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Which strategy by UEF?

(part 2)

Further enlargement of the subject

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

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Critical political assumptions and objectives are completed with operational recommendations enabling the implementation of the objectives of UEF. This interaction will be clarified. Special attention goes to the question with whom UEF will communicate and through which levers. The answer leads to the spelling of strategic and tactical objectives. A draft UEF narrative is proposed. A comparison with an earlier formulated narrative is intended to show the specificity of the European federalist line of thought.

Which strategy by UEF?

(part 2)

Further enlargement of the subject

Introduction

- The second paper with the same title enlarges the ideas already elaborated in numbers 52 and 53 of the Series 'Which Europe?'
- A uniform way of thinking or a straitjacket is not the aim of this paper. The various schools of European federalist thinking shall have the chance to express themselves. If this paper elucidates one approach, a good start for a confrontation of ideas will be available.
- One school shall not overrule the other ones. Diversity is a basic principle of federalism. Respect for other ideas reflects a federalistic attitude.
- Explicitness shall prevail. Joint ideas are a prerequisite to success.

Chapter 1

Findings and erroneous assumptions by UEF

Findings

- **UEF has no levers of power**, such as access to party endowment or co-decision. UEF is no part of political establishment.
- **UEF will rely on third parties**, who can disregard, change or twist the message of UEF.
- **UEF does not participate directly in European or other elections.** UEF calls especially on politicians, whose standpoints are mostly found inadequate by UEF or on civil society/people whose indifference or ignorance is deplored.
- **UEF has no leaders** with charisma, a communication assignment or who can act as a model throughout Europe.
- UEF will invest in the **added value of its message**. Actually the added value as perceived by the European stakeholders is most important.
- UEF will possibly see its **project not realized in full**. This shall not curtail its ambition.
- UEF will not propagate an economic or political system that doesn't **profit the majority of people** of Europe or would miss public support.

Erroneous assumptions

- UEF focuses much on an **institutional vision**. UEF shall profile itself as people's and of public interests' counsel.
- There is **no alternative to Europe**. This standpoint is hazardous because the future of Europe has not yet been properly outlined. UEF will demonstrate why European federalism can meet current and future challenges in society.
- A number of federalists invoke **political realism** to take no action for the time being. However an adverse political context requires strong action.

Chapter 2

Which communication by UEF?

*'Only facts can return Europeans' confidence in their future.
Prior to more Europe, people shall be offered a fairer Europe'*
Corina Cretu, MEP S&D - New Europe - 14/10/2012

With whom shall UEF communicate?

- **Which target audiences** shall be reached in the first place? The objectives of UEF determine the answer. This answer is basic to the strategy and tactics of UEF.
- Can UEF **simultaneously gain the support of the general public and the elites**? This clearly exceeds the capability of UEF for now. Priorities will apply.
- The 'true fans' shall be known. Communication by UEF can concentrate on fans, diehards, sympathizers, open minds and not on the majority of citizens/voters/consumers who cannot overcome their prejudices. People that make the difference have priority.
- **Which audience grasps the European integration best**, is familiar with, can get the message of UEF through and can decide on the future of Europe? Doubtless the political and societal elites and opinion-makers. Their foreknowledge implies that UEF shall focus on its motives and proposals. The skilled general public has little foreknowledge, meaning a better insight in the motives of the socio-economic integration is paramount (see attachment 1). Persistent prejudices circulate in as well the skilled as in the unskilled public. Prejudices on European integration shall be neutralized first.
- Following '**useful actors**' (**levers**) can be acknowledged:
 - prime-ministers, ministers of foreign affairs, ministers in contact with Europe, and their cabinet staff and top public administrators;
 - opinion-makers, editors and editorial teams on European affairs in mass-media, among which radio and tv, authors acquainted and sympathising with Europe, academics lecturing on European themes;
 - politicians at all levels of government and especially party chairmen and their research departments;
 - all think tanks active on European integration;
 - top officials in professional associations and social organisations.

- Each target group of UEF requires a **different approach**. Each has different priorities, is interested in different themes, consults different media and uses a specific language.
- A **personal message** yields more effect. If personal contact is not possible, the message shall still match addressee's profile and foreknowledge.
- **Matter of fact communication** will possibly not appeal to the general public. An emotional bond with the citizen/voter/consumer is therefore vital in order to bring about contact. The citizen/voter/consumer will be appealed by an idea/vision for emotional reasons. This emotion can possibly be rationalized later.
- How can UEF forge a **spirited and lasting bond** with the citizen/voter/consumer? The frequency of contact by UEF and a message coinciding with important political events raises the receptivity of target audiences.
- Unclear or **unformulated objectives** discourage those who are potentially interested to cooperate with UEF (media, people, political parties, sponsors).
- UEF is almost invisible. Political irrelevance looms. Using the **right mass-communication-channels** is vital. Not reaching these channels equals irrelevance.
- **Social media** proved important for the re-election of Barak Obama. They offer a powerful lever to spread ideas if properly formulated. UEF militants manning these media shall be trained. **Short-films/videos** are needed too.
- UEF can inspire the production of **entertaining mass-events** (say musicals), dealing with the European vision of UEF. Third parties, among which radio and tv, will finance and produce these events. UEF will supervise the core-message. **Schools** are excellent partners (Europe-days).
- **Internal communication** is important since it strengthens the mutual bond among the stakeholders of UEF, maintains a high spirit, propagates best practices, and conveys joint objectives and assumptions.
- UEF will communicate purposely, pertinently and cross-border. All stakeholders of UEF share a joint formulation of a mission-statement, a vision, assumptions, objectives, a strategy, tactics and operational methods.

About what shall UEF communicate?

- **Attachment 1** evaluates the various main audiences. The first three sections point at the difference to explain the motives, the assumptions or ideas to the various audiences. For the militants the motives, assumptions and ideas are important. To the other targets audiences difference of focus matters. These differences determine form and content of communication by UEF to each of these audiences
- **Attachment 2** illustrates an interactive system that integrates the current situation, the chosen action domains, themes of UEF, objectives of UEF and practical recommendations. This example extends over a period of four years. When important parameters change the scheme will be adapted.

- The acceptance of UEF's ideas by selected target groups can proceed by the **gradual introduction to** UEF's assumptions, tangible political and societal ideas for a political union and societal model.
- UEF shall **guide the selected target groups** to the end-goal. This guidance explains the evolution of the way of thinking towards a new societal and political project.
- Can UEF **reposition itself** and maintain traditional values? Will the citizen/voter/consumer hereby feel less alienated from the current situation (which he rejects but for which he has no alternative).
- **What is the purpose** of communication with elites by UEF? (1) point at the European general interest; (2) point at their responsibility to prepare for the future; (3) demonstrate the UEF project reflects a clear vision of the future; (4) achieve interaction between UEF and these elites; (5) explain the whereabouts of a needed reform in Europe; (6) guide these elites to the end-goal; (7) provide clear answers to specific problems.
- **Which themes** shall UEF bring up with a better informed public? (1) UEF understands the specific problems of people; (2) UEF seeks improved prosperity and well-being of people and society; (3) UEF aspires to good governance enabling the achievement of above objectives; (4) the project of UEF is tangible as opposed to the message of the eurosceptics; (5) regauging of public values by UEF enables the implementation of an efficient, transparent and fair European society.
- UEF will **not be too demanding** towards whatever public. Basic ideas are more important than a technical justification or worse an accumulation of different ideas making none important.
- **Authenticity** is an important feature of communication. UEF will demonstrate knowledge, insight and empathy. UEF will make research on messages that appeal, and research on the expectations of people in each target group.
- '**Factual criticism** should not be understood as a rejection of the European project', says Ivan Van de Cloot (chief economist of Itinera nstitute and executive professor AMS - De Tijd - 24/02/15)
- **Public support** for the European project will highly depend on the economic success Europe can generate. A political union for the eurozone is the lever thereto. Technical arrangements on economic issues cannot warrant public support. Socio-economic views/measures will be correlated to European values and public ethics.
- UEF will point to the **close relation among its separate ideas**, with an overarching theme, specific character and objectives.

