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Which strategy by UEF?

Exploration and Systematisation

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Dedicated to those who elect
a dynamic,
a pluralistic,
democratic and federal Europe

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Exploration and Systematisation

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Summary

A strategy is fundamental for joint action by UEF. A strategy cannot be formulated properly if not preceded by a jointly supported mission-statement, a vision and assumptions. Backed by leadership these declarations can become a tool towards action by UEF.

Which strategy by UEF?

Exploration and Systematisation

Introduction

The concept strategy is closely related to a **long term vision**. The improper use of this notion leads to confusion. This paper will try to shed light on this topic especially regarding UEF.

What shall be considered short term and what are long term subjects. Their interaction is important. Any wrong implementation or understanding can cripple efforts made.

In the Series 'Which Europe?' various aspects were already covered related to this subject. Some will be incorporated here in a **consolidated set** of ideological and operational ideas. 'Even a successful businessmodel cannot claim long-lived validity'. Here the concept of a **prevailing strategy** applies. A **revolving formulation** fits UEF.

An accurate formulation of a **joint design** for UEF shall be undertaken. Timely adaptation to a changing context is wise, but shall not forsake the initial goals.

UEF shall implement a **clear and systematic formulation**, replacing a vague project or absence of direction. Formulated operational objectives are indispensable to a decentralized organisation like UEF operating with autonomous sections.

This paper stages a number of principles. These principles are no attempt to introduce a so-called 'pensée unique' or 'straitjacket'. On the contrary. These principles can be a reference and a source of inspiration.

Important distinction

What shall be understood by long term topics and what not?

- Examples of **long term topics**:

- (1) Mission statement of UEF (see hereafter)
- (2) Joint assumptions of UEF (see hereafter)
- (3) Vision of UEF, with endgoal (see hereafter)
- (4) Long term objectives for action by UEF (see hereafter)
- (5) Strategy to reach the end-goal? (see number 54 in the same Series)
- (6) Operational principles of UEF (see hereafter)
- (7) Narrative of UEF (see tentative formulation in number 54 in the same Series)

- Examples of **short term topics**:

- (1) Periodical evaluation of the international/European political and socio-economic context
- (2) Short term objectives, action plans and priority themes
- (3) Implementation of short term action

There is a **close interaction** between the long term vision and the short term implementation. This interaction is not developed here.

Following themes will be reviewed:

- (1) Which priority questions shall UEF raise?
- (2) Which societal and political project by UEF?
- (3) Which political choices by UEF?
- (4) Which strategy by UEF? Which long term objectives? (see number 54)
- (5) Which operational principles for UEF?
- (6) How shall UEF communicate? (see number 54)

Not all chapters were elaborated to the same extent. The ideas developed here shall be considered a starting point to further open discussion. In this paper an enumeration of ideas is preferred to a long elaboration on each of them.

Chapter one

Which priority questions shall UEF raise?

Following questions include uneasy, disturbing, untouched aspects. These questions don't seek controversy, but are focussed on the future. The past cannot be changed. But lessons can be learned. When answers to these shortcomings are provided modesty will prevail and shortcomings will be considered part of a learning process.

Question one: *Why has UEF, in sixty years of time, not succeeded in building a strong and representative movement able to score a sizeable breakthrough towards a European federation?*

- List of shortcomings:

- Ideological convergence in UEF shall get proper attention, if not UEF cannot engage in a public debate.
- A joint UEF view on a comprehensive design shall catch attention of the main actors in the political arena.
- Lack of coherent ideas on the end-goal of the federalist project, as well as the underlying objectives, ruin the impetus of its stakeholders and create disaffection.
- Communication by UEF shall try to reach the various intended target audiences. The same message addressed to the different target-audiences cannot be effective.
- Absence of continuity, planned and focussed messages creates no visible effect.

- Sequence of steps that contribute to strengthen UEF:
 - Ideological concurrence on UEF ideology (communicate about what?)
 - Objectives to be reached (why shall be communicated?)
 - Definition of target audiences (communicate with whom?)
 - Conception of key-ideas (about what shall be communicated?)
 - Formulation of key-ideas for target audiences (linking messages to audience).

- Ideological concurrence (as a prerequisite):
 - UEF hesitates to choose a direction by lack of a vision on the future of Europe.
 - Prior to start the formulation of ideas an adequate level of ideological concurrence of joint assumptions and of political choices shall be reached.
 - This concurrence will lead to a list of political priorities by UEF.
 - Ideological concurrence will be approved by democratic vote in UEF.

