFA's MEPs [group total]	MEPs by party	Committees	Delegations
1979-1984	Technical coordinating group ¹	2/3 [12]	Independent Fianna Fáil (Ireland): - Neil T. BLANEY Volksunie (Flanders): - Maurits COPPIETERS [1979-1981] - Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE [1981-1984] Rassemblement Wallon: - Paul-Henry Gendebien ²	REGI [1979-1982]; CONT [1982-1984]; AGRI [1982-1984] CULT [1979-1981]; CONT [1981] RULE; RELA [1981-1982]; ENVI [1982-1984] TRAN [1979-1982]; REGI [1982-1984]	Latin-America [1983-1984] Latin-America [1983-1984]

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

² Took part to many meetings of the EFA between 1981 and 1984, when he also became member of the Group for Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members.

Session	Group name	EFA's MEPs [group total]	MEPs by party	Committees	Delegations
1984-1989	Rainbow Group	3 [20]	Partito Sardo d'Azione (Sardinia): - Michele COLUMBU Volksunie (Flanders): - Willy KUIJPERS - Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE Eusko Alkartasuna (Basque Country): ³ - Karlos GARAIKOETXEA [1987-1989]	REGI [1984-1987]; INST [1984-1987]; ENVI [1987-1989]; ENER [1984-1986]; CULT [1986-1987]; REGI [1987-1989] DEVE; CULT [1984-1989] REGI [1984-1989]; VC from 1987-1989]; POLI [1984-1987]; ENER [1987-1989]; RULE [1987-1989] REGI	South America [1985-1987]; Central America [1987-1989]
1989-1994	Rainbow Group	9 [15]	Agrupaciones Independientes de Canarias: - Isidoro SANCHEZ GARCIA ⁴ [1992-1993] Coalición Galega: - José POSADA GONZALEZ ⁵ [1993-1994] Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Catalonia): - Heribert BARRERA I COSTA [1991-1994] Eusko Alkartasuna (Basque Country): - Karlos GARAIKOETXEA [1989-1991] Independent Fianna Fáil (Ireland): - Neil T. BLANEY	TRAN; AGRI TRAN CULT; DROI [1991]; POLI [1991]; ENVI [1992-1994] REGI; CULT [1991]; AGRI; POLI [1991] AGRI; PECH [1992-1994]	Maghreb; Iceland Maghreb South America [1991-1992]; Baltic states [1992-1994] South America Aust. & NZ [1989-1992]; USA [1992-1994]

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 Jon Gangoiti Llaguno (PNV – EPP) in the Parliament. He will join again the EFA MEPs in the Group of the European Radical Alliance between 1994 and 1996.

⁵ Not member of the EFA but of the Rainbow Group. Replaced Isidoro Sanchez Garcia in July 1993. He will join again the EFA MEPs in the Group of the European Radical Alliance in 1999.

Session	Group name	EFA's MEPs (group total)	MEPs by party	Committees	Delegations
1989-1994	Rainbow Group	9 [15]	Lega Lombarda [Northern Italia]: - Luigi MORETTI - Francesco SPERONI Partido Andalucista [Andalusia]⁶: - Pedro PACHECO [1989-1990] - Diego DE LOS SANTOS LÓPEZ [1990-1994] Partito Sardo d'Azione [Sardinia]: - Mario MELIS SNP [Scotland]: - Winifred EWING Unione di u Populu Corsu [Corsica]: - Max SIMEONI Volksunie [Flanders]: - Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE	RELA [1989-1992]; REGI [1992-1994]; <i>REGI [1989-1992]; ECON [1992-1994]</i> INST; LEGA [1989-1991 – VC]; TRAN [1992]; ECON [1992-1994]; <i>TRAN [1989-1992]; LEGA [1991-1992]; LIBE [1992-1994]</i> AGRI; <i>CULT</i> AGRI; <i>REGI [1992-1994]; CULT [1990-1991]</i> INST [VC – 1992-1994]; REGI [1989-1992]; ENER [1992-1994]; <i>ENVI [1989-1992]; REGI [1992-1994]</i> DEVE; PECH [1992-1994]; <i>POLI [1989-1991]; FEMM [1989-1992]; AGRI [1991-1994]</i> CULT [VC]; LEGA [1991-1992 – VC] CULT [1989-1991]; REGI [1991-1994]; <i>RULE; REGI [1989-1991]; SOCI [1991-1994]</i>	ASEAN [1989-1992]; Czechoslovakia [1992-1994 – VC]; <i>Iceland [1992-1994] Norway [1992-1994]; Czechoslovakia [1992-1994]</i> USSR USSR [1990-1992]; Turkia [1992-1994] Maghreb [1989-1992 – VC]; Malta [1992-1994]; <i>Turkey [1992-1994]</i> ACP; <i>Baltic countries [1992-1994]</i> UN [1989-1992]; Hungary [1992-1994] ASEAN [1992-1994]; <i>USA [1992-1994]</i>
1994-1999	European Radical Alliance	3 [19]	Agrupaciones Independientes de Canarias: - Isidoro SANCHEZ GARCIA⁷ [1994-1996] Coalición Galega: - José POSADA GONZALEZ⁸ [1999]	REGI; TRAN; AGRI [1995-1996] BUDG	South America Israel

⁶ The Partido Andalucista is not member from EFA then, but their MEPs join the EFA subgroup nevertheless after a while.

⁷ Not member of the EFA but of the European Radical Alliance.

⁸ Idem.

