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## **Basic ideological texts for European federalists**

Sharing ideas

**Robert Verschooten**  
President ESIC vzw  
Political adviser to UEF-Belgium

The author writes in personal capacity

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

**Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC) vzw**  
(European Study & Information Centre - non-profit organisation)  
Ryckmansstraat 5, 2020 Antwerpen - Belgium  
tel. 00 32 3 238 97 74 [esic@telenet.be](mailto:esic@telenet.be) [www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be)  
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# **Basic ideological texts for European federalists**

*Sharing ideas*

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# Basic ideological texts for European federalists

## *Preliminary comments*

New recruits as well as militants should be given a **coherent and handy overview** of the positions of the European federalists (EFs). Following basic questions should be answered: what is the societal and political project of the European federalists? What is their mission-statement? What is their vision? What are their assumptions? What are their objectives? What are their strategic choices? Which narrative? Which mental steps should be bridged?

**Following draft formulation** is not the only possible interpretation. It is the outcome of a large number of political choices, which are not necessarily the same for all federalists. However, following reference texts should invite European federalists to reflect on this subject and make them come forward with alternative formulations.

Availing this and/or possibly other sets of basic texts would definitely **ease the assimilation** of stakeholders in the broad line of thought of the European federalists and would contribute to a smother spreading of these ideas in public space and in target audiences. However one set of shared reference texts are ultimately a prerequisite to **increased internal coherence by the European federalists as a whole**.

Next to these basic ideological texts (Nr. 57) **following summary papers** will be availed:

- 'Strategy and tactics for the European federalists?' (Nr. 58)
- 'Communication by European federalists' (Nr. 59).
- 'Blueprint for a post-national European federation' (Nr. 60) (in progress)

These papers summarize, enlarge and **supersede previous papers** published in the Series 'Which Europe?' (as from nr. 41), except for numbers 48-49 and 55. The consolidated papers can be found on [www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be) (see ESIC/publicaties).

## ***Basic ideological choices or basic assumptions***

### *List of shared assumptions by European federalists (EFs)*

- EFs should concur political and socio-economic developments in Europe have reached a critical point that places the **refoundation of Europe on top of the political agenda**. Further delay would considerably harm general and individual interests.
- EFs know today's choices determine the future. Therefore a **shared frame of reference** should outline the political choices made.
- EFs trust adaptation is no doom scenario, but instead is a **token of faith** towards the future of the European way of life. Proper adaptation increases the internal and external competitive edge of Europe
- EFs **vision of the future** includes both a societal and a political project.

- EFs conceptual framework for a new polity of Europe should be based on a **post-national federal order**. The positive dynamics of this order should be explained.
- EFs federal post-national polity and societal model should be the **marching order** as from now onward.
- EFs should back a **Europe by and for the European citizens** as a major objective for a new democratic, legitimized and effective system and a societal model for Europe, in which participation of people and transparency are important features.
- EFs should emphasize the **link between the values** of Europe **and peoples' direct interests**.
- EFs should request the **four basic freedoms** (free circulation of persons, goods, services and capital) be embedded in interactive governance policies.
- EFs should **formulate a strategy** and a stepping stone track to reach the end-goal.
- EFs should, all along the process of institutional reform, try to influence, in **progressing and clear stages**, the views and attitudes of policy-makers in Europe.
- EFs should define **European public interest**, along federal principles, and replace the intergovernmental or prefederal order.
- EFs should reject **economic governance** as a substitute to a democratic and legitimated Political Union. The eurozone cannot function properly in the absence of a federal polity.
- EFs do link heterogeneity of political ambitions among Member States of the EU to political inertia. The eurozone, or a slightly different configuration, should constitute the spearhead group establishing a federation. This move is called a **two-speed approach of differentiated integration**.
- EFs are convinced the eurozone is in dire need of a democratic, federal and post-national Political Union based on **shared sovereignty** and increased participation by peoples of Europe.
- EFs deem the post-national and federal method of government for the eurozone able **to deal with greater complexity**, participation by peoples of Europe, purposive long term goals, legitimized governance, deep coordination, convergency and solidarity, thanks to the implementation of a multi-level polity.
- EFs consider the European federal tier the right political instrument able to **boost prosperity and welfare in the eurozone**, on the condition above principles are met.
- EFs should request the convening of a **democratically composed Convention**, where European Parliament and European Council yield equal power and are mandated to spell out a new Fundamental law or Constitution for the eurozone and an adapted Treaty for the internal market (the entire EU). Both should negotiate a co-existence pact.
- EFs should insist the **European Court of Justice's jurisdiction** applies to all dealings of the EU, at least for the eurozone.

- EFs should formulate and approve **consensus opinions** on its assumptions, a mission statement, a vision, long term objectives and a narrative.
- EFs' ideas should not be limited to institutional matters only. **Civic and democratic values** should be included too. They are basic to the refoundation of the eurozone.
- EFs should **focus their efforts in the first place 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. EFs should **lobby** in the first place those who should make federalisation at the European level possible.
- EFs should not try to reach adults only. **Young people** are an important factor in the intended refoundation, which implementation they should take over later. Investing in youth is needed in order to secure continuity and preparedness in the future of Europe.

***Mission-statement by European federalists (EFs)***  
*What makes European federalists unique?*

- EFs constitute a **movement run by citizens**, militating for a Europe **for and by** citizens.
- EFs militate in a **cross-partisan** citizens' independent and pluralistic movement. Structural partnerships with like-minded organisations should be stimulated.
- EFs should present themselves as a broad group of **independent democrats and reformers** who militate for a legitimated, fair and future-oriented Europe. This group should address political deficits in Europe and propose pertinent remedies.
- EFs 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.
- EFs should **link up with explicit and implicit expectations of people** and their aspirations towards a fair and prosperous Europe.
- EFs should reflect **citizens' standpoints** and take positions on behalf of peoples of Europe.
- EFs should **distance themselves from stato-national thinking** and of national vested interests.
- EFs should elect to share a **decentralised organisation** promoting joint campaigning, next to local action, in order to mobilize elites and public opinion in Europe in favour of a post-national and federal project.
- EFs should provide a **meetingplace** for these people interested in an ambitious European post-national and federal project. EFs should boost coordinated reflection, formulate relevant ideas, apply forward thinking, launch proper communication and action aimed at achieving above political objectives.
- EFs should aspire to become a **spearhead and a benchmark** of European post-national

thinking and action.

