



## NEWSLETTER

September 2008

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*Dear Friends,*

*This issue of the TEPSA Newsletter presents an overview of our activities and latest news of TEPSA and its member institutes.*

*Highlights include an interview with John Pinder, one of the 'founding fathers' of TEPSA and a report on the THESEUS Summer School hosted by TEPSA.*

*Good wishes,*

*The TEPSA Team*

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## News from TEPSA Secretariat

We are pleased to welcome a new member of the TEPSA team in Brussels:



*Anne Schmidt*

Anne Schmidt holds a diploma degree (~M.A.) in Political Science from the Freie Universität Berlin and a Certificat d'Études Politiques Européennes from the Institut d'Études Politiques Strasbourg. Before joining TEPSA she gained further experience working at TEPSA's German member Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP) in Berlin and at the European Parliament in Strasbourg and Brussels. Her main areas of interest include European foreign and security as well as development policy with a special focus on Africa.

Ingrid Bozin will leave TEPSA at the end of September. Her tasks included TEPSA Friends, THESEUS and administrative duties.

## Future events

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❖ The following events are planned in **Brussels**

Thursday 23 October, at 12.00, TEPSA, in cooperation with Fondation Universitaire, will host a talk by **Baron Lamfalussy**, on the topic "**Financial crisis in Europe**". This lunch debate will take place at the Fondation Universitaire and the working language will be French.

Wednesday 22 - Thursday 23 October, TEPSA will organise a conference "**Effects of EU enlargement**". The event will take place at Fondation Universitaire.

Wednesday 26 November TEPSA will organise a Conference "**Elections of the European Parliament – the way ahead**". The event will take place at Fondation Universitaire.

Thursday, 4 December, at 12.00, TEPSA, in cooperation with Fondation Universitaire, will host a talk by **Wilfried Martens**, President of the European People's Party, entitled "**Europe, quo vadis**". This lunch debate will take place at the Fondation Universitaire and the working languages will be French and Dutch.

Further details of all these events can be found on TEPSA's website: [www.tepsa.eu](http://www.tepsa.eu).

❖ In the framework of **TEPSA's Guest Lecture Series**

- Thursday 9 October Paul Meerts (Clingendael, The Hague) will give a lecture on "**Negotiating in the EU**" at the Centre of International Relations, Ljubljana
- Tuesday 14 October, Dr Ian Manners (DIIS, Copenhagen) will give a lecture on "**The Danish opt-outs and the referenda**" at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki

❖ We want to inform you also about the following conferences in **Malta, Slovakia, Romania**:

TEPSA is examining the possibility of membership of institutes in the three EU member states which are not yet represented in our network.

In accordance with TEPSA's practice, before any decision is taken on membership by the General Assembly, the institutes concerned are asked to organize an event –to which

TEPSA members are invited as speakers or participants – and we invite them to participate in our events.

**24 September 2008 - ‘The Fight against Poverty’, St, Julian’s, Malta,**

This conference is aimed at those concerned about poverty in Malta, the Mediterranean, Europe and the World – its causes, its impact on security and the values and mechanisms required to address the dialogue of eliminating it. TEPSA is invited to send representatives to this conference which brings together leading figures, activists and academics to address these issues. Enquiries to: romina.zammit@um.edu.mt. Institute responsible: European Documentation and Research Centre (EDRC), University of Malta; For more information, please visit: [www.home.um.edu.mt/edrc](http://www.home.um.edu.mt/edrc)

**16-18 October 2008 - 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Energy Security, Bucharest, Romania**

Organised by EURISC Foundation (European Institute for Risk, Security and Communication Management), Bucharest. For more information, please visit: [www.eurisc.org](http://www.eurisc.org)

The Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (SFPA), Bratislava, is organising the following events:

**27-28 October 2008 – ‘Common EU Energy Policy and the Energy Security of Slovakia’, Bratislava, Slovakia**

The main purpose of the conference is to evaluate and to discuss Slovakia’s energy security in the context of the development of the Common Energy Policy of the EU

**21 November 2008 – ‘The Reform of the European Neighbourhood Policy’, Bratislava, Slovakia**

The aim of this one day conference is to discuss the state of the European Neighbourhood Policy and its potential for reform, in particular with respect to the tools, the regional dimension(s) and the institutions. For more information please contact: Zuzana Lisonová; [lisonova@sfpa.sk](mailto:lisonova@sfpa.sk)

**Pre-Presidency Conference  
Prague, 4 – 5 December 2008**



TEPSA’s Pre-Presidency Conference will take place on 4 and 5 December in Prague. The Conference is organised by TEPSA’s Czech member institute “Institute of International Relations” in cooperation with TEPSA and the EU-CONSENT network and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence in EU studies.

The draft program includes a presentation of ‘Priorities and challenges of the Czech EU Presidency’ and sessions on the themes EU after the Lisbon Treaty, Euroscepticism, Regional cooperation in Central Europe and EU foreign policy.

