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## **Which strategy and tactics for European Federalists?**

As well as related operational principles

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

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# Which strategy and tactics for European Federalists?

As well as related operational principles

## Warning

Many European federalists (EFs) consider the formulation of fundamental texts (about content), objectives, strategy/tactics or narratives fastidious, boring and inessential. Action should get all attention. EFs have, in their long history, reaped limited results from this attitude. Is this outcome worth the effort? A tentative formulation of a strategy/tactics for the EFs will be presented in this paper.

This paper is a summary paper of already formulated ideas in previously published papers in the series 'Which Europe?'. These ideas were further completed by new ideas.

## Introduction

Strategy is related to a **long term vision**. Tactics on the other hand are related to short term action. What should be considered long term respectively short term issues? Their interaction will not be covered in this paper. An accurate formulation of a **joint design** by European Federalists (EFs) should precede the spelling out of a strategy and or tactics.

The ideological issues have already tentatively been dealt with in Nr. 57 in the Series 'Which Europe?'

Even a successful businessmodel cannot claim a long-lived validity. Here the concept of a **prevailing strategy or revolving formulation** should apply. Timely adaptation to a changing context is wise, but should not forsake the initial goals.

Quick fixes are delusive. EFs should therefore elaborate a **clear and systematic formulation**. Formulated strategy/tactics resp. operational objectives are indispensable to a decentralized organisation like the EFs, operating with autonomous sections.

Proposed objectives and operational principles are no attempt whatsoever to introduce a so-called 'pensée unique' or 'straitjacket', rather a **reference and a source of inspiration**.

The ideas developed here should generate an **open discussion** among EFs. This tentative and for all the theoretical formulation should inspire other EFs to come forward with their personal contribution. The goal being an internal debate, broadly shared common grounds and ultimately shared strategy/tactics.

In this paper a schematic **enumeration of ideas** is preferred to a lengthy elaboration.

**How EFs should communicate** is considered in Nr. 59 in the Series 'Which Europe?'

A **formulated project** should take away ambiguity and ignorance. It is easier to downscale some aspects of an ambitious project, than the reverse.

## What should be understood by long respectively short term topics?

- Examples of **long term topics** :
  - Basic ideological texts of EFs - see paper Nr. 57 in the Series Which Europe?
    - (1) Mission statement and vision (with an end-goal).
    - (2) Joint assumptions and objectives.
    - (3) Narrative/manifesto.
  - Operational conditions :
    - (1) Long and short term objectives.
    - (2) Strategy/tactics to reach the end-and or intermediate goals?
    - (3) Operational principles.
- Examples of **short term topics** :
  - Periodical evaluation of the global/European political-socio-economic context
  - Short term objectives.
  - Tactics and implementation of short term action (action/priority themes/communication).

### *Chapter one*

#### **Which priority questions should EFs raise?**

Following questions include uneasy issues. These questions don't seek controversy, but focus on the future. The future is the horizon of continuous change. The past cannot be changed. But lessons should be learned. When tentative answers to these shortcomings are provided they should be part of a learning process.

**Question one:** *Why have EFs, in seventy years of time, not succeeded in building a strong and representative movement able to score sizeable breakthroughs towards a European federation?*

- Priority moves :
  - EFs joint ideas on the end-goal of the federalist project, and the underlying objectives for setting an overall direction.
  - EFs ideological convergence should lead to a list of shared political priorities which should facilitate participation in public debate.
  - EFs joint inclusive design should catch the attention of the main political actors.

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

- Priority moves :
  - EFs should clearly say what they are and what they stand for.
  - EFs have not yet succeeded to position themselves properly in a changing political environment, until now dominated by historical national creeds.
  - EFs have until now always taken a defensive attitude. This attitude didn't promote a clear image and a motivating message towards the elites that could have been receptive to this message.
  - EFs should call on **specialists**, viz. academics, opinion-makers, think tanks, communication and political marketing specialists and friendly politicians

each time a window of opportunity opens up to further integration.