Question two: *why is European federalism not yet accepted as a valuable alternative to current intergovernmentalism?,,*

- Did UEF **convene specialists**, academics, authors, opinion-makers, think tanks and sympathising politicians each time a window of opportunity opened up to further integration, especially when technical issues present themselves? Where these moments valorised by presenting relevant ideas?
- UEF's sections shall avoid to pursue different ideas, projects and objectives or to spread different key-messages.

Question three: *Why is the idea of European integration losing ground with people?*

- This regression has **different causes**: a lasting economic crisis, massive unemployment, lack of interest shown by political parties, the current hybrid polity being unable to address critical European political and socio-economic challenges.
- People start to consider the European Union **unable to solve crises**, hence the Union is seen as the problem. Why, people ignore.
- People feel **seriously alienated** from the European project, which they consider to drift apart from their interests.
- People continue to adhere to the **reference values of the national state**.

Question four: *Why do policy-makers and political parties not join forces in order to achieve a performing polity for Europe, serving public interest and interests of people?*

- The absence of a **European public sphere** induces political parties not to come forward with alternative political ideas that will feed a public debate.
- Perpetuating this absence **cuts off people** from European current affairs involving their interests. The gulf between European politicians/administration and people grows wider than ever, creating distrust, discouragement or disappointment.
- Most policy-makers in Europe try to safeguard the left-over national sovereignty,
- National governments prefer secretive backroom negotiation to transparency.

Question five: *How can UEF get closer to the center of negotiations where the future of Europe and the future of European governing system are decided?*

- The strategy of UEF will have to elucidate this question because it is being at the heart of the question how UEF can increase its impact on European decisions.
- This question will be dealt with in a three stages-approach (see chapter four).

Chapter two

Which societal and political project by UEF?

- UEF mainly sticks to an institutional narrative. That is not what people want to hear.
- UEF doesn't show clearly the linkage between the values of Europe and the direct people's interests in Europe.
- UEF makes no clear linkage between a societal and a political project.
- UEF doesn't expose clearly what it is and what it stands for. Therefore a mission-statement and a vision shall be formulated.
- UEF shall remediate the missing equilibrium between the four freedoms and liberalisation on the one hand, and socio-political embedding in policies on the other hand.

Draft mission-statement by UEF

What makes UEF unique?

- UEF is a cross-partisan citizens' independent movement.
- UEF is a movement run by citizens militating for a Europe for and by European citizens.
- UEF reflects citizens' standpoints and takes positions on behalf of peoples of Europe.
- UEF distances itself from stato-national thinking and of national vested interests.
- UEF is independant of political parties or lobbyists and is pluralistic. Structural partnership with like-minded organisations is stimulated.
- UEF's membership consists of people subscribing a democratic rule of law in Europe, European fundamental rights and the creation of a federal European polity based on the idea of an open and democratic society.
- UEF is a decentralised organisation promoting joint campaigning, next to local action.
- UEF provides a meetingplace to those interested in an ambitious European post-national and federal project. UEF boosts coordinated reflection, formulates innovative ideas, applies forward thinking, launches proper communication and action aimed at achieving above political objectives.
- UEF aspires to become a spearhead and a benchmark of European post-national thinking and action.
- UEF contributes to the creation of a European identity, a European conscience, a European public spirit, a European pride and a positive self-image. Civic, pluralistic, multicultural, multilingual education and tolerance receive due attention in its project.
- UEF restores people's confidence in a positive and future-oriented societal and political project for Europe.

Draft vision by UEF (what project does UEF stand for?)

Which vision is able to restore people's confidence in their future?

- UEF's vision of Europe is summarized as follows: no dynamic society and democratic polity without a European federation, no fair Europe without socio-economic solidarity and no effective Europe without federalism.
- UEF militates for a post-national federal union as a long term vision for Europe.
- UEF's project aims at upgrading people's role in society and in politics.
- UEF's project tunes local and national structures in a supranational framework governed by federal principles enabling effective multi-level interaction. This project will generate good-governance, subsidiarity and legitimation at European level.
- UEF promotes a societal and political project that meets current and future political and societal challenges.
- UEF trusts its project, based on European post-national federalism, can better than any other alternative, create a polity able to meet the rightful expectations of people.
- UEF's project is based on European basic democratic values and socio-economic ethics, such as participation, diversity, unity, complementarity, solidarity and fairness.
- UEF proposes a political system and a societal project intended to create ownership with European policy-makers and with peoples of Europe.

