



**Yes To  
Europe  
No To  
Superstate**

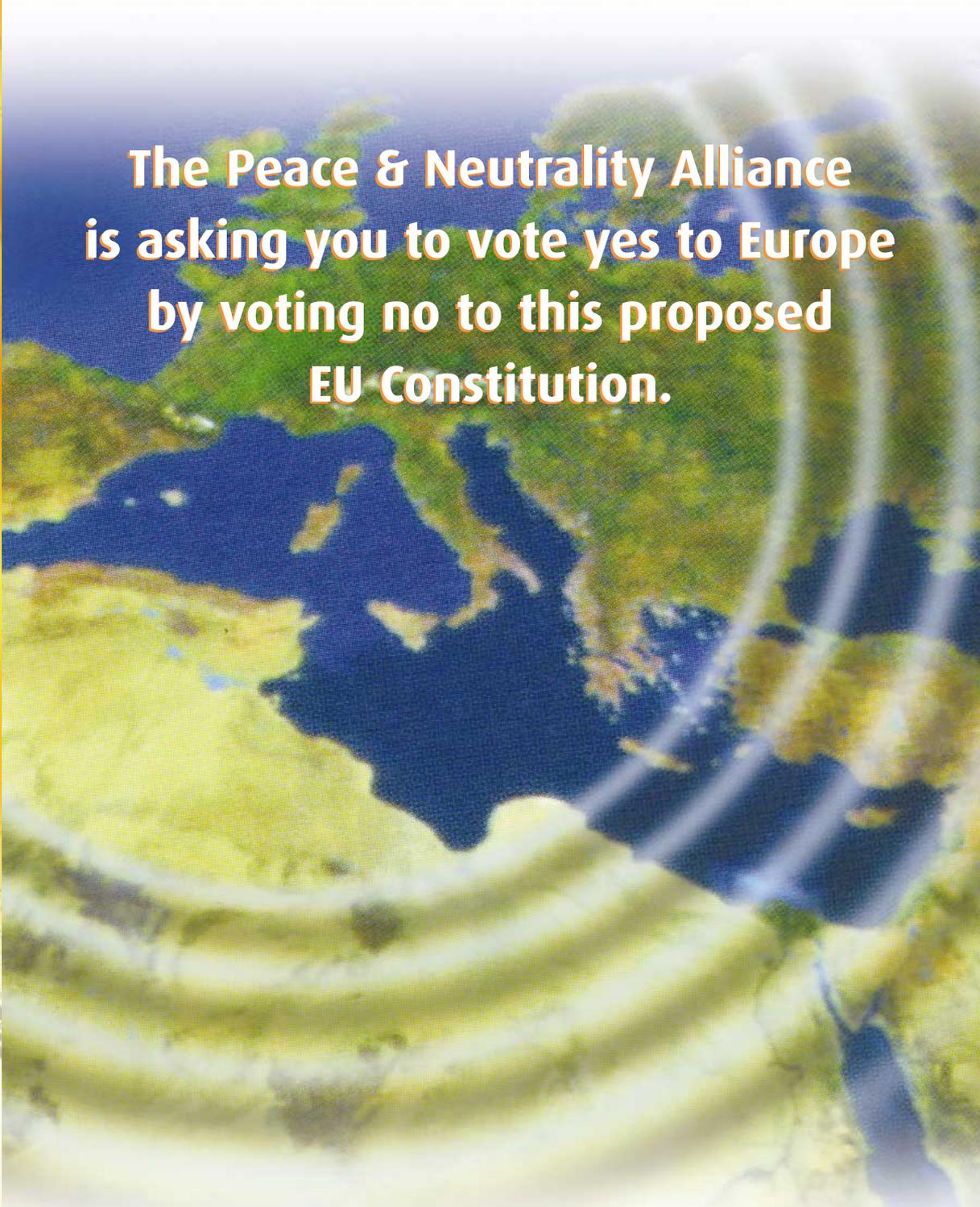


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**“Are we all clear  
that we want to build  
something that can  
aspire to be  
a world power?”**

*EU Commission President Romano Prodi, 13/2/01*



**The Peace & Neutrality Alliance  
is asking you to vote yes to Europe  
by voting no to this proposed  
EU Constitution.**

