

Vademecum of the European federalist

A federal project explained
Outreach for new ideas

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Dedicated to those who elect a pro-active,
pluralistic, citizen-centered, democratic,
sovereign and post-national federal Europe

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Definition of a Vademecum* (D)

'A vademecum is a small book intended to be carried about and used for giving one quickly the facts needed on some subject'. Definition by Longman Dictionary of Contemporain English (1981). In a European federalist context the Vademecum will not be carried about, but can be consulted as a reference.

The objective of this Vademecum is to illustrate a multi-perspective* approach that integrates various new concepts into a coherent line of thinking. Outreach thinking stimulates a long term perspective.

Executive Summary (E)

Section One expands on the logic behind federalism and a post-national* political union. A blueprint* for a post-national European federation* confronts a federal way of thinking with a number of federal and derivative principles*. These principles help the inception of a post-national project* in the context of differentiated development*. These principles clarify the abstract and general principles of theoretical federalism* and are intended to facilitate an internal and external dialogue.

The federal and derivative federal principles* do not answer, if possible, all basic questions that

can be raised. The various levels of government are also being looked at from the viewpoint of people and are developed along a bottom-up* approach.

Section two suggests the consecutive formulation of assumptions, objectives, strategy/tactics, policy measures and their interaction in order to get grip on a complex and new narrative*/ project of European federalists (EFs). See narrative in section four.

This section demonstrates meaningful action by the European federalists always refers to a structured and reasoned background and an adequate methodology*. Long-term and short-term planning are related and complement each other.

EFs' positioning at the political scene* lacked attention. EFs shall position themselves prior to the formulation of resolutions or manifestos. This methodology is illustrated in this Vademecum.

A Climate Deal and a Citizens' Deal* can become the underlying double track strategy* of the European federalists' project: improve durability in the ecologic* and economic spheres respectively strengthen democracy* and participation* to the benefit of its stakeholders*.

Federalism* is handicapped by persistent prejudices*. Explaining the operational principles can bring federalism closer to the elite*. Federalism provides the right toolbox for the intended transition*.

If the end goal*, as outlined in Section Two, wouldn't come through, it shall not refrain European federalists to formulate intermediate steps* of action.

Section Three is conceived as a list of recommendations aimed to improve communication* by the European federalists. Actually their most visible presence. This section is not intended to bring about a comprehensive theory. A logic framework of ideas is suggested that can inspire structured reflection or generate alternative views.

Section Four tries to formulate what a narrative* means to European federalists. A narrative gives insight in a broad outline of federalist thinking and confronts it with current situation. This or other narrative(s) shall be formulated by professional rewriters in versions adapted to the various target audiences*.

All sections implement a similar methodology*. This precaution is key to a better build-up of the outlined reasoning by European federalists. Without this methodology loose bits and pieces of reasoning emerge that lack cohesion and don't demonstrate how the various themes/ conclusions/recommendations are reached. A fragmented and or incomplete formulation will convince nobody and the number of disinterested supporters will increase.

Preliminary comments (P)

This Vademecum is an outline of an inclusive project starting from a final stage. It develops a different format from the Policy Brief N°1/2015 and N°2/2016 by David Garcia and Paolo Vacca for the Union of European Federalists (UEF). These Policy Briefs formulate recommendations to improve current EU Treaties. The question is not what is best or not. Both approaches are complementary and don't exclude each other.

This paper is dedicated to European federalists (EFs) and especially to the Union of European Federalists (UEF).

Progress towards a better future for Europe is impossible if we uphold beliefs and structures of the past. The outlined federalist reasoning is part of foresight and of simulation needed to understand the transition* from the present to the intended end goal(s) of the European project.

This future-oriented reasoning* will bring the reader in a new world of ideas. Ambitious and prospective thinking are conditional of innovation. New elements in the European federalists' ideology* are necessary. This federalist project is based on cocreation* and on dare to think. European federalists' singularity is outlined in S21/32.

This paper raises the central question whether European federalists can influence the course of history and present one or more projects that prepare Europe for a better future from a societal, political and personal point of view.

The second question is why the western democratic systems tend to hamper and why the refoundation of the European model* should not include the individual member countries' organisation.

The reinvention of a European polity* and society will likely influence the lower levels of authority in Europe. That makes the federalist reasoning interesting, since opening to a more inclusive prospect.

The various sections of this paper have much ground in common. Duplication of ideas, reasoning or methodology* will be limited as much as possible. The headings related to assumptions, objectives and prioritarian themes will frequently return because they are basic to the methodology* as explained in S3 page 34.

Is this Vademecum* intended for broad distribution? It should catch attention of responsible and active European federalists (EFs). It can contribute to greater internal cohesion* in terms of a comprehensive and shared line of thinking. A shared opinion on everything is not expected.

The number of the arguments can scare off people. It shouldn't. This Vademecum offers a theoretical framework that precedes a more detailed implementation of action.

How shall important choices be made by next generations in Europe? Is it for example the warming up of planet earth or the institutional tools to deal with that issue? The answer is an adequate political system where effective and democratic decision-making is possible. 'It is the governance, stupid'. (adapted from Bill Clinton, former president of the USA). This doesn't mean economy, durability or solidarity aren't important. These policies shall be tuned to become synchronised.

This Vademecum* can hold voids or misconceptions. They shouldn't invalidate the Vademecum as such. This paper is in progress and is by definition unfinished. Comments are welcome.

This Vademecum consists of eight sections:

- Executive summary (E)
- Preliminary comments (P)
- Blueprint for a post-national European federation (B)
- Strategy, tactics and methodology (S)
- Communication by European federalists (C)
- Narrative by the European federalists (N)
- Glossary of terms (G)
- Register of references (R)

The lay-out of the Vademecum will be as follows:

- Sections E, P, B, S, C, N, G, R (first letter of the sections' name)
- Parts N1
- Paragraphs S12
- Parts of paragraphs C121
- Subtitles B4441

A Register of references facilitates access to this Vademecum. All references are marked by an * in the text. In the Register a section's letter is followed by a serial number slash page number.

The author wishes to thank Christian Gossiaux for critical and constructive comment.

Section One
Blueprint* for a Post-national European Federation (B)
Prospective* Principles for a Political Union

'Change will not come if we wait for some other person or some other time.
We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek.'
Barack Obama, former president of the USA

Part One
Breaking new ground

B1

- This section develops, from a European federalist perspective*, a coherent, inclusive and prospective* blueprint* for a European federation from a post-national* viewpoint.

B11 **Assumptions*** (see also S412/34)

- The EU is robust enough not to disintegrate as some predict.
- Need for deeper integration of Europe increases every day. In a global, diverse and competitive world an empowered European project is imperative.
- Pressing needs and high expectations* shall be met by high ambition.
- Public opinion has apparently higher European expectations, than what national leaders are willing to consider for a more pro-active and effective Europe.
- Opportunities are often passing by unnoticed.

- Civil society* longs for a new type of governance for Europe.
- A political and a societal project for Europe are interwoven.
- Refoundation* through the European project extends to all tiers.
- The constituent tiers* in Europa need similar strong democratic practice*.
- A post-national* federation* is the best option towards an effective Europe.
- An ambitious European project opens up to an inspiring future.
- 'Europe is a combination of economic vitality and social equity'. (Th. Leysen - De Tijd- 28/01/17)
- Differentiated development* (two speed) in the EU will enhance cohesion in each group and facilitate cohabitation* of member countries with different political ambitions.
- Provided European integration makes substantial progress now, its future is safe.
- European integration shall proceed step by step* within an inclusive planning and intermediate goals.
- A post-national* narrative shall replace nation-state* reasoning and an we/they model*.
- Democracy* has not yet externalised all its potential*. European federalism can.
- Peoples of Europe are entitled to the most effective European institutions* that can make their future-oriented project* a success.
- Reshaping an unfinished political system requires influential actors able to broker ambitious breakthroughs and embrace new lines of thinking.
- Efforts made at the local level facilitate democratic revival of the European Union. Local and regional tiers are an additional dimension to democratic legitimation*.
- Urgency of a major political initiative for a spearhead group* is justified by the growing number of people backing eurosceptic and egocentric ideas.
- Enlargement* fatigue delays access of new members to the EU.

B12 **Logic behind a Post-national Political Union***

- Clusters of assumptions, objectives, principles and values will be acknowledged in order to understand the logic behind a federalist project applicable to a spearhead group.
- The final goal* of the spearhead group is a post-national and federal union*. This option goes for the willing member countries of the EU. This federation will be balanced, citizen-centered* and capable to achieve the intended objectives (see B122). European statehood is not required provided a fully-fledged constitution* steers this spearhead group.

B121 ***Basic federal* ideas for a spearhead group****

- Unity*, complementarity, subsidiarity* and diversity*.
- Multilevel governance* improving the capacity to reach decisions.
- Autonomy* at each level in a decentralised* context.
- Cohesion*, convergente, interdependence* and checks and balances*.
- Short term management correlates with a long-term vision.
- Structural cooperation, legitimation*, responsibility, accountability*, rule of law* and empowerment*.
- Efficiency, effectivity, transparency*, vicinity* and proportionality*. Precaution by anticipation.
- Solidarity*, social equity* and social-economic-ecologic ethics*.
- European values* are basic to all member countries.
- The federal and post-national* rationale (see B21/8, B22/9, Glossary and Register of references).

B122

Objectives* for a spearhead group

- Create a community (society and polity) that is free, open, democratic and legitimated and that has the potential to safeguard Europe's independence*, prosperity, welfare, social order, way of life and peace*.
- 'Have a Europe that allows people to lead a life in dignity*'. (Frederike Roder)
- Stimulate an emancipatory* society in Europe, ensuring everyone can achieve its potential.
- Create a stable and protective environment.
- Enhance prosperity and safety by empowered* institutions.
- Improve individual co-ownership* of or belongingness in a joint political and societal project.
- Forge EU's identity* based on European values* through a model of a democratic, citizen-centered* and caring society.

B123

Institutional* tools for a spearhead group

- The new normal will be a change of paradigm*. A game changer* is needed, since Europe's prosperity, way of life*, safety and independence* are at stake.
- Differentiated development* means specific goals for each configuration of member countries.
- Member countries of the eurozone* or otherwise, open up to accelerated political integration towards a supranational* polity in consecutive steps*, called hereafter spearhead group. The other member countries are called the low speed* group maintain an intergovernmental* system. The spearhead group and the low speed group share the internal market.

Part Two

B2

A Post-national* European Federation

Times change, people change and
European federalists (EFs) shall adapt themselves too

B21

Assumptions* of federalism*

- 'I believe we will face a big problem if we don't succeed to create a new European dream'. (Herman Van Rompuy, former European president - De Tijd - 05/11/2016)
- 'Europe shall move forwards its future by its own strength. This strength comes from a strong awareness of the power of its values* and a shared determination to defend in public democracy, prosperity*, safety and solidarity*'. (Stephanie De Smedt - DeTijd - Sept 8, 2018)
- 'The creation of an international political order in Europe based on federalism* and democracy is possible if we overcome the dogma of national sovereignty*'. (Nationalism, federalism and European integration by Mario Albertini, edited by Guido Montani - Rubbettino - 2017) This transfer of sovereignty will be limited to the transnational* and international aspects of governance of a joint European public space*.
- 'European ambition shall be reactivated. The greatest challenge we have is to give it a clear purpose and a common vision* that goes beyond economy and regulations'. (Josep Borrell Fontelles in The Federalist Debate) and beyond member country level.
- 'Federalism* is the political thinking that enables traditional ideologies* to do away with the mystification assimilated along with their uncritical relationship with nationalism*'. (M. Albertini)

- 'Federalism* makes it possible to widen horizons, which liberalism, democracy and socialism have continued to narrow down to a political and social interpretation and assessment'. (idem)
- 'Europe must know how to integrate in a positive way its citizens. The difference will be in the exercise of the capacity of individual participation* as the central contribution to the reinvention of a jointly supported society'. (F-J. Quesado - New Europe - 31/08 and 7/09/2014)
- Which political union*? Paola Blanca wonders: 'How to manage the complex relationship among the multiple stakeholders* acting both at national and at supranational* level in all these policies and issues?' She suggests a multilevel* constitutionalist approach. (The Federalist Debate - Claudio Mandrino - 07/2013 - p. 59)
- Preconditions to the implementation of federalism*: a consensus on a federal method of government, loyal application of the federal principles by the stakeholders and participation* of all stakeholders* in the system.

B22

Which kind of federalism*?

B221

Main features

- A dynamic polity shall be designed to bring about decisiveness to Europe within a democratic and legitimated* political system. Actually a public management system that is decentralised*, connected, autonomous*, functional, solidary* and a self-organising governance to all levels of authority*, called multilevel governance*.
- 'Europe needs a new model* and spirit of governance. This model shall for all consist of contractual relations between all stakeholders* (tiers, politicians, mass media, academics, business, civil society) in order to build a relation of confidence that enables the implementation of policy in all parts and levels of authority*'. (adapted from F.J. Quesada, GM of the Innovation and Knowledge Society of Portugal in New Europe) Contractual relations shall be understood as structured and binding relations among the constituent partners of that Union.
- 'The essential characteristic of a federal state is the division of power* between the federation and the member countries, which is how the division of sovereignty* is manifested. The federal government is assigned the power* necessary for the existence of the whole'. (idem Mario Albertini).
- A key question is how to combine majority vote* at European federal level with further decentralised* national powers and how to allocate financial resources to each tier?
- 'In a federal state the tensions (conflicts) between the federal government and the federated states manifested through power conflicts (of interest)* are resolved through judicial decisions'. (idem Mario Albertini)
- 'Competences with border crossing effects and scale-up benefits shall be kept central (namely at European and national) level, e.g. for defence and social security. In Germany the 16 federated states will in case of difference of opinion show federal loyalty: Bundestruue'. (prof. Willem Sas, University of Stirling - De Tijd - 14/11/2020)
- 'A well defined hierarchy of norms* is mandatory. A type of federation* where the federated entities are as competent as the federal state stalemate each difference of opinion and increase distrust among the entities'. (adapted from idem)
- According to Elisabeth Alber 'federalism* is a pragmatic and adaptable tool that facilitates the achievement of good governance*, but only if conceived as a set of interlocking spheres in continuous transformation, each with its own structures, procedures and policies'. (The Federalist Debate - July 2014 - p. 30)
- 'The ultimate aim of federalism*, as a method of government, is to foster territorial, social

- respectively individual autonomy*. (idem - p. 30-31)
- 'Prof. David Elazar calls it self-rule and shared rule. The various partners acknowledge each others' integrity, but maintain mutual unity, also called unity in diversity. In a federation cooperation between the various members is indispensable'. (De kleermakers en de keizer - ed. prof. C. Devos, UGhent - pag. 335) Checks and balances maintain unity*
- 'Shared sovereignty* shall be rendered explicit and clear to all and shall be sustained by the creation of a democratic supranational* system'. (Publius - 01/2016)
- Our transnational identity* and our joint involvement will enable us to elaborate a European societal and political project.