Chapter three

Which political choices by UEF?

- Formulation of UEF's project:
 - UEF's project implies numerous political choices, pressing UEF to **explain and justify the proposed choices** (options).
 - UEF proposes a **sound alternative** worth considering. This alternative design shall become part of the public debate on European integration.
- Following categories can be considered:
 - **Initial methodological choices:**
 - a mission-statement and a vision;
 - list of shared assumptions;
 - a transnational cooperation model for UEF as an organisation.
 - **Long term strategic choices:**
 - UEF aspires to a post-national federal polity and a participative society;
 - UEF propagates a deep democracy, legitimation and an increased role by peoples of Europe as the backbone of the political project of UEF;
 - UEF militates for differentiated development (two speed EU), meaning the eurozone will spearhead a political, societal, economic, fiscal and social union;
 - UEF formulates a long term strategy;
 - UEF formulates a narrative.

- Short term tactical choices.

- internal strengthening (convergence, cohesion and capacity-building);
- objectives for planned ongoing action;
- a tactical and a communication plan including qualitative and quantitative
- objectives as well as objectives related to content.

Chapter four

Which strategy by UEF? Which long term objectives?

- Current situation

- UEF's formulated ideology faces a tremendous backlog.
- UEF lacks leaders with Europewide influence and is absent from the political scene.
- UEF lacks formulated joint assumptions making communication futile or hasardous.
- The vision of UEF is currently unknown to its members and the outside world.
- UEF's external communication is not planned, is intermittent, has neither objectives nor has taken an appropriate form or content.
- UEF is associated with federalism, but no specific themes are associated to this image.
- UEF's messages hardly reach the actors that matter.
- UEF does face all forms of resistance towards innovating current political practice.
- UEF is not prepared to face negative reactions.
- UEF level decisions have limited effect in local sections.
- UEF counts some members who show little inclination to share ideas or make suggestions related to ideological convergence or to transnational action.
- UEF launches often flash mobs that can't meet the expected effect.
- UEF has potential friends that turn their head away as long as UEF is not regarded to represent the federalist mainstream.
- UEF has some political friends that launch competing initiatives.
- UEF's lack of visibility discourages many potential members to join in or stay active.
- UEF can count on much valuable individual work, but in the absence of an overarching design and joint plan these efforts equal freewheeling.

- How will UEF reach its ambitious political objectives?

- UEF as a smart provider of pertinent ideas.
- UEF develops a smart organisation along its long term objectives.
- UEF develops smart communication concepts in order to yield needed leverage.
- UEF makes smart use of leverage.
- UEF develops deep psychological insight in its target audiences and knowledge of the European political and socio-economic issues.
- UEF reaches out to specialists (present in its ranks). Outside specialists will not be shunned (on a voluntary and at non-cost base).

- UEF will propagate new ideas in three subsequent strategic steps:

- UEF introduces gradually its key-messages towards its target audiences in order to facilitate their integration in the public debate and in public life.
- UEF's effort is reflected in a multistage approach. In each stage objectives, themes, action and communication are specific.

- The **positive features** of this approach are:
 - Homogeneous and surveyable stages can better define specific needs and challenges.
 - Phased ambitions are a smart approach to reach these objectives, avoiding criticism of uncommitting long term promises.
 - They facilitate a better understanding of what is really at stake in each period. Prolific and competing priorities weaken each other.