Chapter 3 Functioning of the EU resp. eurozone

*'Political parties shall formulate new answers to new questions.
National politicians shall start thinking across the national borders.
They shall broaden their range of vision'*
Tinneke Beeckman

- What will happen in case of a shutdown of the European Union? The chance is slim because we will not break up the Union. Challenges of today and tomorrow are such that the individual Member States are unable to handle them. That is the justification of the European Union: joint action upgrades the Union's (and Member States') influence. The answer to current and future challenges is not quite clear. Europa can still evolve in various directions. Debate on this subject is needed. European elections are such an opportunity. (...) Or shall we focus on the issues that really matter? (prof. Hendrik Vos, University of Ghent - De Standaard - 11/10/2013)
- The **European Council**, that appropriated itself the highest legislative power and a factual right of initiative, is unfit to deal with daily government of the EU. A low meeting frequency, lack of expertise and legitimation justifies the scaling-down of the role of the Council. The Council should restrain itself to define the broad policy orientations and to co-decide on new European law, at equal foot with the European Parliament.
- '**Economic, (social) and political rationale** shall be tuned'. (Rik Vancauwelaert - De Tijd - 27/12/2014) This is a prerequisite to credible politics.
- The eurozone has **structural flaws and deficiencies** in economic and social framing. That is why the eurozone often scores below non-eurozone countries.
- The eurozone is in need of achievable, pragmatic and **effective solutions**. So-called political realism leaves everything unchanged and is no solution. This causes stagnation, social misery and low effective growth. Shall an unreasonable nationalistic attitude endanger prosperity and welfare of people?
- **Heterogeneity** paralyses the European Union. This can be overcome by constituting a homogeneous group of Member States. The eurogroup, or at least the major part of it, could accept a Political Union. The European Union is open to enlargement. The eurozone on the contrary should be very selective towards new membership.
- 'An economic divide between North and South Europe creates confusion about the **strategic priorities** of the Union and deep differences of opinion. Meanwhile the financial crisis and rummaging in the eurozone has led towards a new hierarchy and powershift. (...) The South flank of Europe is being downgraded to a periphery and can hardly weigh on decisions'. (Paul Goossens - De Standaard - 4/04/2015)
- The **return to national policies** is for different reasons unrealistic. Harmonisation of the internal market remains unfinished. Subsidiarity will define the distribution of competences/ power. The opposing countries shall not impede the willing Member States to further integrate.
- The **self-feeding character** of European integration can neither be stopped nor shall remain unanswered. An unfulfilled project is running counter our sense of good governance. A self-feeding integration shall however not be given free hand.
- **Differentiated integration**. See number 52, pages 8-9 and 11-12, of the Series 'Which Europe?' titled: 'Which conceptual framework for a post-national European federation?'
- **Non-eurozone countries** will not be sacrificed. However they know their self-chosen limits and should not invoke discrimination.

- On the other hand **Member States of the eurozone** will assume the consequences of membership: (1) a political union being the logic consequence of a shared economic, monetary, fiscal and social union; (2) a political union in the eurozone will be based on sovereignty-sharing and opening up to an effective governance in the interest of all.
- 'The **European budget** became the sum of national interests, relinquishing European added value. However the European budget can work as an investment budget that compensates the savings at national level. The European budget should increase in times of crisis. The contrary is true: Member States reduced the financial resources for the next seven years period. National contributions constitute the bulk of EU-resources. European budget is consequently determined by the tight budgetary situation in the Member States. Current system obviously reaches its limits. The only solution is a reshuffle towards more own resources for Europe and lower contributions by the Member States. This solution will profit all stakeholders. (De Standaard)
- 'A **broad tax harmonisation** in the EU can be successful if fiscal solidarity among Member States is introduced at the same time. Common European interest shall prevail over national interest of politics. The citizen shall not turn its outrage against the multinationals, but against politicians who have voted the legislation implemented by the multinationals. Politicians have failed to take action against damaging tax competition by a number of countries'. (De Tijd - prof. Luc De Broe, KU Leuven - 12/12/2014)
- '**Economic choices** and economic deficit cast doubt and create criticism on Europe. Europe is unable to implement important projects'. (Marc Lazar in Le Monde - 27/02/2013) 'Cutbacks in sectors which are basic for future growth sounds like austerity without prosperity. (...) The crisis in the eurozone de facto sidelines national economies and democracies, in spite of elections or Court orders. (...) Without tackling political flaws the eurocrisis will not be mastered. The credit and economic crisis is also a political crisis'. (prof. Steven Van Hecke, KU Leuven - De Standaard - 10/04/2013) 'The European Union will come to no good if just monetary measures are taken'. (Edouard Carmignac - 20/01/2015)
- '**Putting order in public finances** caused a social crisis. A recession created social inequality with a massive increase of poverty'. (Marc Lazar in Le Monde - 27/02/2013)
- '**There is a political crisis** (...) In almost every European country citizens seize the opportunity of elections to punish their governments for the imposed austerity. (...) On the other hand a different democracy, which is fair and transparent, is demanded. If policy-makers don't acknowledge the gravity of the situation the future will be hard, if not catastrophic'. (Marc Lazar in Le Monde - 27/02/2013)
- '**European regulation** exists because national governments decided an issue should be handled together for reasons of scale, effectivity or reduction of red tape'. (Richard Corbett - European Voice - 31/10/2013)
- Felipe Gonzales, former Spanish prime-minister, confirmed that long **before the eruption of the financial crisis** the European Union had a structural problem. 'European leaders knew the monetary union couldn't work without a fiscal union. These fundamental issues were not addressed since'. (De Standaard - Jorn Van Thillo - 10/10/2013)
- '**People want progress and perspective.** (...) But I think the domain of material prosperity is not the right one. Rather science and technology. The challenge lies with

durability of our prosperity and maintaining our welfare-state in a globalised world. (...) We shall have to accept the transition towards a steady state economy, an economy without progress. (...) In future our good fortune will have to depend on something else'. (De Tijd - Antoon Vandeveld, KU Leuven - 23/03/2013)

- 'Political parties that (artificially) **inflate the expectations of their voters** and repeatedly disappoint them, seem to determine the way politics waveringly work. Politicians seek to be the friend of the electorate. In an individualised world trust of people in their political leaders has overshadowed party programmes. As long as populists can sow fear, to which traditional politicians have no ready answer, they can win elections'. (Bart Snels - Liberales - 109/12/213)
- 'Europe needs a political system that **perpetuates its existence**'. (Pierre Defraigne, directeur- exécutif de la Fondation Madriaga-Collège d'Europe)

Chapter 4 Which ideology by UEF?

*'Good politics unleash the best in society and yield a stable framework.
They help people surpass themselves and their personal interests'*
Steven Van Acker, former minister in 'De eerste steen'

- Does UEF **need an ideology**? 'A political movement without a frame of reference, on which bills can be based on, will not live long. The danger of pragmatism without an ideological standard equals populism. Ideology is like a compass'. (Claude Nijs/ Tinneke Beeckman in Liberales)
- Integrating the advisable and the possible is a lasting challenge. The **overall direction of change** is important in order to stay on course. A time-schedule can not be established exactly. The overall direction can.
- 'Time has come to **deepen reflection on the basics of our society**. Successful companies usually have a well outlined mission-statement that determines their strategy. The basics of our society are no longer clear. Leadership today no longer equals taking strong action. It rather seeks a consensus about the joint direction and why. That leadership will facilitate structural reform'. (De Tijd - Caroline Ven, CEO VKW - 21/03/2013)
- The **choices of today** determine our future (some times reaching far). Therefore a shared frame of reference shall soonest be available.
- '**Ideology** includes an analysis of the current situation, the spelling out of an advisable situation and a description of the way towards the advisable situation. Ideology is descriptive, normative and operational'. (Claude Nijs - Liberales)
- **Ideological resourcing** imposes itself in times of lasting crises or immobilism. Ideological interpretation is for a movement a precondition to justify and position itself. 'An ideology is not static but a dynamic process'. (T. Beeckman - Liberales)
- **Innovative thinking about Europe** creates levers to achieve the objectives for now and the future during an undefined period of time. Adaptation is a permanent process. Politiy

reform shall serve people and not encourage powergames. Proper adaptation improves the competitive edge of Europe towards the external world.