Session	Group name	EFA's MEPs (group total)	MEPs by party	Committees	Delegations
1994-1999	European Radical Alliance	3 [19]	Partido Aragonés: - Manuel ESCOLA⁹ [1998-1999] SNP [Scotland]: - Winifred EWING - Allan MACARTNEY [1994-1998] - Ian HUDGHTON [1998-1999] Unión Valenciana: - Alfonso NOVO¹⁰ [1996-1998] Volksunie [Flanders]: - Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE [1994-1998] - Nelly MAES [1998-1999]	REGI; TRAN CONT [1994-1997]; ECON [1994-1997]; PECH [1998-1999 – VC]; LEGA [1997-1999]; <i>CULT; FEMM [1994-1997]</i> ENER [1994-1997]; PECH [1994-1998; 1997-1998 – VC]; DEVE [1997-1998]; <i>DEVE [1994-1997]; ENER [1997-1998]</i> EMPL [1999]; ENER REGI; TRAN; AGRI [1996-1997] SOCI; <i>SEDE [1994-1997]; RULE [1994-1998]; AFET [1994-1995]; AGRI [1995-1997]; REGI [1997-1998]</i> EMPL; DEVE [1999]; <i>RULE; REGI</i>	South America; <i>Malta</i> Canada [1994-1997]; ASEAN [1997-1999] ACP; Slovakia [1995-1997]; <i>China [1997-1998]</i> South America; <i>Malta</i> ASEAN [1994-1997]; Slovakia [1995-1997]; Cyprus [1997-1998]; <i>Romania [1997-1998]; ASEAN [1997-1998]</i> Cyprus; ASEAN; <i>Romania</i>
1999-2004	Greens-EFA	10 [47]	BNG [Galiza]: - Camilo NOGUEIRA ROMAN Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya [Catalonia]: - Miquel MAYOL I RAYNAL [2001-2004] Eusko Alkartasuna [Basque Country]: - Gorka KNÖRR BORRÁS [1999-2001] Partido Andalucista [Andalucia]: - Carlos BAUTISTA OJEDA [1999-2003]	RETT; AGRI [1999-2002]; <i>PECH [1999-2004]; AFCD [2002-2004]</i> ECON; AFET ECON; AFET AGRI; <i>EMPL [1999-2002]; RETT [2002-2003]</i>	South America & Mercosur [1999-2002]; USA [2002-2004] Central America & Mexico Central America & Mexico Maghreb

⁹ Not member of the EFA but of the European Radical Alliance.

¹⁰ Idem.

Session	Group name	EFA's MEPs (group total)	MEPs by party	Committees	Delegations
1999-2004	Greens-EFA	10 [47]	Partido Aragonés (Aragon): - Juan Manuel FERRÁNDEZ LEZAUN¹¹ [2003-2004] Plaid Cymru (Wales): - Jill EVANS - Eurig WYN PNV (Basque Country): - Josu ORTUONDO LARREA¹² SNP (Scotland): - Ian HUDGHTON - Neil MACCORMICK¹³ Volksunie (Flanders): - Nelly MAES - Bart STAES¹⁴ [1999-2002]	AGRI; RETT FEMM (VC); EMPL; ENVI CULT; PETI; AGRI RETT; BUDG (1999-2002); ITRE (2002-2004) EMPL (1999-2002); PECH; BUDG (2002-2004); ECON (1999-2002); AGRI (2002-2004) JURI; AFCD ITRE (1999-2002); RETT (2002-2004); DEVE; AFET (2002-2004) CONT; ENVI	Maghreb Lithuania; Estonia South Africa (1999-2002); Czech Rep. (2002-2004) United States (1999-2002); South America & Mercosur (2002-2004); Cyprus (1999-2002) European Economic Area Japan ACP-EU JPA; Slovakia Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan and Mongolia [C]
2004-2009	Greens-EFA	5 [42]	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Catalonia): - Bernat JOAN I MARI [2004-2007] Eusko Alkartasuna (Basque Country): - Mikel IRUJO AMEZAGA [2007-2009] Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā (Latvia): - Tatjana ZDANOKA Plaid Cymru (Wales): - Jill EVANS SNP (Scotland): - Ian HUDGHTON - Alyn SMITH	CULT; DEVE CULT; DEVE LIBE; AFET (2004-2007); DROI; PETI (2007-2009); EMPL (2007-2009) ENVI; REGI; FEMM ECON (2004-2007); PECH; TRAN (2007-2009); IMCO REGI (2004-2007); AGRI (2007-2009); ITRE	ACP-EU JPA (VC); Maghreb (2004-2007); Chile (2007) ACP-EU JPA; Chile Russia; Caucasus Palestine; Gulf states (2004-2007) Canada; Aust. & NZ Switzerland, Norway and Iceland

¹¹ Not a member of the EFA.

¹² Member of the EFA group as observer [the PNV was not a member party of the EFA].

¹³ Volksunie explodes in 2001, and both MEPs joined Spirit, the left-wing split from VU, which joins the EFA in 2002.

¹⁴ Bart Staes joins Groenl in 2002.

Session	Group name	EFA's MEPs (group total)	MEPs by party	Committees	Delegations
2004-2009	Greens-EFA	5 [42]	Independent (Hungarians of Roumania): - László TÖKÉS ¹⁵ [2008-2009]	AGRI; CULT	South-east Europe
2009-2014	Greens-EFA	7 [55]	Aralar (Basque Country): - Inaki IRAZABALBEITIA FERNÁNDEZ [2013] BNG (Galiza): - Ana MIRANDA [2012-2013] ERC (Catalunya): - Oriol JUNQUERAS [2009-2011] NVA (Flanders): - Frieda BREPOELS [2009-2013] - Mark DEMESMAEKER [2013-2014] Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā (Latvia): - Tatjana ZDANOKA Plaid Cymru (Wales): - Jill EVANS PNC (Corsica): - François ALFONSI SNP (Scotland): - Ian HUDGHTON - Alyn SMITH	/ REGI; PETI; PECH; FEMM PETI; CULT; ITRE AFET; ENVI (2012-2013); DROI; TRAN (2009-2011) AFET; ENVI; DROI LIBE; PETI; EMPL (2009-2011); TRAN (2012-now) ENVI; AGRI; FEMM (2010-2012) REGI; BUDG; CULT (2012-now); ECON (2009-2011) PECH; REGI (2009-2012); IMCO AGRI; AFCD (2009-2011); CULT (2009-2011); ITRE (2012-now)	/ Mercosur; Eurolat; Chile Mercosur; Eurolat; Japan Japan; Euromed; Mashreq Japan; Euromed; Mashreq Moldova (VC); Euronest; Russia Iraq (2009-2001); Palestinian Legislative Council; Iraq (2011-now) ACP-EU JPA; Euromed; Maghreb Canada; Croatia Arab Peninsula; Switzerland, Norway and Iceland

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

¹⁵ Elected as independent, László Tökés was a non-attached member until April 2008. From July 2009 though he has joined the EPP.