B222

Additional features

- Operational tools for a spearhead* group are: political and social objectives; equal power for its legislative bodies (with its own configuration for a Parliament and a Senate); an autonomous government; own resources and budget*; own configuration of an Accounts Office and a Court of Justice*; own fundamental law/constitution and a co-existence pact* with the low speed* group of member countries. Majority or qualified majority voting* in all circumstances.
- 'A federal Europe is not an objective in itself, it should rather be a model* that is adapted to the specific features of the EU. It is a steering system that safeguards the traditions* and national or local cultures*, as well as emancipation* of its people'. (Paul Goldschmidt - 08/05/18)
- 'A more important role of the European Parliament in an empowered* spearhead group will lead to more politicalisation*. However this will bring political order not closer to people. Current politicalisation* is in the first place a form of internal politicalisation, a competition between political parties* and institutions*, far away from the different national public spheres. European elections can externalise politicalisation*, reaching out to people and mass media*'. (Europese Gedachten - De Bom, ed, p. 144)
- 'Staged competition between majority versus opposition, is the only way to effective democratisation in the EU. These dynamics create political visibility and increase quality of democratic decisions. They enhance a sense of communality among peoples' in a transnational* public sphere. (idem De Bom, p. 134)
- Legitimation of European decisions goes through empowered* legislative bodies. People can be interested in European decision-making* by a system of visible opinions, debate and ultimate decisions. It actually operates 'through the systematic implementation of a process and policy-oriented federalism*'. (The federalist Debate - Elisabeth Alber - July 2014 - p. 32)

B23

Place of people* in a federal model*

- People of Europe* will be enabled to identify themselves with the new polity, feel involved in the ongoing integration and feel committed to the political and societal project.
- 'People changed a lot. They became more critical. They no longer cast their vote and keep silent'. 'They want to influence the balance of power* and politicians'. 'In an ideal world politicians will conclude a pact with the citizens'. 'Citizens will be taken along to the tier where they can be involved at best. Create a safe haven where a mediator will map a public issue and will list the shared assumptions. Deliberation* will be attended by all stakeholders. Next to a consensus, solutions will be looked for'. (Manu Claeys of stRaten generaal)
- 'True liberty* is not just freedom to make your own choices. It implies the responsibility to bear the consequences of your choices. Citizens assuming their responsibility can cause things to

change'. (P. De Keyzer, chief economist BNP Paribas Fortis - De Tijd - 27/05/2016)

B24

Causes of malgoverno *?

Occuring simultaneously or separately

Assess prior to evolve

- In a general context:

- Western societies show a loss of politicalisation and democratisation.
- Politicians are accounted for their decisions, not so for the decisions they didn't make.
- An irritating political culture alienates people of Europe*.
- The individual politician feels more mandated by his party* than by his electorate.
- Politicians expect initiative from their colleagues and fail to act.
- Systemic institutional deficiencies impede politicians to do what they are elected for: bring about effective governance to common interest.
- 'Most action comes too late or is inadequate to maintain the welfare state. Europe will end up standing with the back against the wall. Many people refuse to face obviousness and claim other people should resolve malgoverno*'. (adapted from C. Ven - De Tijd - 20/04/2016)
- Drifters that lost trust can easily be manipulated.
- 'Dynamic behind polarisation is based on what people experience, read or hear'. (George Parker - De Tijd - 7/11/2020)
- Organised irresponsibility cannot last long'. (Bart Sturtewagen - De Standaard - 29/03/16) A political system that doesn't remediate its structural deficiencies endangers itself.
- If the responsible authority for a specific shared competence isn't clearly designated, fast and efficient action will be impossible or can completely fail.
- Civic disobedience, such as the gilets jaunes or the climate marchers, reflects deep dissatisfaction with current governance.
- 'If we don't know where we are going to, the situation becomes very dangerous'. (Pierre Wunsch, governor of the NBB)
- Political systems, administrations and procedures evolve to greater complexity.
- Leading politicians are often unable to present solutions or reach decisions.
- Political improvisation or lack of planning and/or long term vision*/strategy impedes predictability and effectivity.
- Society falls in a negative spiral in the absence of new insight.
- 'We ignore what will trigger a major destabilisation'. (Werner De Bondt - prof. behavioural finance - DePaul University - 23/07/2016)
- 'Everyone wants to codecide, but no one wants to be accountable*. No one has effective power and no one is actually responsible. Fragmented* power or decision without accountability*' generates a huge waste of public resources. (P. De Keyzer - De Tijd - 1/04/16)
- Good governance* is not the panacea of the highest tiers of government. The added value of each tier shall be demonstrated.
- Donald Trump and Boris Johnson severely criticise the so-called elite, namely intellectuals, students, teachers, academics and independent thinkers even the administration, when they oppose their ideas. They advocate 'make America great' or 'take back control'. Their powerbase is captivated by visual media. Symbols, slogans and sensation overrule dialogue. Personality cult predominates. Political structures get eroded as power shifts to unaccountable gremia'. (adapted from George Monbiot - De Standaard - 3/07/2020)

- In a European context:
 - European institutions lack power of decision on important issue
 - Europe excels in regulation, but performs less good in current event-management.
 - Many people in Europe* have lost their faith in the future or feel a big malaise.
 - 'Europe, its population and its leaders lack civic capital*', namely care for common interest*, respect for institutions, attention for a political sense of duty and a long-term view'. (adapted from G.Tegenbos - De Standaard - 1/06/2016)
 - 'Incomplete europeanisation has weakened national sovereignty* without laying the foundation of European sovereignty*'. (S. Heine, PhD Politics, Egmont Institute/ Oxford Univ)

B25

How to remedy malgoverno*?

Authorities shall offer a plan and a prospect

- Today governance means foresighting and reform.
- 'We shall stop urging authorities to carry on as usual'. (Daems - KUL - De Tijd - 02/08/2017)
- 'How can (a country or the EU) become 'best in class'?' Following features emerge: 'trust in government, decentraliseer* implementation of policies combined with an effective central authority and foresight as a common practice'. (G. Noels - De Tijd - Oct 3, 2020) 'Where shall we stand in the next twenty years?' (Frank Van Massenhoven - De Tijd - Oct 3, 2020)
- 'We shall have stable (political and) organisational structures that are flexible, adaptable and uphold cohesion in crisis situations.' (Geert Noels, Econocom - De Tijd - 7/11/2020) Those who guard the constitution shall be empowered and be determined to be effective to that end.
- Difficult and necessary short term decisions open up to a better future. 'Flexibility, perseverance, self-assurance and courage are important. A vision* and a direction shall be formulated.' (Caroline Ven - De Tijd - 20/05/2015) That implies a consensus about what people are expecting of Europe. 'A transition* plan is needed'. (G. Noels - Econopolis - 02/04/2016)
- 'A reactive leadership can work in a predictable world. In an unpredictable world a more pro-active leadership is needed and can be summarised by five features: a strong internal compass or scoreboard for what is good or bad; discern underlying principles from day to day business; apply the fire-principle and fight fire in an early stage; have an idea about the future and show readiness to experimentation.' (L. Sudmann, Aachen Univ - De Tijd - 21/10/20)
- 'Societal issues cannot be solved by a technical answer from a technocrat. Political choices about societal issues come first, expertise comes next in order to implement the chosen political objectives', E. Lachaert, said.' (MP of Open VLD in Liberales - 15/05/2015)
- In Scandinavia and the Netherlands long-term issues are tackled as follows: the issue is assessed and all stakeholders seek a consensus prior to the formulation of legislation.
- 'Governance (of Europe) will benefit from the use of a controlboard helping policy-makers, administrators and citizens to check the objectives laid down in a policy. A scoreboard, with critical indicators, will monitor implementation of a policy and facilitate accountability towards citizens.' (Caroline Ven - De Standaard - 16/09/2020)
- 'We need a (political) system in which an open debate can take place.' (Derrick Gosselin - prof. at Oxford and Ghent University - De Tijd - 02/04/16)
- 'A democracy can but survive if its main actors keep faith in it and remain open to dialogue'. (George Parker - De Tijd -7/11/2020)
- Europa can improve wellbeing* of people by economic cohesion*.
- Economic, environmental and social policies shall be integrated.

- 'Civil servants make sure the system works every day, politicians shall look forward.' (Peter Hinsens - Nexxworks - De Tijd - 9/01/2018) 'Top civil servants should know the weakness of the system they operate in and they shall do all they can to remedy this situation.' (Frank Van Massenhove)
- Good governance* can be reached through periodic assessment, administrative simplification, effectivity and a citizen-oriented service.
- Empowerment* of the different tiers is based on objectivated subsidiarity* and proportionality*.
- In case of overlapping competences unity of command shall prevail and enable decisions.
- Europe can be an emancipatory* sphere and a secure place, open to a promising prospect.
- 'An active welfare state will redistribute its wealth properly in order to prevent prosperity gaps'.
- 'What do member countries owe each other or what are they entitled to ask from each other? Social disruption erodes legitimacy of European society.' (De Bom, id, p.31)

Part Three

B3

Principles for a post-national federation

'Quality of the rules of the game determine quality of a policy'
Christophe Convent, Itinera and DPG Media

B31

Federal principles*

- B121 and B122 enumerate theoretical principles and objectives of a spearhead group*.
- Part Three presents an array of operational principles meant to visualise a model of a post-national* and federal Europe in its final stage. The ensuing list of principles reflects a long-term vision that springs from a specific context and the characteristics of the intended European practice of democracy* in a spearhead group*.
- Derivative* federal principles are formulated next to the federal* ones. Both sets of principles will be implemented in a post-national and a federal context and be split in two headings: principles related to public interest* and principles related to personal interest*.
- The enumerated principles are indicative. They can inspire European federalists respectively outsiders to spell out other federal and/or derivative principles.
- 'The rules of the game shall be kept flexible but not loose'. (E. Alber - The Federalist Debate 7/14) Flexibility doesn't exclude being principled.

B311

Principles related to European public interest*

- **Federal principle 1:** *A federation* will in its constituent tiers apply the same principles.*
- Questions: To what extent can a basic principle in a member country diverge from the applicable federal system and keep the system operational? (see S5/41 and C7/54)
- Remedy: A half-hearted implementation of this principle will not work. An inclusive and coherent federal project meets this precondition. A hybrid system disintegrates. The European level shall be a fully-fledged authority like any other one at the other levels of government.

- Federal principle 2: *An ever closer union.**

Question: Which consecutive step by step process shall be initiated to achieve an obvious transition and a logic itinerary* towards a post-national* and European federation? (see S5/42-C7/55)

Remedy: Four conditions will be met to secure effective integration of Europe, viz. a formulated final goal*, clear assumptions and objectives, operational principles and an obvious itinerary*. An ever closer union* means that federalism*, as a steering system, will be able to integrate the ideas of unity, complementarity, subsidiarity* and diversity*. 'An institutional integrating network shall be created as opposed to an institutional centralising network*.' (The Federalist Debate - Elisabeth Alber - July 2014 - p. 30-31)

- Federal principle 3: *Multilevel governance* can solve problems and minimise conflicts.* (Otto Schmuck)

Question: How to generate a joint decision in a vast territory with numerous stakeholders*?

Remedy: 'Multilevel governance can be described as the dispersion of authority away from central government, upwards to the supranational level and downwards to the subnational jurisdiction.' (Otto Schmuck in The Federalist Debate - March 2018) Conflicts between the stakeholders* of the European Union can be avoided by instating more shared sovereignty*, multilevel governance, autonomy at all levels, structured deliberation* and recourse to the European Court of Justice*. (see Part Four B4/22)

- Federal principle 4: *National and supranational democracy will be strengthened simultaneously.*

Question: How optimal is cooperation between the various levels of authority if their effectivity and practice of democracy* are different?

Remedy: Both levels shall be able to deal effectively with their own power and balance* each other. Structural cooperation and deliberation* will be successful on the condition all levels of authority are sovereign*, autonomous* and open to compromise.

- Federal principle 5: *A European federation is based on shared objectives.**

Question: Can conflicting political and societal objectives impede deep integration?

Remedy: 'Differentiated development* reconciles conflicting ambitions among member countries of the EU and stimulates the manifestation of political will* to move in that direction'. (Publius) Differentiated development is a survival strategy to the EU enabling cohabitation* among two groups of member countries that would otherwise alienate.

- Federal principle 6: *Good power is shared power.**

Question: Which precautions shall be taken to prevent the dominance of one branch over the other branches in the trias politica*?

Remedy: A constitution* or a fundamental law defines the power relations in the trias politica*. Checks and balances imply that all branches of the trias politica yield effective counterpower. A bicameral system (European Parliament and Senate) will be instated in the EU. Members of the European Parliament will be elected in a majority vote system in two rounds. The EP will have complete political competence, appointment and control of the European executive (Commission), top jobs and the budget. The Senate (former European Council) will be elected on a proportional basis. The Senate represents the member countries'/regions' interests. EP and Senate decide together on changes to the European Constitution.

- Federal principle 7: *An empowered* European political system is capable to take democratic decisions* and implement reform.*

Question: How to overcome the contradiction between an unadapted political system that tries to survive and a political system that can weather difficult situations?

Remedy: A resilient European political system is able to optimise peoples' expectations*, to bring to bear authority when joint objectives and decisions* are implemented and is capable to overcome crisis situations. 'A country that has freely decided to become part of a community that shares the same currency, the same set of values* and principles, as well as common political and economic goals, is not only accountable* to the electorate at home, but also to the new community it has joined.' (S. Cassese in Corriere della Sera - 15/07/2016)

- Federal principle 8: *An empowered* executive branch.*

Question: Can a European government be effective without being political or being empowered* with authority, autonomy* and sovereignty*?

Remedy: 'This government must be defined in a federal constitution* so as to resist the temptation of a transmutation into an overcentralised* superstate*. The legal order will assert the primacy of the federal government, but resist its supremacy.' (A. Duff) Autonomy* at each level is a feature of federalism. Division of power* will be strictly observed, as well as the split of the functions of president of a Federal Union and of the European government.

- Federal principle 9: *A modern democratic society is built bottom up.**

Questions: Which polity shall be preferred, a centralised and patronising system or empowered autonomous* tiers provided with adequate financial resources? Does decentralisation* mean fragmentation* of power or inefficiency?