- **Stage one:** *predominant intergovernmental (hybrid) period*

- Estimated duration: until next European elections in 2019
- Characteristics of this period:
 - no treaty change in this period, rather a consolidation of the Treaty of Lisbon;
 - limited to no progress beyond the Lisbon Treaty;
 - European Court of Justice's rulings avail additional legal interpretation;
 - leaders of European institutions hesitate to produce new ambitious ideas;
 - the four President's report (2013) is still awaiting political implementation;
 - the EMU is not completed, meaning the sense of urgency is not yet accepted;
 - stronger national reactions are emerging;
 - peoples of Europe start to develop expectations towards Europe;
 - a social Europe and equity are being claimed on louder;
 - themes such as war on terrorism, monitoring of immigration and an energy union gain momentum;
 - terrorist threat and geopolitical instability at Europe's borders increases awareness internal and external safety and security are derelicted;
 - the Middle-East remains unstable (representing a constant threat to Europe);
 - the Far-East rapidly gains political and economic influence;
 - competition between the USA and Europe increases;
 - the reform of Europe's polity lacks momentum.
- UEF objectives to be reached by the end of the period:
 - EU decision-makers' knowledge of the UEF-project shall have increased;
 - EU opinion-makers (media and academics) will be asked to create wider acceptance with people of deep democracy, equity, solidarity in Europe;
 - get the message through that Europe is the solution, not the problem;
 - create more interest in political parties on the issue of a new polity for the European Union respectively the eurozone;
 - people's sympathy towards the European integration should have increased, meaning that negative attitudes will be curbed first;
- Operational recommendations:
 - UEF will increasingly have to justify more European integration;
 - UEF gives priority to (legal federal) initiatives in progress;
 - UEF upgrades the solutions Germany, France and Italy favour;
 - UEF insists on full implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon provisions and full reinstatement of the European Court of Justice's jurisdiction;
 - UEF prepares by the end of the period a list of priority issues for the agenda

- of a democratic and mandated Convention (III);
- UEF makes clear that if Convention (III) doesn't meet a federalist institutional agenda, another Convention (IV) should be convened;
- UEF insists CFSP will be empowered stepwise;
- UEF will initiate the public debate in order to put a number of key-issues on the public agenda (enabled by mass-media and opinion-makers);
- UEF proclaims all executive European institutions will be subject to democratic control by the European Parliament (except for the Council, later senate);
- UEF seeks active cooperation with the European Parliament in pursuit of specific political initiatives;
- UEF invites opinion-makers to strengthen the pro-integration mainstream, creating more pressure from below onto European policy-makers.

- Stage two: predominant pre-federal (hybrid) period:

- Estimated duration 2019 to 2024 (or 2029)
- Characteristics of this period:
 - the gulf between pro-integration and low-ambition European Members deepens;
 - the idea of a two-speed EU gains better acceptance by pro-integration states;
 - the idea of consolidating past institutional adaptations starts to be accepted by pro-integration policy-makers;
 - the idea of dealing at global level (G20) with pressing problems related to globalisation makes progress possible (environment, safety, trade, finance);
 - international cooperation is increasingly channelled through regional unions;
 - Balkan candidate-countries claim they are ready to join the EU.
- UEF objectives to be reached by the end of the period:
 - EU people's level of adherence to the European integration shall increase;
 - eurozone's decision-makers knowledge and willingness to consider the UEF project shall increase;
 - EU opinion-makers shall take the lead in promoting needed deep institutional and societal reform;
 - EU political parties shall put the big challenges of European integration on the political agenda and create a true public space in Europe (eurozone).
- Operational recommendations to UEF:
 - formulation of the federal principles to its polity and societal project;
 - power of European Parliament will be extended as to provide the same co-decision capacity as the Council of ministers/European Council;
 - the institutional consolidation of the eurozone is a strategic choice, alternatively more adhesions mean disruption of political coherence in the EU;
 - in case Convention III doesn't meet the intended political goals, UEF will propose a new Convention (IV) prior to 2026;
 - the public debate will go in higher gear on the federal features of the eurozone.

- **Stage three:** a predominant federal period
 - Estimated duration: 2024/2029-2034
 - Characteristics of this period:
 - important issues become visible to people; public opinion will slowly rally the idea of further integration;
 - differentiated development for the eurozone and rest-countries restores stability, each group operating along its own expectations and ambitions;
 - the first rest-countries apply for admission to the Eurozone and accept its acquis.
 - UEF objectives to be reached by the end of the period:
 - European issues will be debated in European public space;
 - people feel part of this public space and are able to attend the public debate and share a sense of ownership;
 - opinion-makers will comment on European issues at stake in the eurozone;
 - eurozone consolidates its federal polity in a European Fundamental Law.
 - Operational recommendations to UEF:
 - UEF focusses on a post-national Federal Union for the Eurozone;
 - if Convention IV doesn't deliver a final Constitution to the Eurozone, a deadline for convening Convention V will be set;
 - UEF monitors carefully whether intermediate procedures will not hinder or cripple further political integration in the eurozone;
 - UEF resists an incomplete fundamental law for the Eurozone.
- Besides and further to the multistage approach, UEF implements the **multiple track method**. Four domains are retained (corresponding to the four political committees of UEF). In each of these domains following priorities are selected.
 - Foreign affairs:
 - enforce a comprehensive strategic profiling of External Action applicable to EU and/or eurozone, starting with present crises' situations;
 - this policy and joint strategy enhances gradual joint coordination and will create the instruments/procedures that can deal with crisis situations;
 - in view of current dangerous defense situation the European security strategy will further empower a European crisis center, the European Defense Agency (procurement), specialisation among European national armies, creation of joint battlegroups with specific capabilities and joint headquarters;
 - trade agreements enhancing European trade with regional powers worldwide;
 - a new development policy that avoids overlapping of national efforts and promotes balanced and fair trade relations.
 - EMU, Eurozone and differentiated integration (two-speed):
 - finalize abolishment of non-tariff barriers in the EU;
 - carry out a comprehensive standardisation in the internal market;
 - review the service directive in order to combat social dumping and fraud;
 - finalise the monetary and economic union;