**PANA** advocates a democratic Europe, a partnership of Independent, democratic states, legal equals, without a military dimension. We seek a legally binding Protocol that would exclude Ireland from paying for, or involvement with, the European Rapid Reaction Force or the EU Battle Groups along the following lines:

**“With regard to measures adopted by the Council in the relevant articles, Ireland does not participate in the elaboration and the implementation of decisions and actions which have defence implications, but will not prevent the development of closer cooperation between member states in this area.**

**Therefore Ireland shall not participate in their adoption. Ireland shall not contribute to the the financing of the operational expenditure arising from such measures.”**

**PANA** was established in 1996 to advocate that Ireland should have an Independent Irish Foreign Policy and maintain its neutrality and to promote a reformed United Nations as the institution through which Ireland should pursue its foreign policy and security concerns.

We did so because we believed the political elite intended to integrate Ireland into the EU/US/NATO military structures to ensure Ireland’s full participation in the resource wars of the 21st century.

Since then we have campaigned against the Amsterdam Treaty, where we sought a Protocol as outlined. We asked that the the FF Government hold the promised referendum on Irish membership of NATO’s Pfp. We campaigned against the Nice Treaty, again seeking the Protocol. We campaigned against the decision of the Government to destroy Irish neutrality by actively supporting the war for oil by the US in its decision to invade, conquer and occupy Iraq by paying (so far) €6 million towards allowing over 300,000 US troops pass through Shannon airport.

There is a democratic European tradition and a Imperialist European tradition. Ireland was forced to be part of that Imperialist tradition when we were part of a previous “world Power”, the British Union. We broke with it in January 1919 by declaring our National Independence and **PANA** believes that advocating an EU which is a partnership of Independent democratic states we are part of that progressive and democratic tradition in Europe, while the advocates of this Constitution are neo-Redmondite Imperialists. All they offer is war, death and destruction via their EU Battle Groups and Rapid Reaction Forces.

The choice is clear. Vote for a Europe of democratic states by voting **NO** to the emerging Imperialist EU superstate as enshrined in this proposed Constitution.

*Roger Cole, Chair of PANA*

# EU Constitution

## Introduction

Before the end of 2006, the Irish people will be asked to go to the polls to approve the new EU Constitution. This will be a momentous vote. The importance of creating a Constitution for the European Union has been acknowledged by the fact that nearly half the EU countries, representing over half the EU's population, will also be having referendums. This is not the normal stuff of EU Treaties where very few countries allow their people to vote on ratification: it is normally left up to Parliaments for approval. Ireland is one of the few exceptions where, thanks to the Supreme Court Case of Raymond Crotty in the late 1980s, the Irish Government was forced to submit the Single European Act and all subsequent treaties to the people for approval: a nod and wink through the Dail was not enough. The Peace and Neutrality Alliance is pleased that more countries will be having referendums in this instance but we feel that all the EU Member States should be giving – or withholding – approval of the EU Constitution via a vote of all the people. Referendums should be held throughout Europe on the same day.

However, some EU Member States – like our own Government – will be attempting to downplay the real significance of the EU Constitution. This is not merely a pulling together of previous EU treaties into one tidy, more readable document, as our Government will argue. It contains a number of new elements, particularly in the areas that the Peace and Neutrality Alliance (PANA) is most concerned with: common foreign, security and defence policy. It is also far more than a Treaty and the term "Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe" is designed to obscure what is being proposed: this is a Constitution for a developing EU State, with its own Central Bank, citizenship, currency, laws, judiciary, executive and parliament, President, Foreign Minister, Diplomatic Corps, Charter of Fundamental Rights, military headquarters and evolving army and police force. There is a national anthem, a flag, and a motto. The new EU Constitution will have primacy over the Irish Constitution and all the other constitutions of the EU Member States.

The new departures in the foreign policy and defence areas include:

- 1) institutional measures to give the EU a stronger voice and role in international affairs: these include a permanent EU President (the rotating six month EU Presidencies between the member states will end) and an EU Foreign Minister and EU Department of Foreign Affairs (European External Action Service);
- 2) an expansion of the "Petersberg Tasks" to be carried out by the EU's civilian and military forces, to include combating terrorism, and possible pre-emptive military action against perceived "threats";
- 3) a new innovation, Structured Cooperation, which allows mini-military alliances to be established within the structures of the EU to carry out the EU's more "demanding" missions;

- 4) Mutual Solidarity and Mutual Defence Clauses which oblige all member states to come to the assistance of any member state subject to armed aggression, terrorist threat or attack, or manmade/natural disaster.