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

- Important reasons :
  - This regression has **different causes**: a lasting (unresolved) economic crisis and unemployment, many investments 'on hold', political parties uninterested in the European project, current hybrid intergovernmental polity illustrates inability to overcome critical European political and socio-economic challenges.
  - People mostly consider the European Union **unable to resolve current issues**, hence the Union is rather seen as 'the' problem.
  - The gulf between European politicians/administrations and people grows wider than ever, creating distrust, discouragement or disappointment.
  - People feel **seriously alienated** from the European project, which they consider to drift apart from their interests.
  - European integration deepening, many people start to have second thoughts and believe they should return to the **reference values of the national state**.
  - EFs should clearly link up the values of Europe and direct people's interests.

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

- Vital assessments :
  - The absence of a **European public sphere** induces political parties not to come forward with alternative political ideas that would feed a public debate.
  - This missing link **cuts people off** from European current affairs dealing with their interests.
  - Many national policy-makers try to shield the left-over national sovereignty, even if this sovereignty is ineffective at national level. However not all national competences should be transferred to Europe.

**Question five :** *How can EFs get closer to the center of negotiation, where the future of Europe and of the European governance system are being decided?*

- A shared strategy by the EFs should elucidate this question because it is at the heart of the question how EFs can increase their impact on European decision-making.
- This question will also be dealt with in various approaches (see chapter three).

## *Chapter two*

### **Which political choices by European Federalists? (EFs)**

- **Formulation of the EFs project :**
  - EFs project implies numerous political choices which should be **explained and justified**.
  - EFs propose a **common sense project and a needed alternative**, worth considering. This alternative design should become part of the public debate on European integration.
- **Following categories of choices** can be identified :
  - **Initial choices :**

- Shared fundamental ideological texts, including a mission-statement, a vision, assumptions, objectives, strategy/tactics and a narrative/manifesto.
  - An effective and dynamic cooperative model for EFs transnational organisation.
- Long term strategic choices :**
- EFs should aspire to a post-national federal polity and a participative society.
  - EFs should propagate deep democracy, legitimation and an increased role by peoples of Europe as the backbone of the political project by the EFs.
  - EFs should militate for differentiated development (two speed EU), meaning the eurozone will spearhead a political, societal, economic, fiscal and social union. This union should provide shared internal and external safety.
  - EFs should back the idea that initiatives can emerge bottom-up.
- Short term tactical choices :**
- Internal strengthening (ideological convergence, cohesion and capacity-building).
  - A tactical and a communication plan including qualitative and quantitative general objectives, as well as objectives related to content.
  - Concrete objectives for planned ongoing action.

### *Chapter three*

#### **Which strategy by EFs? Which long term objectives?**

- Strategy is mainly for EFs **internal use**.
- Strategy is a **benchmark for ideas**, a generator of action by EFs.
- A formulated strategy usually lasts for a **period of maximum three to five years**.
- **What is the strategy** of EFs about?
  - (1) Formulates the broad outlines of subsequent stages of action.
  - (2) Describes the implementation of final and intermediary objectives.
  - (3) Outlines the means and methods to achieve the end and intermediary goals.
- **How should EFs achieve their political objectives?**
  - EFs should develop a smart organisation along its long term objectives.
  - EFs should act as a smart provider of pertinent ideas.
  - EFs should make smart use of leverage effects.
  - EFs should develop smart communication concepts in order to yield needed leverage.
  - EFs should acquire deep psychological insight in its target audiences, knowledge of the European political and socio-economic issues and of the arguments able to influence the decision-makers.
  - EFs should reach out to specialists in its ranks and outside, on a non-cost base.
- Hereafter **three approaches** will be outlined :
  - (1) Three strategic stages. (A)
  - (2) Thematic approach. (B)
  - (3) Four scenario approach. (C)
- **EFs should propagate their ideas in three subsequent strategic stages (A) :**
  - EFs present their key-messages gradually to their target audiences in order to

facilitate assimilation.

- EFs effort is reflected in a three stage approach. In each stage objectives, themes, action and communication are specific and congruous.
- This approach has following **positive features** :
  - Homogeneous and surveyable stages allow a better definition of specific needs.
  - Phased ambitions are a smart approach to reach these objectives.
  - Facilitate a better understanding of what is really at stake in each period. Prolific and competing priorities weakening each other.