Standing Committees¹⁶

- 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
- CONT: 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
- ENER: Research, Technological Development and Energy (1989-1999)
- ENVI: Environment, Public Health and Food Safety (Environment, Public Health and Consumer Policy – Protection between 1989 and 1994 – until 2004)
- FEMM: Women’s Rights and Gender Equality (and Equal Opportunities until 2004)
- IMCO: Internal Market and Consumer Protection (from 2004)
- INST: Committee on Institutional Affairs (1989-1994)
- INTA: International Trade (from 2004)
- ITRE: Industry, Research and Energy (Committee on Industry, External Trade, Research and Energy from 1999 until 2004)
- JURI: Legal Affairs (Committee on Legal Affairs and the Internal Market until 2004)
- LEGA: Committee on Legal Affairs and Citizens’ Rights (1989-1994)
- LIBE: Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (Committee on Citizens’ Freedoms and Rights, Justice and Home Affairs until 2004)
- PECH: Fisheries
- PETI: Petitions
- POLI: Political Affairs Committee (until 1994): ancestor of AFET
- REGI: Regional Development (from 2004); Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning (1989-1994)
- RELA: External Economic Relations (1989-1999) – surnamed REX for a while
- RETT: Regional Policy, Transport and Tourism (divided in 2004)
- RULE: Rules of Procedure, the Verification of Credentials and Immunities
- SOCI: Committee on Social Affairs, Employment and the Working Environment (1989-1999)
- TRAN: Transport and Tourism (from 2004 and between 1989 and 1999)

¹⁶ 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 EFA¹⁷

- François ALFONSI:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96750/Fran%C3%A7ois_ALFONSI.html
- Herbert BARRERA I COSTA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=7>
- Carlos BAUTISTA OJEDA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4376>
- Neil BLANEY:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term1/view.do?language=EN&id=1019>
- Frieda BREPOELS:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/28463/Frieda_BREPOELS.html
- Michel COLUMBU:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term2/view.do?language=EN&id=1799>
- Maurits COPPIETERS:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term1/view.do?language=EN&id=903>
- Diego DE LOS SANTOS LÓPEZ:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=238>
- Mark DEMESMAEKER:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/fr/117477/MARK_DEMESMAEKER.html
- Jill EVANS:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4550>
- Winifred EWING:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1369>
- Juan Manuel FERRÁNDEZ LEZAUN:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=25341>
- Karlos GARAIKOTXEA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term2/view.do?language=EN&id=1342>
- Paul-Henry GENDEBIEN:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term1/view.do?language=EN&id=851>
- Ian HUDGHTON:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term4/view.do?language=EN&id=2338>
- Mikel IRUJO:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term6/view.do?language=EN&id=38733>
- Bernat JOAN I MARÍ:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term6/view.do?language=EN&id=28412>
- Oriol JUNQUERAS:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/96708/Oriol_JUNQUERAS%20VIES.html
- Gorka KNÖRR BORRÀS:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4378>
- Willy KUIJPERS:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term2/view.do?language=EN&id=1627>
- Allan MACARTNEY:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term4/view.do?language=EN&id=2168>
- Neil MACCORMICK:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4548>
- Nelly MAES:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term4/view.do?language=EN&id=2335>
- Miquel MAYOL I RAYNAL:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=21813>
- Mario MELIS:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1100>
- Ana MIRANDA:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/24942/Ana_MIRANDA.html
- Luigi MORETTI:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1101>
- Camilo NOGUEIRA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4380>
- Josu ORTUONDO LARREA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4377>
- Pedro PACHECO:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1143>
- José POSADA GONZÁLEZ:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1885>
- Isidoro SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1868>

- Max SIMEONI:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=1159>
- Alyn SMITH:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term6/view.do?language=EN&id=28508>
- Francesco SPERONI:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term3/view.do?language=EN&id=997>
- Bart STAES:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4751>
- Jaak VANDEMEULEBROUCKE:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term1/view.do?language=EN&id=1470>
- Eurig WYN:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term5/view.do?language=EN&id=4551>
- Tatjana ŽDANOKA:
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parlArchives/mepArch/term6/view.do?language=EN&id=28619>

¹⁷ 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 [2-4th May]: **Cagliari** [Sardinia – Italy]
1988 [1-2nd September]: **Brussels** [Flanders – Belgium]
1989 [7-9th May]: **Bilbao** [Basque Country – Spain]
1990 [28-29th 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 December]: **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 [26-27th 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]