- instate an empowered European government for the EMU accountable to European Parliament (Eurozone section);
 - initiate a durable economic revival effort in the EU or in the eurozone only associated with macro-economic guidelines, implemented by an economic government that focusses on structural reform and on competitiveness;
 - establish co-existence rules between the eurozone and the restgroup in EU.
- Political, institutional affairs and strategy:
- endow European Parliament with all power granted by the Treaty of Lisbon;
 - make all European institutions accountable to the European Parliament (EP), except Council and ECB;
 - let the political discussion on the two speed development start right away in European Parliament that will take political initiatives in its own right, in an attempt to place the issue on the political agenda;
 - instate an autonomous budget for the eurozone, covered by own resources;
 - harmonise rules on the exchange of bank information (in the EU or off-shore) in order to combat tax evasion and tax fraud;
 - strengthen Home Affairs at European level, including the creation of empowered European institutions that can deal with the open borders, meaning a joint 'FBI' for Europol, a joint secret service coordinating European war against terrorism or foreign threat; Eurojust completed by a European public prosecutor;
 - harmonise taxation, especially in business matters.
- Social affairs:
- European Parliament together with European Commission initiate the debate about what will be included in European social policy;
 - the chosen priorities will determine the scope of European social policy;
 - European policy-makers (Parliament and Council) will define the general orientation of a European social model;
 - the question of social justice shall not be sidelined when taking the specific conditions in each Member State into account.

Chapter five

Which operational conditions by UEF?

Condition 1:

- The starting point to strengthen UEF internally lies in **ideological convergence**. The creation of a clear set of opinions is a precondition to successful joint transnational action. A true joint effort, seeking compromise, is needed. A clear set of opinions will fit in a well-defined frame of fundamental UEF papers that can easily be consulted; as opposed to a loose bunch of resolutions or statements without surveyable overview of what UEF really stands for. These papers remain valid as long as they are relevant. They reflect the **current UEF body of thought**. They will be subject to periodical evaluation and adaptation.

- Without **transnational ideological convergence**, UEF shows the outside world that it has not overcome the stage of national formulated European opinions and goes on thinking in separate boxes. That perception is very damaging.
- The formulation of a clear UEF project, realistic objectives and a strategy will not be easy, but is feasible if resulting from a **systematic and planned effort** by these stakeholders that are able to bring this assignment to a good end.
- This planned effort shall **start soonest** in order to make up the backlog and create a **sense of ownership** towards a joint federal and post-national project.
- A majority of sections accept the joint ideological convergence. **Unanimity should be no condition**. In case of absence of consensus on important issues two opinions will be shown.
- Seeking convergence will **not exclude local action**. Staying in touch with UEF sympathisers and continue to recruit new members and make them sensitive to UEF's ideology remains important.
- The message of UEF will be **realistic, ambitious** and will not promote unachievable ambitions within too short deadlines or be perceived as remote and uncommitting.
- **Speed of internal decision-making by UEF** shall equal speed at which outside events present themselves to UEF. Reaction-time by UEF is determined by the degree of internal preparation regarding content and organisation. Improvisation can never result in a prompt and adequate reaction. Unless this situation is inverted UEF will lag behind.