- **Stage one: predominantly an intergovernmental (hybrid) period**  
(see also page 14, on short term objectives)

- Estimated duration: until next European elections in 2019.
- Characteristics of this period:
  - No treaty change in this period, at best a consolidation of the Lisbon Treaty.
  - European Court of Justice not yet competent in all EU domains.
  - European leaders hesitate to introduce ambitious ideas for institutional reform.
  - The four Presidents' report (2013) is still awaiting political follow-up.
  - The EMU is not yet completed.
  - Strong national interest standpoints are emerging.
  - A social Europe is being claimed for louder, but progress is still slow.
  - War on terrorism and monitoring of immigration gain momentum. Political attention towards increased internal and external safety remains below level.
  - The energy union doesn't receive the attention it reserves.
  - The Middle-East and part of North-Africa remain highly unstable regions (a serious threat to Europe) and EU's reaction remains weak and evasive.
  - The Far-East rapidly gains global political and economic influence.
- EFs objectives to be reached by the end of the period:
  - EU decision-makers' knowledge of the EFs project should increase slightly.
  - EU opinion-makers (media and academics) should be asked to create wider acceptance by people of deep European democracy, equity, responsibility, solidarity.
  - Get the message through that Europe is the solution, not the problem.
  - Political parties should be more interested in a new polity for the European Union respectively the eurozone.
  - People's attention and sympathy towards the European integration should have increased, meaning that people's negative attitudes should have to be curbed first.
- Priority themes to the EFs:
  - EFs should upgrade pre-federal and federal proposals larger Member States like Germany, France and Italy favour, even if they represent but intermediary steps.
  - EFs should insist on full implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon provisions and grant the European Court of Justice unabridged competences.
  - EFs should prepare by the end of the period a list of priority issues for the agenda of a democratic and mandated Convention III.
  - EFs should insist CFSP be gradually empowered.
  - EFs should invite friendly opinion-makers to strengthen the pro-integration mainstream, building up more pressure from below onto European policy-makers.
  - EFs should request all executive European institutions be subject to democratic control by the European Parliament.
  - EFs should seek active cooperation with European Parliament.

- **Stage two:** *predominantly a pre-federal (hybrid) period:*

- Estimated duration 2019 to 2024.
- Characteristics of this period :
  - The gulf between a pro-political integration eurozone and low-ambition Member States deepens.
  - The idea of a two-speed EU gains more acceptance by pro-integration eurozone states.
  - The idea of consolidating past institutional adaptations in a fundamental law starts to be accepted by pro-integration eurozone policy-makers.
  - The idea of dealing at global level (G20) with pressing problems related to globalisation makes some progress (environment, safety, trade, finance);
  - International cooperation is increasingly channelled through regional unions.
  - Balkan candidate-countries claim they are ready to join the EU.
- EFs objectives to be reached by the end of the period :
  - Eurozone's decision-makers should be induced to show more understanding for a federal post-national project.
  - EU opinion-makers should be talked into promoting deep institutional reform.
  - EU political parties should be convinced to put the big challenges of European integration on the political agenda and hence create a true public space in the EU and in the eurozone.
- Priority themes for the EFs :
  - EFs should formulate the federal principles of their polity project for EU/euro.
  - Competences of European Parliament should be enlarged as to generate the same power of decision as the Council of ministers/European Council.
  - Public debate should go in higher gear on the federal features of the eurozone.
  - The institutional consolidation of the eurozone should be finalized.
  - In case Convention III doesn't meet the intended political goals for the eurozone, Convention IV should be convened prior to end 2024.

- **Stage three:** *predominantly a federal period :*

- Estimated duration: start 2024.
- Characteristics of this period :
  - As soon as the important issues become more visible to people, public opinion should slowly rally the idea of deeper integration for the eurozone.
  - Differentiated development for the eurozone and the other Member States should restore effectivity, each group operating along its own expectations and ambitions.
  - The first non-euro-countries apply to adhere to the eurozone, accepting its acquis.
- EFs objectives to be reached by the end of the period :
  - European issues should be debated in a European public space.
  - People should feel part of this public space and should be able to participate in the public debate and should share a sense of ownership.
  - Opinion-makers and political parties should take sides on European issues at stake in the eurozone.
  - Eurozone should consolidate its polity in a Federal Fundamental Law.

- Priority themes for EFs :
  - EFs should focus on a post-national Federal Union for the eurozone.
  - If Convention IV wouldn't deliver a fully fledged Constitution for the eurozone, a new deadline to convene Convention V should be set.
  - EFs should resist an incomplete Federal Fundamental Law for the eurozone.
  - EFs should carefully monitor any intermediate progress, which should not hinder or impede further political integration of the eurozone.
  
