U.E.F. NEWSLETTER N° 45

INDEX:

1. FOREWORD BY JOAN MARC SIMON

2. PAST EVENTS
- Open doors day of the European Parliament on the 7th of June 2008, Brussels
- AGORA citoyenne sur le changement climatique au Parlement européen, les 12 et 13 juin 2008, Bruxelles
- L'UEF aux 2e Etats Généraux de l'Europe 21 juin 2008 – Lyon, France
- Report UEF Debate, Who is your Candidate, 24th of June 2008, Brussels

3. FUTURE EVENTS
- UEF Think-Tank meeting, A new federalist agenda towards the European Federation, 27th of September 2008 in Brussels, Belgium
- UEF-Congress, 10/11/12 of October 2008, Paris, France
- UEF-Seminar in Rumania, Bucharest, 24th and 25th of October 2008
- WFM-IGP Council in The Hague, 6-8 November 2008, Netherlands

4. UEF REFLECTION PAPER
- The 2009 European Parliament elections: For a democratic revision of the European Union

5. UEF SECTION PUBLICATION
- Fighting Global Warming requires effective global Action by UEF.be

6. IN MEMORIAM
- Bronislaw Geremek

7. SECRETARIAT NEWS
- Two new trainees joined the UEF- Secretariat

8. CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

1. FOREWORD BY JOAN MARC SIMON

Dear friends,

During the last two months Europe has continued to surprise us with its continuous will to re-think itself. Like a grown-up who refuses to accept that teenager years are over, the EU continues to debate and debate whether it should become a political union or remain an economic free-trade area, like if this would be an option!

Having the EU as an economic free-trade area without political unity is like accepting globalization can work without rules, it is like accepting that a 50 year old can still be a teenager...

The problem of the EU is not WHETHER it needs political unification or not but rather HOW this political unification should be achieved. The Irish NO to the Lisbon treaty clearly shows that the problem is not the message –which was manipulated and not understood- but the methodology of ratification. Ratification by unanimity proved difficult with 6, 12 and 15 member states and it is just impossible for a Union of 27.

In the meantime important directives and policies have been approved at European level; the directive on return of illegal immigrants, the waste framework directive, the voluntary register for EU lobbies… the EU continues to work at high speed and with a remarkable efficiency leaving ground for many to claim that democratic reforms are not needed because the EU works anyway. This is like claiming that China doesn't need political reforms because the economy performs well anyhow.

The social and economic success of the EU in the long run is based on the solidity, credibility and legitimacy of its institutions and building a Union without strong

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democratic checks and balances poses great risks to our future.

This is why we need the Lisbon Treaty to enter into force and to continue to move towards the political integration of Europe. Consequently, UEF will continue to ask for ratification of treaties by unanimity and ask for further democratization of the EU with the promotion of the link between European Parliament elections and the election of the European Commission's president.

During the last month UEF has continued with the campaign "Who is your candidate", gaining support from more citizens, partners and personalities. On the 24th of June UEF organised a debate in Brussels where both the Liberal and Green parties announced their will to nominate their candidates for president of the European Commission. The EPP and the PSE excused their presence to the debate in what can be considered a political message on the future deals for the highest position in the EU.

With the three No from French, Dutch and Irish to the institutional reforms during last 5 years, the next European Parliament elections are a definitive credibility test for the EU.

It is crucial that the European political parties run true European campaigns and that the position of president of the European Commission is linked to the vote in the EP elections.

It is therefore good that Poettering and Sarkozy announce publicly that their candidate for President of the Commission is Barrosso, but it would be even better if the European People Party would announce it. Then the ball would be in the socialist court, forcing the PSE to nominate their candidate.

The French presidency started in the month of June promising headlines and leadership. President Sarkozy delivered a powerful speech in the European Parliament on 10th of July; the tone resembled the speech delivered by Blair in 2005 when the UK was taking the EU presidency. For the moment they both have in common that they start by promising a lot, let's hope the French presidency will deliver more than the British did.

The motivation of Sarkozy to get the Lisbon treaty ratified as soon as possible it is to be welcomed. However, it remains to be seen whether the French will dare to shift from working on the symptoms towards working on the root of the problem of adopting new treaties; that is ratification by unanimity.

A lot of work awaits the federalists after holidays; in October the UEF shall be celebrating our Congress in Paris in which we will be taking important decisions. UEF will debate the next steps in the current EU situation and we shall be electing a new president, board and treasurer. The participation of the UEF sections and the federalists from all over Europe is vital to prepare the re-launch of our ideals!

In order to start the debate about the policies to be adopted in the next congress, the UEF bureau proposes the following reflection paper:

http://en.federaleurope.org/index.php?id=6719&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=1662&tx_ttnews[backPid]=3327&cHash=f955946918

A working group is already starting to work in the proposals for the future positions of UEF. For more information please contact the secretariat@federaleurope.org

I would like to conclude with a final note to mourn the loss of B. Geremek, a true European, committed to the political unification of Europe and a person of solid principles which he defended against any ideology or personal attack. He has been a source of wisdom for the federalist

movement and he won't be forgotten. Let us continue the work that he and many other federalists have started.

Wishing you nice summer holidays I look forward to meeting you in our Congress in Paris!

Federalist greetings,

Joan-Marc Simon
Secretary General

2. PAST EVENTS

Open doors day of the European Parliament on the 7th of June 2008, Brussels

On Saturday the 7th of June 2008 the Open Doors Day of the European Parliament took place in Brussels.

The UEF secretariat together with JEF Europe, UEF Belgium and the UEF Groupe Europe took this occasion to inform about our current activities and to advertise the UEF Who is your Candidate campaign.