The event will take place at the premises of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

The Pre-Presidency Conference will be followed by TEPSA’s General Assembly on Friday 5 December at 14.30.

Further details will be available soon from Petr Kratochvíl ([kratochvil@iir.cz](mailto:kratochvil@iir.cz)) of IIR, Prague.

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**TEPSA Brief**

In July the first issue of the *TEPSA Brief*, dealing with the proposal for an Eastern Partnership was published. The *TEPSA Brief* is a new publication, which will inform regularly and in a concise way about upcoming and existing debates in the Brussels arena. It will provide background material and summarize the major cornerstones of current discussions. TEPSA Brief No. 2 addresses the proposal for the Energy Agency. Should you have suggestions or proposals for topics please contact Yvonne Nasshoven at [yvonne.nasshoven@tepsa.be](mailto:yvonne.nasshoven@tepsa.be).

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## TEPSA Training

In November 2008 TEPSA will organise the 1st workshop of TEPSA Training dedicated to the topic of **Communication with policy-makers**.

TEPSA training is a special programme for early stage researchers, primarily from the member institutes of the TEPSA network. The aim is to improve their professional skills in a transnational environment. The focus is especially on developing capacities for analysing, assessing, advising and administering EU-related issues and projects.

TEPSA Training offers added value to the training provided by the home institutes of the researchers by familiarizing them with working methods that are of importance in the Brussels arena. Priorities in professional skills are communication with and advice to policy makers (briefings), communication with the media (both electronic and paper) and fundraising for research activities. A focus on selected European policies will serve as a platform for applying and practising the skills learnt.

The programme follows an interactive scheme where participants will contribute their own experiences and backgrounds.

For further information please contact Anne Schmidt ([anne.schmidt\[at\]tepsa.be](mailto:anne.schmidt@tepsa.be)) or Andreas Hofmann ([andreas.hofmann\[at\]uni-koeln.de](mailto:andreas.hofmann@uni-koeln.de)).

## Recent events

### Meeting of the Board

Brussels, 10 September 2008

On 10 September members of TEPSA's Board attended its latest meeting at the Fondation Universitaire, Brussels, under the chairmanship of Professor Wolfgang Wessels.

The Board discussed all aspects of TEPSA's activities, its situation and prospects, and latest developments in the TEPSA network.

The Board noted that the financial situation of TEPSA remains sound, and welcomed the new member of TEPSA's secretariat (Anne Schmidt).



*Meeting of the Board, 10 September 2008*

Among the matters discussed were:

- TEPSA's financial situation and opportunities to differentiate the sources of financing
- Progress with enlargement of TEPSA to include new member institutes in Malta, Slovakia, Romania.
- The preparation of TEPSA's Pre-Presidency Conference and General Assembly in Prague in December.
- The work conducted by TEPSA in preparing briefings for the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee.
- The future of TEPSA network post EU-Consent.
- The successful launch of TEPSA Guest Lecture Series and TEPSA Briefs.

### The Expanding European Union: What are its future limits?

Dublin, 9 September

At the invitation of TEPSA's Irish member the Institute of International & European Affairs, Graham Avery (Secretary General of TEPSA) gave a talk in Dublin on 9 September 2008 on the theme "The Expanding European Union: What are its future limits?"

In his presentation (available on TEPSA's website) Graham Avery examined some of the basic questions concerning the EU expansion, including the 'why' and the 'how' of enlargement. He underlined that enlargement has been the result of the 'magnetic attraction' of the European method of integration: the EU's policy was reactive, in response to countries knocking on the door, rather than proactive, and the process was not planned. So we should be prudent now in forecasting the future.

But despite the problem of defining Europe in historical or geographical terms, it is possible to draw up a list of 17 states which are officially recognised as European but are not EU members. This list of 17 represents the 'outer limits' of Europe as officially recognised in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

But Graham Avery argued that EU-27 will not necessarily become EU-44, and in the short & medium term it will limit its expansion to the countries of the Western Balkans and Turkey, without forgetting the EFTA countries (Iceland, Switzerland, Norway) which, if they decided to apply, could join rapidly. In the longer term it may consider as potential members the other East European countries (Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Belarus) presently covered by EU's Neighbourhood Policy. Russia's invasion of Georgia, which has implications both for NATO & for EU, obliges us to reflect on this question.

He concluded that the EU's final limits are likely to result not from a strategic choice made in advance, but from successive political decisions & events. He pleaded for the EU to keep its door open for the other Europeans to join us in the construction of the 'European house'.

## Conferences in Brussels

**"The Future of EU Enlargement"** by Olli Rehn Brussels, 30 June 2008

TEPSA, in cooperation with THESEUS, organised on 2 July at the Fondation Universitaire a talk by Commissioner Olli Rehn on "The future of EU Enlargement". Professor Wolfgang Wessels chaired the event.