- Besides and further to the three stage approach, EFs can implement a **thematic approach (B)**. Following domains and priority could be retained.
  - Foreign affairs :
    - Stronger strategic profiling of External Action of the EU should be endorsed.
    - This policy should enhance gradual joint coordination and should create the instruments/procedures that enable timely dealing with crisis situations.
    - In view of current dangerous defense situation the European security strategy should further empower a European crisis center, the European Defense Agency (procurement), encourage specialisation among national armies, stimulate creation of more joint operational battlegroups.
    - Trade agreements should enhance European trade with regional powers worldwide.
    - A development policy should avoid overlapping of national efforts and should promote balanced and fair trade relations.
  
  - EU as a whole, through EU-internal market :
    - Should finalize abolishment of non-tariff barriers in the EU (internal market).
    - Should finalize standardisation of products in the internal market.
    - Should finalize the European energy market.
    - Should coordinate research spending of Member States and regions.
    - Should review the service directive in order to combat social dumping and fraud.
    - Should harmonize taxation, especially in business matters.
  
  - EMU, eurozone and differentiated integration (two-speed) :
    - Should finalize the monetary and economic union.
    - Should instate an empowered European economic government to the EMU, accountable to the European Parliament (eurozone configuration).
    - Should initiate a durable economic revival effort in the eurozone by specific measures, implemented by an economic government, with a focus on structural reform and on competitiveness.
    - Should instate its own budget, covered by own resources.
    - Should harmonize rules on the exchange of bank information (in the EU or off-shore) in order to combat tax evasion and tax fraud.
    - Eurozone and EU-internal market should establish co-existence rules.
  
  - Political, institutional affairs and strategy :
    - Endow European Parliament and European Commission all competences granted by the Treaty of Lisbon and possibly beyond.
    - Let the negotiations on the two speed development start right way.
    - European Parliament should take political initiatives in its own right.
    - Make all European institutions accountable to the European Parliament (EP),
    - Strengthen Home Affairs at European level, so it can deal with open borders, meaning a joint 'FBI', a joint intelligence service coordinating European war against terrorism or foreign threat, appoint a European public prosecutor.

- Social affairs :
  - European Commission together with European Parliament should initiate the debate about the scope of European social policy and its priority.
  - European social justice should not be sidelined when taking the specific conditions in each Member State into account. Minimum standards should go along with the cost of living in each country.
  - A democratic Europe can but survive on the condition opposed tendencies should continue to concur about a joint socio-economic model.
  
- EFs could choose between **four different scenarios (C)** :
  - (1) Go no faster than the national governments.
  - (2) Formulate a project without intermediate stages and without an end-goal.
  - (3) Come only forward with an end-goal.
  - (4) Propose a project providing for intermediate stages and an end-goal.

Number 4 scenario is likely the most suitable.

#### *Chapter four*

### **Which strategic political choices by European federalists (EFs)?**

#### **From an ideological standpoint**

- **EFs strategic choices and assumptions** (see Nr. 57) coincide in many instances.
- **EFs internal ideological convergence** is a precondition to successful joint action. EFs should show their target audiences they have overcome the stage of nationally formulated opinions about Europe.
- Formulation of a clear EFs project, realistic objectives and a strategy should come from a **systematic and planned effort** by all EFs stakeholders. Clear fundamental EFs papers should be available for consultation. They reflect current EFs body of thought. These papers remain valid as long as they are relevant. They should be periodically evaluated and adapted.
- This planned effort should **start immediately** in order to create a **sense of ownership** towards a joint federal and post-national project.
- EFs ideas should not be limited to institutional matters only. **Societal and democratic values** should be at the heart of the EFs project. They are basic to the refoundation of the EU and/or eurozone.
- EFs should be instrumental in the formulation of a **coherent set of effective values** corresponding to the intended objectives of a new polity.
- 'How should EFs take their environment in tow in order to co-evolve towards a **shared value model?**' (adapted from Drs. Wouter Van Bockhaven - Alechia, 10/2012)