Remedy: Decisions based on the subsidiarity* principle are made as close as possible to the

citizens and at a higher level if needed. 'Modern local autonomy will be the trademark of a future model of governance. Local authorities can take over a number of regional or even national competences.' (V. Van Quickenborne, former mayor of Courtrai - De Standaard - 13/07/2016) 'Cities are better adapted to current problems, and mayors enjoy, as homeboys, considerable trust of people.' (prof. Benjamin Barber) 'Empowerment* as close as possible to people, means more efficiency.' (Bart Somers, former mayor of Malines)

- Federal principle 10: *Member countries shall not challenge the constitution* and its basic principles.*

Question: How to preserve unity and joint action in the face of unilateral interests* of member countries?

Remedy: Either as a legal system or in statehood the political union in Europe will have a constitutional order* as a precondition to efficiency and continuity. A constitution* brings stability resp. law and order to the European federation. It covers all aspects of the federal method of government that are assumed the best democratic and operational practices* for a spearhead group. The European Court of Justice* will uphold the European constitution* and democratic values*.

- Federal principle 11: *Unity* in diversity*.*

Question: 'How to reconcile the idea of popular sovereignty with the need for large territorial areas to be ruled through the institutions of democracy?' (F. Rossolillo, idem)

Remedy: 'In a post-national* polity, by multitier* planning, each level understands and respects the mandate of the other'. 'Multitier* planning requires federal institutions* in order to be duly implemented.' (A. Duff - MEP - former chair of UEF) 'The specific function of these institutions is to diffuse the element of independence*; enforce coordination; establish, at the highest level, federal bicameralism* and introduce the electoral cascade system (the cycle of elections starting at the lowest level), as to render the institutional system in its entirety capable of taking decisions*, without prejudicing the autonomy* at each of the levels of government of which it is made up.' (F. Rossolillo, idem)

- Federal principle 12: *No good governance* without an effective political union*.*

Question: Can an institutional status quo at European level remediate a situation of declining competitiveness, global influence and security?

Remedy: 'Federal governance (at European level) has become imperative and urgent in order not to endanger the prospects of progress, welfare and security for Europe'. (Publius) It is a moral and public duty of our democratically elected leaders to stimulate the emergence of a dynamic, effective and flexible polity* in Europe. 'A political system is legitimate if people perceive increase of prosperity* generated by the system.' (prof P. De Grauwe - LSE), implying no significant increase of prosperity* without good governance.

- Federal principle 13: *All former transnational* powers will further be wielded.*

Question: Why are unexercised transnational powers* not transferred to the EU?

Remedy: Lack of power allocation or instruments resp. procedures enabling the implementation of unexercised national powers* cause a governance vacuum in the EU. Incompletely exercised powers are foreign policy, defence (internal and external), macro-economic policy, and energy policy. The EU shall become an example of shared sovereignty*.

- Federal principle 14: *Joint coordination**

Question: What if the EU is not empowered*, but European coordination is needed?

Remedy: European cooperation, at whatever level of authority or with a vast array of actors, is important in order to find solutions to similar problems and remain united. The European Commission should be entitled to take over temporarily or permanently certain powers of the member countries in order to carry out needed coordination, not only in times of crisis. The covid-pandemic coordination was inadequate in the absence of empowerment.

B312

Principles related to personal interest*

- Federal principle 15: *A political union is based on public acceptance* and support.*

Question: How to prevent failure of the European project?

Remedy: Europe by and for the peoples of Europe*. New formats of participation*, deliberation* and of codecision* by people will be part of a new political order. The local level* in particular, but not exclusively, will be open to consultation and possibly codecision.

- Federal principle 16: *Diversity* acknowledges coexisting identities*.*

Question: Is there a contradiction between the prevailing identity(ies) and the incremental identity resulting from the creation of an ever closer union* in Europe?

Remedy: The objectives of an open European project are reflected in a model* that takes stock of a multilingualistic* and multiracial* society. Fear for losing its national or regional identity is unfounded. A shared European identity* and awareness results from a large common public space* where an increasing number of shared matters justify the idea of a shared destiny*. Adaptation shall not be perceived as a loss of identity provided the shared European values* are acknowledged. A one people narrative is not relevant in Europe. Europe shares a way of life that gradually develops ideas in which peoples recognise themselves. Ultimately these values* will be incorporated in a European constitution*. (see also S212/33)

B32

Derivative federal principles*

B321

Principles related to European public interest*

- Derivative principle 1: *Deep reform* takes time.*

Question: Can deep reform take place in one move?

Remedy: Deep reform implies long-term planning and preparation. That planning will be inclusive and be a step by step* process, with a deep sense of reality. 'Certain urgent issues will be handled in conformity with the objectives of structural reform contained in an overall political deal, that sets out a clear direction.' (Paul Goldschmidt - 4/07/2016)

- Derivative principle 2: *Reform implies a coherent* and inclusive project.*

Question: Can fragmentary* institutional reforms generate a coherent and inclusive project?

Remedy: 'Reform cannot be successful unless it connects the preliminary definition of the institutional structures to a final goal*'. (Paul Goldschmidt - 4/07/2016) A short-term view and a fragmented approach are not adequate. Reform shall simultaneously cover all deficiencies and expectations. Implementation will proceed by logic steps.

- Derivative principle 3: *Political transition* requires a well thought out strategy*.*

Question: How can the transition from an intergovernmental* system to an open, post-national and federal project take place?

Remedy: This transition is complex. Priorities will be set from the start along a binding timetable. The final goal* of the European project shall be backed by the political resp. the socio-economic elite*, academics, media* and civil society*.

- Derivative principle 4: *European authorities act proportionally* and effectively.*

Question: How to improve the positive impact of authorities on society?

Remedy: Empowerment*, responsibility, accountability, effectivity, a long-term perspective and the capacity to deliver* go hand in hand.

- Derivative principle 5: *Hierarchy of laws*.*

Question: How to create a positive interaction between the various levels?

Remedy: European empowerment is defined in a European constitution* and European

legislation has precedence over national/regional/local law. Residual competences are implemented at the lower levels of authority. This hierarchy is basic to a federal project. Litigations related to European legislation or treaties are submitted to the European Court of Justice*. Prejudicial advice can be obtained from the ECJ by the national Courts of Justice.

- Derivative principle 6: *The number of levels of government* will be limited.*

Question: How to increase efficiency and good governance*?

Remedy: In a national and regional context two levels of authority can be considered optimal to deal with a specific competence. (Frank Van Massenhoven) Competences shall be homogeneous. The national level will cover no more than three levels of authority (national, regional and municipal), in order to remain effective and operate at a fair cost. This idea cannot be imposed by the EU-level, since being the member countries' competence.

- Derivative principle 7: *A European budget* will be credible.*

Question: Which budget is needed to make European policies credible?

Remedy: The budget of a spearhead group will be covered by own resources (taxation) and will not depend on national contributions. 'Each level of government has autonomous financial resources.' (A. Duff - On governing Europe - p.17) The budget will be commensurate with the competences of that level. A coherent budgetary policy implies clear political choices. Each budget cycle of seven years at EU-level will set priorities as well as long-term and output objectives*. The European budget will be balanced. An effective European political system operates in budgetary autonomy. Finanzausgleich in a federation deals with the split up of federal financial resources between its member countries and the intermediate level.

- Derivative principle 8: *Policy at the other tiers joins in with European policy.*

Question: How to prevent conflicts of interest* between different levels of authority?

Remedy: The European federal government and the other levels of authority will deliberate and possibly codecide* on a joint strategy or on matters of common interest. They will decide who will provide for these resources. Disputes resulting from overlapping competences will be settled by arbitration, negotiation or by recourse to the European Court of Justice*.

- Derivative principle 9: *No soft without hard power**

Question: How can Europe survive in a competitive world ruled by power politics?

Remedy: Soft power has up to now been EU's main expression of external action. Soft power alone is inadequate. Meaningful external action shall be backed up by hard power after depletion of the resources of soft power. (see S45/40 Theme 5 External Defence)

- Derivative principle 10: *No open internal space* without a joint external border*.*

Question: How can internal security* of the EU be preserved?

Remedy : Joint external borders will secure a large and open internal public space*. The same rules of access apply to the EU-territory. Today the European Border Police and Coast Guard (EBPC) assists national border police in case of structural problems. EBPC will also protect the external border from ill-intentioned or illegal people. (see S46/41 Theme 6 Migration and border control)

B322

Principles related to personal interest*

- Derivative principle 11: *Democratic practices in the EU deserve people's attention.*

Questions: How to restore confidence of people of Europe in public administration? 'How to develop a sense of solidarity* and communication among the fellow-strangers who make up EU-citizenship?' (A. Duff)

Remedy: 'The European Union will not be truly democratic until it gets a government'. (A. Duff) 'Parliamentary representatives will be elected at all levels in single constituencies'. (F. Rossillo, idem) All levels of authority will be similarly democratic and legitimated.

- Derivative principle 12: *Transparent decisions trigger confidence by people.*

Question: How to reduce the political deficit* of the European institutions*?

Remedy: A representative democracy remains the rule. Consultation*, participation* and possibly codecision* will for all apply to the lower levels of authority, except for questions related to fundamental rights* or important political options. People and civil society will be the privileged partners in the early consultation rounds. 'Participation can be advanced by institutions and the input of citizens. This input shall be channelled through independent* institutions, not through bodies controlled by political parties/parliamentary groups. In these independent institutions participating citizens will behave as cooperative and socially responsible persons.' (Renovating democracy - Berggruen/Gardels)

- Derivative principle 13: *Solidarity* relates to responsibility and reciprocity.*

Questions: How can solidarity become a guiding principle in a political union? How can the concept of redistribution of purchasing power at European level be introduced?

Remedy: 'According to prof. Frank Vandenbroucke creation of a European social union* depends on a consensus about the social dimension*. Formulation of an active European social dimension means a search for joint standards and objectives that still allow differentiated national or regional action. A clear understanding of the concept of solidarity shall be worked out at European level and in the member countries.' (De Bom, idem, p. 31) 'Each milestone in

our society started as an utopian idea'. 'Radical, even utopian* ideas, can become inevitable.' (Bregman - De Tijd - 24/09/2016)

- **Derivative principle 14:** *'Bicameralism* safeguards the protection of the citizens' rights and of the lower tiers'*. (F. Rossolillo, idem)

Question: Shall lower levels' interests be directly represented at the European level?

Remedy: 'Division of labour among the Chambers should reflect the diverse interests each of them represents. The Lower Chamber (European Parliament) initiates the legislative process and shapes resp. controls the executive with democratic procedures. The Upper Chamber's task (future Senate) is to safeguard the specific interests of the lower tiers of government and guarantee their rights, laid down in the constitution'. 'The election of the Upper Chamber and Lower Chamber as well as at the level below it coincide, so that campaigning in both elections is on the same issues'. 'In large federal states, with a multitier federal structure, the bulk of the legislative work is done by the two legislative bodies of the highest level. These are the places where the political class is being formed and expresses itself'. 'Multitier planning eliminates the need to have local interest directly represented at the highest level'. 'Local communities' problems are tackled directly by autonomous levels of self-government in the territorial sphere in which they occur.' (idem, Rossolillo)

- **Derivative principle 15:** *'Political players* shall have an electoral interest to elaborate political alternatives'*. (De Bom, idem, p. 140)

Question: How to facilitate the transmission* of popular will*?

Remedy: 'Politicalisation* takes place where issues and the very moments of joint decisions are intentionally made visible to people. Power is allocated to known public institutions, viz. the European Parliament (and later to a Senate), because winning seats depends on electoral competition. Public debate will no longer be a dull process, but will be structured around a limited number of issues, a limited number of players and in a context. Provided political players have an electoral interest to elaborate alternatives, the dynamics of public decision-making will become transparent and visible.' (De Bom, idem, p. 140) 'Europe's federal* democracy will only work if there is a strong horizontal association among self-conscious European Union's citizens of different nationalities as well as a lively vertical liaison between the various tiers of government'. (A. Duff)

- **Derivative principle 16:** *Appointment to European top positions* will proceed along transparent procedures and as close as possible to the citizens.*

Questions: How to reduce the democratic deficit* and enhance public interest? Who can compete in elections in large territorial areas?

Remedy: European political parties will present to the public their candidates and platforms for top positions and nominate them in a broad public consultation. This process will receive public attention and give a political dimension to these positions. 'Only personalities with considerable

political and moral stature shall stand at these elections'. (F. Rossolillo, idem) This is a precaution against the election of an excessive number of yes-men, lobby-representatives and party bureaucrats who crowd the national parliaments today.' (F. Rossolillo, idem) 'At European level more attention shall go to the electoral competition between those who seek to occupy European top positions and a European opposition that challenges those in power to develop policy alternatives of government. That institutionalised competition is needed to give people insight in which choices are being made and which alternatives of government are at hand'. (De Bom, id,139)

- Derivative principle 17: *Conflicts of interest* will be avoided.*

Questions: 'How can political representatives not be compelled by the very logic of their election to set the interest of a portion of the territory before that of the whole?'. (F. Rossolillo, idem)

Remedy: European and national constitutions* define the incompatibility of functions for people's representatives. Each public body will be controlled for compliance with its statutory rules. Control bodies will be autonomous. Remunerated public and private mandates, held by a politician, will be limited, if not forbidden. No one will combine an executive and control function in the same public body. Lobbyists*, multinationals or influential actors shall not overrule regulations.

Part Four

B4

Relations among the different tiers and the citizens

B41

Introduction

- Part Three followed a line of thought with a clear final goal: a post-national* and decentralised* European federation. Some may find this reasoning too much conclusion-oriented. This being said, the outlined reasoning remains valid.
- An alternative approach is developed in Part Four starting bottom-up* in order to elaborate a polity that includes all tiers and not just the European one. Each level shall be able to handle expectations* of people and demands of public interest*. Citizens are put at the center* as opposed to current approach where people have the impression only the abstract notion of public interest* plays a role.
- Reasoning in Part Four is different from the official vision* on European integration, where all attention goes to the normative side. All tiers of authority will be covered in Part Four since they interact structurally.
- Supporters of the post-national* and federal approach will find in Part Four tangible arguments to substitute current nation-state* reasoning.
- Demanding societal objectives* impose high standards on a European polity capable to deliver. This is vital for the achievement of a peaceful* ever closer union*.
- At each of the four tiers a distinction is made between the macro level of public interest* versus the personal level of human interest.

B42

Local tier*

B421

Overall objective*

- Local empowerment can improve quality of life* and commitment in a citizen-centered* polity.

B422

Current situation*

B4221

At local public interest* level

- Mega or small cities or rural districts are often too big or too small to meet the expectations* of their inhabitants.
- 'Successful cities excel simultaneously in different aspects, such as culture, economy, education*, mobility and recreation'. (Geert Noels, Econopolis - De Tijd 17/02//2018)
- 'Running a city or a municipality is different from a country or a region. Urban complexity and vicinity generate a different agenda than that of the more institutional arena at the higher levels of government.' (Eric Corijn, prof. VUB - De Standaard - 28/12/2016)
- 'City projects need a facilitating local authority that enables social innovation and circular economy to flourish.' (idem)

B4222

At local personal interest* level

- In cities and smaller communities' mayors, aldermen and administrators enjoy considerable confidence from people. The other tiers don't enjoy the same level of confidence.
- Societal collective patterns shall not be ignored. At the local level people feel safe. Local identity*, loyalty* and co-ownership* are important features.
- We fancy a system of people's participation*, but we often don't succeed to reach a decision.