- EFs should contribute 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 should receive due attention. Linking of European sovereignty to identity can be dangerous, since it could create an egocentric attitude at European level.

### ***Draft vision by European federalists (EFs)***

*People's confidence in the future restored*

- EFs should **restore people's confidence** in a positive and future-oriented societal and political project for Europe.
- EFs vision on Europe can be summarized as follows: no dynamic society and democratic polity without a **European federation**, no fair Europe without **socio-economic model** based on solidarity and responsibility. Europe cannot be effective without **federalism**.
- EFs vision on Europe should clearly answer the question in which way **Europeanisation should profit people and society**.
- EFs trust their project, based on European post-national federalism, can **better than any other alternative**, create a polity able to meet the rightful expectations of people.
- EFs militate for a post-national federal union as a **long term vision for Europe**.
- EFs project should tune all levels of governance into an inclusive polity, governed by federal principles, enabling **effective and legitimized multi-level governance**, generating good-governance, subsidiarity, responsibility and solidarity at European level.
- EFs project should be based on **European basic democratic values and socio-economic ethics**, such as equity, co-responsibility, participation, diversity, unity, complementarity, solidarity, proportionality and subsidiarity.
- EFs project should **upgrading people's role** in society and in politics.
- EFs should propose a political system and a societal project intended to **create ownership** by European policy-makers and by peoples of Europe.

### ***An ideology by European federalists (EFs)***

*An ideology operating like a compass*

- EFs should know **how to deal with an ideology**. 'Ideology shall be no **blind idealism**, rather be pragmatic within the ideology'. (Claude Nijs - Liberales)
- EFs should formulate clear ideas. **Ideological resourcing** imposes itself in times of lasting crises or inertia. Ideological interpretation is a precondition to justify and position the EFs. 'An ideology is not static but a dynamic and ongoing process'. (T. Beckman - Liberales)

- EFs should have an ideology. 'A political movement without a **frame of reference**, on which justification, action and legislation should be based, will not be long-lived. The danger of pragmatism without an ideological reference equals freewheeling. **Ideology is like a compass**', not a straitjacket. (adapted from Claude Nijs/Tinneke Beeckman in Liberales)
- EFs should see the **purpose of European institutions** as an interpretation of European values and expectations of citizens/voters/consumers.
- EFs should understand people's expectations. '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'. (Ogjen Ruwen in 'L'Etat nous rend-il meilleur?' - Gallimard - 2013)
- EFs should promote the idea of **sovereignty at European level**, with the power of coercion in such domains where the European level would be more effective than at the individual Member States' level.
- EFs should flank the **implementation of European sovereignty** by adequate checks and balances, such as the separation of powers, rule of law and the hierarchy of norms.

## ***A Narrative by European federalists (EFs)***

### *Preliminary remarks*

- This narrative should go about the **message of the European Federalists** (EFs) that should distinguish the European federalist way of thinking from the still omni-present nationalistic reasoning.
- **Is a narrative needed?** A number of preliminary questions should be answered first. Why a narrative? How to define this narrative? What goals for a narrative? Whom is the narrative intended for?
- **Which mental steps** should be bridged, in order to have the objectives and principles of a post-national Federal Union picked up and accepted by EFs' target audiences?

### *Why a narrative?*

- Time has come to **deepen the reflection on the characteristics and the goals of our future society**. Europe is today, as a societal project and a polity, institutionally and ideologically ill-equipped to face most challenges. The institutional backlog imposes a **refoundation** that should address simultaneously a broad spectrum of basic issues.
- For many years Europe is subject to a **new context**. Why is there so much reluctance to adapt thinking in Europe? Each generation should, where needed, adapt its paradigms. Today the context has become very intrusive and compelling.
- Innovative thinking about Europe should create **levers able to achieve the long term objectives** for now and the future.

### *How to define this narrative?*

- 'A narrative should be **strong and authentic**'. (Michel Deboeck - HR-Consultant) A narrative should act as an argumentation, a line of reasoning outlining how the European federalist principles and assumptions could be implemented.
- This narrative **outlines** the broad characteristics of current situation, proposes novel solutions and reverts to the basic ideas of the ideology of the European federalists. A narrative differs from a written ideology since it links the present and the intended societal and political developments.
- Drawing conclusions from the present and for the future will always be coloured by personal ideological inclinations, whatever precautions are taken. The proposals should therefore be **presented as one among other possible scenarios**.
- This narrative should **not entangle in speculation about the feasibility** of progress towards a political Union. A strategy should elaborate on that issue.

### *Which goals for this narrative?*

- Narratives **compete with each other**. European federalists should provide elites and supporters with arguments against egocentric and nationalistic ideas, and favour an open-minded attitude towards societal and polity needs of today and tomorrow.
- European federalists should try to **adjust erroneous perceptions or prejudices** alive in the intended target audiences. European federalists should be associated with a **message of pertinent change**.
- European federalists should demonstrate **their interest in peoples of Europe**.
- A federalist narrative, as a translation of a federalist vision, should highlight its **effective potential**. This narrative should expose populist reasoning that worsens political stalemate in Europe and generates hatred, egocentrism and shortsightedness.
- Following **questions** should be answered by the European federalists: what goes wrong and why? Who is responsible for the current stalemate? How can stakeholders in Europe shape together their joint future? Which unique opportunities and perspectives open up in a European post-national federation?
- The narrative and adequate communication by the EFs should **create a positive perception** by policy-makers and influential audiences, as EFs confront them with sound alternatives geared at a more effective society/polity in Europe.
- The narrative should, as a broad tool of communication, be **easy to read**. This narrative should **not be too detailed, neither be too abstract**.