All of these innovations have been developed within a post 9/11 international environment, and the controversies of the Iraq War. They are backed up by a new EU Security Strategy, "A Secure Europe in a Better World", written by the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, and endorsed by the EU in December 2003.

## The EU's New Security Strategy

There have been deep concerns expressed by a number of development and peace NGOs with the new EU security strategy (its 'skewed' focus on weapons of mass destruction and terrorism: Oxfam, December 9, 2003), particularly its over-emphasis on military solutions and approaches to security problems, its failure to address root causes of conflict, and its codification (à la "Bush Doctrine") of preventive wars: *"Our traditional concept of self-defence...was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad...we should be ready to act before a crisis occurs"*. Javier Solana continues that not all these threats can be countered by purely military means and that a mixture of instruments must be used. But this has raised issues with development NGOs who are concerned that both Solana's Strategy and the new Constitution leave the way open for humanitarian aid being used as a tool in the fight against terrorism. Concord, a pan-European federation of over 1200 development NGOs, has repeatedly cautioned against EU security and defence policy misusing humanitarian assistance in such a way. (The EU's Petersberg Tasks, which range all the way from humanitarian assistance and rescue missions to the use of combat forces in crisis management – and now, in the new Constitution, to the War on Terror – are indicative of how humanitarian concerns could be jeopardised by "security objectives").

The fact – as PANA has continually highlighted – that the EU does not see itself as being bound by the necessity of securing a UN mandate before despatching its military forces abroad is an additional reason to be wary of the EU's heightened sense of World Role. Just as President George Bush is prepared to "go it alone" in international intervention, so is the EU: references are made to observance of the UN Charter (similar references are made in the NATO treaty), but nowhere does it state in the EU treaties or the new Constitution that the EU's Rapid Reaction Force or its newly launched more flexible 'Battle Groups' require a UN mandate.

The Rapid Reaction Force hasn't been as rapidly developed as the EU hoped: in December 1999, at the Helsinki European Council, the so-called Headline Goals were agreed, requiring Member States to contribute to an EU military capability to deploy 60,000+ troops within 60 days outside the EU. However, because there are still major capability gaps, the smaller Battle Groups concept has been devised to speed up the process. These groups are to consist of 1500 troops, deployable within fifteen days and having capabilities for high intensity operations. It is hoped to have 2 to 3 of these groups by 2005 and 7 to 9 by 2007. A new Headline goal 2010 was approved with Solana's Security Strategy in December 2003,

envisioning that member states *"be able by 2010 to respond with rapid and decisive action applying a fully coherent approach to the whole spectrum of crisis management operations covered by the Treaty of the European Union"*. (Council of the EU, Document 6805/03). Some identified milestones towards this 2010 goal are a bolstered EU military command, the European Armaments Agency, EU strategic lift joint coordination (by 2005), the availability of an aircraft carrier with its associated air wing and escort (by 2008), capability and network linkage of all communications equipment and assets (terrestrial and space based) by 2010, and development of the rapidly deployable battle groups (by 2007).

The European Council of June 17, 2004, under the Irish Presidency, finalised the 2010 Headline Goals. By so doing, the Council reaffirmed the position in the Headline Goals document which states the necessity of the EU being capable of fulfilling a "spectrum of crisis management operations", including humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks, tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking (the so-called Petersberg Tasks, agreed to in the Amsterdam Treaty). Moreover, it states:

*"As indicated by the European Security Strategy [Javier Solana's document] this might also include joint disarmament operations, the support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform. The EU must be able to act before a crisis occurs and preventive engagement can avoid that a situation deteriorates. The EU must retain the ability to conduct concurrent operations thus sustaining several operations simultaneously at different levels of engagement"*.

The Council-approved Headline Goals document also highlights the need for the member states' military forces to have a high degree of interoperability at "technical, procedural and conceptual levels" and that a "commonality of security culture should also be promoted". It then turns to the EU's links with NATO, the EU-NATO permanent arrangements which "enhance the operational capability of the EU and provide the framework for the strategic partnership between the EU and NATO in crisis managements". The operational doctrines of the EU's military forces will be "in coherence with NATO".