EFA parties

Original name	Name in English	Foundation	People / nation	State	Becomes observer	Becomes full member	Departure
Enotna Lista	Unity List	1975	Carinthian Slovenes	Austria		2005	2006
Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie	New Flemish Alliance	2001	Flanders	Belgium			2010
Partei der deutschsprachigen Belgier	Party of the German speaking Belgians	1971	German-speaking Belgians	Belgium			1981 2009
ProDG	ProDG	2008	German-speaking Belgians	Belgium		2009	2010
Rassemblement Populaire Wallon	Walloon Popular Movement	1981	Wallonia	Belgium			1982 1984
Spirit/Sociaal-Liberale Partij	Social Liberal Party	2001	Flanders	Belgium			2002
Volksunie	People's Union	1954	Flanders	Belgium			1981 2001
Omro "Ilinden" Pirin	United Macedonian Organization	1989	Macedonians	Bulgaria		2006	2007
Lista za Rijeku	List for Fiume	2006	Rijeka	Croatia		2009	2010
Moravané	Moravané	2005	Moravia	Czech Republic			2006
Moravská demokratická strana	Moravian Democratic Party	1994	Moravia	Czech Republic			2005
Slesvigsk Parti	Schleswig Party	1920	Germans	Denmark		2011	
Ålands Framtid	Future of Åland	1999	Åland	Finland		2005	2006
Elsass Lothringische Volksbund	People's Union of Alsace-Lorraine	1977	Alsace&Lorraine	France			1981 1992
Ligue Savoisienne	Savoyan League	1994	Savoie	France		1999	2000
Mouvement Région Savoie	Savoy Region Movement	1971	Savoie	France			1991
Parti Autonomiste Nord-Catalan	Northern Catalonia Autonomist Party		Catalonia	France			
Parti pour l'Organisation d'une Bretagne Libre	Party for the Organisation of a Free Party	1982	Brittany	France			1983 1987
Partit Occitan	Occitan Party	1987	Occitania	France			1987
Partitu di a Nazione Corsa	Party of the Corsican Nation	2002	Corsica	France			2002
Strollod ar Vro	Country's Party	1970	Brittany	France			1981 1982
Unvaniezh Demokratel Breizh	Breton Democratic Union	1964	Brittany	France			1987
Union du Peuple Alsacien/Unser Land	Alsatian's People Union	1988	Alsace	France			1989
Unione di u Populu Corsu	Union of the Corsican People	1977	Corsica	France			1984
Unitat Catalana	Catalan Unity	1986	Catalonia	France			1991
Vlaams Federalistische Partij	Flemish Federalist Party	1983	Flanders	France		1983	1984
Volem Viure Al País	We want to live in our own land	1974	Occitania	France			1983 1984
Bayern Partei	Bavaria Party	1946	Bavaria	Germany		2007	2008
Die Friesen	The Friesen	2007	East frisia	Germany		2008	2009
Lausitzer Allianz / Wendische Volkspartei	Lusatian Alliance	2005	Sorbs, Lusatia	Germany		2009	
SSW-Landesverband	South Schleswig Voter Federation	1948	Frisians & Danes	Germany		2009	2010
ESA-Vinozito	Rainbow	1994	Macedonians	Greece		1999	2000
Meqjult Magyarországi Roma Összefogás Párt	Renewed Roma Union Party of Hungary		Roma	Hungary		2009	2012
Independent Fianna Fail	Independent Fianna Fail	1971	Irish	Ireland			1981 1995
Alleanza Libera Emiliana/Libertà Emiliana	Emilian Free Alliance	1999	Emilia	Italy		1999	2000 2010
Renouveau Valdôtain / Autonomie Liberté Participation Ecologie	Autonomy Liberty Participation Ecology	2010	Aosta Valley	Italy		2007	2011
Lega Lombarda	Lombard League	1984	Lombardia	Italy			
Lega Nord	Northern League	1989	Padania	Italy			1991 1994
Libertà Lombarda	Lombard Freedom			Italy		1999	
Liga Veneta Repubblica	Venetian Republic League	1998	Veneto	Italy		1999	2000
Movimento Autonomista Occitano	Occitan Autonomist Movement	1968	Occitania	Italy			
Movimento Friuli	Friulian Movement	1966	Friuli	Italy		1983	1984
Movimento Meridionale	Southern Movement	1971		Italy			
Muvimentu pâ Nnipinnenza dà Sicilia	Movement for the Independence of Sicily	2004	Sicilia	Italy		2009	
Partito Sardo d'Azione	Sardinian Action Party	1921	Sardinia	Italy			1984
Slovenska Skupnost	Slovene Union	1975	Slovenians	Italy			1991
Süd-Tiroler Freiheit	South Tyrolean Freedom	2007	South Tyrol	Italy			2009
Union für Südtirol	Union for South Tyrol	1989	South Tyrol	Italy			1991 2008
Union Valdôtaine	Valdottanian Union	1945	Aosta Valley	Italy			1983 2007
Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvija	For Human Rights in United Latvia	1998	Russians	Latvia		2010	
Polska Partia Ludowa	Lithuanian Polish People's Party	2002	Poles	Lithuania		2003	2004 2010
Fryske Nasjonale Partij	Frisian National Party	1962	Friesland	Netherlands			1981
Ruch Autonomii Śląska	Silesian Autonomy Movement	1990	Upper Silesia	Poland		2002	2003
Erdély Bánság (Liga Transilvania-Banat)	Transilvania-Banat League	2000		Roumania			2008
Magyar Föderalista Párt	Hungarian Federalist Party	2000	Hungarians	Slovakia			2005
Strana Regionov Slovenska	Regional Party of Slovakia	2004		Slovakia		2008	2009
Aralar	Aralar	2000	Basque Country	Spain		2012	
Gallego Nacionalista Galego	Galician Nationalist Bloc	1982	Galicia	Spain		1994	2000
Chunta Aragonesista	Aragonese Junta	1986	Aragon	Spain		2003	2004
Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya	Democratic Convergence of Catalonia	1974	Catalonia	Spain			
Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	Republican Left of Catalonia	1931	Catalonia	Spain			1988
Eusko Alkartasuna	Basque Solidarity	1986	Basque Country	Spain			1986
Partido Andalucista	Andalusian Party	1965	Andalusia	Spain			1999
Partido Nacionalista Vasco	Basque Nationalist Party	1895	Basque Country	Spain		1999	2004
Partit Socialista de Mallorca-Entesa Nacionalista	Majorca Socialist Party	1986	Balearic Islands	Spain		2000	2008
Mebyon Kernow	The Sons of Cornwall	1951	Cornwall	United Kingdom			2003
Plaid Cymru (Left EFA for a few months in 1994)	The Party of Wales	1925	Wales	United Kingdom			1983
Scottish National Party	Scottish National Party	1934	Scotland	United Kingdom			1989

Number of member parties
Number of associated parties



6 7 10 12 12 13 13 14 15 21 20 19 18 17 18 22 22 23 24 26 27 28 32 32 34 37 36 36
2 1 3 5 3 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 4 3 7 7 8 7 6 6 4 3 6 5 5 5



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 decision 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 refute 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, setting out from the firm belief that only major efforts and a show of international solidarity will establish a solid basis for peace.