- 'Ideology shall be no **blind idealism**, rather be pragmatic within the ideology. Lines of policy and the intermediate steps will be reasonable'. (Claude Nijs). It is the interaction between a strict ideological manifesto and its pragmatic interpretation.
- Europe is, as a societal project and a polity, **currently ill-equipped** to face numerous challenges. The accumulated institutional backlog is so important that a new refoundation shall start now.
- 'The idea of a **new start is liberating**'. (Karel Verhoeven - De Standaard - 2/01/2015) UEF shall make that start. What does that imply? Breaking away from certain ideas and attitudes.
- Pressure by populists and nationalists induces top politicians **not to link** challenges to European solutions. This feeds people's perception Europe is not the right vehicle to tackle transnational challenges. This contrasts with the historical evidence where Europe was in a number of instances the only option to **take difficult decisions**, never achievable at national level alone.
- **At crossroads** important questions shall be raised. A first question is: how can needed institutional reform be accepted the willing Member States? Unanimity in the EU excludes an agreement by 28 Member States. The answer is, either convene a constitutional assembly for the Member States that demand adequate political steering of the EU; or conclude a new international treaty outside the EU with Member States opting for a Political Union. A new intergovernmental model is utterly undesirable. A democratically legitimated polity is needed.
- Since the inception of Europe its leaders should have solved **following dilemma**: why can an ambitious, effective and legitimized polity not be proclaimed right away and gradually be implemented? This approach would unleash strong dynamics. Stakeholders would discern a very powerful sign of trust and hope. Europe needs that signal in order to redynamise European society.
- For years Europe lives in a **new situation**. Why is there so much disbelief about the need to think and act differently? Which opportunities will be created after which changes? Each generation has to adapt its paradigms. This generation cannot elude this effort. The context becomes compulsive.
- 'Only facts can restaure faith of European people and trust in their joint future. Prior to more Europe, people shall **be offered a fairer Europe**. If not, a stronger European integration will be weakened by lack of public support. When the expectations of half a billion Europeans are implemented the right sequence will be observed. (Corine Cretu - MEP S&D - New Europe)
- The **purpose of institutions** and procedures for Europe is to interpret European values and expectations of citizens/voters/consumers. Meaning their personal interests will be taken into account.
- UEF will demonstrate the **shared interest of people in Europe**. The UEF narrative will show a positive change, grip on decision-making, a solidary Europe, a perspective of progress and the conservation of the welfare-state.

- 'The aim is **not only a better personal life** but also a better life for other people. This implies building a better society and public commitment'. (Ogien Ruwen in 'Etat nous rend-il meilleur?' - Gallimard - 2013)
- **See number 52**, pages 14-15, of the Series 'Which Europe?', with the title 'Which conceptual framework for a post-national European federation?'
- 'Europe needs a **new model and spirit of governance**. This model will for all consist of contractual relations among all stakeholders (policy-levels, politics, business, civic society) in order to build a relation of confidence that enables the implementation of policy in all domains and levels of authority. The economic theory will show interest in this new concept of political steering, since the new instruments will achieve a process of supranational integration'. (adapted from F.Q. Quesada in NewEurope)
- Important goals of **joint policy**: (1) create the highest possible level of added value for each of the stakeholders; (2) optimal functioning of the internal market and the liberalized markets of the Union and of the eurozone.
- UEF brings a **forward-looking idealism** that, on the one hand, is pragmatic and matter of fact, and on the other hand a project, that people understand, feel attracted by, inspire and perceive as inclusive. More Europe is not a goal as such, rather a means to achieve positive change.
- UEF propagates the perception of being a broad group of **independent democrats and reformers** that militate for a fair and future-oriented Europe. This group addresses political deficits and proposes pertinent remedies.
- UEF speaks **in the name of people**. Its ideas will link up with explicit and implicit expectations of people and their aspiration towards a fair and prosperous Europe.
- The **gulf between people and authorities** grows larger. However this gulf is present at every level of governance and in every Member-State of the EU. Political parties play an important role. Not just the electoral system should be changed, the excessive power of party chairmen shall be curtailed. Public administration shall be depolitized. Short term thinking, unadapted ideas and a unilateral interest in the distribution of tax-money shall come to an end. (adapted from Claude Nijs/Tinneke Beeckman in Liberales)
- **Three AAA's** of Brandhome. Authenticity: more than a history a brand (image) shall have a credible inheritance. Accountability: a brand (line of thinking) is accountable for its message, its action, and pledges. Activation: incites people (citizens/ voters/consumers) to action and create commitment towards the brand (ideas).
- 'Consumers shall **think along with your products**', says Marc Michils, CEO of Saatchi & Saatchi, Brussels. (De Tijd - 18/12/2011) This idea can apply in politics in order to associate citizen/voter, through participation and co-decision, with vital political choices.
- Prof. Harold James (Princeton) wanders how to further captivate the attention of people in Europe if integration is no longer perceived as the road to prosperity. A vision about Europe shall not be idealistic, but shall raise the question **how Europeanisation can profit people**. When people today look at Europe they will witness a lasting recession and austerity. Europe equals sacrifices. (European Voice - 14/03/2013)

- A **mental switch** is needed to bring deep reform in Europe in higher gear. Opinion-makers shall stand up to take on inspiring roles demonstrating which positive effects are in reach of hand to people who think out-of-the-box. 'Innovation is the newest form of competitiveness', says Martin Hinoul. (BDM KU Leuven)
- Dick Pels, sociologist and author, defines Europe not just as an economic factor of growth but as a **model of civilisation**, purposively setting aside violence when solving problems. Pels qualifies Europe as a safe haven, in a physical, political and social meaning'. Pels militates for more Europe. The transfer of more power of decision from the nations to the EU will give Europe more grip on the economy. 'A European welfare state shall combine the best of two worlds: the energetic liberty of liberalism and social stability of social-democracy'. (Liberales - 23/01/2015)
- According to Bart Snels **people lost grip on their lives** and became less free. This makes Habermas propose a political union. Europe is not only a market, but shall create a context where people acquire influence on the adaptation of society. Habermas asks himself: do we want democratic governance at European level or do we prefer exposure to changing markets? Habermas prefers the first solution but acknowledges the legitimacy problems in Europe. He advocates a European Constitution, in which European people and nation-states are both represented.
- 'I call on **value driven politics**, where institutions never are a goal in itself or represent a reservoir of power. I appeal to supersede clichés and echoing, halfheartedness and participation. Let us strengthen participation of all stakeholders in our democracy: people and politicians, business and workpeople, families, volunteers and their organisations'. (Caroline Genez, past chairman of sp.a. in de Standaard)
- 'Europe **don't shield us from globalism**, but harms the functioning of the nation states, that warranted social protection and redistribution. The larger part of population therefore distrusts the European project'. (Rik Van Cauwelaert - De Tijd - 6/04/2013)
- Tony Judt, historian, believes that 'the old fashioned nation-state can possibly create a **better form of joint loyalty**, protect the low income people, force a fairer distribution of prosperity and compensate for the international disruptive developments. (De Tijd - 5/01/13)
- Above two perspectives are **jumping to conclusions**: (1) not all nation states are as prosperous or performing; (2) the nation state will not disappear and will keep core competences; (3) a multi-layer governance system will strengthen mutual relations by elevating convergence, deliberation and structural cooperation to systemic features.

Chapter 5 Which federalism by UEF?

'A top-down approach imposed on European people by the European Union is fundamentally undemocratic'
Mark Demesmaeker (MEP for N-VA)

'We need more than ever to fight for a strong participative society, where people know who they are and have a strong commitment with the values of freedom, social justice and development'
F. J. Quesado, GM of the Innovation and Knowledge Society in Portugal

- 'A new model of governance for Europe shall be complemented by strategic proposals that demand a **new operational agenda**. According to Habermas, Europe must know how to integrate its citizens in a positive way. This participation is increasingly needed as an effective attitude to mobilise for this effort. (Quesado - New Europe - 21/10/12)
- Federal ideas shall meet **two principles**: are the individual and general interests being taken care of and are these ideas righteous? (adapted from Claude Nijs in Liberales)
- 'A **post-national revolution** in Europe will create a federal union. This idea is generous but vulnerable regarding public acceptance. (Corine Cretu, MEP/S&D - New Europe - 14/10/12)
- See number 52, pages 12-14 of the Series 'Which Europe?' titled 'Which strategy by UEF?', where the conditions of the intended federalism are enumerated.

Chapter 6

Which narrative for a Political Union in the Eurozone?