He mentioned that the no-vote of Ireland on the Lisbon Treaty presented a challenging situation concerning enlargement. Concerning the Western Balkans, he reaffirmed their membership perspective and stressed the importance of complying with the accession criteria. In this context, Commissioner Rehn briefly described the situation of each country on its way towards European integration. The discussion that followed the speech of Commissioner Rehn touched upon the question of Serbia and Kosovo, the cooperation of Western Balkan countries with the ICTY and the prospects of Turkey to join the EU.

The talk was organised in the context of TEPSA Friends and was attended by representatives from Permanent Representations of the member states, representatives from interest groups and the participants of the THESEUS Summer School 2008.

**"Europe's Future Foreign Service"** by Sir Brian Crowe  
Brussels, 2 July 2008

TEPSA, in cooperation with THESEUS, organised on 2 July a talk by Sir Brian Crowe, Deputy Chairman of Chatham House, London. The talk was chaired by Antonio Missiroli, EPC Director of Studies, and Graham Avery, Secretary General of TEPSA was discussant.

Brian Crowe's speech was based on his briefing 'European External Action Service: What next?', recently published by Chatham House which describes the structure of the European External Action Service (EEAS) and its relation with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (EUHR) as foreseen by the Treaty of Lisbon.

He explained that the purpose of the EEAS is to assist the EUHR in his broad area of activities. Taking into consideration that the EUHR combines in one person the posts of the President of the Council, the HR for CFSP, and Vice - President of the Commission the responsibilities are considerable. Nevertheless, the Treaty gives little guidance on how the service will function in practice and what the structure will be. Despite the negative result of the Irish referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon, Brian Crowe stressed that the innovations foreseen by it are necessary for a more coherent functioning of foreign policy in Europe.

Representatives from interest groups, Permanent Representations of member states, and the participants of the THESEUS Summer School took part in the event which was organised in the framework of TEPSA Friends.

**Hearing at the European Parliament**  
Brussels, 15 July

The authors of TEPSA's briefings on the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance presented their findings to Members of the

European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee in Brussels on 15 July.

These briefings, prepared under TEPSA's framework contract with the European Parliament, are available on the website of TEPSA and the European Parliament. They provide an analysis of the action programme for each candidate (FYROM, Croatia, Turkey) and potential candidate country (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo) in preparation of the EP's review of the Multi-Annual Indicative Programme. The presentations were followed by a discussion between MEPs and the researchers

The hearing was chaired by Hannes Swoboda, Vice-Chairman of the Socialist Group and rapporteur for Croatia. Other MEPs included Doris Pack (European People's Party), Gisela Kallenbach (Greens) and Libor Roucek (Socialist Group, Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee). The hearing was also attended by representatives of political groups and assistants of MEPs as well as by administrators of the secretariat of the Foreign Affairs committee. The Policy Department of the European Parliament (Directorate General for External Policies) organised and managed the event in collaboration with Yvonne Nasshoven and Benjamin Rey from TEPSA.



Hearing at the European Parliament, 15 July 2008

**General recommendations** resulted from the briefings were presented by Tamás Szemlér (Institute for World Economics, Budapest), coordinator of the series:

1. The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) is useful, but it could be made more effective.
2. Access to all the five components should be ensured to potential candidate countries, or, at least, the flexibility clause should be more used.

3. The IPA should be part of a more general framework (an element of a coherent strategy of the EU towards the region).
4. It should be better defined (with conditions/rewards/sanctions) and exceptions should be avoided (a system is needed instead of ad hoc reactions)
5. The EU has to play its leading role wholeheartedly: real prospects of accession are needed for the Western Balkan countries.

**Country-specific reports**, including an assessment of the progress achieved by each country and an analysis of the remaining challenges ahead, were presented by the following authors:

- Tom Lynch (Institute of International and European Affairs, Dublin) presented the main findings for **Croatia**, on the basis of the briefing which he wrote with Visnja Samardzija (Institute of International Relations, Zagreb);
- Florian Trauner (Institute for Advances Studies, Vienna) presented the briefing on the **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, written with Tom Lynch.
- Dusan Reljic (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik/SWP, Berlin), co-author of the briefing on regional cooperation (see below) gave a presentation on **Serbia**. The related briefing was written by Tomislav Marsic and Marie-Janine Calic (his colleagues at SWP).
- Tamás Szemlér, author of the briefing on **Bosnia and Herzegovina** with Mladen Stanicic and Sandro Knezovic (both from IMO, Zagreb), presented his results and also the study on **Kosovo**, in the absence of its authors Henriette Regler (IMO, Zagreb) and Filip Tesar (Institute of International Relations, Prague).
- Mladen Stanicic, author of the briefing on **Turkey** with Burcu Gültekin Punsman, discussed its findings individually with members of the audience (instead of giving a presentation to the MEPs, the rapporteur for Turkey being absent).

These presentations gave rise to a lively [discussion](#) between MEPs and TEPSA experts. Some of the issues addressed dealt with the priorities of EU assistance and the visibility of the EU's action

## Activities with THESEUS and EU-CONSENT

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### THESEUS

#### SUMMER SCHOOL 2008

Twenty young professionals and researchers participated in the second THESEUS Summer School that took place in [Brussels from 29 June to 5 July 2008](#) on “The EU's role in the world – what priorities? Revisiting the European Security Strategy”. The Summer School was hosted by TEPSA at the Fondation Universitaire in Brussels.