[...]”

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 all 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.*

- *Foster a global awareness and genuine concern for environmental issues which, henceforth, must be tackled on a universal level. Particular emphasis on renewable energy and sustainable development.*
- *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.”*

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;*
- *It 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.*

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

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

[1] 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 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. [...]

IV – A Safer Planet for Our Children

Sustainability is at the heart of our political

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."

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 share a duty to 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.

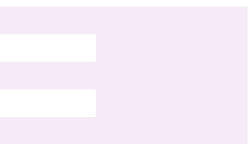
With over 1.2 billion of the world's people surviving on less than €1 a day, we are committed to the achievement of the eight UN Millennium Goals and the Johannesburg commitments. The combating of poverty and hunger, the provision of universal primary education and the accessibility of healthcare with special attention to the fight against HIV, the empowerment of women and the implementation of policies towards gender equality, and the building of global partnerships are essential to the achievement of peace and justice.

EFA supports a vision for overseas aid, fairer trade policies to empower developing countries, and measures for dealing with people trafficking and the challenges and opportunities of migration. In the context of a European foreign policy we also support greater European involvement in peace keeping and conflict prevention. Creating an EU peace-keeping force is essential to sustainable and

worldwide peace. EFA supports an investment programme for Africa to make efficient use of solar power possible so that the continent can be less dependent on oil producers.

In order to avoid the repetition of failures of previous forms of development aid, the coherence of the different kinds of action implemented by the different actors (EU, States, NGOs, etc.) should be reinforced. It is crucial to establish a strong relationship and synergies between development and security, development and migration, development and protection of the environment, and integration between commerce and development. This needs to be completely achieved with regard to human rights and in an efficient and transparent way which creates synergies between the North and the South.

Development programmes should fully respect the cultural roots of the population, but the governments of developing countries should also respect human rights. The application of humanitarian law is the cornerstone of a just and fair world. We fully oppose the breakdown in the respecting of human rights within the context of newly emerging economic powers like China."



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

ADV N (Antwerpen): European Free Alliance Fonds

1. Herman Verheirstraeten secretariat, 1st series of files

1/1-12. Documents regarding general assemblies. 1981-1989. 20 folders.	
1/1. Brussels, January 1981. 1 folder.....	D10951(1-2/1)
1/2. Brussels, December 1981. 1 folder.....	D10951(3/3)
1/3. Bastia, November 1982. 1 folder.....	D10952(1/1)
1/4. Eupen, April 1983. 1 folder.....	D10952(2/1)
1/5. Brussels, December 9, 1983. 1 folder.....	D10952(3/1)
1/6. Brussels-Ghent, April 6, 1984. 1 folder.....	D10952(4/1)
1/7. Saint-Vincent, November 22-25, 1984. 1 folder.....	D10952(5/1)
1/8. Cardiff, July 3-4, 1986. 3 folders.....	D10953(2-4/1)
1/9. Leeuwarden, February 11-14, 1987. 2 folders.....	D10954(1-2/1)
1/10. Brussels, September 1987. 3 folders.....	D10954(3-5/1)
1/11. Sardinia, May 2-5, 1988. 3 folders.....	D10955(1-3/1)
1/12. Brussels, September 1-4, 1988. 1 folder.....	D10955(4-5/1)
1/13-17. Documents regarding Bureau meetings. 1981-1986. 5 folders.	
1/13. Strasbourg, July 1981. 1 folder.....	D10951(3/1)
1/14. Brussels, September 1981. 1 folder.....	D10951(3/2)

1/15. Leeuwarden, March 6, 1982. 1 folder.....	D10951(3/4)
1/16. Brussels, January 10, 1986. 1 folder.....	D10953(1/1)
1/17. Strasbourg, October 20, 1986. 1 folder.....	D10953(5/1)

2. Herman Verheirstraeten secretariat, 2nd series of files

2/1. Address list. 1981-1993. 1 folder.....	D10956(1-2/1)
2/2. File concerning various EFA texts. 1981-1991. 1 bundle and 1 folder.....	D10964(2-4/1)
2/3-23. Documents regarding general assemblies. 1981-1994. 25 folders.	
2/3. Strasbourg, July 9, 1981. 1 folder.....	D10956(3/1)
2/4. Brussels, December 9, 1981. 1 folder.....	D10956(3/3)
2/5. Eupen, April 22-23, 1982. 1 folder.....	D10956(3/5)
2/6. Bastia, November 11-12, 1982. 1 folder.....	D10956(4/1)
2/7. Brussels, April 6, 1984. 1 folder.....	D10957(1/1)
2/8. Saint-Vincent, November 22-25, 1984. 1 folder.....	D10957(1/2)
2/9. Cardiff, July 3-4, 1986. 1 folder.....	D10957(1/4)
2/10. Leeuwarden, February 11-14, 1987. 1 folder.....	D10957(2/1)
2/11. Brussels, September 7-8, 1987. 1 folder.....	D10957(2/2)
2/12. Sardinia, May 2-4, 1988. 1 folder.....	D10957(2/3)
2/13. S.I., November 20, 1989. 1 folder.....	D10957(3/1)
2/14. Strasbourg, February 14, 1990. 1 folder.....	D10957(4/1)
2/15. Paris, February 24, 1990. 1 folder.....	D10957(4/2)
2/16. Brussels, March 28-29, 1990. 1 folder.....	D10957(4/3)
2/17. Strasbourg, March 11-12, 1991. 2 folders.....	D10958(2-3/1)
2/18. Ostend, September 30, 1991. 1 folder.....	D10959(1-4/1)
2/19. Brussels, May 4-5, 1992. 4 folders.....	D10960(2-4/1); D10961(1-4/1)
2/20. Brussels, October 19-20, 1992. 2 folders.....	D10962(1-3/1)
2/21. Strasbourg, March 8, 1993. 1 folder.....	D10962(5/1)
2/22. Cardiff, October 18-19, 1993. 1 folder.....	D10962(5/2)
2/23. Brussels, April 11-12, 1994. 1 folder.....	D10963(2/1)
2/24-29. Files regarding Bureau meetings. 1981-1991. 7 folders.	
2/24. Brussels, September 21, 1981. 1 folder.....	D10956(3/2)
2/25. Leeuwarden, March 6, 1982. 1 folder.....	D10956(3/4)
2/26. Brussels, January 10, 1986 and Strasbourg, October 20, 1986. 1 folder.....	D10957(1/3)
2/27. San Sebastian, October 1, 1990. 1 folder.....	D10958(1/1)
2/28. Brussels, July 3, 1991. 1 folder.....	D10958(4/1)
2/29. Strasbourg, February 10-11, 1992. 2 folders.....	D10960(1/2-3)
2/30. File regarding Rainbow Group. 1989-1990. 1 bundle.....	D10963(3-4/1); D10964(1/1)