UEF members with Commissioner Louis MICHEL

Therefore the UEF was present with several stands inside the European Parliament where the attendees of the Open Doors Day had the chance for informal discussions on the future of Europe and obtained the actual publications of the UEF network.

The main action for the UEF network during the Open Doors Day was to advertise and promote the Who is your Candidate campaign. Here several additional signatures were collected.

Stands of the UEF network at the Open Doors Day in the European Parliament

At the Open Doors Day Mr. Louis MICHEL, Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, signed the campaign.

The UEF Who is your Candidate campaign pleads for a more democratic and transparent Europe. The aim is to convince the political parties to nominate their candidates for President of the European Commission in good time before the European elections in June 2009.

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AGORA citoyenne sur le changement climatique au Parlement européen, les 12 et 13 juin 2008 : quelques réflexions et perspectives.

L'Agora citoyenne, organisée les 12 et 13 juin par le Parlement européen en coordination avec la société civile européenne, a été une excellente initiative. Elle fait suite à la première rencontre de ce type – l'Agora sur l'avenir de l'Europe – qui s'était tenue en novembre 2007. Cette fois-ci aussi, le thème choisi était d'actualité: la relation entre la société civile et les défis posés à l'environnement. La présence des présidents de toutes les institutions européennes, de Pöttering à Barroso, témoigne de l'intérêt qu'ils portent à la question du changement climatique et à la consultation périodique de la société civile européenne.

Michele CIAVARINI AZZI (President of UEF.be) and Gérard ONESTA (Vice-President of the EP) ont dirigé l´atelier sur la Gouvernance de l´AGORA.

Les participants à l'Agora, parmi lesquels était présente une délégation d'une trentaine de militants fédéralistes venant des différentes sections nationales, avaient le choix entre cinq ateliers thématiques distincts: ressources, technologie, solidarité, économie et gouvernance. Ces groupes de travail ont consacré une journée entière aux débats et à la formulation de leurs conclusions, à partir d'un texte d'introduction, par atelier, qui avait été finalisé sur la base de nombreuses contributions écrites. Tâche ardue, puisqu'une synthèse cohérente était attendue.

Ces conclusions sont fort intéressantes et méritent d'être lues, quoiqu'elles ne soient pas, hélas, d'une lecture aisée pour tout le monde. Les conclusions des cinq groupes de travail reflètent toutes une grande préoccupation des participants pour la gravité des défis écologiques et l'urgence d'une approche européenne, voire mondiale. Les cinq groupes de travail sollicitent tant les autorités respectives que les citoyens à prendre leur responsabilité et agir en leur propre intérêt, mais également dans l'intérêt de l'humanité entière.

Sur un thème aussi urgent que complexe, une seule consultation annuelle suffit-elle ? Qu'advient-il des conclusions formulées par l'Agora ? Qu'attend-t-on des institutions européennes et que peut faire la société civile ? La question la plus importante est celle de se demander comment une dynamique positive peut être amorcée entre les deux acteurs, société civile (responsabilité individuelle, comportementale) et institutions (responsabilité législative et normative) ? Un programme commun doit-il émerger ?

Les conclusions des cinq ateliers, qui mériteraient une synthèse et une coordination finale, sont très abstraites et proposent finalement peu d'actions concrètes. Sous leur forme actuelle, elles ont peu de valeur politique. Que les recommandations soient ambitieuses, vu l'état d'urgence, n'étonne personne. Il serait néanmoins utile de joindre, au travail de l'Agora, une indication concernant les priorités à suivre (des pistes d'action) et les moyens nécessaires pour sensibiliser utilement la population.

Ainsi, l'on attend beaucoup des autorités. Sans une assise sociale, une mission ambitieuse comme celle énoncée par les groupes de travail ne réussira jamais. L'étape

suivante consiste à élucider l'interaction entre les différentes autorités et la société civile. Dans une société participative cela est important.

Les conclusions des ateliers devraient faire l'objet de réactions motivées de la part de cinq institutions européennes, notamment du Parlement européen, de la Commission et du Comité économique et social européen. Ces réactions devraient convaincre la société civile que les institutions européennes trouvent ce dialogue avec elle réellement enrichissant et utile, et qu'il représente bien plus qu'un geste symbolique ou obligé, sans aucune conséquence. Une réaction démontrerait que cet exercice n'est pas la priorité exclusive d'une seule fraction politique, mais reflète une préoccupation largement partagée.

Enfin, une large consultation de la société civile européenne devrait être organisée sur les conclusions des groupes de travail. Les questions suivantes peuvent être posées : (1) comment les idées clef de l'Agora sont-elles perçues ? (2) quels sont actuellement les moyens disponibles pour la diffusion de ces idées ? (3) lorsque ces idées seront portées jusqu'au citoyen, dans quel cadre plus large pourront-elles être intégrées ?

Voici quelques considérations générales pour valoriser la consultation de la société civile européenne sur les défis écologiques. Que celui qui en reconnaît l'urgence passe le message.

Robert VERSCHOOTEN
Membre de l'UEF.be (www.uef.be)

Pour plus d'infos sur l'organisation de l'Agora sur le changement climatique et sur ses conclusions, voir le site **www.europarl.europa.eu/agora**

UEF Belgium delegates at the EP's Agora on Climate change: Dietrich Hammer, Antonio Anselmi, Franco Pettini, Giorgia Bartoli, Eberhard Rhein, Robert Verschooten, Stéphane Brams, Mme Bilotta, Raoul Pierard, Véronique Pillen, Domenico Rossetti di Valdalbero, Michele Ciavarini Azzi.