The Commissioner responsible for Enlargement, Olli Rehn, gave a keynote speech on the future of enlargement. The school featured other main political decision-makers and civil servants on foreign and security policy -Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, Member of the European Parliament and Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Jamie Shea, Director of Policy Planning in the Private Office of the Secretary General, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and Michael Dóczy, Policy Unit, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union. Jolyon Howorth, University of Bath and University of Yale, accompanied the school as resident researcher



*THESEUS Summer School Participants and Resident Professor Jolyon Howorth*

The object of the summer school was to analyze the EU's role as a “global actor”, to assess the European Security Strategy and the uncertain future for the new institutional parameters foreseen by the Lisbon Treaty and to elaborate advice for the future of the Security Strategy and EU external action.

The sessions were designed to give the students the possibility to bring in their own expertise and opinion on the subject and to get to know the difficulties of a compromise situation.

The summer school closed with the presentation and discussion of the declaration produced by the students (available at [http://theseus.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/Files/declaration/Final\\_version\\_of\\_policy\\_paper.pdf](http://theseus.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/Files/declaration/Final_version_of_policy_paper.pdf)) and a closing panel summing up the questions raised during the week.

#### Ongoing activities

Prof. Dr. Francois Bafoil will be the next THESEUS Visiting Professor at the University of Cologne in the autumn semester 2008. Professor Bafoil is Director of Studies at CERI (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales). He is specialized in comparative studies in sociology on Central and Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia. At the Jean Monnet Chair for Political Science he will give a course for graduate students on “Europeanisation in Central and Eastern Europe”. He will hold his inaugural lecture on “Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe” on 28th October 2008 at the University of Cologne.

For updated information please visit: [www.theseus-europe.net](http://www.theseus-europe.net) or [www.theseus-europa.net](http://www.theseus-europa.net).

### EU-CONSENT

The Network of Excellence EU-CONSENT has entered its final year of project lifetime and TEPSA will again actively contribute to the implementation of EU-CONSENT activities. TEPSA will organise and host the **concluding plenary conference; 26 and 27 March 2009** at the Fondation Universitaire in Brussels.

The concluding PhD School in Brussels (9-13 February 2009) will take place at the Fondation Universitaire in Brussels: it will be opened up to become a “**PhD Market**” in order to provide an environment where PhD students can not only present their research, but also establish contacts with think tanks, editors and stakeholders.

More EU-CONSENT PhD students will be encouraged to actively contribute to their promotion in the European Research Area by organising an **EU-CONSENT workshop / roundtable by PhD students for PhD students**.

This provides PhD students from this Network of Excellence with the unique opportunity to structure an EU-CONSENT event according to their needs, ideas, visions and interests of which the topic could be: methodology; theories; policies and others.

The final PhD School “**Lessons of the Past for Visions of the Future New challenges for old dilemmas: re-invented Union or status quo?**” will focus on a broader range of topics related to EU deepening and widening and thus PhD students will be free to choose any subject for the workshop that relates to this field of research.

A detailed programme with further information will be provided in the next issue of the EU-CONSENT Newsletter and via the EU-CONSENT mailinglists.

Contact: Funda Tekin [[funda.tekin@uni-koeln.de](mailto:funda.tekin@uni-koeln.de)]. For further information cf. also the EU-CONSENT Newsletter

### SInAN - Advance Notice

Within the framework of Universities Grant Scheme “Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Turkey” the Center for European Studies – Middle East Technical University, Ankara, and the Jean Monnet Chair of Political Science at the University of Cologne, launch the project “**Strengthening and Integrating Academic Networks - SInAN**” funded by the European Commission. Under the joint responsibility of Prof. A. Eralp and Prof. W. Wessels it aims to create synergies between academic networks in Turkey and the EU through strengthening their collaboration and integration. Herein, the Jean Monnet Chair Cologne will play the role of

a *gate opener* for CES-METU's national network of universities' integration into the European Research Area through networks such as TEPSA and EU-CONSENT.

By means of constructive dialogue and joint research the “myths” that characterise the debate on Turkey's EU accession process will be questioned. The objective is to ensure better knowledge of Turkey in the EU and of the EU in Turkey by contributing to conceptions on political and socio-economic implications of Turkey's accession to the EU and the current debates on EU institutional reforms and the EU's absorption capacity.

The main **project activities**, which aim to involve researchers from all over Europe, will be

- a **Collaborative Research Programme** consisting of a Joint Research Workshop, Elite Interviews, a Joint Flagship Conference and two PhD Schools. The programme will focus on three main thematic priorities, which are i. EU's institutional architecture: theories, strategies and lessons learned from enlargement; ii. Employment, social affairs and equal opportunities; and iii. External relations (CFSP, ESDP and ENP).
- **Exchanging Research Experience and Know-How** through a Fellowship Programme, a Study Visit Programme for PhD candidates and Curriculum Development;
- **Disseminating Knowledge and Best Practices** through the formation of a Web Page and the publication of a Newsletter, Working Papers, an edited volume and *Turkey Watch*.