- EFs should identify a relevant and **well-defined territory** where return can be created. A strategic and innovative project should be built around it. Campaigns should coincide with good content. The right characters should vocalize it.
- EFs should formulate a **strategic and innovative project for Europe**. This project should be built around following general objectives :
  - Democratic legitimation should prevail at European level.
  - An adequate polity, at European level, should boost the creation of more wealth, prosperity, innovation and decent employment.
  - Solidarity should be possible at European level on the condition the partners are willing and able to assume the responsibilities that stem from it.
  - Legitimate expectations by people of Europe should not too quickly be qualified as unrealistic. They should be put in the right perspective, viz. being resolved at the right level by an empowered public authority.
  - The responsibility of decision-makers at European level should be better scrutinized and should be pushed bottom-up in order to call for timely and needed action.
  - The active part of population should be able to voice their expectations in order to direct public support towards needed reform.
- EFs should elect, in the absence of any other good alternative, **differentiated integration** for Europe. Contradictory political objectives among the Member States create stalemate. On the one hand a number of Member States would maintain intergovernmental cooperation in the internal market and the Schengen zone. On the other hand Member States, mainly from the eurozone, would combine eurozone and a political union.
- EFs should not elude this basic issue. Differentiated integration is not intended to break-up the EU, rather **reconcile two groups of Member States** that subscribe opposed political objectives.
- EFs should promote a democratic and **federal post-national polity and societal model** for the eurozone.
- EFs should spell out all ideas that promote **further integration in the internal market**.
- EFs should acknowledge not all Member States of the eurozone might **join in a political project**. Non-participating eurozone countries should be given a special status (limited to the right of first refusal).
- EFs should adopt an **open face scenario for the spearhead group**. The end-goal, viz a post-national federal polity, should be spelled out from the outset and be cast in a legal form. Simultaneously interim objectives and a time-schedule should be formulated. Gradual implementation should generate better acceptance by national policy-makers and stakeholders.
- EFs should back a **Europe by and for the European citizens** as the objective of a new democratic system (democratic, legitimated, effective and transparent) and a societal model for Europe, in which participation of people and equity are important features.
- EFs should push back **prejudices** in their own circle, in politics and in society.

## From an organisational standpoint

- EFs should **adapt stagewise their type of organisation** to the intended objectives.
  - EFs should choose their action methods in function of the **intended impact**.
  - EFs need a **dense geographical network** in direct contact with their target audiences. This network should work along federal principles.
  - EFs should elaborate an **effective cooperation model** for transnational action able to **increase their Europe-wide political impact of their ideas**.
  - EFs sections should constitute a **strong federation of the willing**. Bottom-up and top-down input complete each other.
  - Each section should, within its capacity, **implement joint action**, taking into account local conditions.
  - **Strengthening of local sections** depends greatly on the recruitment of active and skilled members. IT, social media and communication specialists should be welcomed.
  - **Stronger local sections** represent a long term outcome that upgrades confidence in the movement. Some local sections feel isolated, left alone, discouraged. Closer cooperation can help remedy this situation.
  - Local sections show quite **different operational capabilities**. The stronger sections should cooperate at a transnational level. The smaller ones should accept assistance and counselling by larger sections, the International secretariat or transnationally constituted working groups or political committees. In this context the International secretariat should propose packages of best practices, scripts for coordinated action (objectives, themes, projects and methods) and training.
  - Which **basic functions should a local section** be able to perform?
    - Constitute a management able to implement its own and the EFs joint objectives.
    - Create and maintain a numerous membership.
    - Yield influence on local target audiences.
    - Produce at least a newsletter that maintains a periodical contact with supporters and its outside audiences.
    - Operate a website and communicate over social media (optional).
    - Animate a think tank.
    - Maintain a documentation and information centre (optional).
- All sections should seek to perform gradually better and in more basic functions.
- **Management of local sections** should demonstrate following traits :
    - Have a dynamic mindset.
    - Show anticipative thinking.
    - Develop purposeful action.
    - Show perseverance in uncertain or adverse circumstances.
    - Think in win-win terms.

- **EFs human resources** should include doers and thinkers who complement each other. Both are volunteers. Each of them should contribute within the scope of his/her specific capabilities.
- **EFs financial independance** from nation states' funding is possibly the best option to safeguard freedom of thinking and action. Regional authorities, European Parliament, membership fees and corporations should be more suitable financial sources.
- **Current political minset about Europe is pessimistic.** Therefore EFs and sections' management should firmly resist this mindset in order to avoid disengagement or disenchantment by their supporters and target audiences.
- Even if most sections would possibly not be able to spell out a comprehensive project for Europe by themselves, they can however be **excellent doers**.