L'UEF aux 2e Etats Généraux de l'Europe 21 juin 2008 – Lyon, France

Les 2e Etats Généraux de l'Europe, organisés à Lyon , le 21 juin, par le Mouvement Européen – France avec les associations Notre Europe et Europa Nova, ont connu le même succès que les 1ers Etats Généraux réunis à Lille en 2007 : des personnalités de tout premier plan, dont le Président de la République d'Italie, pour les réunions plénières d'ouverture et de clôture, des intervenants de haut niveau, tout au long de la journée, dans 18 ateliers, et, pour les écouter et débattre avec eux, plus de 2000 citoyens, tout comme à Lille.

Dès les premières réunions de préparation à l'automne 2007, l'UEF-France était présente : sa proposition de prendre en charge l'organisation d'un atelier consacré à la démocratie représentative dans l'UE fut tout de suite acceptée sous le titre, très militant, de « Aux urnes, citoyens ! ».

L'objectif non dissimulé était de « vendre » le programme de l'UEF pour la campagne des élections au Parlement, en 2009, et, le jour venu, cet objectif a été brillamment atteint par les interventions convaincantes, magistrales et passionnées de Pauline Gessant, Guido Montani et Virgilio Dastoli. Pour que les citoyens aillent aux urnes, il faut que leur soit accordé le pouvoir d'orienter, par leurs bulletins, la politique européenne et celui de choisir, au moins, le chef de l'institution qui exécutera les décisions qui seront démocratiquement approuvées par leurs élus.

A la tribune, étaient associés à nos orateurs résolument fédéralistes, deux experts en matière de démocratie représentative, Cédric Bloquet (CIDEM) et Henri Chaumont (Notre Europe) ainsi que deux praticiens de cette démocratie, la députée européenne Nathalie Grisebeck et le député français Pierre Léquiller. Ces derniers soulignèrent la nécessité d'une relation étroite entre les élus et leurs électeurs, relation qui, vu la dimension des circonscriptions électorales des députés européens, exige le relais des partis politiques et, selon Pierre Léquiller, même et surtout, celui des élus nationaux.

Parallèlement aux ateliers, diverses manifestations se déroulaient : un café littéraire, où les auteurs d'ouvrages consacrés à l'Europe pouvaient dialoguer très librement avec leurs lecteurs, une simulation d'une réunion du Parlement des Jeunes où des jeunes visiteurs pouvaient s'initier aux disciplines du débat parlementaire et, du début à la fin de la journée, un « village associatif » réunissant, dans une vaste salle, plus d'une centaine de stands d'associations diverses. L'UEF-Rhône-Alpes y a tenu un stand fort bien décoré et très fourni en documents d'information et publications fédéralistes : Jean-Luc Prével et plusieurs volontaires de sa section y ont reçu de nombreuses visites et noué maints contacts.

Pas plus que leurs prédécesseurs, ces Etats Généraux n'ont lancé une révolution, mais ils ont bien semé des informations et des idées qui engendreront celle que nous appelons de nos voeux.

Jacques Chauvin,
Président UEF-France

Pour en savoir plus, il est encore temps d'aller visiter le site www.etatsgeneraux-europe.eu

Report UEF Debate, Who is your Candidate, 24th of June 2008, Brussels

On 24 June 2008, the UEF organized a public debate in the Eastman Building of the European Parliament on the subject "Who is your Candidate for President of the European Commission? The citizens have the right to elect the President of the European Commission".

The debate took place in the framework of the UEF Who is your Candidate campaign that aims at convincing the European parties to nominate their candidates for President of the European Commission. The President of the European Commission should no longer be chosen behind "closed doors" but instead, it should be directly elected by the European Parliament in accordance with the principles of transparency and participation of citizens.

The panel of experts assembled Ms. Ulrike LUNACEK for the European Green Party (EGP), Mr. Daniel TANAHATOE for the European Liberals, Democratic and Reform Party (ELDR) and Mr. Andrew DUFF (ELDR), Member of the European Parliament. The debate was chaired by Mr. Philipp Agathonos, Vice-President of the UEF.

After his welcoming speech, Mr. Joan Marc SIMON (Secretary General of the UEF) gave the floor to Mr. Andrew DUFF, who addressed and introduced the issue in his key note speech.

The basic idea of every election was to point out alternatives to the citizens. The European Union had the problem of the "second-order-elections", where national politics dominate the European elections.

The Lisbon Treaty refers to the European Parliament as the body who will elect the President of the European Commission. In case that there will not be a successfully elected candidate, the European Council has one month to nominate a new one. According

to Mr. DUFF there were several possibilities to reach the majority of at the moment 393 votes. He could foresee coalitions between EVP/PES, or ELDR/UEN/EVP and PSE/ALDE/GUE/Grüne. Therefore it might be difficult to successfully elect one candidate.

In preparation for the Lisbon Treaty and concerning the process of selecting the candidates, the European Parliament dealt with two possible procedures of organising such a vote. One suggestion was to already organize the European Parliament elections in May 2009, so that the European Parliament has more time before the European Council nominates their candidate. The other solution was to have a formal consultation with a so called "informateur", who should coordinate the proposals. This would also include the election process of the President of the European Council.

In the picture: Ulrike Lunacek (EGP), Andrew Duff (MEP), Philipp Agathonos (UEF), Daniel Tanahatoe (ELDR) and Joan Marc Simon (UEF)

Problem was that in past few years the European political parties always were too weak to nominate political "champions" due to the fact that national parties didn't and don't want to decrease their influence on the European level.