Bertie Ahern, Taoiseach of neutral Ireland, not only agreed to this 2010 Headline Goals document but presided, as EU President, over the European Council that gave final approval to it. Ireland is now in a "strategic partnership" with NATO and agrees that the operational doctrines of the Irish armed forces, as channelled through the EU, should be "in coherence with NATO". By approving this Headline document, the Taoiseach has also on our behalf signed up for "preventive engagement" and for a promotion of a "commonality of security culture". Given that most of our EU partners are in NATO, a military pact based on nuclear weapons and the possible first use of nuclear weapons, this all doesn't bode well for Ireland, a.k.a. neutral country, model UN peacekeeper and promoter of nuclear non-proliferation.

Our Government has also indicated its willingness to join the new EU battlegroups. It will point to the 2004 June Council statement that speaks of strengthening the UN and using the battlegroups to support the UN. It will also point to the welcome the UN Secretary

General Kofi Annan gave to this concept during his October 2004 visit to Ireland. When Kofi Annan was asked whether he was concerned that these battlegroups may intervene abroad, without a UN mandate, he avoided answering. He also didn't address the issue of whether it would have been preferable for the EU to have directed its energies towards promoting the UN's evolving structures for peace maintenance, including the UNSAS and SHIRBRIG groupings. One must assume that the Secretary General is so desperate for peacekeeping and enforcement resources that he is willing to turn a blind eye to the possibly dubious missions these battlegroups could become embroiled in.

Finally, it shouldn't be thought that because the EU has so far failed to achieve its 2003 goal of a 60,000 troops Rapid Reaction Force that the EU Member States have been inactive on the military front. The prestigious London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies in its journal *Survival* (Summer 2004) reminds us that the EU has made significant progress in other areas of defence cooperation, (including "Berlin Plus" arrangements for cooperation between NATO and EU military operations, operations in Macedonia and Bosnia) and that there had been "a remarkable increase in the scale, distance and diversity of external operations of European forces". EU governments are now sustaining 50-60,000 troops on operations outside their common boundaries in over twenty countries, including S.E. Europe, Afghanistan and Central Asia, Iraq and the Gulf and Africa.

The United States' oldest think tank, the Washington-based Brookings Institution (September 2004, Philip Gordon, Director of the Center on the US and Europe), has argued strongly for an EU defence force:

*"with such a significant proportion of American military forces now involved in Iraq, the United States' interest in a more capable – and potentially autonomous – EU defence capability is today greater than ever before"*. Brookings believes that the EU has tremendous potential as a military power but must overcome a number of deficiencies: airlift and sealift, precision-guided munitions, and interoperable communications and intelligence. (The EU is now addressing these deficiencies in its 2010 Headline goals.) Although the EU collectively has over 1.2m ground troops, only 80,000 can be deployed abroad. The Member States' combined defence budgets approach €200 billion a year and, although this is only half the US military budget, the Brookings Institute defence analyst, Michael O'Hanlon, says that if spent wisely the EU needn't increase defence budgets significantly to enable the EU "in the near future develop the capacity to deploy some 200,000 troops abroad" if they make the right procurement and organisational decisions.

## **The EU Constitution's Military Provisions**

How then does the EU Constitution contribute to the EU's new World Role? The Constitution goes beyond the existing treaties in areas referred to briefly at the start of this study. There will be a new EU Council President who can serve for up to five years, preside over EU Summits and, in effect, be the public face of the EU, the Leader, to the outside world. This President will be assisted by a new post of Foreign Minister and an EU diplomatic service. The Foreign Minister is elected by Qualified Majority Vote (QMV) by the European Council and will preside over the Council meetings of

EU Foreign Ministers: in effect a civil servant will now be in a superior position to the member states' elected Foreign Ministers. Between the President and the Foreign Minister the EU will now have a more visible and identifiable world presence.

The need for Member States to show mutual solidarity and loyalty to the EU's Common Foreign and Security policies (including defence) and to subsume their own policies accordingly; to make their civilian and military capabilities available to the EU and to progressively improve their military capabilities are all obligations set out in the Constitution, to be assisted by the already established European Armaments, Research and Military Capabilities Agency.