B423

Assumptions*

B4231

At local common public interest* level

- Think global, act local.
- 'The local level*, where we live together, is the place where it all starts and happens.' (Bart Somers, former mayor of Malines)
- 'Municipalities and regions need the EU. However the EU needs the municipalities and regions as well.' (CoR - L'avenir de l'Europe - 11/2018)
- 'With the assistance of municipalities and regions Europe can get closer to the peoples. (idem)
- The local level offers the best mix of deliberative*, participative* and consultative democracy.
- At the local level people can bring to bear their right to challenge.
- The local level offers vicinity*, easier access to politicians or to the administrators and has the best knowledge of the local situation. The local level can offer effective first-line services.
- 'Participation by and accountability* towards the citizens in smaller organisations, municipalities, Bezirge or districts, lead to better decisions.' (Van Doorselaere - De Tijd - 24/2004/18)
- The local level is viable and effective provided citizenship* flourishes. That happens when people feel themselves heard, involved and coresponsible*.
- Civic participation* implies asking for an opinion after joint reflection.
- A citizen-centered* system implies an increased role of citizens in policy preparation.
- Citizens' demands and expectations* will orientate the implementation of active subsidiarity*.

- In the absence of political initiative citizens will, in certain circumstances, be authorised to take over the initiative.
- Active citizens will keep politicians and administrators focused on the issues that matter.
- Additional local empowerment* implies a commensurate budget*.
- Downward decentralisation* will benefit transparency, accountability*and effectivity.
- The future is mainly shaped in cities. Outstanding universities make the difference for cities and regions.

B4232

At personal interest* level

- Most day-to-day citizens' issues can be solved by local authorities.
- Public administrators and politicians have no monopoly of initiative or decision on important policy issues. They shall timely involve the stakeholders* in order to set the shared objectives.
- Requests or suggestions by citizens*/associations that enjoy reasonable support will have to be acknowledged by local politicians and/or administrators. The latter will report ex-ante and ex-post on progress and justify the final decision.

B424

Expectations* of people on Europe*

B4241

At local public interest* level

- People expect local authorities to cooperate with its stakeholders* (people, civil society, business and finance) to face local challenges. 'Contrary to authorities that just network, the local level can implement an interdisciplinary approach that reflects pragmatism.' (Bruce Katz, urban planner - De Tijd - 14/04/2018)
- People expect local authorities to solve as many as possible local problems by their own.

B4242

At local personal interest* level

- People want in the first place to feel protected and respected.
- People want to influence the local political agenda.
- People want to participate* in the definition of content at the local level.
- People aspire to one nearby local frontoffice* as an interphase with the administrators of all other tiers, either in a face-to-face contact or by electronic means, in order to keep oversight of their rights and benefit of the public goods they are entitled to.

B425

Objectives*

B4251

At local public interest* level

- 'Local and regional politicians strengthen the democratic foundation of the European Union. Renew the EU from the ground (bottom) up*'. (CoR - Working together - p.9)
- Allocation of powers as close as possible to the citizens is good, but the ultimate objective is more effectivity* and coresponsibility*.

- European directives and frame-directives are translated into national or regional legislation. Liberty should be given to the local tier to adapt these rules to local circumstances (health, ecology and public order), without weakening the objectives.
- The local level will for all deal with person-related and local issues. Contact and action will be more direct, closer and faster.
- The local level will be able to enhance social cohesion* and mutual understanding.
- 'Interest in the local community will profit the integration of critical citizenship'. (De Standaard - Marc Reynebeau - 17/04/2021)
- 'Smart cities deal with wellbeing* of people as a central issue.' (Didier Beauvois, BNPParibas Fortis) Local (rural) districts can be entrusted with more competences, provided their dimension matches these competences*. The level above it can take care of services which the districts better share (fire brigades, mobility, healthcare, etc). Local administrations shall demonstrate they can operate with less red tape. (see B4361/27)

B4252 At local personal interest* level

- Trust, vicinity and satisfaction are the three conditions able to boost cooperation of people as co-owners* of the community's interest.

B426 Policy options*

B4261 At local public interest* level

- The local level will carry out an increasing number of basic functions. Coresponsibility* and personalised services justify this move.
- A flat organisation limits internal frictions and improves transparency and efficiency. An open administrative architecture optimises interoperability.
- Local key-competences are: social affairs, mobility, security, infrastructure, environment, housing, education*, sports and culture. Local authorities will carefully select investments.
- Cities or local communities seek cooperation where needed or profitable.
- 'Smaller communities will be invited to merge. There are other means to increase efficiency: cut legislation, improve effectivity of the administration, stimulate regional cooperation, improve local autonomy*.' (Marc Suykens - general manager Vereniging van Vlaamse Steden en Gemeenten - 17/07/2014)

B4262 At local personal interest* level

- Experiments in basic democracy*, such as action committees, public meetings, marches, flash mobs, information meetings, social media, citizens' science (citizens that measure confront authorities), hearings or public consultations. All shall be given a fair chance.
- An app will give the citizens access to all public databases related to their own data or enable direct electronic interaction. Dataprotection applies.
- Interconnected databases are conditional of a smart service to the public.
- A central frontoffice* will be empowered* to investigate at all administrative tiers and follow up the processing of a file and report the state of progress to the applicant.
- Administrative heads in the frontoffices*, in direct contact with the applicant, will directly settle obvious cases. This attitude* is the opposite of that of a self-protective administration.

B43 **Intermediate tier***

B431 ***Overall objective****

- Interphase between the local and member country's level in a decentralised* system.

B432 ***Current situation****

B4321 **At public interest* level**

- The intermediate tier can be inclined to operate as a centralising* administration.
- Their size and capabilities differ, leading to a different quality of service to the public.
- Erosion of democracy* occurs at the intermediate and member country's level if people feel they lose contact with their leaders on important issues.

B433 ***Assumptions****

B4331 **At public interest* level**

- The intermediate tiers are Länder, regions, provinces or départements. Applies for all to non-federal member countries of the EU.
- The intermediate tier can possibly lose some competences to the local tier.
- The intermediate tier can meet specific needs, for example the affirmation of a subnational identity* or solidarity.

B434 ***Expectations* of people on Europe***

B4341 **At personal interest* level**

- People reluctantly bridge the distance between the intermediate level and themselves.

B435 ***Objectives****

B4351 **At public interest* level**

- A decentralised* model with less tiers a different allocation of competences*.
- The intermediary tier facilitates coordination and deliberation* with the local tier.

B436 ***Policy options****

B4361 **At public interest* level**

- The intermediate tier redistributes resources and coordinates the implementation of policies,

- such as social affairs, education*, infrastructure, mobility, housing, sports and culture.
- The intermediate tier delegates a number of direct contact functions to the local tier and retributes that tier for that service.
 - The intermediate tier conveys technical advise on territorial matters such as mobility, environment, urban planning and on citizen-centered* matters.
 - 'Regions can be split up in subregions enabling the merger of public utilities' cooperatives. The objective is twofold: reduce the number of municipalities and weed in organisations resp. mandates. No additional layer of authority will be created. Mayors will play a central role in the consultative body of the subregion. Cooperation of public utilities over the subregional borders will not be allowed anymore, except for water, electricity and gas distribution.' (Bart Somers, Flemish minister of internal government - De Tijd - 13/10/2020) (see B4251/24)

B44 **Member country tier***

B441 ***Overall objective****

- Decentralisation* rules the interface between the national and European level.

B442 ***Current situation****

B4421 **At public interest* level**

- At member country level democracy* is eroded, implying confidence of people in their leaders is lower than at local level.
- Some member countries hesitate to transfer powers to the local, intermediate or European level.
- At national level citizen-centered* competences are too remote from its people to yield a positive perception. In many member countries perception persists democracy can only thrive at national level.

B443 ***Assumptions****

B4431 **At public interest level**

- The national tier* is no longer able to tackle transnational/geopolitical* and societal issues.

B444 ***Expectations* of people on Europe***

B4441 **At personal interest* level**

- People don't want to give up their loyalty* towards their own country* that remains a symbol of identity, unity, solidarity and a so-called safe haven.
- For emotional, historical or practical reasons the member country level* (this denomination is to be preferred over national level) will be maintained, but with less power in transnational* and international matters.

B445

Objectives*

B4451

At public interest* level

- Countries coordinate the intermediate tiers (Länder, regions, départements, provinces).
- In an intergovernmental* system member countries (MC) transmit their positions to the European Commission's draft legislative measures. In many cases the MC decide. In a European federation a European general interest standpoint will be formulated by the European executive and be subject to a decision by the two Chambers respectively a codecision* by the European executive and the MC, in case of shared competences.

B446

Policy options*

B4461

At public interest* level

- Member countries' competences cover social security, pensions, internal security*, national territorial defence* and portions of foreign affairs, development aid and foreign trade.
- The member countries or the intermediate level transpose European law in the country's or regional law.

B45

European tier

B451

Overall objectives*

B4511

At public interest* level

- Create a transnational* democracy* in Europe that is decentralised*, connected, post-national*, multitier*, pluralistic, fair, tolerant, multicultural*, multilingual* and supported by its people.
- Introduce gradually an innovative societal and political model* in all tiers of authority.

B452

Current situation*

B4521

At public interest* level

- The consequences of long deferral of political decisions in Europe become apparent now.
- Speed of change increases. Geopolitical* and intra-European developments exceed speed of adaptation by the EU.
- Europe has no adequate political system, by lack of political planning and a long-term vision*.
- Competition between regional and global powers intensifies and is complex since being a mix of arms supremacy, dominant trade positions and technological* leadership. The stronger, bigger and most adaptive actors will survive and win this rat race.
- Global trade fostering peace* and prosperity* for the larger part of world population is contested by a growing number of people.
- 'Post-war European integration was based on the principles of international cooperation, multilateralism* and the mutually beneficial development of all its members.' (Friederike Roder, Director ONE's EU, New Europe, April 28 2019)

- The EU has too limited sovereign power*. President Macron proposes a sovereign* Europe.
- Unanimity* decisions in the EU shortstop progress towards an ever closer union*.
- Dominance by the European Council in both the executive and legislative branches make national interests prevail over European interest*.
- The European Commission mostly deliberates* in advance with the member countries about its legislative intentions, which are consequently reduced to a common denominator.
- The EU was enlarged* too fast. Democracy was introduced in Central and East-European countries that had no prior democratic experience. Today certain of these member countries contest the European democratic rule of law* by adopting values that substantially diverge from the jointly accepted values. Some member countries suffer from endemic corruption.
- EU economic policies generated additional prosperity*, but could neither bring durability* nor an inclusive society.
- Antagonism between North versus South and West versus East of the EU is existing.

B4522

At personal interest* level

- People have the impression their voice isn't heard by the European institutions.
- People's weak civic conscience* has far-reaching consequences on society.
- People in Europe stick too much to their historical background, to vested national authorities, to the hierarchy or to overaged societal beliefs.
- Many people feel disconnected and discouraged.
- People lose confidence in society in the absence of a future-oriented project*.
- By lack of orientation* many people want one thing and the opposite.
- In an highly interconnected European society still too many people borrow their identity* exclusively from the nation-state*, region, language or religion.

B453

Assumptions*

B4531

At public interest* level

- Democratic practice* shall simultaneously be strengthened at the local, intermediate, national and supranational* level.
- A nationalistic perspective lacks room for compromise and dialogue.
- Accessible, transparent, effective and non-obtrusive public services improves public acceptance of authority.
- The eurozone* or otherwise shall become the core of a political union* or spearhead group.
- The low speed group of member countries continues to be involved in the single market*.
- European integration is an ongoing process that has the potential to lead to an ever closer union* for a spearhead group* and generate more added value for its stakeholders*.
- Multilevel governance* enhances internal cohesion* in the spearhead group.
- A political union for a spearhead group shall generate a crisis-resistant system.

B4532

At personal interest* level

- European pride/co-ownership* will be boosted by tangible economic achievements.
- The civic and political role of people of Europe will be upgraded.
- People of Europe will be better off by further integration in a spearhead group.
- A European post-national* and federal union is based on public acceptance and support.

B454

Expectations* of people

B4541

At public interest* level

- Reflect societal developments in EU's polity and public administration.
- People aspire to an obvious, transparent, accountable*, humane* society.

B4542

At personal interest* level

- Enjoy peace* and stability inside and outside the EU.
- Enjoy prosperity and welfare*.
- Enjoy an innovative representative and deliberative* democracy that brings to bear public will at the European level.
- Enjoy protection and orientation.
- Enjoy more participation* moments with authorities at each level.
- Enjoy transnational*, social and physical protection.
- Enjoy shared European values and fundamental rights* of the EU.
- Enjoy correct information to help people and elite make up their mind.

B455

Objectives*

B4551

At public interest* level

- Shared sovereignty* is conditional on ambitious shared objectives.
- Transnational* and international relations at national level shall gradually be transferred to EU.
- Respect for the rule of law and for European values.
- Introduce procedures of democratic and effective deliberation* able to reach a consensus among Europe, the member countries and the regions (vertically) respectively thematic departments at the same level (horizontally).
- Secure EU internal security*, external protection and strategic autonomy.
- Have a state of lasting peace* with its neighbours.
- Face geopolitiek* challenges and optimise opportunities of European integration.
- Strategic planning to achieve the prioritarian objectives with a high level of ambition. Two objectives* emerge: prepare Europe for crisis situations and for the future.
- Each tier is entrusted with the competences it can assume. These competences will generate more added value than at other tiers (subsidiarity*).
- The role of each tier will be defined as to create more satisfaction of peoples' needs and expectations*. These efforts start at the local level.
- The number of tiers in Europe should be limited to four. (see B321/18 - DP6)
- Each tier will be autonomous* and empowered to resist centralisation* by the tier above it.

B4552

At personal interest* level

- Enable the European citizen to fully assume his democratic responsibility*.
 - 'A Europe enabling people to lead a life in dignity* and opportunity, leading to a world by example and ensuring everyone can develop its full potential.' (Friederike Roder)
- Go beyond an evidence based public policy in technical matters and incorporate, in a visible

manner, the expectations* of people of Europe.