For the post of the President of the European Commission it was said that the candidate should be a former Prime Minister. According to Mr. DUFF the availabilities of those candidates were quite small as some of them were simply too old or their image was damaged in the past. Moreover the candidates will have to organize campaigns where it might be difficult for them to accept a possible loss in their run for president.

The European parliament elections will be a great chance to advertise and to plead for a more democratic Europe. In the current system the European citizens don't know what for a programme the European political parties will implement and who will be responsible for implementing this programme.

The results of the last EP elections and the decreasing participation of citizens in the EP elections forced us to ask how we could make the current system more attractive. Both, the Liberals and the Greens agreed on this during the debate.

Ms. Ulrike LUNACEK underlined that it was high time to discuss what will happen during the next European elections. The Greens will have again a common campaign while criticizing that decisions in the EU are taken behind closed doors. "As we don't have a common European publicity, discussions on a trans-national level are very difficult", said Ms. LUNACEK. Furthermore, the necessity of nominating a former Prime Minister might be a problem for this relatively young party. On the other hand, on ministerial level there could be plenty of good options. The Greens would nominate and elect a common candidate on their summit in March 2009. Ms. LUNACEK also suggested that, in case the Lisbon treaty is ratified, similar procedure should also be implemented for the Higher Representative, the President of the European Parliament and the President of the European Council.

Audience at the Who is your Candidate debate

Mr. Daniel TANAHATOE mentioned that even the youth organisation of the ELDR, the LYMEC, already stressed that it is necessary to nominate candidates for President of the European Commission. The ELDR therefore was eager to nominate a candidate and could count on two former Prime Ministers.

Finally the UEF Who is your Candidate campaign was, according to the attendees, a step in the right direction, giving citizens the possibility to identify how their votes will support a political programme, a certain candidate and even more important the information who will be responsible for implementing this programme.

For this reason the Who is your Candidate campaign asks the political parties to nominate their candidates for the Position of President of the European Commission in good time before the European elections in June 2009.

For more information please visit www.who-is-your-candidate.eu

3. FUTURE EVENTS

UEF Think-Tank meeting, A new federalist agenda towards the European Federation, 27th of September 2008, Brussels

Dear friends,

We would like to invite you to a one-day debate in Brussels on Saturday 27 September in preparation of the upcoming UEF Congress.

The political events of the past few months (most notably the impasse of the Lisbon Treaty following the NO vote in Ireland) and more in general the disappointing developments of European politics since at least the Nice Treaty (particularly the failure of the European Constitution) pose fundamental questions not only to the European leaders but also to the federalist movements. The increasing inability of the enlarged European Union to find a way towards a political Union, not to say to a true European federation, raise serious doubt that such goals can ever be achieved. The European leaders and political parties seem not to care. But the federalists should.

The current combined challenges of the energy crisis, the financial crisis, the instability in Middle-East and the general shift in the world balance of power – weakening Europe –, are a constant reminder of why a European federation is urgently needed. In such scenario, chasing the timid agenda of the European governments is not enough. It is up to the federalist movements to put back on the European agenda the ultimate goal of our movements, the European federation, and show that this can be achieved only by breaking the "unanimity taboo" that is leading Europe to one failure after the other. It is up to the federalists to set their own agenda and push it forward in the political debate at European and national level.

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While the UEF Congress will be the occasion to take formal decisions, our seminar will offer the chance to discuss the relevant issues with sufficient time at hand, and we hope it can be a useful preparation of the Congress for those able to attend.

The debate will take place at the **UEF office in Brussels (Chaussée de Wavre 214d)** starting at 10:00 and ending around 18:00.

It will be divided in two sessions as follows:

- **WHICH FEDERALIST AGENDA TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN FEDERATION?**
  Debate with introductions by **Michele CIAVARINI AZZI**, President of UEF Belgium, and **Paolo VACCA**, Member of the UEF Bureau and of the Committee for a European Federal State

- **WHICH CHALLENGES AHEAD FOR UEF AND THE FEDERALIST MOVEMENTS?**
  Debate with introductions by **Philip AGATHONOS**, Vice President of UEF, and a representative of the UEF Brussels Think Tank

Following these two sessions, participants will also have some time to introduce draft resolutions that they intend to present to the UEF Congress two weeks after.

The debate wants to be an international event open to activists of the federalist movements of various countries.

If you would like to participate, please inform **both of us** (Michele Ciavarini Azzi mca@uef.be and Peter Strempel peter.strempel@federaleurope.org) **by email**. We trust you will be able to make your travel and accommodation arrangements on your own, but if you are in need of assistance, please let us know or consult the UEF secretariat in Brussels.

Please feel free to circulate this message to other activists and local sections in your country.

We are looking forward to meeting you in September.

Kind regards

Michele Ciavarini Azzi,
President UEF Belgium, mca@uef.be
Peter Strempel, UEF Think Tank
Brussels, peter.strempel@federaleurope.org

UEF-Congress, 10/11/12 of October 2008, Paris, France

Dear friends,

In compliance with the Statutes, and on behalf of the Federal Committee, we have the honour of inviting you to the **XXII European Congress of the UEF**, to be held as already announced October 10th, 11th and 12th in **Paris**, under the title

For a Europe of citizens
June 2009: give us a choice!

Some 200 participants, delegates, guests and observers from all over Europe will participate. As the Congress is the sovereign body of the UEF, its mission is to define the UEF's policy for the next years; furthermore, it will have to elect its representatives bodies as well as take important decisions for the future of our organisation.