Detailed information about forthcoming activities and calls for participation and applications especially by TEPSA will be announced at a later date. Contact person at the Center for European Studies, Middle East Technical University Ankara, is Dr. Sait Aksit ([saita@metu.edu.tr](mailto:saita@metu.edu.tr)), and at the Jean Monnet Chair for Political Science, University of Cologne, Nicole Ahler, M.A. ([ahlern@uni-koeln.de](mailto:ahlern@uni-koeln.de)).

## **7th Framework Programme Cooperation: Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities**

TEPSA is pleased to inform its Member Institutes about the funding possibilities available under the theme Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities, of the Cooperation programme within the FP7. This programme supports research activities carried out by different research centres through transnational cooperation. The budget is devoted to support cooperation between universities, research centres, and public authorities throughout the EU and beyond.

Research proposals should focus on growth, employment and competitiveness; the combination of economic, social and environmental objectives in a European Perspective. Other possible topics are Europe in the world, Citizens' Europe; Socio-economic and Scientific indicators; Future implications of global knowledge, migrations and ageing.

Project proposals should have a strong dissemination strategy linking their project results with the agenda of policy makers at various levels. Moreover, they should target policy makers, civil society organisations and economic actors at national and European level. The deadline for applications within this call is 13 January 2009.

Detailed information on the "Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities" theme and the Call for Proposals are available at:  
[http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ssh/home\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ssh/home_en.html)

## **Briefings for the European Parliament**

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Under its framework contract with the European Parliament, TEPSA with the support of its member institutes, delivers briefings and studies to the EP's Foreign Affairs Committee. They can be consulted at our website [www.tepsa.eu](http://www.tepsa.eu)

The following briefings have recently been delivered to the European Parliament:

### **Armenia**

Authors: Burcu Gultekin-Punsman, Graham Avery

### **Azerbaijan**

Lead author: Jérôme Boniface; Co-authors: Heidi Maurer, Jost Morgenstern, Mara Wesseling

### **Belarus**

Lead author: Alena Vieira; Co-author: Giselle Bosse

### **Georgia**

Lead author: Piret Ehin; Co-authors: Burcu Gultekin-Punsman, Andres Kasekemp

### **Moldova**

Lead author: Andris Spruds; Co-authors: Vadim Kononenko, Renars Danelsons

### **Ukraine**

Lead author: Zsuzsa Ludvig; Co-authors: Tamás Szemler, Michal Koran

### **Russia**

Co-authors: Piret Ehin, Matjaz Nahtigal

The following briefings concerning the **"Implementation of the four common spaces" in EU – Russia Relations** are currently being prepared, and will be submitted soon to the European Parliament:

### **"The economic space"**

Author: Constantinos Filis

### **"Freedom, Security and Justice"**

Author: Piret Ehin

### **"External security"**

Author: Vladimir Shopov

### **"Research, education and culture"**

Author: Krassimir Nikolov

## TEPSA Interview



**John Pinder**

**Chairman of the  
Federal Trust for  
Education and  
Research, London**

**Interviewed by Ingrid  
Bozin**

### Can you tell us about your involvement with TEPSA in its early days?

This is rather a long answer, because the process leading up to the formation of TEPSA was quite a long one, which took place in the 1960s and early 1970s, and the Federal Trust, in which I was very active, played a major part. This we did because, in addition to informing the British about the Community, we wanted to establish relationships with like-minded people in the member states, most of whom were busily engaged in its development.

Our method of getting to know them was to organise two-day seminars at weekends in pleasant surroundings, for twenty or thirty people in fairly equal numbers from each side of the Channel. Three of the meetings were British-French, three British-German, three British-Italian, one British-Belgian and five British-multilateral.

French participants included Etienne Hirsch and Pierre Uri, who were Jean Monnet's principal collaborators, Michel Rocard, subsequently Prime Minister, and Robert Toulemon, who became a Director-General in the Commission and has for many years been a mainstay of French participation in TEPSA. Among the Germans were Karl-Heinz Narjes, Chef de Cabinet for President Hallstein and later a Commissioner, and Katerina Focke, who was to be a Minister in the Brandt and Schmidt governments but was then Director of the Institut für Europäische Politik, where she was succeeded by Wolfgang Wessels, whose contribution to TEPSA, currently as Chairman, is so well known. Altiero Spinelli brought with him the Istituto Affari

Internazionali, which he had founded in 1965; and he was very active in promoting a proposal for a European Political Community which emerged from one of the meetings, which was one of the forerunners of the Draft Treaty of European Union which he inspired the European Parliament to produce in 1984, many features of which have been adopted in subsequent treaties to create the European Union of today.