Preliminary considerations

- **Is a narrative needed?** Why? How detailed shall it be? Whom is the narrative intended for? What mental steps shall have to be bridged in order to have the objectives and the principles of a post-national Federal Union accepted and assimilated?
- **Why a narrative?**
 - A narrative **sketches in broad lines** the current situation, proposes solutions and the basics of the ideology of the European federalists. As such it comes close to the definition of an ideology. The main difference with a written ideology lies however in the link between the present and the expected societal and political developments.
 - 'A narrative will be **strong and authentic**'. (Michel Deboeck - HR-Consultant) A narrative will be inclusive and not a bunch of loose ideas. The narrative and related communication shall create a dynamic with policy-makers and intended audiences. Therefore a narrative will - as a broad tool of communication - be easy to read.
 - A narrative describes the present and the future. Drawing conclusions from this assessment will always be coloured by personal ideological inclinations. The proposed remedies will therefore be **presented as one among other ideas**.
 - Narratives do **compete with each other**. European federalists need a narrative that provides people and elites with adapted arguments against egocentric, nationalistic and antisocial ideas, and favours an open-minded attitude towards societal and polity needs of the present and the future.
 - 'An economic and political system that **yields nothing tangible for most people** cannot maintain itself. Faith in democracy and market economy will possibly

weaken and legitimacy of institutions will be put in question'. (prof. Joseph Stiglitz - New Europe - 13/01/2013)

- 'Influenced by nationalistic and populist parties a growing number of people reject European integration and the European Union. These parties militate for a **return to the nation state** (or region) with their own rules or perhaps a return to their own currency. Hardly half of Europe's population is optimistic about the future of the Union'. (Liberales - Dirk Verhofstadt - 31/01/2015)
- A federalist vision - expressed in a narrative - will highlight its **effective potential**. This federal narrative holds a positive message and promising perspectives. The narrative will also expose the populist reasoning that worsens political stalemate in Europa and brings forward no realistic ideas.
- Europa can choose between **various scenarios**. The 'best' choice shall not be based on outdated ideas. The best choice will be the outcome of much **reflection, debate and consolidation**.

Comparison of two different narratives

'Many processes controlled by men lead, without timely adjustments, towards derailment that threatens prosperity and welfare'

Prof. Ivan Van de Cloot, (De Tijd - 24/03/2015)

- On February 28, 2014 a first narrative, called **Narrative for Europe**, was presented in Berlin. A committee of artists and scientists took a year to complete this narrative which enjoys the moral support of former Commission president Barroso.
- This narrative **says nothing about good governance** and remains mute on the intended project. Specific preconditions towards a European project are not spelled out either. Only some attitudes are explicitated. Does this partial answer - which is meritorious - reflect deep differences of opinion in that committee on what is not said?
- Does this narrative repond to **what is expected** from it? All major questions remain unanswered and offer no guidance, neither insight, in the problems that Europe has to face or possible solutions that can be envisaged.
- An **abridged English version** reads as follows:
 - * *'Europe is a state of mind formed and fostered by its spiritual, philosophical, artistic and scientific inheritance, and driven by the lessons of history (...)'*
 - * *'Europe is a state of mind that goes beyond a grouping of nation states, an internal market and the geographical contours of a continent. Europe is a moral and political responsibility, which must be carried out, not only by institutions and politicians, but by each and every citizen (...)'*
 - * *'Europe is a state of mind shared by citizens across the continent. The students, researchers, scholars, artists, professionals and politicians who live, work, think*

and journey across national borders, do so in order to deepen and expand their knowledge, unleash their creativity, and widen their opportunities’.

** ‘Europe needs brave, imaginative and enlightened political leaders who speak and understand the language of Europe as a political body, animated and energized by culture.’*

** ‘Europe also needs artists and scientists, educators and journalists, historians and sociologists, entrepreneurs and civil servants who are prepared to move beyond the comfort of their autonomy to take on new responsibilities towards Europe as a political body’.*

** ‘Finally Europe needs citizens to raise their voices and to take part in the European public space of debate by sharing their stories and concerns. These narratives will tell the story of what it means to be a European in the 21st century.*

(New Europe - Jimmy Jamar, head of the Representation of the European Com. in Belgium - 9/03/2014)

- A **draft narrative**, with a post-national federal end-goal, places citizens centrestage. That draft narrative is incomplete and longwinded. Rewriting will be necessary.

- Following subjects need further elaboration: social affairs, home affairs, foreign and safety policy, a durable economic model, energy, completion of the internal market, competition, competitiveness, ageing, a constitutional project and assembly, a European public space, a European public opinion and the feeling of belongingness and ownership. technological progress and its impact on our European values, migration and interculturalism, multilingualism, education, etc.

- Draft formulation of a narrative suggested by a European federalist:

*** Basic assumptions:**

** A long history of development is the very basis of current European values and standards. These values are currently under heavy internal and external pressure.*

** Political and socio-economic developments in Europe have reached a critical point that should place the refoundation and reinvention of Europe on top of the political agenda. Deferring this issue harms considerably general and private interests.*

*** Wrong political developments:**

‘Europe lives some times in a bubble blown in a glorious past’

Andy Langenkamp, senior political analyst of ECR Research (De Tijd - 13/02/2015)

‘Europe shall look further than sheer economy in order not to become irrelevant’

Andy Langenkamp

‘In Europe prosperity and welfare are linked’

** ‘The crisis we are facing today is not the result of a ‘bloated Europe’. (...) It is the result of ‘less Europe’, of a Europe that has **not developed a fundamentally***

convincing narrative for its place on the world stage. Yet today, the crisis offers unique historic opportunities in the progression towards a political union', says Dimitris Avramopoulos, Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship (New Europe - January 2015).

- * Member States defend for all their national interests (and some do but that). That attitude cripples the spirit of the European Union or of the euro area. Intergovernmental governance denies to Europe needed integration. That governance does not offer people of Europe what they are entitled to: **good and effective governance**.
- * By intuition **people want a different governance**. Which one, they don't know. Political parties abstain to take sides in the absence of electoral advantage.
- * **Population and politicians are afraid of change**. Will the *acquis* be endangered? Reform and adaptation of the paradigms of society are a generational phenomenon. Fear is a bad counsellor since choking the future. Politicians shall not proceed with reform single-handedly. Everyone shall take part in it.
- * 'No positive stock exchanges, durable growth and low unemployment if countries cannot guarantee safety of people resp. borders and fail to create a feeling of safety where uncertainty and fear are being limited in order to stimulate innovation, creativity and growth. (...) European leaders feel very uneasy at the thought of a well equipped geopolitical tool box. They prefer to invest in products and salesmanship. The world, however, doesn't accept this attitude', says Andy Langenkamp. (DeTijd - 13/02/2015)
- * 'The European model in which capitalism is inextricably linked up with democracy is not as universally accepted as taken for granted. (...) Autocratic and capitalistic countries can act faster and with more vigour, because they are less dependent on the electorate', Andy Langenkamp says.
- * 'It is an attractive idea to try to impose certain universal values. Actually it doesn't work that way. The elites accept globalisation. This is not true for the lay man and the question remains open whether the lay man wants then at all, Herman Portocarero, EU Ambassador to Cuba, wonders. (De Tijd - 4/09/2015)
- * 'We have come to live in a world where representative democracy means representation of **stakeholders yielding the biggest influence**. This is not how representative democracy was imagined', says Alexandros Koronakis. (director, New Europe - January 2015).
- * 'Our parliamentarian deliberative democracy is more and more put in question since operating at a too low a pace in view of an ever changing society. (...) Our leaders would constantly lag behind. (...) Societal issues cannot simply be answered by a technical solution formulated by a technocrat. Politics will always be needed because societal issues are not just technicalities. Political choices for our societal issues shall come first, next comes expertise in order to achieve the chosen political objectives. The reverse approach is a dangerous illusion, Egbert Lachaert, MP for VLD, says. (Liberales - 15/05/2015)
- * 'Globalisation is a story of technological development and of political and

*economic choices, of success and hybris and wrong assessments. (...) Political and economic decisions are important for policy-making, but are as well **ethical choices***, Hugo Van de Voorde, historian, says. (from 'Naar één wereld - de drie stappen van de globalisering)