Translations

The last UEF Bureau held on July 5th agreed on the following compromise:

- The Congress should have full translation (English, French and German)

- The working documents can be submitted French, English or German and the European Secretariat will ensure the translation. Any document communicated after the deadline should be translated by the authors in the three languages.
- The amendments submitted during the Congress should be presented only in English.

Proposals for Resolutions

The deadline for resolutions is on **September 29th.**

Please note that the secretariat will translate the documents in French, German and English all the propositions sent before the deadline.

In case of late communication of the documents, the authors of the proposals should ensure the translation of the documents by their own means.

Reform of the Statutes

The deadline for amendments to the statutes is on **August 29th**.

YOU CAN FIND THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS FOR THE CONGRESS ON OUR WEBSITE UNDER THE LINK:

http://www.communicate-europe.co.uk/index.php?id=7084

- **The draft agenda**
- **The list of recommended hotels**

  Please do not forget to book your reservations in advance! Attention: The European Secretariat will NOT deal with hotel reservations!
- **The list of allocated delegates**

  Deadline for sending the list of delegates per section: **September 26th**
  The list of participants should be addressed to the European Secretariat by the responsibles of the sections

Please note that, according to the Statutes (Art.16.2): *Every delegate shall exercise one vote. A delegate unable to attend can authorise another delegate in writing to exercise his vote by proxy. No single delegate shall have more than one proxy.*

- **The registration form to the Federal Committee to be held before the opening of the Congress**

  Deadline for registration: **September 26th**
- **The minutes of the last Federal Committee** meeting held in Brussels on April 5th.
- **The minutes of the last Bureau meeting** held in Brussels on July 5th.

UEF-Seminar in Rumania, Bucharest, 24th and 25th of October 2008

The UEF International Roundtable in Bucharest on the future of the Federal Europe is an International Conference taking place on the 24th and 25th of October 2008 based on the initiative of Mr. Adrian SEVERIN (Member of the European Parliament).

The Roundtable is organized jointly by the Ovidiu Sincai Institute and the UEF.

The first panel, ***General Outlook over European Federalism,*** under the participation of Mr. Joan Marc SIMON (Secretary General of the UEF) will take place on the 24th of October.

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Chaired by Mr. Adrian SEVERIN the second panel on the 25th of October will deal with the topic of ***Steps towards a Federal Europe***.

The UEF secretariat will soon send out the invitations and additional documents. For further information, please consult our website under www.federaleurope.org or contact secretariat@federaleurope.org

WFM-IGP Council in the Hague, 6-8 November 2008, Netherlands

The World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP) will held its WFM-IGP Council meeting on the 6th until the 8th of November 2008 in The Hague, Netherlands.

The Council meeting will discuss the state of the current R2P project, the ICC and the development of the African/European federalism cooperation's.

A detailed Agenda will be send out to all member organizations soon and we will keep you updated.

*Background: The **World Federalist Movement - Institute for Global Policy** (**WFM-IGP**) is a global citizens movement with member and associate organizations around the world. The WFM-IGP International Secretariat is based in New York City across from the United Nations headquarters. Founded in 1947 in Montreux, Switzerland, the Movement brings together organizations and individuals which support the establishment of a global federal system of strengthened and democratized global institutions with plenary constitutional power accountable to the citizens of the world and a division of international authority among separate global agencies.*

The Movement has had Special Consultative Status with the ECOSOC since 1970 and is affiliated with the UN Department of Public Information (DPI) and a current board member of the Conference of NGOs (CONGO).

4. UEF REFLECTION PAPER

The 2009 European Parliament elections: for a democratic revision of the European Union

The referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon in Ireland – after the referendum on the European Constitution in France and in the Netherlands – proved that European citizens are no longer inclined to passively approve projects elaborated by European governments on the future of the European Union. A serious consensus crisis just started. The Irish no is exploited by the Euro-sceptic propaganda which supports the idea that enlargement should be accepted without any institutional deepening.

However, public surveys reveal that French, Dutch and Irish citizens – like citizens from other countries of the European Union – are not against Europe. They want a different Europe. They want a democratic Europe, in which their voices would be heard and listened to. They want less bureaucracy and more political Europe. Furthermore, the Irish referendum convinced many pro-Europeans that the building of Europe should be relaunched on new foundations, either between the most pro-European governments or by peoples' initiatives. Even if the Treaty of Lisbon would be ratified, the crisis would continue. Europe is ruled according to a democratic legitimacy which is far too fragile.

In order to build a democratic Europe, the method has to be changed. In 1950, the French-German initiative was taken without the parliaments and citizens knowing, in order to go beyond the resistances of the national bureaucracies. This initiative was

successful, because it was the proposal for peace that European peoples had been waiting for after the tragedy of the Second World War. Today, the enlarged Europe counts 27 countries and has complex problems with governments at the European and international levels. This is no longer possible that a small elite of diplomats, serving governments – which have a national legitimacy but not a European legitimacy –, submits complicated projects for the European Union to citizens. If we want a democratic Union, this has to be built with democratic methods. That is why a democratic revision of the European Union is necessary.

This is not about starting again from scratch. The original European project contained the seeds of the European democracy. But the European Parliament – elected by universal suffrage since 1979 – couldn't undertake the role of a permanent constituent assembly, as Willy Brandt wished. After the Treaty Spinelli in 1984, the European Parliament did no more than claim more powers in the reforms' projects brought up by national governments. Even the European Convention, which was the first attempt to involve directly citizens' representatives in a reform of the Union, went through the will of national governments. That is the reason why the European constitution was seen as another intergovernmental project by the public opinion.