### *Whom is this narrative intended for?*

- The greater **part of European elites** should be persuaded to join the federalist reasoning that promotes the gradual implementation of a post-national federal Union.



- **Broad access** to target audiences should be achieved by reaching in the first place people with a positive inclination towards European political integration; these who can yield a positive influence on larger audiences and can bring the European federalists' project to the intended target audiences.
- **Young people** are an important factor in the intended refoundation.

### *Call for a positive attitude*

- 'From an **historical perspective** the big threats of today are not new. New complex developments, assumed unmanageable, create uncertainty and make people qualify each threat even more dangerous than it is. Those who follow a path which they don't see, live in a world they even don't understand. Two groups of people can, more than anyone else, create a positive perspective: media and politicians. Both have a great influence on people', em. professor Rik Coolsaet, University of Ghent, states. (De Standaard - EN - 12/12/2015)
- 'Opening a perspective shouldn't create an illusion. Current developments are indeed alarming. The **absence of true political leadership** intensifies the feeling these developments are no longer under control. Politicians create the impression of powerlessness and make people believe they are left out. An individual is powerless: he needs politics, institutions and the European Union. Our politicians omit to stimulate a **sense of social cohesion**, em. prof. Rik Coolsaet, complains. (De Standaard - EN - 12/12/15)

### ***Changing and harmful political developments***

#### *Short of a Societal and Political Project*

- Pessimism, indifference, hesitation, rejection, inertia by people, politicians and opinion-makers and lack of ideas that legitimate leadership are **toxic ingredients of society** in Europe. Low spirits never created jobs, stability, prosperity, innovation and confidence.
- **The responsibility of what turns out wrong** is attributed by people to politics and politicians. By doing so people evade their responsibility as western citizens. The narrative of a value-based western society is not convincing people that don't recognize themselves in that narrative. (Stefan Jansen in the Huffington Post - De Standaard - 26/12/2015).
- Are we able to maintain the illusion of a value-based society as long as we are confused about the difference between **individual and societal morality**? (Stefan jansen)
- **Defensive and negative attitudes** are witnessed that hold no positive prospects for the towering challenges that should be tackled. This attitude equals guilty neglect by our political leaders. There is a **political vacuum in Europe** about ideas and action.
- European leaders feel **uneasy about a well equipped geopolitical tool box**. They prefer to invest in products and salesmanship. The world, however, mocks his attitude', Andy Langenkamp, ECR Research, says.

- **People and politicians are afraid of change.** Will the acquis be endangered? Has the need to better perform collectively faded away?
- **'Leadership in Europe is unmistakably weak.** Each politician is in the first place concerned about his grassroots supporters and he wants to score on time', Herman Portocarero, EU-Embassador to Cuba, says. (De Tijd - 4/09/2015)
- 'Blind trust in progress doesn't help us out. It generates passivity, because we can assume tomorrow everything will turn out well. Actually the **momentum towards political change** will not come from the elites in society, but from critical citizens and civil society. They should find a suitable answer to an increasing shortage of cohesion in society. Rest assured, the political leaders will follow (once the way is shown and public support is there), states Jelle Haemers (KU Leuven in De Standaard - 3/03/2016)
- By intuition **people want a different governance**, without knowing which one. Political parties abstain to choose sides in the absence of electoral profit.
- 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 a too important role, public administration is too politicalized, too much short term thinking, too many unadapted ideas and a one-sided interest in the distribution of tax-money. (adapted from Claude Nijs/Tinneke Beeckman in Liberales)
- 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 eurozone. Intergovernmentalists deny Europe the needed integration. Intergovernmentalism cannot offer people of Europe what they are entitled to: good and effective governance.
- 'Some Member States are **labeled failed states**. One could also refer to failed communities or affected communities. Such a community is no longer able of self- or informal control. Its collective resilience is affected. A failed community could, with an appropriate portion of civic duty and social capital restore its self-control'. (adapted from Lieven Pauwels in Liberales of 15/04/2016)
- People should be aware of **their very interests**. The mantra should be: a purpose-led transformation, political will, as well as self-confidence and a co-ownership of a joint European project. An ever closer union holds much achievable potential.
- **'Democratize the European Union.** Either the Union will be democratized or will disappear', Yannis Varoufakis said when introducing a leftist and pan-European political movement, Democracy in Europe Movement (DiEM25). (De Tijd -10/02/2016)
- Europe's values and standards are under **severe internal and external pressure**.
- **Values are free.** They are individual, not collectively enforceable. Norms should be complied with. Norms spring from the dynamic of changing free values. (René Los, De Standaard - 4/04/2016).
- '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 convincing narrative** for its place

on the world stage', Dimitris Avramopoulos, Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, said. (New Europe - January 2015).