3. José Luis Linazasoro’s secretariat

3.1 General	
3.1/1. Press clippings on the EFA and José Luis Linazasoro.	D10966[2/1]
1987-1990. 1 folder	
3.1/2. Correspondence of Garaikoetxea. Photocopy. 1990-1992. 1 folder	D10966[1/1]
3.1/3. Correspondence of Linazasoro. Photocopy. 1990-1999. 1 folder	D10966[1/3]
3.1/4. Correspondence of Barrera. Photocopy. 1991. 1 folder	D10966[1/2]
3.1/5-6. File concerning the EFA’s general functioning. 1988-1996. 1 bundle and 1 folder.	
3.1/5. 1 988-1989. 1 folder	D10968[4/1]
3.1/6. 1994-1996. 1 bundle	D10969[1-4/1]
3.2 Meetings	
3.2/1-9. Documents regarding General Assemblies. 1987. 8 folders.	
3.2/1. Brussels, September 7-8, 1987. 1 folder.....	D10968[1-2/1]
3.2/2. Sardinia, May 2-4, 1988. 1 folder.....	D10968[3/1]
3.2/3. Brussels, March 28-29, 1990. 1 folder.....	D10965[1/1]
3.2/4. Strasbourg, March 11-12, 1991. 1 folder.....	D10965[1/2]
3.2/5. Ostend, September 30, 1991. 1 folder	D10965[1/3]
3.2/6. Brussels, May 4-5, 1992. 1 folder	D10965[1/4]
3.2/7. Brussels, October 19-20, 1992. 1 folder	D10965[2/1]
3.2/8. Cardiff, October 18-19, 1993. 1 folder	D10965[2/2]
3.2/9. Brussels, April 11-12, 1994. 1 folder	D10965[2/3]
3.2/10-14. Documents regarding General Assemblies and Bureau meetings. 1994-2004. 5 bundles.	
3.2/10. 1994-1996. 1 bundle	D10969[1-2/1]
[is part of 3.1/5.]	
3.2/11. 1996-1997. 1 bundle	D10970[1-4/1]
[GA: Barcelona, November 1996 - Bureau: April 4, 1997]	
3.2/12. 1997-2000. 1 bundle	D10971[1-4/1]
[GA: Brussels, November 10, 1997; Cardiff, June 11-12, 1998; Brussels, December 10-11, 1998; Brussels, April 8-9, 1999; Strasbourg, November 12, 1999, Brussels, May 12, 2000 - Bureau: February 9, 1998]	
3.2/13. 2000-2003. 1 bundle.....	D10972[1-5/1]
[GA: Brussels/Antwerp, 9-10 November; Florence, March 2001; Brussels, August 30, 2002; Brussels, November 8, 2001; Barcelona, March 2002; Brno, June 27-28, 2002; Brussels November 14-15, 2002 - Bureau: September 7, 2000; May 7, 2001; Strasbourg, May 13, 2002; Brussels, May 5, 2003]	
3.2/14. 2003-2004. 1 bundle	D10973[1-3/1]
[GA: Alghero, June 26-27, 2003; Brussels, November 13-14, 2003; Barcelona, March 25-26, 2004]	

3.2/15. File concerning General Assembly Sardinia,	D10976 [1-2/1];
June 26-27, 2003. 2003. 1 bundle	VEA002
3.3 Elections	
3.3/2. File concerning European elections, June 1989. 1988-1989. 2 folders	D10965[3-4/1]
3.3/5. File concerning electoral platform EFA. 1993-1994. 1 folder	D10966[3-4/1]
3.3/6. File concerning European elections, June 1994. 1993-1994. 1 folder	D10965[5/1]
3.4 Other files	
3.4/1. Documents regarding ACP/EU and Lomé. s.d., 1993-1999. 3 bundles.....	D10973[4-5/1];
	D10974[1-4/1];
	D10975[1-2/1]
3.4/8. File concerning draft political platform EFA. 1996. 1 folder.....	D10975[3/1]