The future development of TEPSA owed most, however, to the British-Belgian meeting, to which Jacques Vandamme brought a Belgian group that included former Prime Minister, Théo Lefevre, a future leader of the Socialist Party, Guy Spitaels, and two Belgian Secretaries-General of trade union internationals. Christopher Soames, former British Minister and future Commissioner, who lived nearby and participated in a session, seemed shocked that such important Belgians should be meeting with such relatively unimportant British. But the Belgians were evidently delighted to discuss European affairs with British people whose views about Europe were so much closer to their own; and this, thanks to the care taken by Jacques Vandamme in bringing these eminent Belgians to that meeting, was perhaps the most seminal moment for the future establishment of TEPSA in which he has, for so many years, played such a notable part.

*Belgian, British, French, German and Italian organizations were the principal original members of TEPSA.*

The relationships forged in those years, and in particular at those meetings, surely played a significant part in paving the way for the establishment of TEPSA in 1974, in which Belgian, British, French, German and Italian organizations were the principal original members. It is worth mentioning, in the same context, the origin of the pre-Presidency conferences which have become one of TEPSA's most prominent activities. Ireland, which joined the Community together with Denmark and the UK in 1973, was preparing in 1975 for its first Presidency. Dr Garret FitzGerald, who was a long-standing friend and colleague, asked me if the Federal Trust would organize a seminar in Dublin which could help him to prepare for his role as Foreign Minister. This we did, with the participation of people from TEPSA institutes who had knowledge of the various aspects. His comment after the end was that it had been 'enormously useful'; and,

like subsequent Irish Presidencies, that one was a significant success. None of us imagined that our modest seminar in that hotel would lead on to the much more magnificent pre-Presidency conferences that TEPSA has organised since then.

Moreover we would all have been amazed at the great growth in the size of TEPSA's membership, with practically all twenty seven EU states represented. I warmly congratulate all those who have brought it about.

**You are known as a leading advocate of federalism. What exactly does that mean for you, and why is it so important for Europe?**

A federation is a group of states with democratic government at two or more levels, constitutionally guaranteed at each level: one government to deal with the common affairs of all its citizens, and one for each of the member states. Where the latter are themselves federations, they will also have their own constitutional guarantees for their regional and perhaps even local governments. The constitutional guarantee ensures that neither the central government nor the state governments can unilaterally change the allocation of powers, which can be done only through a due constitutional process.

*The tragic history of the two World Wars in the last century was generated by the European system of nation-states.*

Such a federal system is extremely important for Europe, because European states are so interdependent that their separate governments can no longer deal effectively with some of their most important responsibilities. Thus common action by the European Union is required to deal with many of our common economic problems, while its global action is needed to deal with many matters, of which climate change is one example; and it is the EU, not the individual member states, that has had the strength to lead the world to adopt the Kyoto Protocol within the UN system, and can do the same for the further action that is urgently required. The tragic history of the two World Wars in the last century was generated by the European system of nation-states; and putting that behind us for ever was the principal motive for founding the European Community among the states that were ready and willing to start the process. Armed forces being the citadel of sovereignty, European states have not yet

been ready to merge them in a federal system. But the integration of the economies has so far made war among them unthinkable.

This leads to a very important conclusion. The world's first example of a democratic federation was the United States of America, whose constitution was adopted only twelve years after the founding states had declared their independence from the United Kingdom. So they had a very short history as independent sovereign states behind them. Most Europeans have a much longer history in nation-states: some even a thousand years or so. The political structures and ways of thinking are much harder to shift. So the establishment of a federation is a more incremental process. The European Community, now the Union, has come quite far in that direction; and the Lisbon Treaty, if it comes into effect, will be a further step. It is not satisfactory that EU

citizens, who all live in democratic states, should lack a fully effective and democratic system of government for their common affairs in the Union. Some further steps will be required; and doubtless that federal government will need to be given some additional powers: for example to make the Union, with its half a billion citizens, at least as influential as the United States, India and China in building a safer and better world system.

**Taking account of your experience in European University circles, do you think the attitude of young people towards the European Union has changed over the years?**

In the early days after the end of World War Two, there was enormous enthusiasm among many young people for the uniting of Europe. Helmut Kohl, then a student whose brother had recently been killed in the fighting, took part, with many other young French and German people, and including a British friend of mine, in the symbolic burning of the barrier at a frontier post between France and Germany. That was the atmosphere in which the European Community was founded in 1952; and something of it endured through the 1960s, when it was reflected in student reactions to the talks and formal lectures that I gave at universities on both sides of the Channel.

In 1970, when I started teaching at the College of Europe, the ideal of a united Europe was still a high priority for students, with the European Community as a unique guarantee against war among the member states. But its contribution to European prosperity had also become attractive and the enhancement of job prospects through knowledge of the Community was increasingly important. Peace within the Community had become a normal fact of life; and by now, many students in Western Europe have not even found the enlargement of the Union to include ten formerly Communist states particularly exciting. I believe that the fundamental problem is implicit in my answer to the preceding question.