In France, in the Netherlands and in Ireland, the fear – which was fuelled and exploited by national political forces – prevailed. During these referenda, European political parties remained silent; European choices are not part of their responsibilities; they don't express a supranational will, which can only emerge from a European democratic assembly. Europe has no political soul because political parties are not acting as a transmission belt between citizens and European institutions. A national state would quickly turn into a dictatorship if political parties would give up their fundamental role as a democratic driving force, permanently fuelling the political debate. The European Union is not becoming a state because European political parties let national populism bring discredit on Europe.

The 2009 European election can become the occasion to start a democratic revision of the European Union. An election will not be enough to build the European federation. But if the pro-European forces seize the occasion to answer national populism by speaking to European peoples, then the federalist project will take again centre stage in the debate about the future of the Union.

Proposal

We, the European citizens (or MFE, or UEF)

Convinced that

- Europeans can face the challenges of globalisation, of competition with the new international major powers, of ecological protection and of the building of a new international peace order only with an efficient and democratic European government ;
- the European Union should become a real "supranational democracy", as defined by the European Parliament ;
- the European political parties should take on their responsibility to be the link between citizens and European institutions ;
- the next European election of June 2009 is the occasion to start a democratic revision of the European Union;

ask/s

- the European Parliament to use the available funds for the 2009 European election in order to organise simultaneous debates on TV between all candidates from the European

political parties, applying for the presidency of the European Commission. A European public space should be created to have citizens take part in a real pan-European debate. This debate should tackle political parties' programmes and candidates' commitments towards voters. Europe needs a government and European citizens have the right to know if the person who is governing will still deserve their vote for the next European election.

- the European Parliament and the national governments to use the next 2009 European election to launch a democratic revision of the European Union by giving citizens – along to the ballot paper – a second ballot paper to say yes or no to a new European constitutional process. This new European constitutional process would be composed of MEPs and national parliamentarians and would be opened to contributions from the civil society – so that the new European house would be built on the strong foundations of the peoples' will.

5. UEF SECTION PUBLICATION

Fighting Global Warming requires effective global Action

UEF Belgium
Eberhard RHEIN, 14/06/08

I.

Humanity is towards a global cataclysm. It will be impossible to contain the rise of global temperature within the EU target two centigrade, unless the major emission countries take draconian and urgent action, without further delay.

- During 2002-06, global C02 emissions have been rising at an average annual rate of 3.6 percent, a bit less than the rise of global GDP. Both growth rates are perfectly unsustainable.

- C02 emissions remain directly linked to energy consumption, which in turn is correlated to GDP. Globally, we are still far from decoupling economic growth from fossil energy consumption, which is a *conditio sine qua non* for a globally sustainable development.

- During 2002-06 the annual increase of C02 emissions has been six times higher than during 1991-95, rising from 150 million to 900 million tons annually!

- Since 1970 humanity has added some 300 billion tons of C02 to the stock of C02 accumulated in the atmosphere, and it is most likely to add another 600 billion tons until 2050, which would be irresponsible.

Since the Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1991, humanity has failed to take effective action. It continues to fool itself fiddling around with long-term targets.

- Climate policy officials urge for a 50 percent reduction of global C02 emissions **below the 1990 level**, until 2050. But they fail to tell us that this target implies a decline of global emissions by 65 percent against **present emission levels**. This is an impossible task to shoulder with the present deployment of political will.

- Simultaneously, global energy demand is expected to double until 2050, more than 75 percent of total demand to be covered by fossil fuels.

Humanity is on a path of inconsistency. It is time to open our eyes to the formidable challenge ahead of us. None of the world leaders dares to figure out policy dimensions, the mobilisation of technological and financial resources and, last not least, the behaviour changes required to prevent a "meltdown".

A few European leaders may have taken superficial note of the 2006 Stern Report, but none of them has deemed appropriate to invite its author and similar "wise men" for an in-depth debate with the European Council, which is too busy to care about the long-term future of our tiny planet.

In the last few months several leading experts have issued more dire warnings about the acceleration of global warming and the urgency of effective action.

- James Hansen et al. have warned humanity not to exceed an atmospheric C02 concentration of more than 350 ppm, at the risk of doing irreparable to the earth's biosphere. The present concentration is 380 ppm, and the Stern report projects it might reach 560 ppm as early as 2035, unless humanity takes radical action.

- China has overtaken the USA as the biggest emitter of C02 as of 2007, due to its unprecedented economic growth based on constantly rising inputs of fossil energy.

- Lester Brown, President of the Earth Policy Institute, has called for a mobilisation of humanity against climate change, comparable to the US war effort in 1943-45 (cf. his Plan B 3.0).

- Jeremy Rifkin, President of the Foundation on Economic Trends, has invited the international community to reorient the Copenhagen agenda (December 2009) from "burden sharing" to "commercial opportunities" (in renewable energies and energy efficiency) if it wants to avoid a failure with untold consequences to civilisation
(cf. "Leading the Way to the Third Industrial Revolution; Brussels, and European Parliament 12.06.08).

II.

The time for complacency should be over. It is time to act, coherently and effectively with a long-term vision.

First, we need to define targets for concrete action.

We must replace the abstract and negative target of reducing C02 and CH4 (methane) emissions by a concrete and positive target.

Humanity must aim at a zero-carbon energy supply for every country and every activity. Of course, it is unattainable. There will always be some C02 and methane emissions as long as human beings will want to enjoy a warm home, consume beef or rice or move around.

But we can and must come very close to it, and everybody can visualise it. Attaining it implies replacing essentially all fossil energy by renewable resources (hydro, wind, solar, waves, and biomass) and C02- free technologies (carbon capture and storage, nuclear power).