#### **From an operational standpoint**

- EFs should formulate a strategy for **internal use**, implemented **by all EFs**.
- EFs should know exactly how **to involve and motivate their supporters**.
- EFs should **formulate a (tentative) strategy** and a **clear track** to reach the chosen end-goal (see chapter three).
- EFs should, all along the process of institutional reform, try to bend in **subsequent and clear stages**, the impeding views and attitudes of decisive politicians and influential people in Europe (see chapter three).
- EFs should talk each co-decider on the future of Europe into sharing the ideas of EFs and translate these ideas in an **effective reform** or promote these ideas in public (public debate).
- EFs could operate as a **popular mouvement**, seeking influence from large supportive groups in society, in order to bring to bear pressure on policy-makers in Europe. This choice should depend on the available action-capacity resp. financial means of the EFs. Today and in the past these conditions were never met. EPs should therefore dim their ambitions to reach larger audiences.
- EFs should as a consequence **focus on these people** that :
  - (1) Understand European integration (policy-makers, academics and opinion-makers).
  - (2) Are familiar with EU's functioning (policy-makers, academics and opinion-makers).
  - (3) Can boost public acceptance of the European idea (policy-makers, academics and opinion-makers).
  - (4) Decide about the future of Europe. EFs should in the first place **lobby** these people who make a political Union and federalisation of Europe possible (top politicians).
- EFs should **never become a political party**.
- EFs should **mobilize powerful levers** in order to bring to bear its message. (see Nr. 59 on Communication by EFs in the Series 'Which Europe?')

- EFs should not only contact adults. **Young people** are important for the intended refoundation and should be readied in order to preserve continuity of EFs ideas and action.
- The **very political confrontation** goes between the European decision-makers and the democratic reformers referring to a post-national federalist project.

## *Chapter five* **Which tactical choices?**

### **Political choices**

- EFs should justify the **sense of urgency** of political initiative in Europe, possibly by the fast growth of the number of people adhering to eurosceptic and nationalistic ideas. As soon as the latter can block any initiative towards a European political union, the window of opportunity would be closed for a long period of time. Time for action is now.
- Each priority audience should be made aware of the **urgency of the institutional reform** as proposed by the EFs.
- EFs should be associated with **the idea of pertinent change**.
- EFs should express the **viewpoint of people**, without inclination towards populism.
- Which **questions** are basic to the message of the EFs?
  - (1) **What goes wrong and why?** (see chapter one)
  - (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. Policy-makers should feel the bottom-up pressure.
  - (3) **How can stakeholders of the EU shape** their joint future? Which attitude towards a post-national organisation of society is needed?.
  - (4) Which polity should offer unique opportunities and perspectives towards a more prosperous and fair society in Europe?
- **Broad access** to target audiences should be achieved by reaching those who :
  - (1) Have a positive inclination towards European integration.
  - (2) Can yield a positive influence on a large public.
  - (3) Can pass on their knowledge of European integration to the European decision-makers and to the public.
- EFs should **tie the content of their communication to European current business** (i.e. the themes of European Council meetings) and formulate in advance legitimate expectations and later opiate on the decisions of European leaders. Out of a larger Council-agenda, one priority theme should be picked by the EFs.
- EFs should **join the public debate** as soon as an adequate number of tangible, coherent and project-like ideas have been formulated.

- Should EFs 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 permitted or is an attitude of principle preferable?
- EFs should back the idea of teaching the **vision of the future at school**. Today's extra-curriculum education limits itself primarily to the protection of the environment or to human rights. European integration, as a global societal project, should be an important part of that curriculum. Many taboos and prejudices about Europe need to be corrected. Challenges to Europe, civic education, legitimate and democratic expectations in the European project should be part of that package.
- EFs should acknowledge their ideas **never will come through in one shot or in full**. EFs should therefore articulate their message in the various subsequent stages of the proposed reform. EFs should reconsider their message after each important official political initiative.
- EFs should consult **the best experts** in order to assess correctly the big challenges and the priorities of European integration.
- EFs should favour **cooperation with other federalist organisations**. Together they should subscribe similar ideas and objectives. Together they should be stronger.
- EFs should aspire to **a similar external profiling by all sections**.