Condition 2:

- An **effective cooperation model** for transnational action and for Europe wide political bearing of the UEF ideas.
- **Realistic joint plans**, objectives and strategy by UEF-International.
- UEF **functions according federal principles**. Sections will constitute a strong federation of the willing. Bottom-up and top-down input complete each other.
- **Different capabilities** among sections will not impede close or structural cooperation. All sections seek to perform gradually better and in more basic functions.
- Each section can, within limits, adapt joint action in order to match local conditions.

Condition 3:

- **Strengthening of local sections** depends greatly on the recruitment of new active and skilled members. Attracting these people means a noticeable capacity increase. IT, social media and communication specialists are most welcome.

- **Strengthening of local sections** is a long term effort that restores confidence. Some local sections feel isolated, left alone, discouraged. Cooperation can remedy this situation.
- Local sections show quite **different operational capabilities**. The stronger sections will cooperate at a transnational level. The smaller ones will accept assistance and counselling by larger sections, the International secretariat or transnationally constituted working groups or political committees. In this context the International secretariat will propose packages of best practices, scripts for coordinated action (objectives, themes, projects and methods) and training.
- Even if most sections will not be able to formulate a comprehensive project for Europe by themselves, they can be excellent performers. **Doers and thinkers** shall be present in each section.
- Which **different priority functions should a local section** be able to perform?
 - Constitute a management able to implement its own and the joint objectives.
 - Create and maintain a numerous membership.
 - Yield influence on local target audiences.
 - Produce at least a newsletter that maintains a periodical contact with its members and its outside audiences.
 - Operate a website (needed) and communicate over social media (optional).
 - Animate a think tank (optional).
 - Maintain a documentation and information center (optional).

Condition 4:

- No effective European action by UEF-sections is possible without **transnational agreed upon joint assumptions**. Objectives, projects and messages come after the assumptions.
- Tentative **list of shared assumptions**:
 - UEF fosters ambitious federalist thinking.
 - An ever closer Union goes over core issues and content, together with values and standards.
 - Peoples of Europe are the very source of political legitimation.
 - The conceptual framework for a new polity of Europe requires a post-national order.
 - Public interest defined by federal principles supersedes the intergovernmental system.
 - Economic governance is no substitute to a democratic and legitimated Political Union, neither does the eurozone function properly without the backing of a Political Union.
 - Heterogeneity of political ambitions among member-countries in the EU has led to a political stand-still, creating the need for a two-speed approach. The eurozone, or a smaller configuration, can constitute the spearhead group that will establish a federation. Differentiated integration implies no separate institutions, but separate configurations.
 - The eurozone is in dire need of a democratic, federal and post-national Political Union. Balanced power-sharing is the central idea.
 - The European tier is the right political instrument able to boost prosperity and welfare in

- the eurozone, on the condition it meets above principles.
- The new method of government for the eurozone can deal with greater complexity, basic issues, purposive long term objectives and increased demand for a legitimised government and more participation by peoples of Europe.
 - The new polity of the eurozone will stimulate complementarity, convergence and synergy among the multi-level tiers. This interaction will be vertical and horizontal.
 - The formulation of a higher level of ambition for the eurozone lies with a democratic Convention, where European Parliament and European Council yield equal power.
 - This Convention spells out a new fundamental law for the spearhead eurogroup and an adapted Treaty for the internal market, applying to the entire EU. Both configurations will negotiate a co-existence pact.
 - If Convention III will not strike an accord on a democratic political union for the spearhead group, the conclusions of Convention III will mention a deadline for convenng a new Convention (IV).
 - The European Court of Justice's jurisdiction will be reinstated in all dealings of the EU, or at least in the eurozone.
- Strategically UEF can also choose between **four different scenario's**: (1) go not faster than the national governments; (2) formulate a project without intermediate stages and without an end-goal; (3) formulate a project providing for intermediate stages and an end-goal; and (4) come only forward with an end-goal. Number (3) scenario looks most evident.

Chapter six

Which communication by UEF?

- What is the purpose of communication by UEF and its sections?

- Make target audiences aware UEF offers them a new perspective.
- Bring a message **understood as intended** by UEF to carefully selected audience(s).
- **Stimulate a durable interest** in UEF and its ideas.
- **Prepare people** (in the target audiences) to a gradual acceptance of UEF ideas.
- Make the ideas of UEF become **common place** in the European public sphere.
- Create a **spill-over of UEF's ideas**.

- When shall UEF communicate?