The Constitution truly sets the foundations for a fully-fledged EU military alliance with the inclusion for the first time of mutual solidarity/defence clauses and with the new doctrine of Structured Cooperation, a form of mini-military alliances, established by a small group of Member States, using the EU's institutions and engaging in military operations in the EU's name. There has been vagueness in the past as to whether the EU would establish a common defence between the Member States and the wording of the Nice Treaty, that the progressive framing of a common Union defence policy *"might lead to a common defence should the European Council so decide"* is carried over into Article I-16 of the Constitution. However, in Article I-41.2, in the section of the Constitution detailing foreign and defence policy, there is a much more definite commitment to common defence: the common Union defence policy *"will lead to a common defence when the European Council acting unanimously so decides"*.

The Constitution's provisions on Structured Cooperation, mutual defence and the Solidarity Clause all lend support to this stronger interpretation of EU intent, for they certainly facilitate the development of an EU common defence.

The remainder of the study will focus on Structured Cooperation and the Mutual Defence/Solidarity clauses.

## Structured Cooperation

Enhanced cooperation was a phrase much used during the Nice Treaty. It is a mechanism allowing a group of States to forge ahead in an aspect of EU development that not all Member States may be ready or willing to join in. Critics of enhanced cooperation point to the fact that it could lead to a two-tier, two-speed Europe, with an elite corps moving to closer integration while others are left outside, in a lesser status. The Irish Government made much of the fact, during the Nice debate, that enhanced cooperation – while applying to some aspects of EU foreign policy – did not apply to defence matters.

The EU Constitution has changed all that. However, instead of the word "Enhanced" we have the word "Structured" when referring to cooperation on military matters. Article I-41.6.:

*"Those member states whose military capabilities fulfil higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments in this area with a view to the most demanding missions shall establish permanent structured cooperation within the Union framework. Such cooperation shall be governed by the provisions of Article III-312. It shall not affect the provisions of Article III-309"*.

(Remember, the EU Constitution was supposed to be "clarifying" the issues! To complicate matters further, the establishment of Structured Cooperation is also governed by a Protocol on Structured Cooperation).

Those Member States with "more binding commitments" are now allowed to set up permanent military structures within the EU institutions. Those wishing to establish such mini-alliances must inform the European Council and the Union Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Council will approve the Structured Cooperation and the list of participating Member States by qualified majority vote. Admission of new members to the Structured Cooperation shall also be determined by QMV but only the Member States already participating in Structured Cooperation can vote. (Article III-312).

In other words, Ireland could be opposed to the establishment of Structured Cooperation by a group of States but not be able to veto it. In addition, Article III-312.6 states:

*"The European decisions and recommendations of the Council within the framework of permanent structured cooperation, other than those provided for in paragraphs 2 to 5 (dealing with admission, suspension or withdrawal of membership) shall be adopted by unanimity. For the purposes of this paragraph, unanimity shall be constituted by the votes of the representatives of the participating member states only",*

i.e. the functioning of Structured Cooperation is subject to unanimity but only the states taking part in the Structured Cooperation can vote. In theory, Structured Cooperation could be established in opposition to Ireland's wishes and could then undertake missions in which Ireland has no vote or say!

This is a derogation from the provisions of Article III-309, which elaborates the expanded security/military tasks of the EU (the so-called Petersberg Tasks) and states that the Council *"shall adopt European decisions relating to the tasks.... defining their objectives and scope and the general conditions of their implementation"*. Under Common Foreign and Security Policy, European decisions are to be adopted unanimously, but Article III-312.6 states that if Structured Cooperation is involved, only those participating States will vote.

This has far-reaching implications. PANA has always argued that the Petersberg Tasks are already broad enough to include every military mission up to and including waging war. The original tasks of humanitarian, rescue and peace-keeping and peace-enforcement missions have now been expanded into "joint disarmament operations, military advice and assistance tasks and post-conflict stabilisation". "All these tasks may contribute to the fight against terrorism, including by supporting Third Countries in combating terrorism in their territories" (Article III-309.1) In its European Security Review (July 23, 2004), the Brussels-based International Security Information Service (ISIS) stated that "joint disarmament operations" "could include anything from providing personal security to UN inspectors to full scale invasions à la Iraq".