- * *'What the EU actually needs for the next and coming years is to find a way to address the main two-fold problem: fill the **legitimation gap** and **connect it with the expectations and needs of the citizens**. EU should deal with the growth problem, growing inequalities, poverty and misery. (...) All these factors and the way the EU, until now, has faced them, have undermined the EU's economy, people's prosperity and damaged the democratic (national) political system. (...) The European project has to work for a **new governance paradigm** of the people, by the people, for the people, Rena Dourou, governor of Attica Greece, says. (New Europe - January 2015)*
- * *'The faster the world changes, the slower political decisions proceed in Europe. While business seeks more effectivity by expansion, the political world tends to fragmentate as an answer to a growing stalemate of governance. (...) Mutually jamming, hindering and expensive decision-levels are damaging. The cons start to outweigh the pros', Bart Sturtewagen, states. (De Standaard - 12/06/2015).*
- * *'In a number of EU Member Countries half or more of youngsters are chronically idle. We do as if this phenomenon has no social cost. Elderly see their interest income dwindle and sooner than expected they have to eat into their savings. Anticipated pension rights for those who still are at work will be tempered both in years and income. A scenario of nearing impoverishment lies ahead of us', Bart Sturtewagen, says. (De Standaard - 29/05/2015)*
- * *'Leadership in Europe is for obvious reasons unmistakably weak. Consensus democracies prevail now. Each politician will consider its supporters and wants to score on time. If everyone should be satisfied and shall score a little bit, Europe will not work', Herman Portocarero says. (De Tijd - 4/09/2015)*
- * *'A **conflict of generations** shall be avoided. It looks like as if this conflict will not be eluded by current generation. The debt crisis, unemployment, climate change and ageing illustrate this. Will current generation waste the future of its children and grandchildren in order to enjoy it own end of career? Next generations will bitterly blame preceeding ones.*
- * *Media have severely reduced their **editorial staff** in charge of the theme of **Europe**. On the other hand the number of authors able and willing to formulate clear future-oriented opinions about Europe and a federal Europe increases. That is stimulating, but is still not enough. Mass media shall take greater interest to promote reform of Europe. A public debate should be qualitative and involve as many people as possible. This debate should focus on principles and objectives instead of on mechanisms and technicalities.*
- * *'Since the cost of the asylum policy becomes obvious, it appears clearly that **moral choices are not free of obligations**. We must remain focussed on the question why help is needed. We reach the stage following the strategic choice: implementation. Assistance to asylum seekers forces administrations to think about the priorities of its spending', Bart Haeck says. (De Tijd - 11/09/2015)*

*** Intended political developments:**

- * *‘Europa shall become a **subject of debate** since Europe is a locus of power. Arguments will not weaken Europe, on the contrary they will strengthen Europe. Debate and democratic controversy are indispensable to create awareness and ownership of a model of civilisation. (Pierre Defraigne, directeur exécutif de la Fondation Madriaga-Collège d’Europe - Le Monde 13/09/2011)*
- * *‘**Political integration will have to take over.** The context for political unification is not favourable. It runs into populist and nationalistic reactions and weariness about a constitutional debate. Hard facts however impose a democratic debate at European level on a social model, ecology, international involvement and an effective foreign and defense policy. Institutions will claim their importance as an instrument to reach that objective. (Pierre Defraigne)*
- * *Effective governance implies abandoning intergovernmental and pre-federal governance. **Effective multi-level governance** requires a completely new polity with shared sovereignty, legitimacy and transparency, enforceability, subsidiarity, complementarity, unity of action, effective and institutionalised deliberation. European federalists reject centralisation.*
- * *‘Good governance implies going beyond a shortsighted interpretation and requires clearly motivating political choices. If done adequately one can assess there are many more joint objectives than polarized appearances suggest. A **long term vision** is essential. Difference between right or left remains a legitimate discussion. It is wrong however to reduce every debate to that question, prof. Ivan van de Cloot states. (De Tijd - 24/03/2015)*
- * *‘Time to change: seeing **the value of small in the big picture.** There is a chance to do things differently locally, nationally, globally. All levels are important. (...) We will support the big initiatives, such as the new Investment Plan for Europe, as long as they target growth in the real economy and add societal value on the ground. But this can only happen if the political leaders can ensure that small is part of the plan. (...) Our vision comes from the human, local scale. It is increasingly clear that the ‘big’ vision can be self-defeating, because it blinds us from the the power of local action, personal solutions, real jobs and human behaviour. The links between local action and global effects are fascinatingly strong. (...) Anything global has its locality, in fact ‘global’ is nothing other than multi-local’. In a globalised world, challenges are local but interconnected, says Manfred Neun, president of the European Cyclists’ Federation. (New Europe - 01/15)*
- * *European federalists claim that a **post-national and Federal Union** is the only gateway towards a successful European political and societal project.*
- * *European integration, based on a post-national federal model, shall catch the **attention of all stakeholders.** A federal, democratic and a legitimized polity as well as a participative societal model are profitable to all stakeholders.*
- * *The proposed polity shall reflect the **basic values and standards** of Europe, as well as trustworthy governance practices. That polity shall not copy existing systems.*

- * *An effective societal and political project for Europe will contribute to the **creation of a positive attitude** with people and will get this attitude accepted and supported.*
- * *People demand more **proximity and legitimized governance**. The new polity for Europe will succeed thanks to the **incremental input of people**. That implies more commitment and participation by people and more interest for Europe. An adequate political and societal model will facilitate this participation.*
- * *'Europe shall carry on with its Copernican revolution: change from an inadequate permissive consensus towards a **strong interaction** between the oligarchy and a civic society still in an early stage of development. Integration by the market and law has reached its limits: neither the internal market, nor the euro overcame the **heterogeneous structures**, illustrated by inflation or growth differences in the euro area'. (Pierre Defraigne)*
- * *'Our society and democracy are in a phase of transition. In an **open society** people should have an impact on the governance of their country (city, regio and of Europe). People are important in a **living democracy**. They grant legitimacy to the political representatives, keep MP's and the administration focussed and make them feel supervised. They play an important role in orientating society: they provide support for the implementation of the policies of the government, feed it by their daily doings, and take care of societal innovation by formulating ideas, Egbert Lachaert states. (Liberales 15/05/2015)*
- * *'Citizens no longer intervene on demand of policy-makers, more often they do so on their own initiative, through more direct channels of commitment, such as social media, opinions in various media, associations, etc. This is a permanent challenge to the modern politician. In the past politicians were but accountable each 4/5/6 years. Nowadays it occurs on a daily basis, in every stage of an issue or of a big decision. (...) These far-reaching changes request democracy to adapt as well, especially in the direction of a participative democracy. Demand for more direct forms of democracy and accompanying forms of citizens' involvement, in addition to a representative democracy, has increased. (...) 'The politician shall demonstrate in this context a completely different attitude. He will create a pro-active support, interact with media, be active on social media, will not impose projects top-down but will listen and adjust, he will let citizens assume their own responsibilities. That represents an advanced participative democracy', Egbert Lachaert states. (Liberales - 15/05/2015)*
- * ***Education** should play its pedagogic role by explaining context and objectives of European integration. A wrong interpretation of European integration cannot be excused by a diminishing consensus on Europe. An interpretation extends far beyond a simple description of changing institutions and procedures.*
- * *'The school of the future shall become a **learning park**, where pupils, parents, teachers, associations (and companies) meet each other in order to learn from each other'. (De Tijd - B. Moens - 18/09/2015)*
- * *'Innovation in our regions (and countries) is not only about supporting innovative companies: this is important, but not enough. Innovation in our regions is also,*

and maybe first of all, **innovating in the very functioning**' (of our political institutions), says Hande Örsan Bozatl, president AER. (New Europe - Jan. 2015)

* **Wrong socio-economic developments:**

'We are in overshoot mode, and this mode has to be switched to a more sustainable one'
Sirpa Pietikäinen, Finnish MEP (EPP Group)