- The context sets the right moment to communicate. The **windows of opportunity** will not be missed. These windows are not frequent.
- Follows the **rhythm of European summits** (where themes are known in advance) or react to **deadlines** that matter to Europe or to other significant events.

- Communication by UEF or its sections:

- The major activity of UEF consists of **written communication** or of **direct contact**.
- In order to be accepted as a **true alternative**, the message will be formulated so it can become an issue on the agenda of public debate in Europe.

- UEF's communication will clarify issues and bring forward **alternative federalist solutions**, demystify nationalistic rhetoric and produce evidence-based arguments.
 - Prior to communicating new ideas UEF will be in an ideological convergence modus.
 - More attention for its communications can be achieved through the support by **reputed and respected persons**.
 - People are but willing to extend **limited attention**.
 - **Non-priority messages** will be avoided.
 - An **undefined scope of issues and ideas** impairs a **clear narrative** of UEF.
 - A very **limited number of themes** can be addressed simultaneously by UEF.
 - A joint strategy, objectives and project/campaign will enable to **focus on the core**.
 - The messages of UEF **will catch attention** if focussed at: (1) personal interests of people; (2) the future of Europe; (3) to precede the other political actors with new ideas.
 - Following considerations will be taken into account by UEF:
 - know what your audiences want and expect;
 - stand out from other organisations and have a specific image;
 - earn attention before selling content;
 - be relevant, newsworthy and humane; people recall better stories or actual situations, than an abstract idea;
 - each message reverts to a central theme and shall not be perceived as a stand-alone message;
 - all messages will be concise, to the point, pertinent and novative;
 - reverting to the past is less interesting than looking in the future.
- **Communication can be subdivided in different categories.** The different target audiences command different messages and communication techniques.
- **Internal communication** by UEF:
 - is usually the most neglected aspect of communication;
 - is needed to build cohesion among the local sections;
 - is needed to build belongingness among all its members.
 - **External communication** by UEF/sections:
 - various stages of acceptance by the target audiences can be identified, see below Definition of target audiences/different stages of attention/acceptance.
 - **Local communication** (as part of external communication):
 - important since creating support at the local level close to people.
 - **Europe wide communication:**
 - targets especially high level people;
 - exposes national issues conflicting with European principles.
- **Definition of target audiences :**
- **Who shall be reached** in the first place? Three priorities:
 - those who **understand the importance** of European integration;
 - those who **can influence introduction of new concepts** by spelling them out;
 - those who can **decide on the establishment of the UEF project**.

- A tentative and enlarged **list of priority target audiences** includes:
 - prime ministers, ministers of foreign affairs, their chief public administrators and cabinet members, political parties' chairmen and their research departments (both at local and at European level), chiefs of European institutions and European commissioners, Members of the European Parliament, media, academics, European think tanks, even opponents to European integration;
 - this list exceeds UEF's capability now and can possibly be reduced along other criteria, such as: direct influence on specific issues, pro-integration attitude, willingness to progress more or less in the same direction as UEF, capability to create important breakthroughs, etc.

- Creation of leverage is related to insight in the **different subsequent stages of interest** individuals can transit when they enter into contact with UEF:
 - Caution, scepticism or negative attitudes towards European integration and UEF (prejudices, misinformation or unwillingness to acknowledge UEF's opinions) reflect feelings of doubt, hesitation or incapacity to make choices.
 - Neutral attitude towards European integration, but ignorant about UEF.
 - Feeling sympathy for the idea of European integration.
 - Feeling sympathy for or empathy with UEF.
 - Word of mouth praising of UEF ideas.
 - Curious about UEF and its ideology (after one or more direct contacts).
 - Open to further contact and further information after different direct contacts.
 - Open to regular contacts after in-depth presentation by UEF.
 - Open to limited cooperation.
 - Open to full cooperation with a focus on action or on reflection.
 - Assuming responsibilities in UEF.