- 'Integration by the market or by legislation has reached its limits: neither the internal market, nor the euro overcame the **heterogeneous structures**, illustrated by inflation or growth differences in the eurozone'. (Pierre Defraigne, directeur exécutif de la Fondation Madriaga-Collège d'Europe - Le Monde 13/09/2011)
- 'Steering of society **with just financial and economic incentives** meets with a wall of ineffectivity. Cohesion, solidarity and citizenship are basic as well. Political leadership should provide the **general political orientation**'. (adapted from Bart Sturtewagen - De Standaard - 15/04/2016)
- Decision-makers should propose a **general framework** to resolve the crisis situations. Thereafter a serious debate on the fairness of the unescapable adjustments should start. It should be a courageous attempt to congrue the needed reforms with the reasonableness of these reforms. (adapted from Bart Sturtewagen - De Standaard - 13/04/2016)
- Actually (political and socio-economic) players should in order to maintain our prosperity **trigger off a societal consensus** on the needed reform. Is a societal consensus present willing to reform? (Wim Van de Velde - De Tijd - 16/04/2016)
- Poor crisis management is (often) resulting from **unnecessary political quarrelling**, which increases the (socio-economic) and economic damage. Political quarrelling feeds pessimism and economic malaise.
- The drama is sometimes not so much the absence of a plan (to handle the issue), but that we **don't implement the plan**.
- **Soft methods** (to solve public issues) have been depleted. Now another approach imposes itself.
- (Most legislative) measures come **too late or incomplete** to safeguard our welfare state in its current shape. Now we are standing with the back against the wall. Many people refuse to face facts and claim not they, but other people should resolve the malgovernement. (adapted from Caroline ven - De Tijd - 20/04/2016)
- 'Increasingly an **incomplete Europeanisation** has weakened national sovereignty without creating the bases for a proper European sovereignty', Sophie Heine, PhD in Politics, Egmont Institute and Oxford University, states.
- 'The **European model**, in which capitalism is inextricably linked up with democracy, is **not as universally accepted** as taken for granted. Autocratic and at the same time capitalistic countries can act faster and with more vigour, because they are less dependent on an electorate', Andy Langenkamp states.
- 'It is an attractive idea to try to impose certain universal values. Actually it doesn't work. **Elites accept globalisation. Laymen don't like it** and the question remains open whether the layman wants it at all, Herman Portocarero, wonders. (De Tijd - 4/09/2015) The same question could apply to the 'four freedoms of Europe.'

- 'Globalisation is a story of technological development and of political and economic choices, of success and hybris and erroneous assumptions. Political and economic decisions are important to policy-making, but **ethical choices** are that too', Hugo Van de Voorde, historian, states. (from 'Naar één wereld - De drie stappen van de globalisering')
  - 'Societal issues **cannot be solved by a technical answer** from a technocrat. Political choices about societal issues should come first, expertise comes next in order to implement the chosen political objectives', E. Lachaert, says. (MP for Open VLD in Liberales - 15/05/2015)
  - 'We have come to live in a world where representative democracy means representation of **stakeholders with the biggest influence**. This is not how representative democracy was imagined', Alexandros Koronakis, says. (director of New Europe - January 2015)
  - 'Business seeks more effectiveness in expansion, **political systems tend to fragmentate** as an answer to growing stalemate of governance. Mutually conflicting and expensive decision-levels are damaging', Bart Sturtewagen, states. (De Standaard -12/06/15)
  - 'No promising stock exchanges, lasting growth and low unemployment **if countries cannot guarantee safety of people** at their borders and fail to create a feeling of safety', Andy Langenkamp, states. (De Tijd - 13/02/2015)
  - 'The **guarantee of personal security** is one of the characterizing features of national sovereignty'. 'What is the impact of terrorist threat on the fundamental right of peace that every citizen should enjoy on the one hand, and on the actual effectiveness of sovereignty, on the other hand?', Sophie Heine asks herself.
- 'As the cost of the European asylum policy becomes visible, **moral choices appear not be free of responsibility**. Assistance to asylum seekers forces public administrators to reflect on the priorities of public spending', Bart Haeck says. (De Tijd - 11/09/15) Imposed solidarity by the Union should be replaced by shared responsibility.
- 'The **partial Europeanization** also concerns **immigration**. Free circulation of people in the Schengen area has not yet been accompanied by an effective management of external borders. Another example of this half-way Europeanization and its detrimental impact on national sovereignty concerns the **military and police forces**. And yet, national security institutions no longer seem fit to deal with current transnational threats and cannot guarantee citizens' security with purely national means, S. Heine states.

### *People of Europe*

- **People who try to change society** and point at deep problems, usually face hard resistance.
- Many people in Europe have **no positive mindset about their future**, definitely not at European level. Unresolved and new challenges are huge and call for urgent action. Determination to overcome these challenges is often missing.
- Deep-rooted **pessimism undermines people's confidence in the political system** and

in the effective potential of Europe.

- John Thackara said: 'I wanted to have the last word in my writings. If the analysis is right, you believe, people should accept you are right. I finally had to admit that **people don't want to be lectured**'. (De Standaard - 15/04/2016)
- 'An economic and political system that **yields nothing tangible for the majority of people**, cannot maintain itself. Faith in democracy and market economy will possibly weaken and the legitimacy of institutions will be questioned.' (prof. Joseph Stiglitz - New Europe - 13/01/2013) The European Union needs moral legitimization.
- 'Influence by nationalistic and populist parties make 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'. (Liberales - Dirk Verhofstadt - 31/01/2015)
- Issues people know and understand steer their electoral preferences. Our democracy is extensively influenced by the **themes that reach public debate**. In many instances our knowledge is inadequate to make the right choices in the voting booth.
- Media have severely **reduced their editorial staff** reporting on **Europe**. On the other hand the number of authors able and willing to formulate opinions about Europe and a federal project for Europe increases. That is still inadequate. Mass media should take greater interest in promoting reform in Europe. A public debate should focus on principles and objectives of Europe instead of on mechanisms and technicalities.
- Millennials (18-33 years of age) are persuaded everything can be kept under control (by adequate planning), but are **unable to deal with the unexpected, with risk and coincidence**. What escapes their control, becomes a source of irritation. The individual stands central. That creates an environment in which each wants the best for himself. This attitude goes at the expense of solidarity with others. (Jan Rosier, prof. KU Leuven - De Standaard -27/02/2016)

### ***Intended political developments***

#### *A Societal and Political Project*

- EFs **vision of the future** should include a new humanist societal project and a consistent democratic political project, based on European federalist principles.
- EFs claim that a **post-national and Federal Union** should be the only gateway towards a successful European political and societal project.
- EFs should propose a polity aimed at providing **safety and prosperity to the Union**, making Europe a better place to live, extending equity to everyone. 'The future of Europe lies in intercultural dialogue, mutual respect, democracy and trust.' (Hande Özcan Bozatl, president of the Assembly of European Regions)
- EFs new polity should reflect the **basic values and standards** of Europe, as well as legitimated governance practices. These values are basic to the refoundation of the EU

and/or the eurozone. 'How can EFs take their community in tow in order to co-evolve towards a shared value model?' (adapted from Drs. W. Van Bockhaven - Alechia Newsletter 10/12)