B456

Policy options*

B4561

At European public interest* level

- European citizens residing in another member country shall be entitled to vote in that EU-country.
- The political union functions by legitimated institutions* and with majority decisions*.
- The European institutions* at EU-27 level will take care of the single market*, foreign affairs, external defence* (outside the national borders), a joint budget*, environment, an even economic and social playing field, corporate taxation*, development aid, migration and asylum and transnational* security in the EU.
- Bicameralism* will prevail in the EU-27 or in the spearhead group.
- Transnational* constituencies and European political parties will be introduced.
- The presidents of the European federation and government will be directly elected.
- The eurozone*/political union/spearhead group* will progress step by step*, decided at the start and implemented in accordance with a binding timetable.
- 'Multilevel governance* will be incorporated in all legislative and regulatory provisions of policies with regional impact'. (CoR - Working together to bring the EU closer to its citizens - 06/19)
- Empowerment* and objectives* are specific for each tier.

B4562

At personal interest* level

- A new model* will shape new people-to-government* relations.
- Reform of electoral law at European level.
- Each level will have ad hoc or structured forms of consultation, deliberation*and codecision.
- Consultation brings European citizens closer to the decision-makers and will end up in a democratic debate that will possibly be finalised in a European electoral battle.
- Top politicians will associate people with the political initiatives. Politicians will mobilise people on these agendas.
- People will be enabled to put political themes on the political agenda*.
- Each citizen will have the right to introduce a bill or a demand to the Petitions Commission of the European Parliament, that decides on its receivability.

B46

Issues waiting for an answer at European level

- European institutional reform urges for a constitutional pact* and a new social contract*.
- 'The eurozone* is an incomplete economic, monetary, banking union that generates tension between the exporting and creditor countries in the North, that reject more transfers, loans, guarantees and mutualisation of debts, and the member countries in the South that reject fiscal and financial restrictions.' (formulated by Javier Ramos Diaz in The Federalist Debate of March 15, 2018)
- 'The alignment of Greece, Bulgaria and Romania in the European welfare systems has not made these countries more productive or more competitive' (idem).
- 'The EU is the exponent of a world order based on open borders, international production chains and transnational* regulation or globalisation*. The pandemic is the exponent of a new world order in which borders, national production and national interests resp. power come

to the foreground. In the absence of a European power strategy national interests prevail. Only if the member countries elect a common approach, a project for the 21st century can be elaborated' (prof. Marc De Vos, Macquarie University Sidney - De Tijd - 24/03/2021).

- In order to meet the expectations of the European citizens EU requires more budgetary and strategic industrial autonomy* and capability. The first lesson Trump learned us regarding public health: don't trust the free market and free trade. Second. In times of low interest rates don't be penny-wise about tax money. Last thirty years Europe invested too little in the future among others due to the Maastricht-rules. If Europe wants to compete with the USA, China and India some sacred cows will have to be sacrificed, such as the free market and budgetary traitjackets. (prof. M. Matthijs, John Hopkins University - De Tijd - 27/03/2021).

Section Two

Strategy*, Tactics* and Methodology* (S)

Operational guidance*

'A crisis can be both fascinating and dangerous.

Fascinating because a crisis activates societal reflection and action.

Dangerous because a crisis can become a breeding ground for irrational simplification'

Hugo Schilz, former Belgian MP (1981)

S1

Introduction and new ideas

- If the will to transform society is not coordinated/organised, no effective change will occur.
- Some European federalists (EFs) think formulation of assumptions, objectives, strategy/tactics or methodology* is not important. They opinate action shall prevail. However, meaningful action requires a reasoned, structured, inclusive ideology* and an adequate methodology.
- What is the central idea of Section Two? European federalists (EFs) shall unambiguously position* themselves at the political scene* in order to avoid freewheeling resp. irrelevance.
- Shared input of ideas and prior definition by policy-makers and people of purpose respectively objectives for the political union shall become common practice.
- EFs need an inclusive and clear formulation of their basic ideas on strategy, tactics and methodology. This shouldn't create dissension among EFs since optimisation of their working methods is the objective.
- Strategy* in this Vademecum* means a long-term vision, short-term planning, clear assumptions and objectives, prioritarian themes, a communication plan with target audiences* and the implementation of a number of guidelines* specific to that approach.
A European Citizens' Deal* will strengthen the political/institutional* system and demos.
- Shift from current institution-centered* reasoning to an objectives-oriented positioning to get access to and acceptance by target audiences.
 - New ideas for the Conference on the Future of Europe* will for all emerge out of civil society. Political leaders will possibly later and slowly join in with a scaled-down vision*.
- A European project will first reach the elite*/establishment, in a later stage the general public.

S2

What comes first?

European federalists (EFs) define themselves

- EFs represent a civic movement with specific political values* and objectives* that position* them at the political scene*. 'Disruptures created by the pandemic (or crisis) force each business (or administration) to look for its very 'raison d'être'. In politics this effort goes beyond a mission statement and the values implemented by people'. (adapted from T. Cattoir - De Tijd - 7/07/20) The core values/principles of the European project can be summarised as: diversity*, solidarity and coresponsibility. (see B121/7).

S21

Mission statement* by European federalists (EFs)

S211

EFs' singularity

- EFs militate in a cross-partisan citizens' pluralistic movement.
- EFs function in an independent, future-oriented and innovative movement that stands apart from political parties* ideologies*. EFs members shall not voice their political parties'* opinion but remain party or philosophically neutral when acting in the name of EFs.
- EFs have no intention to create a political party*.
- EFs act as a pressure group* aiming to produce a shift of paradigm* in European society and polity in order to facilitate the transition* beyond nation-state* reasoning.
- EFs express citizens' standpoints and take positions on behalf of people of Europe*.
- EFs' membership subscribes the democratic rule of law* in Europe, European values* and a post-national* and federal European political system.
- EFs focus on the future of Europe and provide for content of a public debate.
- EFs elaborate a specific political platform with an inclusive vision of a societal and political project for Europe.
- EFs keep European leaders focused on prioritarian issues.
- EFs unite and orientate European democrats and conscient people aware of the positive impact of European integration on the way of life* of people in Europe.
- EFs stimulate structural partnerships with like-minded organisations.
- EFs aim to become a benchmark of European post-national* and federal thinking.

S212

Societal and political objectives* of the EFs

- EFs emphasise the needs and expectations* of people of Europe* such as equity,* transparency*, durability, democratic practices*, participation, legitimation, good governance*.
- EFs work out an inclusive project that secures the survival of European democratic values*, fundamental rights*, an open society, a social model*, prosperity, humanity* and dignity*.
- EFs support an effective European political system calling on multilevel governance*, federal principles, hierarchy of laws*, a balanced trias politica*, accountability* and a citizen-centered* society.
- EFs consider bottom-up* activism a lever to achieve above project.
- EFs want a society able to generate trust, economic cohesion* and peace.*
- EFs promote the gradual transition* from the nation-centered* society towards a truly democratic and citizen-centered* Europe in a large and shared public space*.

- EFs limit the scope of European competences to transnational* and international matters in a broad sense, where the added value of Europe is obvious.
- EFs 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 are key references towards a new societal model*.
- EFs reject linking European nationality to identity*. Public values* and communality are the basis of that European identity*. (see also B312/17 - FP16)

S22

European federalists (EFs) have trump cards

- EFs acknowledge a new paradigm* is needed to safeguard Europe's welfare model, its specific values, its internal and its external security, its independence and peaceful* relations with neighbours and at the global scene.
- EFs acknowledge an entirely new or thoroughly adapted political system for Europe is conditional of meeting current and future demands of the European project.
- EFs adopt a post-national* and federal reasoning for their activism.
- EFs can reach people with different political backgrounds. (see S212/33)

S23

Vulnerability of political parties*

- Do political parties fail to address current and future challenges? Which voids do they leave?
- Political parties are perceived to safeguard their power base, rather than public interest*.
- Not the political parties but the electorate will reshuffle the political scene*. (De Tijd - W. Van de Velden - 30/02/2021)
- Differences among political parties show up by the praxis of their public moral rather than by their ideology*.
- The political scene* is so fragmented*, that decisions are difficult to reach.
- Certain political parties are outflanked by nationalistic and populist movements that attract undecided or scared people with fake arguments.
- 'Some political parties fail to bridge the distance between those who can manage change resp. accept it and those for whom change goes too fast and feel overtaken in their expectations and certainty.' (J. Coens, chair of CD&V - De Tijd - 7/11/2020)
- Many political parties* turn away from taking sides on European integration. They implicitly maintain the centre of legitimation* remains with the nation-state*.
- Political and societal reform shouldn't be expected from the political actors in power. Reform shall come from elsewhere provided this voice is strong and consistent.
- According to Meyrem Almaci (chair of Green) there is but one remedy against the further rise of anti-political feelings: 'public policies shall be positive to people by offering them socio-economic security and solid ground.' (De Tijd - 7/11/2020)
- Many politicians remain silent if they see no immediate benefit to take side.
- Many people demand participation*. Most party leaders seem to ignore this, causing parts of public opinion* to adhere to populist parties in the absence of an alternative.
- Political parties are not the enemy number one. Instead national leaders shall be induced to reconsider their attitude* towards achievable resp. needed objectives for Europe.

S3

Methodology* for an inclusive European project

Eight steps* track

- Formulation of a conceptual framework for an inclusive project of the spearhead group* implies a process of eight consecutive steps* (in the indicated sequence):
 - Formulation of EFs' final goal* for a post-national and federal Europe.
 - Formulation of EFs' basic assumptions.
 - Formulation of EFs' objectives.
 - Formulation of EFs' position at the political scene.
 - Formulation of EFs' strategy.
 - Formulation of EFs' operational principles to shape the intended polity and model.
 - Formulation of EFs' prioritarian themes (context related).
 - Formulation of EFs' tactics and actionplanning (campaigning).
- Many attempts to formulate a coherent and inclusive project failed because focus was on the elaboration of policy domains instead of looking for a comprehensive view and the underlying reasoning in the consecutive steps. Values* and principles underlying policy options* are often not mentioned.

S4

Methodological* presentation by theme

Seven themes

- Following seven themes don't cover the full scope of EU competences. They are presented along the outlined methodology (S3). Policy options by theme are just one set of ideas among many alternatives. European federalists (EFs) should reflect on that formulation.

Theme 1

S41 **A political union based on a post-national* and federal Europe**

Create autonomy, effectivity and legitimation

S411

Final goal* for a spearhead group*

- See EFs' vision* (see B121/7 and B122/7) respectively mission statement (see S21/33).
- Creation of a free, open, decentralised* and fair society and a political system that has the potential to safeguard Europe's independence*, liberty*, prosperity*, way of life and welfare*.

S412

Assumptions* for a spearhead group*

- This project will not be adhered to by all EU-member countries.
- This project is earmarked for members countries of the eurozone* or otherwise.
- This project combines a political and a societal project.
- This project implies a change of paradigm* able to secure a better future for Europe.
- This project is citizen-centered* and will enhance people's role in society.
- This project implies a democratic and legitimated* polity (Europe by and for its citizens).
- This project opens up to a federal post-national* polity with the potential* to boost a more

- equally distributed prosperity*, decent employment, internal/external safety and cohesion*.
- This project is based on European values* such as human rights*, non-discrimination, rule of law, division of power* and protection of minorities.
- This project enhances effectivity, transparency and good governance*.
- This project creates a European polity able to govern and deliver.
- This project enables a spearhead group to command geopolitical* respect.
- No effective and prosperous Europe without federalism*.
- No dynamic society and democratic polity without a European federation*.
- No fair Europe without a socio-economic and a socio-ecologic model* based on ethics, cohesion*, durability, solidarity* and responsibility.

S413

Objectives* for a spearhead group*

- See Blueprint B122/7.
- Be capable of creating win-win situations for the largest number of people.
- Stimulation of a joint world governance to safeguard peace*, freedom, free trade and equity.
- 'Europe wants to be a global leader, at the vanguard of global development'. (Fr. Roder)
- 'Cooperation, coordination and scale-up advantages will remain the living spirit behind European integration and political power'. (Jef Poortmans - Trends - 4 feb 2021)

S414

Strategic choices* for a spearhead group

- A scenario setting an end goal* from the start, namely a post-national* and federal polity, interim objectives and a binding timetable for the transition process.
- A polity based on shared sovereignty* and differentiated development* in the EU.
- A constitution* or fundamental law. Hierarchy of laws* and norms. Multilevel governance*.
- Generalised majority or qualified majority voting*.
- A sovereign government accountable* to the legislative power of the spearhead group.
- Parliament and Council/Senate are equally empowered*.
- A separate configuration of the European Court of Justice* (ECJ) will be competent in spearhead matters.
- The spearhead group shall not nurture the vocation of an empire. However the size of this group is such that it shall accept the role of an important global actor that can constrain itself to a less dominant role without disregarding its legitimate interests and its own protection.
- Western (European) countries shall meet following conditions:
 - improve social inclusion;
 - less ecological* externalisation (new earning models and less polluting technology);
 - less unilateral political initiative by public authorities or politicians.

These conditions define a new social contract* between capital and labour and bridge the gulf between ecology* and business. (prof. D. Criekemans, University of Antwerp - De Tijd - 8/01/2020)

S415

Operational principles for a spearhead group*

See Blueprint B121/7

Theme 2

S42

Economic, monetary*, energy, banking and social union

Create cohesion, prosperity and equity

S421

Final goal*

- Create a fully-fledged economic, energy, monetary*, banking (EMU) and social union* empowered* by shared sovereignty*.
- Promote social harmonisation, regional cohesion, prosperity* and equity*.

S422

Assumptions*

- An effective economic, monetary, banking and social union goes hand in hand with a political union, where all domains are integrated in an inclusive project.
- 'Creation of a true international reserve currency (euro*) is conditional of internal solidarity and cohesion* in the EU.' (P. Goldschmidt)

S423

Objectives*

- Replace short-term governance* by pro-active and strategic thinking.
- An empowered* spearhead zone will have an autonomous government and a budget financed by own resources commensurate with its objectives/long-term planning.
- Initiate durable economic dynamism with a focus on structural reform.
- Instate accountability* by all its institutions towards people's representation.
- Conclude a coexistence* pact with the low speed member countries.
- The Schengenzone and free circulation of people is a basic feature of the spearhead group.
- Complete the single market* and the implementation of the four liberties*.
- Elevate Europe's economic competitiveness to international standards.
- Integrate environmental* matters, consumer protection and industrial policy.
- Complete harmonisation of corporate taxation* and VAT reform.
- Elevate digitalisation and robotics to a level of excellence.
- Expose big search and big data platforms to market competition, transparency rules and guaranteed access to various sources of information.
- Promote free trade, without giving up European industry and services.
- Develop a joint European energy market.
- Deep coordination of research in the member countries and regions in key-sectors of industry.

S424

Solidarity* among the 27 member countries

- A democracy can but survive if the majority of the political parties* concur on a joint socio-economic model*.
- Seek coordination, even in domains where the EU is not empowered*, but where coordination among member countries is essential for cohesion and solidarity. (see FP14/17)
- Combat unemployment and precarity.
- European social justice shall not be sidelined by national interests.
- Strengthen social cohesion* by reducing regional differences.