- * *'Current serious situation will not change in the short and middle term. Definitely not if Europe continues to define risks in financial terms without mastering the geo-political context. (...) In these circumstances Europe can no longer pretend to be of relevant', Andy Langenkamp states. (ECR Research in De Tijd - 13/02/15)*
- * *'Some hundred years industrialised countries, for all Europe, the USA and Japan, took up to 90% of the world economy for their account. Just 15% of world population participated in it and took advantage of it. Last 20 years a fast shift towards the emerging countries occurred. (...) A real redefinition of the geo-economic environment took place with big political, social and financial consequences, Jacques Berghmans states. (director of Tree Top Asset Management in De Tijd Connect - 14/03/2015)*
- * *'Globalisation and migration are a source of increasing uncertainty for the Western middle class. Moreover the few sources of growth which are still left - technology and innovation - threaten to increase this uncertainty and inequality. (...) Low growth rates, stagnating prospects and uncertain future perspectives render the electorate uncertain and restless. (...) How can politicians face populists? By exhibiting honesty. By conceding prosperity will increase less than in the past. Prosperity will have to be fought for harder. (De Tijd - Peter De Keyzer, chief economist BNPParibasFortis Belgium - 18/09/2015)*
- * *'Will Europe become a **less dynamic continent** with a slower rate of growth ?' (Peter De Keyzer) Is this a fatality to Europe? Definitely not. 'Current upsurge of pessimism about the European economy is exaggerated, but will - in case of growth acceleration - show a very modest growth'. (adapted from Bart Van Craeynest - De Tijd - 4/12/2014) A disenchanting situation comes from failing structural political reform and missing political will.*
- * *'The full impact of the crisis comes down on the shoulders of the plain (unemployed) people and not on those who caused the crisis. (...) As demand for federalism grows, nationalists and populists start to **attack the very basis of democracy and stability** in various countries. (...) The nation state is sandwiched between Brussels and regional separatism. European citizens are stuck between federalist rhetoric and despair of the moment.'* (Corine Cretu)
- * *'Many modern world issues come from a non-durable organisation of the globalized economy. (...) Obviously we shall have to look for a **new model for the economy and for the world**', prof. Koen Schoors, UGhent, says. (Liberales - 27/04/2015)*
- * *'Technology has a bigger impact on people than assumed possible. In the financial world we transferred too much to technology, without control and monitoring. (...) Perhaps shall the responsibility for the financial crisis be located in elusive technological processes that influence and steer our lives in an invisible*

way. (...) Legislation addresses but part of the problem. People will always start looking for ways to circumvent it', prof. and philosopher Marc Coeckelbergh states in his book *Money Machine*. (De Standaard - 12/092015)

- * 'The way disruption carries on in production, energy, bank- and insurance, media and technology, biotechnology or education, induces every professional to know the whereabouts of the rushing change in a connected world. We need to adopt a **spirit of innovation** that makes Silicon Valley so unique and that pushes the world. (...) Innovation cannot be stopped. You better embrace it and take the lead, Isabel Albers, chief editor of *De Tijd*, says. (190/09/2015)
- * 'In the field of scientific research Europe did not (or couldn't) do what was expected. If all national and/or regional **funds for scientific research in Europe are brought together** cost of research would be lower and money for additional research would be available. These funds would in fact be transferred to the European Research Council under the provision the money flows back to the countries or regions. That would mean a terrible boost to European scientific research. Apparently this idea is too audacious, Luc Soete, vice-chancellor of the University of Maastricht, said. (*De Tijd* - 22/09/2015)
- * 'Our society meanwhile evolved in such a way that **the line between work and private life fades away**. A number of flexible jobs feature incredible long working hours, almost no promotion, interim contracts and a lack of trade union representation. Recent research revealed workers in this type of flexible jobs suffer more often health and welfare complaints than their colleagues in more stable jobs. (Claude Nijs in *Liberales* - May 2015)
- * 'If we look at the facts, it is clear the European economy can't survive - let alone grow - unless we take some radical steps to **increase our resource efficiency** and move towards a true **recycling economy**. In a circular economy, there is no waste, products are designed to be durable, repairable and recyclable, and when they come to the end of their life the resources in them are pumped back into productive use again', says Sirpa Pietikänen, MEP, EPP Group. (*New Europe* - 01/15)
- * 'The year 2015 will show the **highest temperatures since observation started**. Even the peak of 2014 will be exceeded. But it can still go much worse. Scientists see a **clear limit to the warming up of planet earth**. (...) US-president Obama stated about the climate meeting in Paris (november 2015) that it is a 'last chance for climate'. Much money will be needed to save the climate, surely for the development countries. The question 'who pays' became a symbol issue. Next to war refugees we can expect climate refugees in even larger numbers. (*De Tijd - Hanegreefs/Van haver* - 5/06/2015)
- * 'If the external costs of climate and environment are included in the price of fossil fuels, renewable energy would have a bright future. That is why we shall capitalize on the lead we can take in this technology. **Internalizing the negative economic costs of climate change** in a higher cost for fossil fuels can accelerate this process'. (Peter De Keyzer - chief economist BNPParibasFortis)

* **Intended socio-economic developments:**

'Technological skills will not save us. But their absence will surely destroy us'
Douglas Wolk, in LA Times

- * *'If technology is part of the problem, it can be part of the solution. **How will technology change?** Gradually and bottom-up. With a collaborative economy, i.e. by virtual barter trade on internet. A different worldwide way of thinking is getting momentum with a different type of human relations. An alternative to the classic economy and the financial world. (...) Let us use technology to stimulate a different type of relations among people, states professor and philosopher Marc Coeckelbergh in his book Money Machine. (De Standaard - 12/09/2015)*
- * *'Europe shall take the lead in new technologies and concepts, i.e. internet of things, artificial intelligence and 3-D printing. That is necessary to maintain our competitiveness and prosperity in a world that changes fast'. (Long term vision for Flanders - De Tijd - 18/09/2015)*
- * *'The collaborative economy encompasses all new forms of services and avails goods on basis of sharing them While the classic economy is based on property, use stands central in the new business model. (...) In a collaborative economy the classic scheme where goods-products stand at one side and the consumer at the other side is abandoned. Today each consumer can become a producer and take profit of it. (...) Thanks to geolocalisation it can easily be checked whether a product or service is available in your immediate proximity. (...) From now on human contact, hospitality and trust stand central in the system'. (Deutsche Bank)*
- * *'Shops without money, free books, 'suspended 'coffee for the next customer...The culture of giving is developing. It is situated between wastage and a token of solidarity. (...) For a generation used to free wifi, films in streaming, free software and Wikipedia, the free of charge idea is an evidence. (Le Monde - 6/09/2015)*
- * *'**Degrowth-thinkers** wonder whether it would not be better to kick the habit of ever more. (...) Degrowth breaks with dependence on a growing economy in order to function properly. (...) The West reached the point where profits of growth were already cashed and costs of more growth became excessive. (...) Current situation is no individual failing but is systemic', J-F Abbeloos states. (De Standaard - 22/04/2015)*
- * *'The General Assembly of the United Nations approved the **Basic principles of debt rescheduling**. This would ease debt reduction of a heavily indebted country. These principles were accepted in spite of resistance of a few big and influential countries. Most EU-countries abstained. One principle states that debt rescheduling applies to all creditors, including 'vulture funds'. Another principle reads: foreign assets of defaulting countries shall be protected from creditors. These principles are not binding, meaning not much will change in the field'. (De Standaard - 12/09/2015)*
- * *'An employee becomes to a lesser someone that accepts work. (...) Instead he will be **looking for new activities that teach him**. He will shape his own life and will no longer be a passive employee. (...) Innovation will increasingly be his*

assignment. Long term contracts wriggle with this assignment. In the digital area transactions are easier and cheaper to organise. (...) Some people will be associated for a longer time with the organisation because they are the living memory of the organisation or avail exceptional knowledge. But there will also be a flow of people that will add something on a temporary basis to the company', Peter van Lieshout states. (Het Financiële dagblad - 2015)

- * 'Each manager will face a moment where he **will have to make way for the computer**. Human intervention will be confined to raise the right questions and choose the datasets. Specific knowledge remains relevant, until the computer raises better questions than the managers. Senior officers will remain in demand because of their creativity, leadership skills (motivation, inspiration and empowerment) and their strategic thinking. (...) Due to big data an organisation will always know more than the individual person, with an important consequence: **for all leaders are needed and ever less managers**', says Duco Sickinghe. (Managing partner Forino Capital, Chairman KPN, in De Tijd - 16/09/2015)
- * 'Setting the price of carbon at the end of COP21, the UN conference on climate change, due in Paris from November 30 until December 11, is needed in order to achieve the objective of limiting the climate warming to 2°C. (...) The failed experience of the market for emission rights reminds us that setting adequate quotas together with rising minimum prices are needed to create an impact on behaviour. (...) Another method would consist in fixing a price of carbon by country depending of its index of human development and its emissions of CO2 per person. The underlying idea being to correlate emissions and IHD: a poor country would not have to pay a high price for its emissions when it is in the start up stage of development. (Homayoun Boroumand, Pocher et Stocker - Le Monde - 9/09/2015)
- * '**Open joint innovation** is more efficient, but more complex than the internal innovation. Needed are: adequate attention for the tuning to of the corporate strategy, creation of a culture of innovation, using the right tools and demarcation of cooperation. A corporate strategy will be formulated in such a way, that it can easily be translated into an innovation strategy'. (Inzicht, an initiative by EY and Tijd Connect - Alexander Mol - 19/06/15)
- * '**Innovate to survive**. A status quo means recession. Business as usual will no longer do. **Six megatrends** will not only determine the way of doing business tomorrow, but also will show what the world will look like. These megatrends are: (1) entrepreneurship will boom, (2) health will be reinvented, (3) the future will be digitalized, (4) globalization makes emerging markets more dynamic, (5) the world will urbanise at high speed, (6) we will have to deal with the planet in an innovative manner. (Inzicht, an initiative of EY and Tijd Connect - Rudi Braes - 19/06/2015)
- * Domenico Rossetti di Valbalbero, prof. of the Academie royale des sciences de Belgique and secretary-general of UEF-Belgium, earmarks **four challenges**. First challenge for Europe: not succumb to hyper individualism and keep in mind the founding principles of Europe: actual solidarity. Second challenge: profit from individual empowerment and collaborative economy, without leaving the Americans in command. Third European challenge: reinvent the service economy - overweighted in Europe - in view of individual empowerment and the collaborative economy. Fourth challenge: The EU will handle these two trends in order to reduce inequalities. Fifth challenge: the Union has historically - more than the

USA or Asia - developed a special relationship with nature where men works the soil, uses it but with respect and care. (La Libre Belgique - 20/04/2015)

Which mental steps shall be bridged in order to reach the objective of a post-national Federal Union?