- EFs should promote a **Europe by and for the European citizens** as the goal of a new (democratic, legitimized and effective) polity and a societal model for Europe, in which participation of people, transparency and dialogue are important features. 'Citizens should be at the center of public action at all governance levels.' (Hande Özcan Bozatl)
- 'Europe needs an adapted **societal model and spirit of governance**. This model will for all consist of contractual relations among all stakeholders (policy-levels, politics, business, civil society and people) in order to build a relation of confidence that enables the implementation of policy in all domains and levels of authority.' (adapted from F.Q. Quesada in New Europe)
- Domenico Rossetti di Valdalbero, prof. at the Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique and secretary-general of UEF-Belgium, identifies **various challenges**: 'not to succumb to hyper individualism, but keep in mind the founding principles of Europe: effective solidarity, benefit from individual empowerment and a collaborative economy, reinvent the service economy. The EU should reverse certain trends in order to reduce inequalities. (La Libre Belgique - 20/04/2015)
- Dick Pels, sociologist and author, defines Europe as a **model of civilisation**, purposively avoiding violence when solving problems. Pels qualifies Europe as a safe haven, in a physical, political and social meaning.' (Liberales - 23/01/2015)
- EFs should elect **differentiated integration in Europe** in the absence of a better alternative. Contradictory objectives among the Member States create inertia and regression in the EU. On the one side a number of Member States elects to maintain intergovernmental cooperation, while on the other side the other members combine eurozone and a Political Union.
- 'As a locus of power Europe should become a **subject of debate**. Arguments will not weaken but on the contrary strengthen Europe. Debate and democratic controversy are indispensable to create awareness and ownership of a model of civilisation. (P. Defraigne)
- '**Political integration should take over**. Hard facts impose a democratic debate at European level on a societal and social model, on ecology, on international involvement and on an effective foreign and defense policy. Institutions should claim their competences as an instrument to reach these objectives.' (Pierre Defraigne) 'Europe will either move forward towards its political destiny or will experience further erosion of the legitimation of its cause and institutions.' (Dimitris Avramopoulos, Commissioner)
- Important goals of **joint policy-making in Europe** should create the highest possible level of added value for each of the stakeholders, optimal functioning of the internal market, of the liberalized markets in the Union and of the eurozone.
- EFs should advocate the introduction of a **European constitution** that rules the balance of power and facilitates institutional adaptation to changing circumstances.
- 'Good governance goes beyond a shortsighted interpretation and requires motivated political choices. If done well, there are more joint goals than polarized quarrelling suggests. A **long term vision** is essential', prof. I. Van de Cloot states. (De Tijd - 24/03/15)

- 'Time to change: seeing **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 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. It is increasingly clear that the 'big' vision can be self-defeating, because it blinds us from 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 else than multi-local'. In a globalized world, challenges are local but interconnected', Manfred Neun, says. (president of the European Cyclists Federation in New Europe - 01/2015)
- People demand **more proximity and legitimized governance**. The new polity for Europe will succeed i.e. thanks to the incremental input of people. That implies more commitment and participation by people and more personal interest in Europe (and in the other levels of government). An adequate political and societal model will facilitate this participation. Committed citizens are important to a living democracy.
- 'Far-reaching changes require **European democracy to adapt as well**, especially into a participative democracy. Demand for more **direct forms of democracy** and forms of citizens' involvement, in addition to a representative democracy, has increased. In this context politicians should demonstrate a completely different attitude. They should create a pro-active support, interact with media, be active on social media, not impose top-down projects, but they should listen, they should let citizens assume their own responsibilities. Actually an **advanced participative democracy**.' (E. Lachaert in Liberales - 15/05/2015)

### *People of Europe*

- 'What the EU actually needs to do is to find a way to address following two-fold problem: fill the **legitimation gap** and **connect it with the expectations and needs of citizens**. EU should deal with the growth problem, growing inequalities, poverty and misery'. (Rena Dourou, governor of Attica, Greece in New Europe - January 2015)
- 'The European project has to elaborate a **new governance paradigm** of the people, by the people, for the people', Rena Dourou, said. (New Europe - January 2015)
- According to Jürgen Habermas Europe is not only a market, but Europe should create a context where people **acquire influence to adapt society**. This can happen through a referendum, deliberative democracy and more transparency. It is everybody's **right not to participate**, but those who want so should be given the chance.
- 'In an **open society and a living democracy** people grant legitimacy to their political representatives, keep MP's and the administration focussed and make them feel monitored. People play an important role in orientating society : they provide support for the implementation of the policies of government, feed it by their daily doings, and take care of societal innovation by formulating ideas, Egbert Lachaert states. (Liberales 15/05/15)
- 'Citizens no longer intervene on demand of policy-makers, more often they do so **at their own initiative**, through more direct channels of commitment, such as social media, opinions in various media, associations, etc. Nowadays politicians are accountable on a daily basis, in every stage of an issue or for big decisions'. (E. Lachaert in Liberales - 15/05/15)

## *Education*

- An erroneous interpretation of European integration cannot be excused by a changing consensus on Europe. An interpretation should extend **beyond the simple description** of changing institutions and procedures. Education should play its pedagogic role by explaining context and objectives of European integration.
- EFs should back the idea of teaching an intended **vision of the future of Europe**. Education today confines itself too much, i.e. to the protection of the environment or to human rights. European integration, as a global societal project, should be an important part of the educational curriculum. Many taboos and prejudices about Europe need to be redressed. Challenges to Europe, civic duty as well as legitimate and democratic expectations in Europe should be part of that new package.