S425

Policy options*
by the EU or otherwise

- Present a 'White Book II' with priorities for the single market* and beyond for the next five years (cf the Cockburn White Book).
- The Commission, the European Parliament and the European Council shall initiate a debate on the scope of a European social policy* and its priorities.
- Improve investment capacity for a European environmental* transition.
- Multinationals pay corporate taxes* in the country where they operate. The basis of taxation will be the same all over the EU.
- Reduce fiscal* fraud and social dumping.
- Reach the objectives of the Treaty of Paris sooner (global warming*).
- The energy policy shall move from a national vision to a European one, even go beyond European borders'. (Karel Lannoo, CEO CEPS - De Tijd - Partner Content - 14 Jan 2021)
- Equalise gradually taxatiën* of energy of maritime and air traffic with roadtransport. Rail shall become competitive on specific freightroutes and meet ecologic* objectives.

S43

Theme 3
Environmental* Policy of the EU
Create durability and improved quality of life*

S431

Final goal*

- Increase wellbeing* as an objective of quality of life*, seen from the physical viewpoint.

S432

Assumptions*

- Current fast progressing degradation of nature seriously affects our quality of life.
- This degradation shall be tackled soonest because containment now will cost less than later.
- Degradation is a cumulative process. Technology* can but partly curb this process. Individual and collective (as well as international) commitment will make up for the rest.

S433

Objectives*

- Restore carefully manmade degradation.
- Return to our children and grandchildren planet earth emancipated from overconsumption with huge volumes of waste and nocive emissions.
- Use high tech to handle, reduce and recycle waste and emissions. Calculate cost of recycling.
- Introduce a circular economy together with a zero carbon objective.
- 'Europe is to become a leader in sustainable development, not only achieving the SDG's but helping others to achieve them too.' (Friederike Roder)

S434

Policy options*

- See current EU environment policy.

- EU stops exporting subsidised food to African country, but shall offer instead knowhow and loans to increase local food production and facilitate local food storage and distribution.
- EU shall introduce the notion of minimum environmental and social standards in its trade agreements with third parties

Theme 5

S45 **External Defence* in a specific configuration** Create credibility and security

S451 ***Final goal****

- A joint and effective European Defence Union* (EDU) shall safeguard EU's independence* and uphold external peace*.

S452 ***Assumptions****

- Integration of external action and EDU implies a coalition of committed and willing countries.
- The intergovernmental logic impairs an adequate response by hard power.
- No soft power* without hard power* in Europe. Both are complementary. Hard power* implies possible use of coercion.
- A EU safety and defence policy depends equally on NATO and on EDU. Security of EU shall not be guaranteed by a third country.
- Today USA's military priority lies with China, not with Europe.
- 'Hard joint security is conditional of strategic autonomy*' (P. Goldschmidt) and of a joint strategy.
- The EDU implies a partial transfer of sovereignty*.

S453 ***Objectives****

- EDU is a defence mechanism that can be called upon if efforts by soft power* had no effect.
- A joint European military component is in stand-by and is able to react adequately.
- Complementarity and interoperability makes the joint defence system cost-effective.
- The EU will support efforts towards arms control, non-proliferation of nuclear and ballistic weapons resp. reinforcement of the international legal order*.

S454 ***Policy options****

- Empower* and equip EDU (defence*) adequately.
- The EU joint forces command will operate under civilian control, namely the European executive and legislative bodies.
- A 'European Security Council' consists of representatives of EU institutions and of the Joint staff. This body will decide on military action, research, investment and strategic choices regarding joint weapon systems.
- Today the military is supervised by national authorities. Multilateral* battlegroups operate under a European Joint Staff Command, capable of swift action, a joint strategy and capacity projects that bring to bear the permanently structured cooperation (PESCO*).

- European military Joint Staff and a European Defence Agency (procurement) will boost interoperability of European mobile battle groups, airforce and navy.
- The European Defence Fund* will stimulate joint European defence research and arms industry, joint procurement and standardisation of national contributions.
- Pro-active planning makes up the backlog in defence matters of each EDU member country.
- Creation of a selfsufficient European arms industry that will only supply the EDU members and other democratic countries.
- Defence cooperation is based on the concept of a dual defence system, with units dedicated to the national territorial defence resp. multilateral mobile battlegroups able to carry out operations inside the EU territory or abroad under EU/NATO/UN mandate.
- A European Military Academy will be created.

Theme 6

S46 **Migration* and border control in the EU** Effectivity and humanity

S461 ***Final goal****

- A joint migration/asylum policy implements humane* and pragmatic objectives.

S462 ***Assumptions****

- European values are reflected in a joint migration policy.
- Open internal borders imply the European public space is subjected to joint access control.

S463 ***Objectives****

- Monitoring of the external borders is a shared responsibility of the EU.
- How to reduce the attraction of illegal immigration in Europe?
- Migration shall be linked to legal labour migration.
- The joint and solidary migration policy shall be a full-blown European policy together with adequate competences and budgetary resources. The Convention of Dublin shall be adapted.
- A new migration/asylum policy eliminates dangerous journeys for migrants, provides decent shelter resp. protection and a fast decision on the access to the EU.

S464 ***Policy options****

S4641 **Joint migration and asylum policy**

- Migration is more than a logistic chain that provides for basic needs. Follow-up care in the country of reception is part of it.
- The European migration/asylum policy prescribes the joint criteria of access to the Schengen-zone or the EU.
- Entry of migrants will depend on their abilities, their willingness to adopt European values and norms, their willingness to seek work and/or training and to learn the local language.

- Illegal migration will be discouraged, but will be compensated by opening up legal and safe routes for refugees that are entitled to international protection and relief.
- Recognition of foreign diplomas or qualifications will be facilitated and tuition offered especially for jobs in demand at the labour market.
- EU border countries register candidate immigrants, but can call on Frontex for assistance.
- Asylum-seekers and migrants are not allowed to choose a EU-country of destination.
- Joint EU databases monitor the inflow of migrants and asylum-seekers.
- An empowered* European Migration and Asylum Agency will implement above provisions.
- EU-development aid will be conditional of forced return of illegals to their country of origin.
- The EU can possibly address the local causes of migration.

S4642

Border control

- Frontex financially contributes to improve the external border surveillance.
- Frontex assists member countries in times of crisis.
- Frontex and joint Coast Guard gradually acquire border coordination and monitoring of migration.

Theme 7

S47

War on international terrorism* and crime by the EU

Return to a normal way of life*

S471

Final goal*

- Return to a normal way of life by effective and joint European action against international terrorism and crime, together with regional, national, European and international authorities.

S472

Assumptions*

- Each member country can no longer combat international terrorism/crime on its own.
- Sectarious terrorism has severely affected our way of life and our perception of security.
- Reinstating internal security will be lengthy and costly.

S473

Objectives*

- Ensure joint internal safety in Europe through joint objectives, joint means, deep cooperation and joint action against international terrorism and crime.

S474

Policy options*

- Make information exchange a joint responsibility/create a joint European intelligence service.
- Empower* Europol, Eurojust and the European prosecutor* to deal with these issues.
- Create empowered* European coordination of national security departments.
- Increase European cybersafety by prohibition of encrypted messages, prevent foreign political

interference or hacking, aimed at political destabilisation or economic damage.

S5

Four steps* towards a federal Europe*

S51

Introduction

- Three possible scenarios:
 - Proceed no faster than the national governments.
 - Come forward with an end goal.
 - Together with an final goal* formulate an inclusive project and intermediate steps*/ timing. The latter scenario will be elaborated here.
- Differentiated development*, or a two speed scenario will be an explicit choice by the member countries of the eurozone* or in a spearhead group*. These country accept accelerated political integration in a supranational system and a step by step* approach. The other member countries, called the low speed group, elect to further cooperate in the single market* and maintain an intergovernmental* system. Both configurations will seek harmonious cohabitation*.
- Another type of differentiated development* is called reinforced cooperation. Here different configurations of member countries handle specific joint issues. This type of cooperation is, until now, based on intergovernmental cooperation.
- In which broader historical context will the European integration shape itself and become significant? A deterministic view of life or predisposition doesn't apply. Coincidence, unpredictability and voluntarism matter. Nation states* have always narrowed down a shared past in Europe to a nationalistic perspective, resulting in near absence of a European collective awareness. A shared present does exist, although to a limited extent.
- Planned progress by a spearhead group can proceed in four consecutive steps*: in each step assumptions, objectives, institutional priorities and action are specific.
- Characteristics of this approach:
 - Phased objectives are more surveyable and easier to formulate.
 - Better understanding of what is at stake in each step*.
 - Pro-active formulation of future developments.
 - Phased implementation is more realistic than a single step transition. Campaigning by EFs can express more ambition and formulate more immediate political goals.

S511 ***Step one: A hybrid intergovernmental* period for a spearhead group***

- Estimated duration: until the European elections of 2024
- Assumptions*
 - No treaty change, at best implementation of the leftovers of the Lisbon Treaty.
 - Innovative ideas on the future of Europe are on hold.
 - A federal and/or economic government will not be created yet.
 - Some national leaders adamously oppose the idea of a politicalised* eurozone*.
 - Growing friction of East versus North on migration rules and rule of law resp. North versus South on budgetary* orthodoxy.
 - A solidary Europe is being called for, but is progressing slowly.

- A European energy union's policy doesn't progress.
 - The European Court of Justice* will not see its competences extended.
 - The Eastern-Mediterranean and parts of Africa remain highly unstable.
 - China gains global political, economic and military superpower status.
 - Relations with Turkey are strained and candidacy prospects dwindle.
 - Treaty of Paris (climate change) meets apathy from some signatories.
 - Resumption of TTIP negotiations (VS - EU) is unlikely.
 - TTP (free trade in the Pacific) negotiations were concluded under China's leadership .
 - President Biden restores, multilateral relations with the allies of the USA.
 - Relations with Russia remain strained and unpredictable.
 - Global trade is increasingly channelled through bilateral free trade agreements.
- Objectives* by the end of this period
 - Formulation of a limited institutional* reform.
 - Friendly opinionmakers shall be talked into a pro-integration mainstream.
 - Media shall start advocating the idea 'Europe is the solution, not the problem'.
 - Seek structural dialogue with pro-European MEPs, e.g. the Spinelli group and as many as possible pro-European parties/groups in European Parliament.
 - Resolve internal division in the EU about rule of law*, free expression and migration.
 - Institutional* priorities
 - Call for a Conference on the Future of Europe* organised by the European institutions*.
 - Call for broader executive competences for the European Commission.
 - Upgrade the proposals by European leaders meant to strengthen the federal* character of the spearhead group.
 - Call for an empowered External Action Service* and a European Defence Union*.

S512 ***Step two: A hybrid pre-federal* period for a spearhead group***

- Estimated duration: 2024 to 2034
- Assumptions*
 - The gulf widens between the pro-integration and low speed member countries.
 - The idea of a spearhead group could emerge at the political agenda in this period.
 - A two-speed EU with increased acceptance in pro-integration member countries and by MEPs of the Spinelli Group.
 - Balkan countries start to claim they are ready to join the EU.
- Objectives* to be reached by the end of this period
 - Induce pro-integration leaders to support the initial steps towards a European federal post-national project or spearhead group.
 - Talk EU opinion makers into promoting deep institutional reform*.
 - Convince European political leaders to put the challenges of integration of the spearhead group on top of the political agenda and start deep political reflection.
 - Let the general objectives of an ever closer union* be taught at school*. (See N63/65)
- Institutional* priorities
 - Call for the Council of ministers to decide in more instances by (qualified) majority*.

- Call for the Council of ministers to stop combining legislative and executive power.
- Call for more empowerment and autonomy by the European Commission.
- Call for the formulation of federal principles in a spearhead group (see B21/B22).
- Call for the European Parliament to codecide on institutional matters.

S513 **Step three: A pre-federal* period for a spearhead group**

- Estimated duration: 2034 to 2044

- Assumptions*

- Top national leaders will be warmed-up for the idea of a two speed integration*.
- European integration issues become more visible to public opinion. The latter will gradually open up to the idea of deeper integration by a spearhead group.
- The idea of differentiated development* can restore harmony in the EU since each group of member countries operates along its own ambitions.
- First applications by low speed countries* demanding to join the spearhead group.

- Objectives* to be reached by the end of the period

- Opinion-makers and pro-European parties shall take sides on European issues.
- People participating in the public debate will acquire a growing sense of coresponsibility, co-ownership* and involvement.
- The education* curriculum should include a vision* on the future of Europe*.

- Institutional* priorities

- Focus on political initiatives for a post-national federal union* in a spearhead group.
- Spearhead group supporters will start to spread the idea of a federal fundamental law*.
- Call for full competences by the European Court of Justice*.

S514 **Step four: Institutional* federalism* introduced in a spearhead group**

- Estimated duration: 2044 up to 2054

- Assumptions*

- The economic, political, social and geopolitical* context urges on deep integration.
- More national political leaders and a larger part of the elite* and establishment understand the need for deeper political integration of Europe.
- A larger number of influential opinion-makers/media* urge on substantial progress.
- The spearhead group project will progress gradually.

- Objectives* to be reached by the end of this period

- The essence of EFs project for Europe shall have reached political leaders, opinion-makers and elite*. They know of the added value of post-national federalism.
- A larger part of national political leaders speaks out in favour of a true federal and post-national* or for a stronger supranational* project for Europe.

S6

Methodology* of action and thinking

Internal functioning of EFs sections

S61

EFs' capability assessment

- Sections and the International secretariat, have limited financial means and human resources but can nevertheless have a positive influence provided the right methodology is used.
- Success of EFs' project is conditional of an effective use of levers. (see C514/52)

S62

EFs teach attitudes*

- Functioning of individuals in a dynamic and changing context.
- Stimulate cooperation among supporters, civil society, business and authorities.
- Learn to use new insight and get grip on it.
- Think and act independently of the traditional political parties
- Show interest in a society with new concepts.
- Learn to cope with resistance towards innovation and new insight.
- Develop a strong bond between individual creativity and joint action.
- Commit supporters to a long-term project.
- Accept pragmatic objectives, an adequate methodology and an a purposive approach.