Now, under Structured Cooperation, a small group of States can take it upon themselves to execute any of the Petersberg Tasks subject to the unanimity of their own membership only, using the institutions of the European Union.

Structured Cooperation is also subject to a Protocol in the Constitution. It states that the EU's Petersberg Tasks shall be

undertaken using capabilities of the member States “*in accordance with the principle of a single set of forces*”. It would be very difficult for the Irish Government to argue that the Structured Cooperation forces are not in fact an EU army.

The Government however will make great play of the following paragraph which has been contained in every EU Treaty since Maastricht:

*“the common security and defence policy of the Union does not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States”.*

This is taken to refer to the Neutrals. However, the next two paragraphs say the following:

*“Recalling that the common security and defence policy of the Union respects the obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty of those Member States which see their common defence realised in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which remains the foundation of the collective defence of its members, and is compatible with the common security and defence policy established within that framework; Convinced that a more assertive Union role in security and defence matters will contribute to the vitality of a renewed Atlantic Alliance, in accordance with the Berlin Plus arrangements (sharing EU/NATO assets)”.*

Contributing to the “vitality of a renewed” NATO and stating that the EU’s common security and defence policy is compatible with NATO’s does seem a bit prejudicial to the status of a neutral state.

The Protocol goes on to state that the EU may assist the UN if requested in peacekeeping and peace-enforcement missions but nowhere does it state that a UN mandate would be a pre-requisite for any Structured Cooperation operation. Any Member State wishing to participate in permanent Structured Cooperation must *“intensively develop its defence capacities”*; *“have the capacity to supply by 2007 at the latest, either at national level or as a component of multinational force groups, targeted combat units for the missions planned, structured at a tactical level as a battle group,...”*; and *“shall undertake to cooperate on military investments, “bring their defence apparatus in line with each other as far as possible, increase interoperability, cooperate on capability development... without prejudice to undertakings in this regard within NATO”*, and develop major joint equipment programmes in the framework of the new Armaments Agency.

## **Paying for the EU’s New Military Might**

The Irish taxpayer will have to pay for a proportion of the EU’s military operations. The Constitution’s Article 313 (3) provides for the establishment of a start-up fund made up of Member States’ contributions to fund preparatory activities for the Petersberg Tasks. The procedures for establishing and administering the fund, and the financial control procedures will be determined by QMV. Apart from the start-up fund, Member States are also to be charged in accordance with the GNP scale for expenditures arising from operations having military or defence implications (Article III-313.2). Ireland will also have to pay for the administrative expenditures of military operations because administration expenditure (as opposed to operational expenditure of military and defence) is paid by the Union budget, which all member states subscribe to.

There are added complications in that the Council can decide unanimously to charge all military/defence expenditure to the

Union budget [Article III-313.2]. A Member State can also abstain from a decision authorising an operation with military or defence implications and make a formal declaration refusing to finance that operation.

However, there is no escaping: an increased EU military role is bound to bring increased military costs upon Ireland and the Irish taxpayer – whether it be via the new military start-up fund, a GNP ratio, or the EU Union budget. This is of course quite apart from the obligations we have undertaken to “progressively improve” our military capacity.

## **Mutual Defence and Solidarity Clauses**

Article I-41.7 provides a mutual assistance clause for all EU member states in case of an armed aggression. It states: *“If a Member State is the victim of armed aggression on its territory the other Member State shall have towards it an obligation of aid and assistance by all the means in their power, in accordance with Art.51 of the UN Charter. This shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States. Commitments and cooperation in this area shall be consistent with commitments under the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which, for those States which are members of it, remains the foundation of their collective defence and the forum for its implementation”.*

It goes on to say the European Parliament will be regularly consulted on the CSDP and be kept informed.

So the EU has devised a mutual defence (assistance) clause which the neutrals say doesn’t “prejudice” them and the NATO members say will be consistent with and in cooperation with their commitments within the forum of NATO! It will be fascinating to see how the Irish Government explains Article 41.7. If we are attacked, will our EU partners not come to our rescue because we’re neutral? Or is it just that we don’t go to their assistance because we’re neutral? And if our partners are now committed to protecting us, will it be under NATO that they come to our rescue? It is in fact an Article that attaches to the EU “the qualities of a military pact, granting mutual assistance to its members”, in the words of Jan Techau, from the Germany Ministry of Defence. He also argues that this Article supports the new instrument of Structured Cooperation, allowing an avant garde to forge ahead in EU defence. (Paper delivered, in a personal capacity, before the U.S. Council for European Studies, March 2004, “Roundtable on European Security Policy: Conditions for Out of Area Missions in an Age of Borderless Conflicts”).