The EU is the first example of a process whereby nation-states have come to share their sovereignty by transferring powers to a common system of government, and thus to deal effectively with problems that could otherwise be handled only with

*But by the time I joined the British federalist organisation, Federal Union, in 1950, much had changed.*

much greater difficulty, or not at all; and the Union, being quite far advanced in the process, should be the main influence leading the world in that direction. Most students have at least half a century more to live in this world and should surely be enthused by the potential of the Union to lead the way towards dealing with the many dangerous problems that confront it, which the individual European states cannot do.

**The European Union is viewed with skepticism by many British commentators. Why do you think the Brits have a different attitude from other Europeans?**

In the late 1930s, the British differed from most other Europeans in a way that may now seem surprising. The federal idea then made what the Archbishop of York called ‘a staggeringly effective appeal to the British mind’; and Altiero Spinelli, a most influential leader of postwar European federalists, wrote that the British federalists’ ‘analysis of the political and economic perversity brought by nationalism, and the reasoned presentation of the federal alternative, have remained to this day in my memory as a revelation’.

But by the time I joined the British federalist organisation, Federal Union, in 1950, much had changed. The experience of the war, when Britian almost alone for a year and a half had

resisted Hitler, had undermined support for federation, which was replaced by the traditional defense of national sovereignty; and the experience of having been saved by the United States also weighed against the European commitment, even when the Americans were pressing us to participate.

So the British have been ambivalent: not wholeheartedly committed to the European Community and Union but at the same time not wanting to be left out. They have accepted what was necessary in order to be a member of the club and to create the single market, but have resisted what they judged to be less necessary. Owners of mass-circulation newspapers have been generally anti-European and hostile; and Rupert Murdoch in particular has been astute in using his potential influence over voters to discourage party leaders from adopting pro-European programmes.

Doubtless the history of Britain, protected from invasion by the Channel and as a former global power, has provided a background to euroscepticism. But the level of public support for the Union’s policies on, for example, climate change, indicates that appropriate political leadership could turn the skepticism into generally positive participation. A comprehensive review of the whole subject can be obtained from a book on *Federalism and the British*, recently published by the Federal Trust.

**What do you consider to be the most important elements of the Lisbon Treaty and how do you think it will affect the future development of the European Union?**

The Treaty provides for reforms to make the Union more democratic and effective. Codecision of the Parliament with the Council is to be the normal legislative procedure. The Council is no longer to hold closed sessions when acting as a legislative chamber. The European Council must take account of the results of the European elections when nominating the Commission’s Presidents, who must be approved by the Parliament. Qualified majority is to be the normal legislative procedure in the Council; and the European Council is to elect its President for a period that is to be two-and-a-half years, renewable once, thus five or ten times as long as the present six-month period; and he or she is not to be distracted by holding any national office.

A further set of reforms is designed to strengthen the Union's ability to look after its interests, including the most important one of making its due contribution to enhancing prosperity and security in the world as a whole. The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security is to be appointed by the European Council to coordinate the Union's external role across the board, combining chairmanship of the Council of Foreign Ministers and of the Political and Security Committee together with, as a Vice-President of the Commission, oversight of the full range of its external responsibilities. The Treaty also provides more clearly for the Union's external action on climate change and energy solidarity and, in the field of defense, for a group of willing member states to establish 'permanent structured cooperation'. It also provides a potentially valuable instrument for its external policy, in the form of an External Action Service to bring together all those engaged in representing the Union in countries and international organizations throughout the world.

I have taken almost all of those words from my concluding chapter for *Federalism and the British*, and I end it by observing that, even if the Treaty is not ratified by all, past experience indicates that either the member states will find it necessary to adopt many of its provisions (in subsequent treaties), or a group of them will, as with the euro, go ahead without waiting for the rest.

**Being involved in the European debate as you are is a full time occupation: do you have time for other interests or hobbies?**

These are mostly linked in one way or another with the 'European debate', not as part of a programme for enhancing my contribution to it but because they stem from the same desire to understand other people with whom we share this remarkable continent.

Thus I became committed in the early 1950s to reading French and German literature, followed by Italian and Russian, then Dutch. I have read some thirty books in each of the first four languages, and twenty or so in Dutch. This has been an great source of interest and, I hope, understanding of these rich cultures, as well as a help towards fluency in the first four languages, though I must confess that if I address the Dutch in their language they almost always reply in English. It has also helped me to speak well enough to deliver

speeches or lectures in the first three, though, except sometimes in French, this has always required me to write the text beforehand and to seek help in correcting the mistakes. Regrettably my Spanish has been confined to reading *El País* and two collections of short stories by the incomparable Borges.

Music is also a source of understanding, at an entirely different level, which doubtless accompanied my earlier education in mathematics more than words. So it may not be surprising that I have always felt J. S. Bach to be the greatest; but Mozart, Handel and Beethoven also much loved. These were all deutschsprachig; and when I reminded a German friend that Händel had become Handel and British, he replied that they could spare one for us. But I now also appreciate the great merits of Verdi, as well as of composers such as Fauré, Janacek and Britten.