- **To whom** will this federal narrative be aimed at? A **decisive part of the elites** should back the federalist approach featuring gradual implementation. These elites are capable to **understand the whereabouts** of European integration, its objectives and the political alternatives.
- An **inclusive project** will be **formulated in advance and become public knowledge**. Known stepping stones and a clear end-goal create confidence in the future by all stakeholders, though possibly covering a long time span.
- The **intergovernmental method of governance** of the European Union cannot meet the basic legitimate expectations of peoples of Europe and cannot eliminate dominance of national vital interests/egoism or of a political directoire in Europe.
- A vehement clash of objectives among individual Member Countries of the European Union, makes a **two speed development** in the European Union **inescapable**. The vanguard group will for all involve euro area Member Countries. This Group will implement its more ambitious objectives, which doesn't mean the other EU-Countries should feel discriminated.
- In a vanguard group of Member Countries **general European interest** will be at a par with national interest. This European general interest will, as much as needed, replace a short sighted nationalistic approach, but excludes centralism in Europe.
- The vanguard group in the euro area will have to implement a **post-national federal system** in order to meet the political preconditions for the implementation of a successful multi-level polity able to reconcile big and small, the regional/national/ European level, minority versus majority, liberty versus authority, autonomy versus coordination, unity versus complementarity, centralism versus subsidiarity, effectivity versus stalemate, innovation versus decline.
- All Member Countries will continue to manage a number of **core competences** (i.e. social security and welfare).
- A successful euro area project is subject to severe internal and external conditions of effectiveness and efficiency. A Political Union is not an objective in itself, but is the consequence of the **need for more intensive coordination** of the various policy domains and decision-levels in the euro area.
- Based on legitimate expectations and fundamental rights, a legitimate, effective, transparent and enforceable polity shall be instituted among the Member Countries that wish to do so. The **specific dynamics of the euro area** are such that further development towards a Political Union is a prerequisite in order to make this project succeed. Effectivity of the euro area polity will determine the level of prosperity and welfare

people of Europe can enjoy. This outcome can not be expected from of Member Countries that persevere in exclusive national thinking.

- A multi-layer polity needs **adequate tools, procedures and mandates** in order to function adequately. This implies a federal government, a federal parliament, a federal Court of Justice based on checks and balances. This polity will not just deal with economic, financial, fiscal and taxation matters, but will include a Political Union and defense and safety policy matters.
- No European project will be succesful if not **actively involving people of Europe**. People expect a lot of Europe. Participation in and ownership of a polity will increase their sense of belongingness and conscienceness of being part of dynamic society.
- The vanguard group of euro area Member Countries will **continue to participatie in the** internal market of the European Union. This cooperation can be overstepped, if the vanguard group elects, in specific circumstances, to go further than the non-members of the vanguard group want to go.
- Member Country of the EU are no the **last recourse in case of the need**. Hard facts contradict this opinion.
- **Multi-level coordination** at European level, i.e. by setting broad guidelines is however needed in order to optimize economic growth, employment, social inclusion and welfare by avoiding fragmentation and low effectivity. This coordination shall not hinder subsidiarity. Centralisation will be shunned.
- In a globalized world solidarity cannot anylonger be limited to the national or regional level. One joint common (outside) border and progressing interdependance of Member Countries of the EU raises internal as well as external solidarity to an obvious principle. 'This Summer we discovered in a painful manner what one border represents: joint responsability', Luuk van Middelaar states (De Tijd - 29/23/2015)

Chapter 7

Strategic choices by European federalists

- The notion of tactics and strategy is **constantly mixed up**. Strategy deals with a long term vision, while tactics reflect the daily fall-out of strategy and objectives.

Strategic choices and positions by UE

Assumptions

- UEF shall **formulate a strategy** and a track to reach the end-goal.
- UEF's **vision of the future** shall include a new societal project as well as a consistent democratic political project.
- UEF's formulated democratic and federal post-national polity and societal model will be the **marching order** as from the start.

- UEF formulates, approves and distributes **consensus opinions** on a mission statement, vision, assumptions, long term objectives, tactics, operational principles and a narrative.
- UEF's ideas shall not be limited to institutional matters only. **Societal and democratic values** will be included as well. They are basic to the refoundation of the eurozone.
- UEF backs a **Europe by and for the European citizens** as the objective of a new democratic system (democratic, legitimized and effective) and a societal model for Europe, in which participation of people and transparency are important features.
- UEF will all along the process of institutional reform try to influence, in **progressing and clear stages**, the views and attitudes of decisive groups in Europe.
- UEF elects **differentiated integration** in Europe in the absence of any other good alternative. Contradictory objectives of the Member States create immobilism and decline. On the one hand a number of Member States maintains intergovernmental cooperation and on the other hand the other members combine eurozone and a political union. UEF develops a vision for the Member States that don't participate in the eurozone.
- UEF **concentrates by priority on people** that understand European integration, that are familiar with it, boost public acceptance of the European idea, and finally those who decide about the future of Europe.
- UEF highlights the **positive dynamics** of post-national federalism.
- UEF will not only contact adults. **Young people** are an important factor in the intended refoundation, later they will take over implementation. Investing in youth is needed to secure continuity. Education at all levels will prepare youth for the future.
- UEF will **lobby** primarily those who make federalisation of Europe possible. UEF can also operate as a **popular movement** seeking influence from supportive groups in society and bring to bear pressure on policy-makers in Europe. This choice depends on available action capacity in UEF.

Strategic objectives

- Each target audience will be made aware of the **urgency and pertinence** of the assumptions, objectives and viewed institutional reform by UEF.
- Each co-decider on the future of Europe shall be talked into adopting the ideas of UEF and to cast them in **effective reform** or to promote these ideas in public.
- In the eurozone European decision-makers should support: (1) an effective multi-level government; (2) equal power to European Parliament and European Council.
- **UEF will mobilize powerful levers** in order to bring to bear its message.
- UEF shall try to **ban prejudices** in its own circle, in politics and in society. 'How can UEF take its environment in tow in order to co-evolve towards a **shared value model**?'
(adapted from Drs. Wouter Van Bockhaven - Alechia, 10/2012)

- The **very political confrontation** goes between the European decision-makers and the democratic reformers referring to post-national federalism.
- See also number 53 in the Series 'Wich Europe?', with the titel 'Which strategy by UEF?'

Chapter 8 **Tactical considerations**

Assumptions

- UEF will relate the **sense of urgency** of political initiative to a possible fast growth of the number of eurosceptics. As soon as they can bloc any initiative towards a political union, time will be over. Time for action is now.
- UEF checks the **correct or wrong perception** by the intended target groups.
- UEF shall be associated with a **message of pertinent change**.
- UEF shall formulate pertinent ideas **prior to any other group** in order to influence the political agenda of Europe and get the credit for it.
- UEF will express the **viewpoint of people** without inclination towards populism.
- UEF distances itself from a **cold and formal attitude by Europe**. The ideas of UEF are its own merit and differ from the official European standpoints.
- UEF creates **public support** when launching a new idea.
- UEF earns credibility by developing an **independent image**. Political marketing is needed.
- UEF will chose the **most effective levers** (priorities).
- UEF shall raise the **right questions** in the right sequence at the right time.
- UEF shall understand its target audiences. With **empathy** UEF can reach many people.
- Which **basic questions** underscore the message of UEF?
 - (1) **What went wrong and why?** Which institutional and political crisis hits Europe?
 - (2) **Who is responsible** for the current deadlock? Appeal to the sense of responsibility of people in charge of the long term choices in Europe. Politics capable of initiating reform in the public interest but who foresake should be stripped of this competence.