A zero-carbon energy supply target is easily translatable into concrete policy programmes, e.g.:

- Achieve a zero C02 power generation by 2050.
- Phase out the combustion engine by 2050.
- Phase in zero-emission buildings by 2050.

These three targets are ambitious but doable. If we fail to achieve them, the earth will irreversibly become a bleak place as of the second half of the 21st century.

Second, the major polluting countries should go ahead

It will not be possible to chart a sustainable course for humanity with 200 odd countries set the course and commit to it. Others should progressively join the global fight as they will become able to and as the front-runners set the example. Any other approach is bound to lead to nowhere. We have witnessed this during the Kyoto negotiations; we see it again in preparation for the Copenhagen "showdown". There is neither leadership nor negotiation, just confusion amid never-ending talks and lots of smokescreen.

In 2006, China, USA, EU, Russia and Japan accounted for almost two third of global C02 emissions. These five emitters need to **take concrete actions**, in order to have a substantial impact on global emissions. In a second stage, they have to get another 30 countries like Saudi-Arabia, Turkey, Brazil, Indonesia etc., which combined account for another 20 percent of global emissions, on board.

It will require a lot of arguments, persuasion and inducements to get all the key polluters to agree on substantive, differentiated action, with longer transition periods for China and fast action by the OECD countries, above all the USA with its excessively high level of per capita emissions.

The EU will have to shoulder its responsibility. It should sketch a global vision before the end of 2008 and present it to its partners, starting with the USA, in early 2009.
Only a combined EU-USA political leadership will be able to turn the Copenhagen Climate Conference into a success.

Third, we should concentrate on the few most polluting sectors

Four sectors account for three quarter of global C02 emissions: deforestation, power generation, road transport and housing. Any international effort will have to concentrate in order to be effective.

For each of these four sectors the "Big Five" should elaborate a set of concrete measures to be taken during the coming 20 years. These measures need not be identical for all participants.

Forests and the oceans constitute the two big C02 reservoirs on earth.

It is essential for the biosphere to keep these intact, at least as long as humanity has not stopped C02 emissions from burning fossil energy. Deforestation has accelerated dramatically during the past 20 years, due to population pressure, land scarcity and booming demand for timber, especially in China. As a consequence, deforestation accounts presently for about 20 percent of global emissions, in particular in the tropical rain forests, which are also of vital importance for maintaining the earth's biodiversity.

It should be possible to bring deforestation to a halt by a combination of practical measures: tackling illegal logging, land reform, agricultural productivity, curbing demand for tropical timber and appropriate financing.

"The Big Five" should rapidly get together with the three main forest countries concerned - Brazil, Congo and Indonesia - and draft an effective anti-deforestation strategy. Their proposals should then serve a as the basis for a multilateral convention to be signed at Copenhagen 2009.

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The EU should rapidly take the initiative. It is the most promising sector for attaining a rapid reduction of C02 emissions.

Power generation accounts for around one third of global C02 emissions.

It is technically possible to generate C02-free electricity for satisfying all present and future needs of humanity.

Major types of C02-free electricity like nuclear, hydro and biomass are already competitive at present international prices for coal and gas. Others like solar, wind and waves still need to be subsidised.

Consumers will have to put with higher electricity rates. Contrary to a common perception, high electricity rates do not constitute a serious handicap to international competitiveness, apart from a few electricity-intensive products like aluminium, copper or certain types of steel. If it were otherwise, Germany would long have lost its position as the world's biggest exporter of manufactured products.

The "Big Five" should agree on two simple measures, which will rapidly transform power generation and help generate essentially all electricity from "green energy" by the middle of the century.

- Make C02- free power generation, from whatever source, mandatory for newly commissioned power plants, as of 2020. That will offer utilities enough time to choose among the most appropriate technological options: nuclear, hydro, wind, solar thermal, PV, waves, and biomass and, last not least, CCS.
  Governments should facilitate the transition by generous research grants to utilities desiring to probe new technologies.
- Grant generous, but degressive subsidies on all forms of zero-emission technologies. The European model of feed-in tariffs appears to be the most effective and flexible method of subsidising new technologies. It rightly charges the consumers of electricity and not the tax payers with the cost of the subsidies.

Road transport (passenger cars and trucks) is responsible for up to a quarter of global C02 emissions.

It is easy to dramatically reduce C02 emissions from automobiles by radical changes of automobile technology. The industry only needs the right incentives. These have lacked in the USA, due to cheap oil and gasoline prices. The result has been the quixotic boom and bust of SUVs!

The "Big Five" should agree on putting into place progressively stricter fuel efficiency or C02 emission standards.

By 2020, the global standard for automobile fleets should be about 100 g C02 emission/km or 4 litre/100 km consumption.

The EU is pioneering with its proposal for 120g C02 emission by 2012. It may serve as a global reference.

By 2050, automobiles and trucks should run on fuel cells fuelled by hydrogen (generated from solar energy) and batteries fuelled by green electricity. Land transport should therefore have come close to zero C02 emissions.

Housing and buildings account for another third of global emissions, with big differences between northern and southern countries.

It is technically possible to build low-emission housing, thanks to rapid technological progress in thermal insulation and the integration of renewable energies – solar

thermal, photovoltaic, heat pumps – and efficient air circulation methods.

Several thousand low-energy buildings have been installed during the last 10 years, in the wake of rising fuel costs and technological progress in design and construction.

Governments should therefore make low-emission buildings mandatory for any new construction, say as of 2015, and engage in a massive programme for retrofitting existing buildings, by making available attractive low-interest loans.

For the coming 20 years, the emphasis should be on thermal insulation rather than on transforming buildings into "renewable power plants".