Holidays spent walking for two or three weeks have been a way of getting to understand European countries at another level. These have included Austria, France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland, several times each, and Ireland, Luxembourg and Spain once. That way one encounters what the French call *la France profonde* or *le pays réel*.

**Presentation to John Pinder of the TEPSA Award of Honour**

John Pinder was awarded the TEPSA Award of Honour for his long commitment to European integration and his decisive contribution to the work of TEPSA.



*Prof. Wolfgang Wessels and John Pinder*

Since John was unable to attend the ceremony, in Paris in June, TEPSA Chairman Wolfgang Wessels used the opportunity of a trip to London to present John personally with

the plaque. At their meeting Wolfgang recognised John's long involvement in the work of TEPSA and the Union of European Federalists, of which John had over a number of years been President. Wolfgang also acknowledged his respect for John's prolific writing about European integration which over the years had resulted in numerous books and over a hundred articles. When asked about his most memorable encounters in his career John particularly highlighted his friendship with Altiero Spinelli, who laid the intellectual and political foundations for postwar developments in European integration while the Second World War was still raging.

John had been particularly honoured to be asked by the Italian Parliament to speak on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Altiero Spinelli's birth, an occasion which had given rise to a recent pamphlet of the Federal Trust (see [www.fedtrust.co.uk](http://www.fedtrust.co.uk) for the text of this European Essay).

## News of TEPSA Member Institutes

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### EKEME, Athens

01 July 2008 – Round Table on **“Turkey: Balancing between the European perspective and internal instability”** Event organised by EKEME in cooperation with the Institute of European Integration and Policy (IEIP) of the University of Athens at the Office of the European Parliament in Athens

### Federal Trust for Education and Research, London

The European Commission Representation in London is supporting the Federal Trust for Education and Research (London) in the organisation of a series of conferences on current priorities on the EU's agenda. The first event in this series is on:

18 September 2008 **“Energy and Climate Change: Is the UK an Environmental Champion?”** Half-day conference organised by the Federal Trust for Education and Research in cooperation with the Global Policy Institute and co-financed by the European Commission Representation in London.

For more information please contact Ulrike Rüb-Taylor on [ulrike.rub@fedtrust.co.uk](mailto:ulrike.rub@fedtrust.co.uk) or 020 7320 3045.

### Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

18-19 September, Conference (in German) with the co-organisation of IWE: Dienstleistungsfreiheit in der EU: deutsche und ungarische Perspektiven

24 September, Press conference, presentation of the 2008 World Investment Report

End of September, Press conference: presentation of the 2008 monitoring report on the performance of 10 new EU-member countries. Head of project: Krisztina VIDA

Personnel:

Balázs LENGYEL, and Gábor MONORI joined the IWE Team as from the 1 September.

### Clingendael European Studies Programme, The Hague

29 September 2008, "The EU beyond the Irish 'No'" conference organised by the Clingendael European Studies Programme and the European Policy Institutes Network (EPIN), The Hague. Francis Jacobs, head of the European Parliament Bureau in Dublin will present an analysis of the rejection of the treaty by the Irish population on 12 June. Sebastian Kurpas (CEPS), Mendeltje van Keulen (Clingendael) and Larry Siedentop (Oxford) will go into the roots and solutions of the EU's current institutional and legitimacy crises. For more information, please contact dr. Mendeltje van Keulen, [mkeulen@clingendael.nl](mailto:mkeulen@clingendael.nl)

Personnel

As from forthcoming October Dr Andree Gerritz will be seconded to the Clingendael European Studies Programme for a period of three years as Senior Research fellow.

CESP senior research fellow Dr. Adriaan Schout has been appointed as research Professor at the University Institute of European Studies (UIEE) at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in the field of European Governance

## Publications

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Graham Avery and Yvonne Nasshoven (Editors), “The European Neighbourhood Policy: Challenges and Prospects”, Trans European Policy Studies Association, Brussels, September 2008 (forthcoming)

Kennedy Graham, “Towards a Coherent Regional Institutional Landscape in the United Nations? Implications for Europe”, Bruges Regional Integration and Global Governance Papers and UNU- CRIS, 1/2008, Bruges, 2008

András INOTAI and Ottó JUHÁSZ (eds.), “Kína: realitás és esély” – [China: reality and chances](#) , Budapest, VKI 2008

Sieglinde Gstöhl, ““Patchwork Europe”: The EU’s Representation in International Institutions”, Bruges Regional Integration and Global Governance Papers and UNU- CRIS, 2/2008, Bruges, 2008

Tamás NOVÁK (ed.) “Sikerek és kudarcok: a FÁK-térség energetikai és integrációs dilemma”i – Successes and failures: Energetic and Integration dilemmas of the CIS-region

Wessels, Wolfgang, Die Debatte nach ‚Irland‘: Festhalten an Lissabon, Aufbruch zu Alternativen oder doch Leben mit Nizza?, in: integration 3 2008, pp. 312-318.