4 Press office, 2000-2002 (Eluned Häf)

4/2. Press releases. 2000-2002. 3 folders	D10979[6/1-3]
4/4. Contacts with press and politics. 2000-2002. 1 bundle	D10983[3/1]
4/7-19. Documents regarding MEPs’ activities. 2000-2002. 4 bundles, 6 folders and 2 items.	
4/8. Carlos Bautista [Partido Andalucista]. 2000-2001. 1 folder	D10981[5/1]
4/10. Plaid Cymru. 2000-2001. 1 folder.....	D10982[1/1]
4/11. Camilo Nogueira [Bloque Nacionalista Galego].	D10981[4/1]
2000-2002. 1 folder	
4/13. Gorka Knörr [Eusko Alkartasuna]. 2000-2002. 1 bundle	D10979[3-5/1]
4/14. Jill Evans and Eurig Wyn [Plaid Cymru].	D10979[1-2/1]
2000-2002. 1 bundle	
4/15. Ian Hudghton and Neil MacCormick	D10980[1-5/1]
[Scottish National Party]. 2000-2002. 1 bundle	
4/16. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya. 2001-2002. 1 folder	D10981[6/1]
4/17. Nelly Maes [SPIRIT]. 2001. 1 folder	D10981[3/2]
4/27. World Sustainable Development Summit Johannesburg.....	D10984[4-6/1]
2002. 1 bundle	
4/38. File concerning EFA, in general. 2000-2002. 1 bundle.....	D10982[3-5/1]
4/39. File concerning EU-USA relations. 2000-2002. 1 bundle.....	D11037[1-3/1]
4/42. File concerning Greens/EFA-Group. 2001. 1 bundle	D10984[2-3/1]
4/43. File concerning post-September 11. 2001. 1 folder.....	D10985[1/1]
4/46. File concerning World Trade Organisation. 2001. 1 folder.....	D11038[4/1]
4/49. File concerning International Civil Commission.....	D10982[2/1]
for Human Rights in Mexico. 2002. 1 folder	

Documents

I | 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, politic 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 (f.e. Poland). Think about the policies of "economical" 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 E.E.C; -countries refuse to recognize the European scope of the nevertheless striking manifestations of political interest and activism:

1. The growing peace movement in Europe and in the U.S.A.
2. The human rights (especially in Latin America)
3. the fading away 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 impulse to it! For this purpose, we have to seize back to the 'Treaty of Brussels', and to the framework of the 'Council of Europe' and of the Western European Union.

Directives then 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 grasp of the national domination; the degree of their international independence 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 draught-horse of European integration. The impotence 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 changing 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 ever the 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 autonomy 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 stalinisation.

Yalta and NATO continue the splitting of Europe

Against this dangerous stagnation, we have to outline other policies, not only within our own party programs, 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 militarily, she also and directly has to negotiate with Eastern Europe and must thus create conditions for a safe society. This European realism demands a European policy centre. It can no longer be that all - also European- 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 crippling 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 patrol 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 E.N.D. and a nuclear free Europe achieved by NATO abandoning its nuclear strategy, seeking reciprocal measures of disarmament by the Warsaw pact. The commitment to de-nuclearize 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.

3. Withdrawing short range, 'battlefield' nuclear weapons.
 4. Withdrawing 'theatre' nuclear weapons.
 5. Ending reliance on U.S. nuclear weapons as an element of its strategy.
- If NATO did not move decisively in this way, Britain should withdraw from the alliance and explore alternative approaches to the collective security of Europe.

6. On a Welsh, British and European level, there must be a shift to a strictly defensive strategy. The present NATO policy of adopting a more offensive conventional battle plan for central Europe must be reversed. European military capability should rely on the principle that defence should discourage aggression without threatening a potential attacker. The key concept being 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 e.g., the defence forces of Switzerland or Sweden with a 'defence in depth' strategy with widely dispersed forces, the availability of civilian reserves and ultimately non violent civilian resistance.
7. British military spending must be drastically reduced not only by a non nuclear policy, but by Britain relinquishing its pretensions of a global role. The Navy in particular should be stripped of its anachronistic large surface fleet and merged with the other services into a small integrated conventional defence force.
8. The integrated Welsh defence force would for instance have no large surface ships, no long range strike aircraft and a drastically reduced number of battle tanks. These would be replaced by short range purely defensive weaponry such as surface to air missiles and anti tank missiles.
9. The profligate and inefficient British arms industry must be severely curtailed and developed to meet the needs of a purely defensive strategy. Defence procurement should be integrated on a European level for reasons of economy, European defence cooperation, and of ending military dependence on the U.S. Wales must have its fair share of the new defence industry, existing establishments serving the present nuclear and offensive military posture of NATO in Wales should be run down, and the work force redeployed in manufacturing for, and supporting the new defence policy.
10. The integrated Welsh defence force would consist of a relatively small professionally recruited service supported by a substantial and well trained volunteer reserve which would be deployed in times of crisis, or for fulfilling international peace keeping obligations.

A DEFENCE POLICY FOR WALES

Preface

For a measure 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 term 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 pre-conceptions, prejudices, disinformation and misinformation of the Welsh voters 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 armament, 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 armed defence. There are degrees of armament and of militarism. Armed defence is not synonymous with and does not necessarily lead to militarism. Specifically, a policy of purely defensive armament, 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 satellites 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 armaments 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.

23:05:86

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:
 - the 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 relationships 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 denuclearized 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 cooperation 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 countries 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 with human rights, etc.

4.5. agreement must be reached on an international code of conduct protect 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 FAO 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 socio-cultural training, through non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and voluntary fundraising.

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. Given that the majority of farmers in rural zones are women, who also in the main provide food and health care to the community, priority should be given to projects directly aimed at serving women.
 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.

V | Position EFA IGC 1996

Choix d'une politique étrangère efficace et cohérente

Depuis 1989 s'est 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, devenus réalité ou sur le point de se déclencher à une échelle géographique moindre et ne reposant souvent même pas sur un différend idéologique;
- l'équilibre entre les puissances impérialistes s'est rompu en faveur des États-Unis;
- l'OTAN a, dans un certain sens, perdu sa légitimité;
- les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale souhaitent assez paradoxalement y adhérer pour se protéger d'éventuelles nouvelles tendances impérialistes russes;
- le potentiel nucléaire de l'ex-Union soviétique s'est morcelé et ce morcellement a aggravé les risques de prolifération des armes nucléaires;
- des conflits conventionnels sont réapparus sur le territoire et aux frontières 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 communes et loyales, au respect des droits de l'homme et des peuples, à la protection de l'environnement, à la recherche d'un règlement pacifique des conflits, à un processus de désarmement mondial, à une diminution substantielle du commerce des armes et à la reconversion 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'Europe est une notion commune, s'appliquant à l'ensemble de l'Europe (ce principe fondamental pose, à un stade de transition, le problème du territoire européen de l'ex-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;
- les instruments de sécurité non militaires doivent être préférés aux moyens militaires;
- la voie vers une sécurité européenne est constituée par la démocratie, le respect des droits de l'homme, ainsi que le développement économique, social et culturel;
- l'Europe doit continuer à s'engager en faveur de la paix et de la sécurité en dehors de son territoire, ce qui ne saurait se confondre avec le rôle négatif de gendarme supplétif des États-Unis comme cela s'est déjà 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 pâtir de bases et de servitudes militaires indispensables à la mise en oeuvre de la sécurité et de la défense européennes.