(3) **Stakeholders of the EU shape together** their joint future. Meaning an open-mind towards Europe and sharing the demand for more political participation.

(4) A **European post-national federation** offers unique opportunities and perspectives.

- **Broad access** to target audiences can be achieved by reaching those who: (1) have a positive inclination towards European integration; (2) can yield a positive influence on a large public and (3) can pass on their knowledge of European integration to the public.
- UEF will **tie the content of its communication to European current business** (e.g. the themes of European Council meetings) and formulate in advance legitimate expectations and later opiate on the decisions of European leaders.
- UEF can **join the public debate** as soon as an adequate number of tangible, coherent and project-like ideas have been formulated.
- Shall UEF subscribe a number of **paradigms of the political parties** in order to become acceptable to them? Political parties, though defaulting in many instances, will for long hold to power. Is opportunism welcome or is an attitude of principle preferable?
- UEF backs the idea to teach the **vision of the future at school**. Today education limits itself primarily to the protection of the environment or to human rights. European integration, as a global societal project, must be an important part of that curriculum. Many taboos and prejudices about Europe need to be addressed. Challenges to Europe, civic duty, legitimate and democratic expectations in Europe are part of the package.
- UEF knows its ideas will **never come through in one shot or entirely**. UEF will therefore define its message in the various stages of the proposed reform. UEF reassesses its message after each new official political initiative.
- UEF weighs the various action methods against **the expected impact**.
- UEF will try to **involve the best experts** in order to assess together some important aspects of European integration.
- UEF **goes for cooperation with other federalist organisations**. Together they subscribe minimum ideas and objectives.
- UEF will aspire to a **similar profiling by all sections**, regions or countries. Here the *pensée unique* and the spontaneous diversity will confront each other. UEF will have to make a choice. Stakeholders of UEF have to share a minimum number of ideas.
- UEF will **define in advance the objectives** of every action it undertakes.
- **Other operational recommendations** can be found in number 53, pages 10-12, of the Series 'Which Europe?'

Short term objectives

- UEF will associate a **sense of urgency** with the need of institutional reform.
- UEF will **gradually build up its list of demands**.
- UEF retains prior to 2019 following **short term objectives for the eurozone**: (1) completion of the economic and monetary union; (2) introduction of an economic government; (3) new competences shall enable European Parliament to co-decide the institutional reform; (4) more social Europe; (5) a coordinated joint foreign and safety policy; (6) a joint energy market for Europe; (7) the immigration and asylum policy will be completed; (8) own fiscal resources will be granted.
- UEF strengthens by 2019 three assignments for its **international secretariat and its sections**: bigger activities, considerable growth in membership and a denser geographical sections' network in Europe.
- UEF applies **federal principles** to its internal working.
- UEF establishes the objectives of **operational networking** by 2019.
- UEF established the **minimum political impact** it wants to achieve by 2019.
- UEF does **not only formulate positions on policy matters**.
- UEF **communicates via social media** with supporters and opponents.
- UEF acknowledges not all Member States of the eurozone will **join in a political project**. The founding members of CECA can however convene a separate Convention for the eurozone. Non-participating eurozone countries will be given a special status.
- UEF supports an **open face scenario**. The end-goal, viz a post-national federal polity, is being spelled out from the outset and be cast in a legal form. Simultaneously interim objectives and a time-schedule will be formulated. Gradual implementation will create confidence with the national policy-makers and stakeholders.

Tangible propositions

- A special **working group (PC5)** will be created next to WG3/strategy and will deal with perspectives and strategic matters. PC3 and PC5 tune their planning to UEF priorities.
- Every year a **special meeting** will deal with the study of the strategy and tactics of UEF.
- **Fundamental texts** will be presented in draft resolutions to PC3 (PC5) and later to FC.
- Like the collective climate claim against the Dutch State, UEF can **suit the national governments in court** for failed European action. Well-prepared simulated court hearings can give UEF and its sections a lot of attention. This initiative can be taken in conjunction with the bar and university legal departments.

Attachment 1: Evaluation of various audiences

a-b-c: three vertical columns: motives, assumptions and ideas

	<i>Motives of UEF</i>	<i>Assumptions of UEF</i>	<i>Ideas of UEF</i>		
a. Purpose of communication by UEF					
a1	Top politicians/experts show alternative of UEF	show alternative of UEF	catch attention		
a2	Skilled general public show alternative of UEF temper prejudices	show alternative of UEF gen. & personal interest	Europe of the citizens oppose populism		
a3	Unskilled general public lower alienation temper prejudices	gen. & personal interest temper prejudices	Europe of the citizens oppose populism		
b. Knowledge, receptivity resp. acceptance					
b1	Top politicians/experts familiar with can understand reasonably rational possibly interested	not familiar with can understand reasonably rational possibly interested	unknown can understand reasonably rational hard to possibly convinceable		
b2	Skilled general public hardly knowledgeable takes little effort fairly irrational little attention	unknown takes little effort fairly irrational little attention	unknown takes little effort fairly irrational hard to catch attention/suspicion		
b3	Unskilled general public knows nothing understands almost nothing irrational suspicion/prejudices	knows nothing understands almost nothing irrational suspicion/prejudices	knows nothing understands almost nothing irrational suspicion/too difficult		
c. Interest of each target group in the European integration					
c1	Top politicians/experts little	little	possibly		
c2	Skilled general public possibly	little	possibly		
c3	Unskilled general public none	none	none		
d. Levers of communication by UEF					
	<i>How?</i>	<i>Chance of effect</i>	<i>When?</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Focus</i>
d1	Top politicians/experts direct contact	fairly limited	linked to current events	regular	high
d2	Skilled general public mass & social media	very limited	linked to current events	not regular	less
d3	Unskilled general publ mass media	very limited	linked to current events	irregular	vague

Attachment 2: **Multi-level interacting factors when formulating a thematic campaign**

(example - valid for one year - sequence in blancs exercise)

Current situation

- lack of political initiative by the European leaders (no sense of urgency);
- waning consensus in public opinion on the European project and feeling of impotence;
- part of people acknowledges need of reform at European level, but ignores why and how to proceed;
- part of people is open to sectoral change, such as climate protection or human rights where mob-actions revert to broad principles;
- part of public opinion claims more participation, deliberation and legitimacy in Europe.

Forthcoming political agenda

- April summit on immigration on proposals by the European Commission,
- June and October 2015 summits on the Four chairmen's report of December 2012 and the EP-Institutional Committee on the strengthening of the eurozone;
- a proposal by the European Commission on the energy policy for Europe;
- a proposal by the European Commission on the immigration and asylum policy for Europe;

Current political objectives of UEF

- solve the Greek crisis as an example of good governance;
- create in the eurozone a fiscal, social and political union;
- stimulate and facilitate the convening of a constitutional assembly (convention) for Europe;
- bring completion of the internal market in higher gear;
- promote partial and progressive increase of joint action in foreign affairs and defense in Europe;

Themes for UEF

Which prioritarian themes serve the interests of people best?

- economic government and increased legitimation in the eurozone;
- convening a Constitutional Convention with an open agenda (mandate and objectives);
- simultaneous progress in defense and safety matters (protection of people);
- a European energy policy (dependency, networks and energy-mix);
- harmonizing and strengthening of the European immigration and asylum policy;
- go beyond the European treaty limits and do what is institutionally needed.

Warnings by UEF

UEF gives the target audiences to understand that:

- the sense of urgency applies to all policy domains;
- the polity in place impedes a gradual institutional reform;
- small adjustments cannot meet current and future needs; political immobilism affects Europe; returning competences to the Nation States is not realistic; unresolved crises illustrate the need of deep reform;
- European civic values are the basis of forthcoming institutional reform(s).

Useful recommendations to UEF

- together above themes are too sizeable for UEF; setting the right priorities is vital;
- too specific or technical communication shall not occur, unless for specific reasons;
- communication by UEF will remain simple and surveyable and will avoid emotional overemphasis.

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. Free of charge advise.

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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 only)
- 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)
- Number 54: 'Which strategy by UEF?' ©, (2015) (part 2)