## ***Changing and harmful socio-economic developments*** *Economic environment*

- An overload of new legislation, disruptive business-models and new technology, in short a fast changing business environment.
- Apprehension is growing that **even drastic policy measures** (negative interest rates and helicopter money) would not suffice to return to a normal economic cycle. Structural stagnation prevails. (Bart Sturtewagen - De Standaard - 15/04/2016)
- In order to **distinguish good from bad growth**, the effect of our current lifestyle on next generations should be known. Politicians should focus on such type of growth, that yields ecological and social added value, without harming themselves or other people.' (Tinneke Beeckman, author and philosopher - De Tijd - 18/08/15)
- 'How much affluence do we need for a good life?', wonders Robert Skidelsky, economic historian and prof. em. 'At the start self-limitation is a moral argument. Actually we need a **concept about sufficiency**. In its absence we will never get out of the rut of an ever increasing consumption, which is unsustainable on the long run. (De Tijd - 28/11/2015)
- 'Past 20 years a fast **shift towards the emerging countries** occurred. They produce now half of all economic activity. A redefinition of the geo-economic environment took place with big political, social and financial consequences (to Europe), Jacques Berghmans states. (director of Tree Top Asset Management in De Tijd Connect - 14/03/15)
- 'Will Europe become a **less dynamic continent** with a lower rate of growth?' 'Is this a fatality to Europe? Definitely not'. (Peter De Keyzer) 'Current upsurge of pessimism about the European economy is exaggerated, but will - in case of growth acceleration - be very modest'. (adapted from Bart Van Craeynest - De Tijd - 4/12/2014) This disappointing situation comes from failing political reform and defaulting political will.
- 'Present serious situation will not change in the short or middle term. Definitely not if Europe continues to define risks in financial terms **without mastering the geopolitical context**. In these circumstances Europe can no longer pretend to be relevant', Andy Langenkamp states. (De Tijd - 13/02/15)



- 'Many modern world issues come from a **non-sustainable organisation** of the globalized economy. Obviously we should look for a new model of the economy and the world', prof. Koen Schoors, University of Ghent, states. (Liberales - 27/04/2015)
- '**Technology has a bigger impact on people** than expected. In the financial world technology prevailed too much, without outside control and monitoring being instated. Perhaps should the responsibility for the financial crisis be located in elusive technological processes that influence and steer our lives in an invisible way. Legislation resolves 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 - 12/09/2015)
- 'The way disruption proceeds in production, energy, bank and insurance, media and technology, biotechnology or education, induces every professional to know the whereabouts of rapid 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, said. (19/09/2015)
- 'In the field of scientific research Europe did not (or couldn't) achieve what was expected. If all national and/or regional **funds for scientific research in Europe would be combined** (and coordinated), 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. Apparently this idea is too audacious, Luc Soete, vice-chancellor of the University of Maastricht, deploras. (De Tijd - 22/09/2015)
- Katrien Mondt, GM of Innoviris discerns two trends: 'a fast rise in collaborative innovation and a shift from technology steered innovation, towards **innovation of business models**'. (De Tijd - attachment - in collaboration with EY)
- **OpenAI**, a new research centre sponsored by the elite of Silicon Valley, is endowed with a budget of 1 billion dollars and is dedicated to keep the applications of artificial intelligence within (moral) acceptable limits and keep AI away from damaging developments. 'It is good to reflect on the potentially positive respectively harmful technological developments', Pieter Abbeel, Berkeley University, said. (De Tijd - 15/12/15)
- A combination of big data, deep artificial intelligence and robotics will cause a **fundamental shift in employment**. The question is when this will happen. (De Tijd - Peter Hinssen - 5/06/2015)
- 'Our society evolved so much that **the line between work and private life is fading**. A number of flexible jobs feature incredible long working hours, almost no promotion, interim contracts and absence of trade union representation. Recent research revealed that 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)
- Sooner or later **professions disappear or are transformed**. Today people are replaced by cheap labour, smart software packages, disruptive business models or polyvalent robots. (Sam De Kegel, author, in B NK a crossmedial content-platform - De Tijd)
- '**Degrowth-thinkers** wonder whether it would not be better to kick off the idea of 'ever more'. Degrowth breaks with dependence on growth in order to function properly. The West reached the point where profits of growth have already been cashed and cost of

more growth becomes excessive. Current situation is not due to individual failing, but is systemic', J-F Abbeeloos states. (De Standaard - 22/04/2015)

- 'Each manager will face a moment were he **could be replaced by a computer**. Human intervention will be confined to raising the right questions and to the choice of 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), Duco Sickinghe, states. (Managing partner Forino Capital, in De Tijd - 16/09/2015)
- 'In the past corporate culture was primarily based on power. The new culture is based on **shared values**, clear codes of conduct and inspired walk your talk', Wim Hoeckman states. (CEO of Victor Buyck Steel Construction)
- '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 resources efficiency** and move towards a true **recycling economy**. In a circular economy, there is no waste, products are designed to be durable, mendable and recyclable, and when they come to the end of their life-cycle the resources in them are pumped back into productive use again', Sirpa Pietikänen, MEP, EPP Group said. (New Europe - 01/2015)
- 'In 2015 the **highest temperatures were registered** since observations started. But it can go much worse. Scientists see **a clear limit to the warming up of planet earth**. US-president Obama stated 'the climate conference in Paris (December 2015) is a last chance for climate'. Much money will be needed to save the environment, especially in the development countries. Next to war refugees we can expect climate refugees in even larger numbers. (De Tijd - Hanegreefs/Van Haver - 5/06/2015)
- The climate-treaty of Paris brings a low carbon world nearer. Prof. Wim Soete, University of Ghent, expects that in 40 years time half of the chemical and petroleum cluster will have been replaced and **transformed in biochemicals**, based on biomass. (De Tijd - 16/12/2015)
- 'If the external costs of climate and environment would be included in the price of fossil fuels, renewable energy would have a bright future. That is why we should capitalize on such technology where Europe could take the lead. **Internalizing the economic costs of climate change** in a higher cost of fossil fuels can accelerate this process'. (Peter De Keyser - chief economist BNPParibasFortis) In the market there is no adequate mechanism to make the users of collective goods (water, air, soil) pay for that use, prof. Paul De Grauwe, LSE, states.
- 'Two major challenges are impending on our **energy future**: the achievement of a secure energy supply, and a move from dependency on non-renewable to a dependency on renewable energy sources. The challenges call for radical changes or energy transitions (towards a low carbon society). Transitions do not only pose technological challenges, but imply enormous social and economic changes too. These changes also concern market relations and social and institutional positions. And they come with new roles and responsibilities for new actors. Changes depend on individuals and the action of local groups, and how the human factor can be mobilized and engaged.' (Milesecure-2050 Project - Manifesto)