The "Big Five" should agree on mandatory energy efficiency standards (thermal insulation) for all new office and residential buildings by 2015 latest. To that end, they should set up a "technical coordination committee", which would liaise among the national agencies responsible for building standards and monitor the progress in the participating countries.

III.

The above outline of measures has not the slightest chance of becoming a policy blueprint unless heads of government in the main countries engage and make climate policy the top priority of their political action.

They will not do so as long as they are not convinced that:

- Climate change constitutes the most serious threat to human civilisation;
- Effective action has to be undertaken without delay;
- Effective action is technically possible at low cost to their societies;
- Effective action should be seen as an opportunity for the inescapable transformation of technologies and our way of life;
- The price of fossil energy has to rise substantially to induce the necessary changes of technology and behaviour;
- Governments have a primordial role to play in smoothing the adjustment process.

Heads of government therefore need to undergo the appropriate "brain washing". They have to understand:

- the profound mutations that a global population of > nine billion aspiring to European living standards will produce;
- the basic climatologic data, causalities and inter-connexions;
- the technological challenges for attaining the zero-emission society.

European leaders should show the way and address the following questions:

- What should happen to prevent a global catastrophe?
- What sort of action should be taken by the main players?
- What is the cost? What investment necessary? How to finance it?
- How to address the competitive threats?
- How to get the technologies off the ground?
- What is Europe's chance in climate technologies?

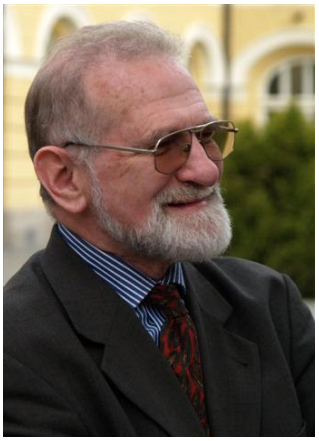
Eberhard RHEIN
Member of UEF Belgium

6. IN MEMORIAM

In Memoriam Bronislaw Geremek

Bronislaw Geremek, député européen et figure politique historique de la Pologne est brutalement décédé le dimanche 13 juillet 2008 à l'âge de 76 ans.

Défenseur du progrès démocratique et social en Europe ainsi que grand artisan européen, il s'était engagé aux cotés de Lech Walesa au sein du syndicat ouvrier Solidarnosc et rapidement devenu une figure emblématique de l'opposition démocratique.



Emprisonné deux ans et demi par le régime Jaruzelski, libéré et élu député du parlement polonais à partir de 1989, il sera ministre des affaires étrangères de 1997 à 2000 et finalement Député européen à partir de 2004. Membre de la Commission des Affaires Etrangères et de celle des Affaires Institutionnelles du Parlement européen, son action a toujours été très remarquée autant par la qualité de ses nombreuses interventions que par la dimension très intégrationniste qu'il a su donner à ses propos ont fait de lui une personnalité politique européenne de premier ordre.

Titulaire du prix Charlemagne en 1998 (prix qui récompense chaque année les personnalités qui œuvrent pour l'intégration européenne) et Président de la fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Geremek a su devenir une figure incontournable ainsi qu'une référence morale et politique en ce qui concerne l'engagement fédéraliste et européen.

L'UEF par la voix de son secrétariat adresse toutes ses condoléances à la famille ainsi qu'aux proches de M. Bronislaw Geremek et salue la trajectoire brillante et modèle de ce fédéraliste, de ce grand européen.

7. SECRETARIAT NEWS

Two new trainees joined the UEF-Secretariat

In June, two news trainees, Giorgia BARTOLI (giorgia.bartoli@federaleurope.org) and Gabriel RICHARD-MOLARD (gabriel.richard-molard@federaleurope) joined the UEF Secretariat.

Giorgia Bartoli comes from Italy. After her experience of International Studies abroad (Institut d'études politiques de Bordeaux and Université de Montréal –Québec-) she completed her Master in Economics and Politics in EU at the University Alma Mater Studiorum of Bologna. Before her arrival to the UEF, she worked at the Permanent Representation of Italy to the European Union and at the Observatory of social policies CGIL-INCA in Brussels. Except of her mother tongue Italian, Giorgia Bartoli is fluent in French and speaks also English. She will be mainly working on the Who is your Candidate campaign.

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Gabriel Richard-Molard comes from France. He is graduated from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Strasbourg in European Studies and he will be graduated next year from the University Robert Schumann in Strasbourg in European Law. Gabriel Richard-Molard spent also one year studying at the Eberhard Carl University of Tubingen and is involved in the political live in France. Before his arrival to the UEF, he worked in the Presidential Cabinet of the Region Alsace in Strasbourg where he was in charge of the communication and the transborder topics. Except of his mother tongue French, Gabriel is fluent in German and speaks also English. He will assist the secretariat in the preparation of the Congress and update the website content.

8. CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

- 25th International Seminar on Federalism in Ventotene, 31st of August until the 5th of September, Italy
- UEF Think-Tank meeting on the 27th September at UEF European Secretariat in Brussels, Belgium
- Next Bureau meeting, 28th of September in Brussels, Belgium
- UEF-Seminar in Rumania, 24th and 25th of October 2008, Bucharest
- WFM-IGP Council in the Hague, 6-8 November 2008, Netherlands
- UEF-Congress, 10/11/12 of October 2008, Paris, France

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The UEF, founded in 1946, is an independent and non-governmental European organisation, campaigning for a federal Europe. Since April 2005, it is presided over by Mrs. Mercedes BRESSO, President of the Italian Region of Piedmont, Member of the EU Committee of the Regions.

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