#### **Operational choices**

- EFs should formulate pertinent ideas **in advance of any other organisation/top political leader** in order to influence the European political agenda and get the credit for it.
- EFs should distance themselves from a **cold and distant attitude by European institutions**. The ideas of EFs are their own merit and differ considerably from official standpoints.
- EFs should, when launching a new idea, create each time **public support for that idea**.
- EFs should earn credibility by developing an **independent image**. Political marketing should be called upon.
- EFs should choose the **most effective levers** (while focussing on their priorities).
- EFs should raise the **right questions**, in the right sequence, at the right time.
- EFs should understand their target audiences. With **empathy** EFs reach more people.
- **EFs resources** include human and financial resources of European federalists. Supporters are all volunteers. Each of them should be asked to contribute within the scope of his/her specific capabilities. Commitment to the given word should stimulate the overall capability of the individual sections and of the sections' network.
- EFs should **define in advance the objectives** of each activity.

- EFs should stage **personalities with charisma**, who can adequately bring the EFs message in the public sphere. Press-releases should i.e. confirm what these personalities said. The effect of written statements alone is very limited. EFs should establish a profile for the personalities that would represent the movement.
- Properly **implemented operating procedures** facilitate a decentralized network of cooperating sections to achieve the assigned goals and supersede ineffective improvisation. Work distribution and assumed responsibilities should go hand in hand with these procedures. Action should become easier and speedier.

### Short term objectives

- EFs should **gradually build up their list of demands** and set clear objectives.
- EFs should define the **minimum political impact** it wants to achieve by 2019.
- EFs should retain following **short term political objectives for the EU** prior to 2019 :
  - (1) New competences should enable European Parliament to co-decide on the institutional reform (even by a unilateral declaration of the European Parliament)
  - (2) More social Europe.
  - (3) The political debate on a coordinated Joint Foreign and Safety Policy should progress.
  - (4) A joint energy market for Europe.
  - (5) The immigration and asylum policy should be harmonized in the EU (as well as the establishment of a European Border and Coast Guard).
  - (6) Internal safety measures should include: a European intelligence service, a European prosecutor, police coordination).
- EFs should retain following **short term objectives for the eurozone** prior to 2019 :
  - (1) Completion of the economic and monetary union.
  - (2) Introduction of an economic government.
  - (3) A political debate on own fiscal resources.
  - (4) Full competences for the European Court of Justice.
  - (5) Increased participation and influence of people in decision-making.
- EFs should finalize by 2019 four assignments :
  - (1) Ideological coherence and adherence by a majority of EFs.
  - (2) Considerable growth in membership.
  - (3) More wide-scale transnational activities.
  - (4) A dense geographical network of sections in Europe, cooperating in stable alliances.
- As for the joint climate claim against the Dutch State, EFs could **suit the national government(s)** for failed European political action. Well-prepared court hearings could give EFs and its sections a lot of attention by media.
- If the majority of sections would **demonstrate being unable** to meet minimum conditions of effectivity and action, it should be clear that the international secretariat would further be strengthened.
- The secretary-general should be empowered to be much more than a care-taker. He/she should actually be the **effective point of convergence** in the organisation.

## *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.

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## *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)
- Number 42: 'The European federalists confront Europe with their project' ©, (2010)
- Number 43: 'How can European federalists develop their project?' ©, (2011)
- Number 44: 'Which European federalism?' ©, (2011) (in Dutch only)
- Number 45: 'Proposals to make the European project progress' ©, (2012)
- Number 46: 'Which society model leads to which political union for Europe?', ©, (2012)
- Number 47: 'How to communicate?' ©, (2013) (in Dutch)
- Number 48-49: 'Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe' ©, (2013)
- Number 50: 'Which way towards the Future?' ©, (2014) (in Dutch)
- Number 51: 'Which political vision appeals most to you?' ©, (2014) (in Dutch)
- 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)
- Number 55: 'A differentiated integration: a necessity', © (2015) (in English)
- Number 56: 'A narrative for European federalists', © (2015) (in English)

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: 'Which strategy and tactics for European federalists?', © (2016)
- Number 59: 'Communication by European federalists', © (2016)
- Number 60: 'Which blueprint for a post-national Federal Europe? (in progress)