The Solidarity Clause is no less problematic for Ireland.

Article I-43:

*“The Union and its Member States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster. The Union shall mobilise all the instruments at its disposal, including the military resources made available by the Member States, to:*

- a)** *prevent the terrorist threat in the territory of the Member States; protect democratic institutions and the civilian population from any terrorist attack; assist a Member State in its territory at the request of its political authorities in the event of a terrorist attack;*
- b)** *assist a Member State in its territory at the request of its political authorities in the event of a natural or man-made disaster.*

# PEACE AND NEUTRALITY ALLIANCE COMHAONTAS NA SÍOCHÁNA IS NEODRACHTA



Telephone:

Email:

Website:

01-2351512

pana@eircom.net

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Article III. 329 contains the detailed arrangements for implementing the Solidarity Clause. It states that assistance shall be requested by the political authorities of the Member State(s) concerned and if the assistance has military or defence implications, decisions must be taken by unanimity (which allows for abstentions).

This is a very broad mandate for it covers the threat of terrorism as well as an actual terrorist attack. Indeed, between the time the Constitution was agreed at the June 2004 summit and signed several months later in October, the phrase "victim of terrorist attack" had been changed to the vaguer "object of a terrorist attack". Does preventing the terrorist threat in the territory of the Member State include attacking a country outside the EU that is seen to be harbouring terrorists? What are the implications under the Solidarity Clause for responding to, say, a threat by Al Qaeda to attack EU countries supplying troops to the war in Iraq? How are terrorists defined: are they in the midst of anti-globalisation or anti-war protestors?

The Irish Government – being wary of this Article – ensured that a Declaration was attached during the Irish Presidency (Declarations have no legal strength) stating that:

*"Without prejudice to the measures adopted by the Union to comply with solidarity obligations towards a Member State which is the object of terrorist attack or the victim of natural or man-made disaster, none of the provisions of [the above solidarity articles] is intended to affect the right of another Member State to choose the most appropriate means to comply with its own solidarity obligations towards that Member State".*

(Does Ireland have a secret chart in Iveagh House outlining "its own solidarity obligations" towards each of the EU Member States?) The Irish Government will point to this Declaration in an attempt to downplay what is actually materialising in the EU Constitution: mutual assistance and solidarity obligations which underpin an EU military force and an EU Security Strategy. In fact, the attached Declaration gives the Irish Government no more leeway than it would have as a member of NATO: the NATO treaty doesn't require an automatic military response from all its members to an attack. Indeed, Article 5 of the NATO Treaty states that, in case of attack, each NATO member "will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, **such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area**".

## Conclusion

There can be no doubt that the new EU Constitution puts in place the defence provisions for an EU State - the "qualities of a defence pact". If the Irish Government truly wanted to opt out of these provisions, it could have attached a Protocol to the Constitution, as the Danes have, exempting Ireland from participating in or paying for any EU military and defence activities. But it has not done so.

And before accepting the Taoiseach Bertie Ahern's claims that Ireland's traditional policy of neutrality has been secured in the Constitution, remember that this is the Taoiseach who defines traditional neutrality as allowing 300,000+ US soldiers to transit through Shannon on the way to an illegal war in Iraq.

Carol Fox, research Officer of PANA

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## OBJECTIVES

1. It is within the OSCE and a reformed United Nations, and not the EU, that Ireland should pursue its security concerns.
2. Ireland should pursue a positive neutrality and independent foreign policy and not join or form an association with any military alliance, such as the WEU or NATO.
3. Ireland should seek to promote European and international security through a policy of disarmament and demilitarisation and should therefore oppose the militarisation of the EU.
4. Ireland should refuse to cooperate with or condone in any way policies or military groupings which maintain nuclear weapons or any weapons of mass destruction.
5. Irish troops should only serve abroad as peacekeepers under the auspices of the UN.

### MEMBERSHIP

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