3. Les institutions de défense et de sécurité doivent être simplifiées. Les États européens font partie de nombreuses organisations visant directement ou indirectement à la sécurité: l'Union européenne, l'UEO, la Conseil de l'Europe, l'OSCE, l'ONU, etc., sans parler des institutions qui déploient des initiatives distinctes (par exemple le Pacte de stabilité). Il convient d'y apporter d'urgence clarté et simplicité.

4. L'ALE - PDPE souhaite que la PESD devienne une politique intérieure de l'Union et cesse d'être une simple coopération intergouvernementale. Au cours de la CIG, il faut prévoir un transfert partiel et progressif 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 réside dans l'intégration de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale (UEO), démocratisée, dans le cadre institutionnel de l'Union européenne, comme le prévoit le traité de Maastricht. Le statut neutre ou spécial de certains États membres doit certes être respecté, mais ils ne peuvent faire obstacle à la politique étrangère commune des autres États membres de l'Union. Les États membres devraient être invités à adhérer à l'UEO, sur la base des missions de Petersberg, afin de coopérer aux opérations de maintien de la paix et aux opérations humanitaires ainsi qu'à celles liées à la gestion des crises, en sorte que les pays inquiets pour leur neutralité seraient autorisés à ne pas participer à d'autres volets d'une politique commune de ce type 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, en soi, se soustraire à tout processus décisionnel pouvant l'impliquer, sans aucune forme de contrôle démocratique, dans des interventions militaires décidées par des organisations régionales supra-européennes ou extra-européennes.

6. Pour atteindre ces objectifs, l'Union européenne doit développer les instruments d'une politique étrangère de paix et de sécurité permanentes 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 convenir 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 régionaux ou autres, à la demande des parties concernées.

VI | To safe 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 call 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 Maes 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 signing parties to international summits fail to fulfil their promises, allowing the United States to hijack 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 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."

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 structure 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 to veto calls for the Kyoto protocol to be ratified by all parties. A World Environment 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 visit to follow)

For more information: Press Office of the European Free Alliance
Eluned Haf, mobile phone: +32-497-48 02 55, phone: +32-2-284 1665 (Bxl), +33-3-8817 2936 (Stb), e.mail: ehaf@europarl.eu.int
FAX: +32-2-284 4944 (Brussels), +33-3-88 241 196 (Strasbourg) website: www.europarl.eu.int/greens-efa

VII | Uniting People

THE EUROPEAN FREE ALLIANCE
in the European Parliament

PRESS RELEASE

Brussels, 10 July, 2002

Uniting People - Celebrating Diversity

The European Free Alliance in Johannesburg,
24-29 August 2002

The European Free Alliance believes that sustainable development includes cultural aspects as well as environmental, economic and social. EFA believes that the EU can lead in developing inter-regional co-operation with developing countries. EFA argues that the success of any international agreements on sustainability depends on grass roots involvement and that consequently any deals struck at Johannesburg must be bottom up rather than top down.

During various pre-Earth summit events in Johannesburg at the end of August, the EFA will focus on cultural diversity and making communities sustainable through regional participation.

Looking ahead to the visit, Nelly Maes MEP EFA President said:

"Johannesburg is an unique opportunity for a general re-orientation of global politics. Life on this planet, its environment, societies, economies and cultures are not currently sustainable. Real solutions must be delivered for real people."

"Solutions must be found as close as possible to the communities they affect. People must be given the incentive to become key players in ensuring that their own development is sustainable."

Jill Evans MEP (Plaid Cymru- The Party of Wales) added:

"A successful outcome at Johannesburg is as relevant to communities in Wales, Flanders, Andalucia or Glacia as it is to communities in Africa. For Johannesburg to live up to its World Summit title, the cultural, social and environmental needs of all the different cultures of the world must be addressed, because we are all inter-dependent."

"EFA believes that for any decision to be achievable and sustainable, it must be inclusive. We are going to South Africa to represent communities, which are in their different ways currently difficult to sustain, whether in Africa or in the UK. Many of these communities will not have a voice at the summit. We will do all we can to ensure that their needs are addressed."

For more information: Press Office of the European Free Alliance
Eluned Haf, mobile phone: +32-497-48 02 55, phone: +32-2-284 1665 (Bxl), +33-3-8817 2936 (Stb), e.mail: ehaf@europarl.eu.int
FAX: +32-2-284 4944 (Brussels), +33-3-88 241 196 (Strasbourg) website: www.europarl.eu.int/greens-efa

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, serious **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 simply none 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 on 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 Dauwen**, 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. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya's representative **Pillar Dellunde** is also participating in this WSF, as well as **Camilo Nogueira**, 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 experts 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."

Pillar Dellunde, (ERC) declared:

"We welcome that this year one of the main WSF 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 its partners from the European Greens in several actions during this WSF and has been participating in the WSF since its foundation in 2001. Promoting diversity and peace has always been EFA's main demand.

By: 07/03/2005

X | General assembly of 2008

Mallorca, 11 April 2008

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, 11th of April 2008.

Motion on Kosova [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 Kosovo 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 Kosovo's institutions;
6. Calls upon the Commission, Parliament and the Council to speed up Kosovo'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 Palestians and our partners will undertake 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 an 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;

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

XI | General assembly of 2011

Mariehamn, 15 - 16 April 2011

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-activeness 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 Bouazizi¹.
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

¹ 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.