S63

EFs strategic* choices

- At political scene level
 - There is a continuous tension between the belief that a call on conscious people to adhere to one new idea or one new reasoning can be successful versus the ineffectiveness of such a call on people. This paper backs the feasibility of the first standpoint, obviously under specific conditions. The new idea or reasoning shall be inspiring. It shall profit a citizen-centered* campaign. A well thought-out campaign will mobilise the different target audiences in the right sequence;
 - Each Citizens' Deal will meet a number of conditions. This Deal will be based on long-term vision/objectives and a corresponding strategy. Forward planning will not change too often. Adaptation is possible. These deals require broad political support over a longer period of time. A Citizens' Deal will actively involve people.
 - In a deal not every idea is prioritarian. Purposive choices will be made.
- At internal level
 - Implement a joint strategy shared by most European federalists (EFs).
 - Stimulate transnational cooperation to bring to bear pressure on the national leaders.
 - Develop a smart organisation along the long-term objectives and tactical choices.
 - A dense network of sections facilitates contact with local target audiences.
 - Recruit active and skilled volunteers along the needs.
 - Stimulate internal cohesion, mutual trust and transnational cooperation.
 - Make an inventory of skills at all levels and sections.
 - Elect action methods matching the intended objectives.
 - Set the priorities in EFs campaigns.

- Define in advance the objectives of each activity and quantify the intended impact.
- The international secretariat acts as a facilitator that offers packages of best practices, scripts for coordinated action, training and contact with media* and elite*/establishment.

S64

EFs' organisational guidelines

- 'Survival of an organisation in a VUCA-world (volatile, uncertain, complex, ambiguous) requires different profiles of executives, namely scouts, conquerors, liaisons and defenders. Swift adaptation requires these profiles that keep each other in balance'. (F. Van Dyck)
- 'Scouts are in advance of their time and have a broad global view. Conquerors are entrusted with the implementation of objectives. They get things done. Liaisons bridge differences of opinion and keep the organisation together. Defenders guard identity, internal spirit and values of the organisation. These profiles are complementary.' (prof. Van Dyck, VUB - De Tijd - 10/10/20)

S7

EFs Tactical* Choices

By the international secretariat and local sections

S71

Which action should be undertaken?

- Integrate local sections' objectives into European federalists' (EFs) joint action.
- Formulate a joint political platform for the current European legislative period.
- Create a broad membership representing the different target audiences.
- Make the public debate on the future of Europe* start now.
- Produce an electronic newsletter for the supporters/outsideers. Be present on social media.
- Operate a think tank, organise frequent public debates that interrogate attendants and run a documentation and training centre.

S72

EFs' short term guidelines*

- Redefine the objectives of the EFs at least every two years.
- Fit each campaign in a progressing two/three year planning.
- Fit priorities in a step by step* approach.
- Assess the political situation in Europe and abroad twice a year.
- Assess where populist or nationalistic parties/leaders score well.
- Collect main actors' standpoints on the future of Europe on what each is willing to do or not.
- Consolidate EFs resolutions in one text.
- Meet two conditions: internal ideological coherence* and sections effectively joining forces.
- Plan achievement of the objectives by a careful follow-up respectively assessment.
- Develop and justify new ideas by internal or external research/debate.
- Enlarge gradually the scope of the target audiences*.
- Seek support of influential people in order to elevate ideas to a new standard.
- Ask high-standing persons to offer patronage to important initiatives.
- Compile a database, establish a profile and spell out objectives* for each target audience.
- Build coalitions with actors in civil society that adhere to societal ideas close to a federal and post-national ideology*.

of a clear political and societal project.

- Part of public opinion believes the EU has already achieved its goals and consider further integration superfluous. However, 'European integration is a self-feeding process that adapts itself to emerging needs.' (Philippe de Schouteete)
- Most people of Europe don't mind whether competences are being taken up by the member country or by the EU. They are interested to know competences are being well taken care of.
- Many people are not responsive to change. Demand for new ideas is limited.
- Social media communication can generate a massive number of likes. Small action groups can attack big corporations, politicians or institutions and make their point.
- Users of social media often exaggerate when they want to score.
- 'Social media give the citizens the illusion of personal influence. People can, without personal consequences, mail or twitter whatever crosses their mind.' (Hofland - NCR Handelsbl - 16/11/12)
- Social media* can be influential if people support en masse a specific message.
- People live global, always connected.' (De Standaard - P. Vantghem -13/12/2012)
- Society is hardening, namely in social media*, so does public debate. A new rhetoric emerges.
- 'The (conscious) citizen is first interested in your opinion, later rationalises emotions and then consolidates them.' (Jan Callebaut of Synovate Censydiam)
- 'Political opinion is not defined by personal wellbeing*, but by people's opinion about welfare in society or interpretations people are confronted with.' (prof. em. Marc Elchardus, VUB).
- 'The younger generation develops political theories - ideas about democracy, inequality, public interest* and joint action - in small-scale gremia like schools, neighbourhood associations and families.' (prof. Flanagan - University of Wisconsin - 2013)
- Public opinion*, media*, politicians and academics are in varying degrees pessimistic about the future of the EU or the eurozone. These negative feelings start to prevail. Actually many people don't know anymore what to believe and take the pessimistic attitude for granted.
- Being logic, rational or unbiased holds no guarantee your reasoning will be accepted. Logic reasoning is often perceived as pedantic, distant or elitarian. These objections imply political communication shall demonstrate simplicity, concision, humanity* and focus.
- Ethics of responsibility and ethics* of conscience have different objectives: the latter is related to individual moral that generates 'inner duty'. Public responsibility ethics focus on our duties towards society.
- Directional voting happens when dissatisfied voters express a more radical view than what they are convinced of.

C23

Prioritarian target audiences* (by outreach)

- Target audiences* will be selected purposely by EFs, not randomly.
- People that understand the importance of European integration.
- People that can promote the whole or part of the EFs' European project.
- People that can influence the implementation of the basic principles for Europe.
- Prominent people able to act as a game changer* or role model.

C24

Prioritarian target audiences* (functional)

- Political leaders and their advisers

- Prime ministers, foreign affairs, economy and finance, defence, home affairs, environment, energy, justice, health, migration and their advisers.
- National and regional leaders know the whereabouts of European institutions*.
- A limited number of top politicians and civil servants are open to federalist ideas.
- Opinion-makers
 - Quality media* understand the European issues and sometimes show interest in the European federal idea and/or in a citizen-centered Europe*.
 - Some authors take genuine interest in basic European issues.
 - Thinktanks/consultants to political parties preparing policy papers for executives at international/national/regional/local level.
- Influencers
 - Persons who have access to specific target audiences. Role models.
 - News analysts or news anchors.
 - Academics and secondary school teachers (education*).
 - Those who publish on European issues.
 - Those who participate in the public debate* on European integration/current issues.
- Captains of industry, executives, consultants and employers' organisations
 - The majority is positive about more Europe, especially in single market*/four liberties.
- Trade unions
 - Emphasise their demand for a more social Europe and the roll back of Anglo-Saxon capitalism or neoliberalism.
 - Reject a unilateral economic Europe and by extension the introduction of a political union that serves business' interests in the first place.
 - Advocate more public investments and less austerity.
- Civil society and youngsters
 - Civil society at large lacks homogeneity and has a very limited European focus.
 - Young people will later be in charge of public affairs. They are open to new ideas, on the condition these new ideas reach them timely.

C25

Concept of elite*

- The concept of elite is laden with much misperception. Here used in a broad sense. Includes target audiences and the establishment such as policy-makers, media*, opinion-makers, academics, captains of industry, influencers, top officials, top pro-Europeans and interested people. (see C23/49)
- The elite and establishment active in or in close contact with political economy will be a prioritarian target audience where the new idea or new reasoning will be launched or tried out. This message will be introduced piecemeal.

C3

Content of communication* by EFs

Thorny issues will not be avoided

C31

Assumptions*

- European federalists (EFs) actively disseminate their reasoning and narrative of their project.
- EFs communicate about their singularity*.

- EFs promote a post-national transition* towards a federal political union.
- EFs present supranational* themes in two ways:
 - The transnational European scene versus the nation-state*.
 - The post-national and federal project versus a nationalistic and protectionist reasoning.
- EFs advocate European values are universal, but lack acknowledgement and public support.
- EFs introduce piecemeal their ideas. These ideas will not be widely accepted, but will seriously worry unprepared people.
- EFs advocate political integration shall take the lead now. 'Integration by the single market* or by law have exhausted their potential* and meet their limits'. (Pierre Defraigne)
- EFs' credibility is important to a supporter or an outsider.
- EFs restore people's faith in a positive joint European project with a great potential.
- EFs opine political affairs shall become a kind of change-management. 'Most changes are no conscious choices by individuals or politicians, but emerge from significant shifts in a globalised* world.' (Marianne Thyssen, MEP/EPP - De Standaard - 4/01/2013)
- EFs state public support for the European project depends on its economic success. Technical deals matter less to people.

C32

Unique sellingpoint*

- A unique sellingpoint enables supporters to instantly understand what EFs stand for:
 - 'A prosperous and free Europe'.
- More limitative oneliners:
 - 'Europe an obvious project'.
 - 'Europe a legitimate project'.
 - 'Europe our shared future'.

C33

Public debate about a spearhead group

- Which type of debate about a post-national federal project for a spearhead group? Not on all possible themes of European integration simultaneously.
- Outline in public the conditions for a brighter future in Europe in an open public debate* on decisive political and societal choices. Not raising these questions perpetuates stalemate.

C34

EFs combat following prejudices*

- Why continue the European project, if member countries can do better?
- Why make a federal jump into unchartered territory?
- Why not depend on member countries in times of hardship?
- Why transfer transnational* or international power to EU without being accountable?
- Why introduce a European welfare state concept if it only flourishes inside national borders?
- Why not return to protectionism* in times of hyperglobalisation*?
- Why not close the borders of the member countries to foreign workers/migrants?
- Why talk about European public interest*?
- Why are European decisions taken by unmandated or non-elected people?
- Why take European decisions which could better be taken at national level?
- Why does Europe care so little about personal interest*?

- Why is Europe so expensive and why is there so much tax money wasted?

C4

When to communicate?

Just in time

C41

Conditions

- The context determines the moment and how to communicate. Windows of opportunity shall not be missed, since being limited in number. European summits, European deadlines and important events offer such opportunities. A late reaction is no option.
- Formulation of a communication strategy* is the outcome of a combination of political analysis, an overall strategy, formulation of priority themes and activities planned at long, middle and short-term.

C5

How to communicate?

‘Communication shall not be hollow, otherwise you fail.
Your ambition can’t be high in the absence of quality standards’
Toon Berckmoes, directeur CultuurNet Vlaanderen (2003)

C51

Guidelines* for an overall methodology*

C511

Main guidelines*

- See S72/47
- Make visible what is relevant to target audiences*. ‘People are the subject, not the ideas.’ (adapted from Jeroen Wils - De Tijd - 8/11/2012)
- Good communication requires continuity, clearness, obviousness and proximity. ‘An empathic dialogue prevails in the 21st century’. ‘Communication shall be an authentic human activation itinerary*’. (J. Callebaut, market researcher - De Tijd - Oct 8, 20)
- A shift from institutional engineering to objectives-oriented positioning* is needed.
- Use citizen-centered* objectives* in order to gain acceptance by target audiences*. Take unambiguously the standpoint of European citizens.
- Combine an unquestionable objective with an obvious solution.
- Connect European ideas with current mainstream themes such as climate change, good governance*, European values and participation* by people of Europe, but shun the opinions advocated by political parties*.
- ‘Attention shall be earned, because people decide themselves what they find interesting’. (adapted from J. Wils, communicatie-bureau Bepublic)
- In a digitalised society you sell a solution no longer a product. The notion of place is substituted by contact at any moment of the day. Value replaces price. Education* of the client and what is good or bad for him/her replaces promotion of a product.
- ‘Communication today reflects humanity*, authenticity and togetherness. These trends reflect undercurrents in society. People look out for the other side of technocracy*, automation, hectic life, globalisation* and anonymity, in order to compensate it by the opposite’. (Trendwatchers, Trendwolves and Insites Consulting)
- Mind the desiderata of media*. Know what newsmedia and newsconsumers expect. Press-

releases catch attention without telling lies or making fake promises.

- A movement is like a brand. A movement will have 'a strong brand on three conditions: authenticity (more than a history the brand shall have a credible past); accountability* (as a brand you assume a responsibility of what you say, do and promise); activation (induce people to reaction and generate commitment in the brand).' (De Tijd - W. De Preter - 9/11/2012)
- Communication adapts itself to the various stages of assimilation by the target audiences:
 - Reticence, scepticism or an outspoken negative attitude vis-à-vis European integration.
 - Neutral attitude vis-à-vis European integration or European federalism.
 - A opening attitude towards European integration.
 - A positive attitude towards the core ideas of the European federalists (EFs).
 - More or less acquainted with the core ideas of EFs.
 - Open to limited cooperation with EFs.
 - Open to active cooperation (part-time) with EFs.
 - Willing to take on bigger responsibilities in the EFs' organisation.

C512

Additional guidelines*

- EFs know that values shall be kept stable, but communication can be adapted.
- 'Europe becomes the subject of debate and contradiction, because it is a center of power'. 'Debate and democratic controversy are conditional of public awareness and the creation of a feeling of ownership* in a shared project of civilisation'. (P. Defraigne)
- EFs play on following critical factors of durable participation in an ideological* competition:
 - capitalise on ideological difference.
 - remain on course.
 - invest in content and in a narrative*.
- 'People want to associate themselves with a charismatic frontman/woman* or of a successful group'. (prof. Carl Devos, UGhent - De Tijd - 23/03/2021)
- EFs position themselves apart of and above the political parties* because the European view is more inclusive, adaptive, long-term oriented and effective.
- EFs create a receptive attitude* towards their ideas and the European integration dynamics.
- EFS 'focus on a new standard of involvement and debate resp. new content'. (prof. C. Devos, UGhent - De Tijd - 23/3/2021)
- EFs split up external and internal communication.
- EFs propose obvious alternatives with added value, meet citizens' expectations, bring along a new definition of public interest* in Europe, open new perspectives* that stimulate innovation of both a governance and a societal model* for Europe.
- EFs make friends/allies before appealing to them.
- EFs bring no all-in-one message*. Differentiated communication* reaches different audiences.
- EFs consult friendly specialists for action planning and political communication.

C513

Campaigning guidelines*

- Campaigns consist of two distinctive stages: the preparatory stage respectively communication of the political message. The preparatory stage explains the meaning of an idea and/or objective, the latter brings the key message(s) and related arguments.
- Don't start campaigning if EFs' political platform isn't ready.

C514

How to create leverage*?

- Overall conditions
 - Internal ideological* convergence* of EFs.
 - Take legitimate expectations of European citizens at heart.
 - Handle with respect internal EFs differences of opinion .
 - Implementation of joint EFs objectives by all local sections.
 - Contact target audiences with specific messages*.
 - Make try-outs to measure and evaluate the impact of new ideas.
 - Pro-active participation in public debate.
 - Forge a spirited and a lasting bond among the EFs supporters.
 - Mobilise influential people to participate in the public debate on Europe's future.
 - Ask high standing persons to offer patronage to important events/campaigns.
 - Have a top level support committee.
 - Seek partnerships to increase outreach.