- Plain mobility is amply available. **Sustainable mobility is not**, due to limited absorption of newcomers in traffic. Sharing is the new mantra : carpooling, car-sharing, public transport or video-conferencing.

### *People of Europe*

- 'It looks as if a **conflict of generations** will not be eluded by this generation. The debt crisis, unemployment, climate change and ageing illustrate this issue. Will this generation waste the future of their children and grandchildren in order to enjoy its retirement?
- 'Globalisation and migration are a source of **increased uncertainty for the Western middle class**. Moreover the few sources of growth which are still left - technology and innovation - threaten to increase uncertainty and inequality. Low growth, stagnation and uncertain prospects render the electorate uncertain and restless. How can politics face populists? By exhibiting honesty. They will have to concede prosperity will increase less than in the past. Prosperity will have to be fought for harder. (De Tijd - Peter De Keyser, chief economist BNPParibasFortis Belgium - 18/09/2015)
- 'The full impact of the (economic) crisis comes down on the shoulders of plain (unemployed) people and not on these people who caused the crisis. As demand for federalism grows, nationalists and populists start in various countries to **attack the very basis of democracy and stability**. The nation state is sandwiched between Brussels and regional separatism. European citizens are stuck between federalist rhetoric and despair of the moment.' (Corine Cretu, former MEP,- now commissioner)
- 'In a number of EU Member States **half or more of youngsters are chronically idle**. Some pretend this phenomenon has no social cost. Elderly see their basic income dwindle and sooner than expected have to eat into their savings. Anticipated pension rights for those still at work will be lowered both in years and revenue. A scenario of impoverishment lies ahead of us', Bart Sturtewagen states. (De Standaard - 29/05/2015)

### ***Future socio-economic developments***

#### *Towards a sustainable economic system*

- Competitiveness is a global trend that make different people, firms and other relevant actors of society meet each other and induce them towards an **agenda of effective ambition**. (adapted from F. J. Quesada, GM Innovation and Knowledge Society in Portugal - New Europe - 31/01/2016)
- Europa must know how to integrate in a positive way its citizens. Social cohesion is done with the positive participation of the citizens and it is more and more necessary as an **effective mobilization for this effort**. Education must be the tool for his strategic ambition for Europe. (F. Quesado - New Europe - 17/01/2016)
- The difference of this new economy in this new world will be in the exercise of the **capacity of the individual participation** as the central contribution to the reinvention of the collective society. (F. Quesado - New Europe - 29/11/2015)
- **Following developments** can be expected in the coming years: a growing clash between social consultation structures of the 20th century and the economy of the 21st century. Increasing growth will be generated by entrepreneurship and less by public

initiatives. More attention should go to the role models for people of foreign origin, Peter De Keyzer states. (De Tijd - 26/12/2015)

- 'The **collaborative economy** encompasses all new forms of services and shared products. The classic economy is based on property, while in the new business model use stands central. Today every consumer can become a producer and benefit from it. Thanks to geo-localisation it is easy to check the availability of a product or service in your immediate vicinity. From now on human contact, hospitality and trust stand central in the system'. (Deutsche Bank)
- 'If technology is part of the problem, it can be part of the solution. **How will technology change?** Gradually and bottom-up. In a collaborative economy, i.e. by virtual barter trade on internet. A different worldwide way of thinking is accruing momentum with a different type of human relations', professor and philosopher Marc Coeckelbergh states in his book Money Machine. (De Standaard - 12/09/2015)
- 'Europe should **take the lead in new technologies and concepts**, i.e. internet of things, artificial intelligence and 3D-printing. That is necessary to maintain our competitiveness and prosperity in a fast changing world'. (Long term vision for Flanders - De Tijd - 18/09/2015)  
'Technological skills will not save us, but their absence will surely destroy us.' (Douglas - Wolk, in LA Times)
- 'Shopping without money, free books, free coffee for the next customer. The **culture of gratuitousness** is developing. It is situated between wastage and a token of solidarity. To a generation used to free wifi, films on streaming, free software and Wikipedia, the free of charge idea is an evidence. (Le Monde - 6/09/2015)
- 'An employee will, to a lesser extent, be someone that accepts work. Instead he/she will be **looking for new activities that teach him/her**. He/she will shape his/her own life and will no longer be a passive employee. Innovation will increasingly be his/her assignment. Long term contracts wriggle with this assignment. In the digital area transactions are easier and cheaper to organise', Peter van Lieshout states. (Het Financieele Dagblad - 2015)
- '**Innovate to survive**. Status quo equals regression. Business as usual is no longer the answer. **Tomorrow six megatrends** will not only determine the way of doing business, but will show what the world would look like. These megatrends are : entrepreneurship will boom; health will be reinvented; the future will be digitalized; globalization dynamizes emerging markets; the world will urbanise at high speed; we should deal with planet earth in an innovative manner. (Inzicht, EY with Tijd Connect - Braes - 19/06/2015)
- '**Open joint innovation** is more efficient, but more complex than internal innovation. Needed are : adequate tuning of corporate strategy, a spirit of innovation, use of the right management tools and demarcate cooperation. A corporate strategy should be formulated in a way that enables easy translation in an innovation strategy'. (Inzicht, an initiative by EY with Tijd Connect - Alexander Mol - 19/06/15)
- 'Setting the **price of carbon at the end of COP21**, the December 2015 Paris UN Conference on Climate Change, is needed to limit climate warming. The failed experience of emission trading reminds us that setting adequate quotas, together with rising minimum prices, are needed to create an impact on personal behaviour. Another approach would consist in fixing a price of carbon per country, related to its index

of human development and its emissions of CO2 per person'. (Homayoun Boroumand, Pocher et Stocker - Le Monde - 9/09/2015)