- **How to create leverage by communication?**
 - UEF offers valuable alternatives **after deep study of federalism, European issues** and of an **adequate polity** for Europe in a post-national context.
 - UEF's vision will gain public and political support through a **public debate**.
 - UEF tries to **mobilize influential people** that help outbid the intergovernmental method of government.
 - UEF's project reflects the **legitimate needs and expectations** of European citizens.
 - UEF launches a campaign of **active persuasion** towards well-selected audiences.
 - UEF and its sections compile a **data base** of all persons corresponding to specific characteristics in the different target audiences. Local and international level complete and update these listings.
 - UEF acknowledges the need of **differentiated communication**.
 - High-qualified/high level persons expect **personalized and relevant information**. Nothing less than pertinent and innovative messages will be acknowledged by them.
 - UEF will **conclude partnerships** with organisations that have a common interest and can increase the outreach of UEF.
 - UEF will seek support of an impressive **patronage committee**.
 - UEF's call on **reputed politicians, academics, scientists** will enhance its credibility.
 - When politicians are reverted to, it is recommended they represent a fair **cross-section of the field**.

- Communication includes **a reaction to prejudices or to misinformation**. A few examples:
 - Why practise solidarity in Europe in times of deep crisis?
 - Why shall each country not rely on itself in times of crisis?
 - Why not allow for protectionism in times of crisis?
 - Why not close the borders of European countries to foreign workers?
 - Why speak of public interest, if this concept is not defined?
 - Why are many issues decided by people that are not elected or are not mandated?
 - Why are many things decided at European level that can better be decided at national or regional level?
 - Why is decision-making so opaque and concluded in backrooms?
 - Which personal interests does Europe care for?
 - Why is Europe so expensive and why is so much money waisted?

- Which **image** for UEF?
 - UEF supports the idea of a **purposeful European integration**. UEF also **criticises** the weakness and incapacity of current hybrid intergovernmental system.
 - UEF shall not create the impression to be naive or unrealistic.
 - UEF promotes a federal post-national design that meets severe conditions, for all democracy, legitimation, fairness, solidarity, an open society **closer to people** of Europe and that safeguards their interests and protects them.
 - UEF wants to be perceived as a **pragmatic** movement that propagates such method of government that is able to face a very demanding world.
 - UEF will directly link the shortcomings of intergovernmentalism to **federal solutions**.
 - UEF propagates a comprehensive project reflecting a **long term vision**.
 - UEF backs a system that **protects the lower tiers** of government from centralisation or of a superstate.

What is ESIC?

Established 1963 in Antwerp by European federalists, after successful participation in two Free European Elections by the Congress of European People (an initiative by A. Spinelli). The Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum or European Study and Information Center (ESIC) is a non-profit organisation: with a library and documentation center, two publications, a website www.europadebat.be ©, 'Café-Europa' © debates with students, an annual academic cycle 'Federalism, Democracy, Europe' ©, training sessions and lectures on European themes. ESIC avails free of charge advise.

About the author

Robert Verschooten (1939), master in commercial, transport and consular sciences (RHSA) (1961), post-university programme of business administration - PPB (IPO-Antwerp) (1975). Was active in logistics, sales, procurement, PR and environmental matters. European federalist since 1956. Now active in the Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC), as director (from 1977) and as president (from 1996). Is political adviser to UEF.be and member of MEB. Editor of ESIC Newsletter in Dutch (c), the Series 'Which Europe?' (c) and the ESIC website www.europadebat.be (mainly in Dutch). Initiator of Café-Europa (c) and of an annual academic cycle on 'Federalism, Democracy, Europe' (c) both are organized in cooperation with Europakring Antwerpen.

ESIC publications

- Numbers 41 up to 53 in the Series 'Which Europe?' © are available in Dutch and English. Missing translations are forthcoming. These papers can be consulted on ESIC website: www.europadebat.be ©, see ESIC/Publicaties. The same applies to ESIC Nieuwsbrief (Newsletter, only in Dutch).

- Number 41: 'The European federalists confronted with themselves' ©, (2010)
- Number 42: 'The European federalists confront Europe with their project' ©, (2010)
- Number 43: 'How can European federalists develop their project?' ©, (2011)
- Number 44: 'Which European federalism?' ©, (2011) (in Dutch only)
- Number 45: 'Proposals to make the European project progress' ©, (2012)
- Number 46: 'Which society model leads to which political union for Europe?' ©, (2012)
- Number 47: 'How to communicate?' ©, (2013) (in Dutch)
- Number 48-49: 'Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe' ©, (2013)
- Number 50: 'Which way towards the Future?' ©, (2014) (in Dutch)
- Number 51: 'Which political vision appeals most to you?' ©, (2014) (in Dutch only)
- Number 52: 'Which blueprint for a post-national federal Europe?' ©, (2014)
- Number 53: 'Which strategy by UEF' ©, (2015) (part 1)