- 'The General Assembly of the United Nations approved the **Basic principles of debt rescheduling**. This would ease debt reduction of a heavily indebted country. One principle states that debt rescheduling applies to all creditors, including 'vulture funds'. Another principle : foreign assets of defaulting countries should be protected from its creditors. These principles are unfortunately not binding.' (De Standaard - 12/09/2015)

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

*Towards a world with less prejudices*

- A **mental switch** is needed in order to bring about deep reform in Europe in higher gear. Opinion-makers should stand up to take on inspiring role models, demonstrating which positive effects are in reach of hand of people who think out-of-the-box. 'Innovation is the newest form of competitiveness', Martin Hinoul, states. (BDM KU Leuven)
- The **intergovernmental method of governance** of the European Union cannot meet the basic legitimate expectations of peoples of Europe and cannot scale down the predominance of national interests/egocentrism or of a political directorate in Europe.
- Conflicting objectives among individual Member States of the European Union, make a **two speed development** in the European Union **unavoidable**. The vanguard group should involve all or most of eurozone Member States. This group should be ambitious. The other EU-Countries should not feel discriminated.
- The vanguard group should **continue to participate in the internal market** of the European Union. This participation can be overstepped if the vanguard group elects, in specific circumstances, to go ahead of the non-members of the vanguard group.
- In a vanguard group **general European interest** should, in specific circumstances, supersede national interest. This European general interest should, as much as needed, replace a shortsighted nationalistic approach, but excludes centralism.
- According to Dick Pels, sociologist and author, 'the transfer of more power of decision from the nations to the EU will give Europe **more grip on the economy**'. (Liberales - 23/01/2015)
- Effectivity of the eurozone polity is expected to determine the level of **prosperity and welfare** people of that area could enjoy. That outcome shouldn't be expected from Member States that stick to national and egocentric thinking.
- A successful eurozone is subject to stringent internal and external conditions of effectiveness and efficiency. The vanguard group in the eurozone should ultimately implement a **post-national federal system** reconciling big and small, regional/ national/ European level, minority versus majority, freedom versus authoritarian rule, autonomy versus coordination, complementarity versus unity, subsidiarity versus centralism, effectivity versus stalemate, innovation versus regression.

- A Political Union is not an objective in itself, but should arise from the **need of deeper coordination** of specific policy-domains and decision-levels in the eurozone.
- **Multi-level coordination** at European level, i.e. by setting benchmarks, is needed in order to optimize economic growth, employment, social inclusion and welfare.
- A multi-layer polity needs **tools, procedures and mandates** in order to function properly. This implies the interaction of a federal government, a federal parliament, a federal Court of Justice and is based on checks and balances.
- No European project can be successful if not **actively involving peoples of Europe**. People expect a lot of Europe. Participation in and ownership of a European way of life should increase their sense of belongingness and awareness of being part of a dynamic society.
- Individual Member States of the EU are not the **last recourse in case of need when transnational issues present themselves**. Historic evidence contradicts this illusion.
- **Sovereignty should be no undifferentiated package** vested exclusively with the National States of the EU. Instead European sovereignty should be instated where the European level proves to be more effective. Coercion is part of effectiveness. (adapted from Sophie Heine)
- An **inclusive project** should be **formulated in advance and should enjoy public acceptance**. European federalists should all along the process of institutional reform line up clear intermediate stages. Known stepping stones and a clearly formulated final goal should create confidence with all stakeholders in and outside Europe.
- 'In a **globalized world** solidarity cannot be limited to the national or regional level. One joint common (outside) border should elevate internal as well as external solidarity to a principle. In the summer of 2015 the EU painfully discovered that a joint external border actually means joint responsibility', Luuk van Middelaar, states. (De Tijd - 29/23/2015)
- Each target audience should be made aware of the **urgency and pertinence** of the assumptions, objectives and intended institutional reform by the EFs.
- The efforts necessary to create a political Union in Europe, should be purpose-led in order to create **improved welfare and quality of life** to current and future generations.
- The European level has an **extraordinary coordination capacity**. A free and open European public and economic space implies the need for adequate tools to operate in that space and outside.
- All Member States should continue to administer a number of **core competences**.
- A post-national federal Union for the EU or the euro area is the **best European survival strategy** in order to maintain its dynamic and specific way of life.
- In spite of all adversity, Europe should be **perceived as the only road to more prosperity**, to more welfare and more safety.

## ***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](http://www.europadebat.be) ©, 'Café-Europa' © debates with students, an annual academic cycle 'Federalism, Democracy, Europe' ©, training sessions and lectures.

## ***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. 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 EMB. Editor of a newsletter in Dutch ©, the Series 'Which Europe?' © and the ESIC website [www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be) © (mainly in Dutch). Initiator of Café-Europa © and 'Federalism, Democracy, Europe' ©, the latter two are organized in cooperation with Europakring Antwerpen.

## ***ESIC publications***

- Numbers 41 up to 56 in the Series 'Which Europe?' © are available in Dutch and/or English. These papers can be consulted on ESIC website: [www.europadebat.be](http://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)
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As from Nr. 57 a series of summary papers will consolidate, enlarge and supersede previous papers, except for papers number 48-49 and 55.

- Number 57: 'Basic ideological texts for European federalists', © (2016)
- Number 58: 'Strategy and tactics for European federalists?', © (2016)
- Number 59: 'Communication by European federalists', © (2016)
- Number 60: 'Blueprint for a post-national Federal Europe? (in progress)