- Special techniques
 - 'Positive leadership is important but is not the decisive condition to persuade people to join a new narrative'. (adapted from P. Rosseel, MCR and prof - De Tijd - 1/12/20)
 - 'Motivation by nudging (soft and non-express influencing) takes people's prejudice into account and steers behaviour. This is a rational technique. (idem)
 - 'Another technique creates a conceptual conflict, by formulating a disturbing opinion (opposed to current belief), that catches attention and triggers reaction. This technique can be used for equals/elite. (idem) Both techniques don't apply to common people.

C515

Moderation* of the message by EFs

- EFs avoid hard ideologic positioning* and elect a pragmatic approach.
- EFs patiently build-up ideas in order to be correctly understood and avoid creating needless objection/rejection/misconception.
- EFs are moderate in the early stages. Later on intentions and objectives can become more precise and outspoken. Notoriety and sympathy are in the early stages more important than trying in vain to sell (over)ambitious or unassimilated ideas.
- Replace, in the early stages, the notions of European integration or United States of Europe or federalism* by ideas like structural cooperation or deep cooperation which are more neutral
- At the start don't overemphasise the final goal* of the project. Use societal objectives* instead.
- Avoid outspoken or remote goals in the initial stages, such as a federal and post-national* union for Europe. Idem for more Europe or a request to increase the budget* of the EU/ eurozone*. Asking more money for a specific policy domain is possible.
- Avoid theoretical and abstract notions as federalism*, democracy and supranationality*.
- When asking for more European competences phrasing should be: improved effectivity of European institutions* that shall serve the citizens; lobbyists shall be less influential; corporate taxation* shall be even in the EU; Europe shall be less interventionist and act as a facilitator of effective cooperation.

C516

Possible pitfalls* for EFs

- Overall pitfalls:
 - Absence of an inclusive ideological* rationale* and/or strategy*.
 - Absence of a communication strategy*.
 - Absence of a specific identity*.
 - No advance evaluation of new ideas.
 - Unconscious creation of an erroneous interpretation of what you actually wanted to explain, e.g. federalism* being understood as centralism, additional power to Brussels as proof of unwanted centralisation* and of an authoritarian superstate*.
 - Expect not too much too soon.
 - A silent majority can reject the ideas of an active minority.

- Specific communication pitfalls:
 - Lack of concision/synthesis/focus, messy message* and abstract wording.
 - Use of the wrong communication channels.
 - Reverting to the past is less interesting than looking at the future.
 - Don't give people a feeling of guilt. Don't insult people.
 - Qualifying a situation as hopeless (negative framing) is not motivating.
 - Don't create the impression you have a moral monopoly.
 - Facts are forgettable, emotions help us to remember.
 - Don't implement a one-size-fits-all message.

C6

Communication* through which channels?

Deliberate selection of communication channels

- Internal media
 - Build internal cohesion* by dissemination of inspiring messages.
 - Stimulate a positive attitude* respectively belongingness by supporters.
- External media
 - Local communication
 - Create a closer relation with target audiences at local level.
 - Closer contacts improve the impact of EFs' reasoning.
 - Europe-wide communication to
 - High level politicians and influential people.
 - Expose nationalistic ideas that collide with European principles/values.
- Frontman*/woman
 - A spokesman* exhibits seriousness, inspires confidence, has a human face.
 - Explains the core-ideas and participates in public debate.
- Personal contacts with target audiences* and conditions for a successful elevatorpitch.
- Press-releases
 - Concision, one message in one page. First paragraph summarises the message.
 - Reproduce at the back of each press-release EFs' main assumptions* and objectives.
 - Let high standing persons cosign the press release.
 - Mention contact person's name and contact address.
 - Pay special attention to interested journalists.

- Letters to political leaders
 - Limited to one relevant, concrete and obvious idea.
- Newsletters
 - For the membership and supporters of local EFs' sections.
 - Newsletters contain news about local/transnational action, as well as inspiring ideas.
- Websites
 - Contain the history of political standpoints, projects and relevant papers/books.
- Social media
 - Meet specific formats and short messages for specific audiences.
- Brochures, books, papers, flyers and folders
 - On paper or electronically for perusal.
- Public activities (meetings, debates, exposés, training, etc.)
 - Subjects relate to current events and to priority themes.

C7

Step by step* planning of communication

Visible progress

- This section focuses on the interaction between voluntarism (campaigning about needs and expectations), creativity (dare to think and out-of-the-box thinking), foresight (future-oriented thinking and planning), and alternative scenarios (to make the UEF project for Europe visible) and to prepare for the future, without forecasting the future. In operational terms: objectives*, priorities, operating principles* (federal and derivative principles) and relevant messages* to the target audiences (communication).
- Political adaptation within national borders goes slow. In a European context it should be possible to have a higher pace of change because the overall need of change increases with the number of member countries. The actual adaptation in Europe goes slower because this adaptation is curbed by the unanimity rule.
- Maya Van Leemput, Erasmus College Brussels, identifies three stages when reflecting on the future:
 - next five to six years are 'in line' with current situation;
 - next comes the 'safe future' with trends that are familiar to us;
 - ultimately comes the 'unpredictable future', with developments that are not identified yet, but which are thinkable; there will be strong and weak (below the radar) signs of change; a complex and contradictory perception of current situation shall be overcome.
 (De Tijd - R.Verrycken - 04/01/2021)
- Following four steps are an example of planning along the methodology* as outlined in S3/35 and S511, S512, S513 and S514 at pages 43 to 46. The European project is split up in consecutive, obvious and homogeneous steps*.

C71

Step 1: A hybrid intergovernmental* period for a spearhead group*
(estimated duration up to 2024)

Directed at media*, elite*/establishment and MEP

Objectives* of communication

- EFs connect the objectives of communication to the expectations* of people.

- EFs inform leading politicians of EFs' priorities.
- EFs have a good relationship with media* and elite*/establishment.
- EFs elaborate a joint strategy, tactics, action methods and a communication plan.
- EFs coach motivated/able doers resp. thinkers and organise their complementarity.
- EFs recommend the European Commission and the European Parliament to instate new communication* lines with the public at large, e.g. by accessible video clips and social media in which key messages* on further progress of European integration are outlined.

Messages*

- EFs support the idea of an ever closer* European Union* and 'the creation of an overarching political system not requiring a shared identity* or language'. (professor and IFO-chairman Hans-Werner Sinn - European Voice - 25/12/2012)
- EFs stimulate European citizenship focused on shared destiny*.
- EFs promote the idea the European Union shall evolve towards a dynamic democracy.
- EFs believe the political union offers a trustworthy prospect.
- The intergovernmental* method of governance has reached the very limit of effectivity.
- EFs trust effectivity enhances legitimacy* of and trust in the new political order*.
- EFs propagate that a political union* shall coincide with an effective economic, monetary, banking, social, energy union and EDU.
- EFs believe that an unfinished European integration impairs people's expectations*.
- European potential falls short by lack of shared sovereignty*.
- Member countries' egocentric attitudes* cost Europe employment and prosperity.
- Member countries will not disappear. A small number of their competences will be reallocated. (see B4441/28 and B4461/28)
- Own fiscal resources shall fund the budget* of a spearhead group.

C72

Step 2: A hybrid pre-federal stage for a spearhead group
(estimated duration: 2024 up to 2034)

Directed at broader target audiences and European leaders

Objectives* of communication

- Broader outreach towards target audiences*.
- Broader and consolidated network with third parties willing to cooperate with EFs.
- Get sections and interregional alliances operate along a joint planning.
- Try to involve European leaders.

Messages*

- Federalism* is the most suitable steering system for the spearhead group.
- Federalism has a huge potential in democratic practices* and is based on European values*.
- Federalism is the best alternative to nation-state* thinking.
- Europe is the proper level to generate additional prosperity*, equity*, security and effectivity.
- Europe can more efficiently face the challenges of globalisation*.
- A federal Europe can raise people's good and security feeling.

C73

Step 3: A pre-federal* stage for a spearhead group
(estimated duration: 2034 up to 2044)

Dissiminate a comprehensive political platform

Objectives* of communication

- EFs try to influence indirectly the European political agenda.
- EFs try to represent the spearhead of European federalists' ideology*.
- EFs try to professionalise communication and get professional and/or academic advice.
- EFs try to increase awareness in public opinion, together with the willing elite* and pro-Europeans.
- EFs try to create a broader ownership* and reduce wrong perception of a post-national and federal* political and societal project for Europe.

Messages*

- An effective European project is the solution, not the problem.
- A federal Europe is the best choice for the future.

C74

Step 4: Gradual introduction of institutional federalism
(estimated duration: 2044 up to 2054)

Directed at national and European leaders as well as at broader target audiences

Objectives* of communication

- The federalist ideology* is supposed to be acknowledged and is no longer openly rejected or ignored by most media, public opinion, policy-makers respectively elite and establishment.

Messages*

- A European constitution* safeguards democratic order and introduces structural efficiency.
- European federalism is the right lever for good governance* and protection of our values.
- A post-national* and federal Europe eases a prosperous and caring society to emerge.
- Target audiences know Europe's future is at stake and current stalemate can be mended.

C8

Interacting factors in a thematic campaign

C81

Political situation

- Lack of political initiative by the European leaders (absence of a sense of urgency).
- Waning consensus in public opinion* on the European project (by absence of a clear project).
- A minority acknowledges need of reform at European level, but ignores how to proceed. The same is true for the political leaders in Europe.
- A majority of the public is open to sectoral change, such as climate protection, human rights, defence, a transnational space of security and justice, but shuns institutional reform.

- Part of public opinion claims more participation*, deliberation* and legitimacy in Europe.

C82 **Prioritarian EFs themes that serve personal interest***
 Circumstances bring issues to the foreground

C821 **General themes**

- Go beyond the European Treaty limits and do what is institutionally needed.
- Make progress with the willing countries (spearhead group).
- Correlation between good governance, prosperity and equity.
- Small adjustments to the institutional system cannot meet huge current and future needs.
- Renationalisation of European competences is not realistic.

C822 **Institutional* themes**

- Propagate the idea of a political union in the eurozone*/spearhead group
- Empower* European institutions, stimulate welfare, solidarity, social-ecological transition; social-economic cohesion, internal security respectively external protection.
- Summon a constitutional and democratic convention* with an open agenda (mandate, objectives, competences and decisions with a binding character).
- Adapted European institutions will boost legitimation and democratic practices*.
- Explain the correlation between general objectives for Europe and the ability of new European institutions to demonstrate the inadequacy of the intergovernmental* system.
- The European Parliament and the European Council shall have equal power.
- Incorporate European civic and public values* in a European constitution*.
- Europe shall be a federal union that is citizen-centered*, where peoples of Europe are heard, consulted and their expectations* taken serious, opposed to centralism*, technocracy*, participacy, impudent lobbying and abusive influence by non-elected people.
- A multilevel* political system for Europe.
- Each European decision will be taken by simple or qualified majority vote*.
- Hard economic and military power* complement soft power and enable preservation of external security and of EU's vital economic interests. Military intervention and the formulation of a geopolitical* strategy is a competence of the External Action Service*. Mandated European institutions* shall approve each military intervention. Emergency situations can justify exceptions. Europe is a peace* project.
- The European Court of Justice* acquires full competence in all EU policy domains.
- European and national public interest* will be redefined.

C823 **People's oriented themes**

- Intelligent Europeanisation benefits people of Europe.
- A Citizens' Deal* will be a European objective of equal importance as the Climate Deal*. (The Citizens' Deal was formulated by Charles Michel, but not as president of the European Council).
- The European way of life* will be safeguarded by a stronger focus on citizenship*, on participation* and on European values*.
- Peoples shall enjoy good governance* and effective government in the EU.

- People distrust leading politicians who fail to reform an unadapted political system.
- Deliberation*, consultation and possibly codecision* will be worked out at all levels of authority.
- Improve service to people at each level of government and reduce cost of public governance.

Section Four

A narrative* for European Federalists (EFs) (N)

People mad enough to believe they can change the world
are those who will do it. Rob Silanten, advertiser

N1

Preliminary comments

- New recruits as well as supporters shall be given a coherent*, a handy and easy to understand summary of the positions of the European federalists (EFs). Following questions shall be answered: What is the social and political project of the EFs? What is their mission statement*? (see S1/33) What are their assumptions? (see B11/6) What are their objectives? (see S212/33) What are their strategic choices? (see B121/7) What are their core themes?
- An interpretation by the EFs is the outcome of a number of political choices, which are not necessarily the same for all federalists. However, these arguments invite EFs to reflect on this subject and possibly come forward with other scenarios that compete for the preference of target audiences and supporters.

N2

Assumptions*

- EFs reject economic governance* as a substitute to a democratic and legitimated political order, but can accept it as an intermediary step, provided there is no indefinite postponement.
- EFs acknowledge today's choices determine the future. A shared frame of reference will justify political choices.
- EFs state political and social-economic-ecologic developments in Europe have reached a critical point that places the refoundation* of Europe on top of the political agenda. Further delay will considerably harm general and personal interest.
- EFs opinate adaptation is no doom scenario, but is instead a token of confidence in the future of Europe. Proper adaptation* increases competitiveness and resilience of Europe.
- Investing in youth by education, is essential to secure continuity in Europe.

N3

An ideology* by European federalists (EFS)

Ideology as a compass

- EFs know ideological interpretation is needed to justify and position themselves. 'Ideology will be no blind idealism, rather be pragmatic within the ideology'. (Claude Nijs - Liberales) Each ideology is a product of its time. Political ideologies try to shape values and translate them in political action'. (H. Van Rompuy, former president European Council - De Standaard - 13/09/2004)
- EFs know ideological resourcing imposes itself in times of persistent crisis or inertia. 'An ideology is not static but a dynamic process'. (T. Beeckman - Liberales)

- EFs see the purpose of European institutions as an interpretation of European values and expectations* of people.
- EFs acknowledge that a change of paradigm* means that their ideas about a European project need to gain broad acceptance by the elite/establishment. This will be the outcome of a long-term and steady effort, alone or together with other partners.

N4 ***A narrative* by European federalists (EFs)***

N41 **Why a narrative*?**

- Today's Europe is a societal and political project that is institutionally and ideologically* ill-equipped to face current and future challenges.
- The EFs' narrative dissociates their way of thinking from the omnipresent nation-state* reasoning. Time has come to deepen the reflection on the characteristics and objectives of a future-oriented* society in Europe
- Europe faces a changed context for many years. Why is there so much resistance to accept the European rationale*? The context is more compelling than ever before.
- In a specific context similar ideas emerge. EFs shall accrue supporters either around a few core ideas or around general objectives* for Europe in order to build a shared world of ideas.

N42 **How to define this narrative*?**

- EFs' narrative about a post-national* and federal project for Europe will clearly answer the question how europeanisation can profit people and society.
- This narrative outlines the broad characteristics of current situation, proposes new solutions and reverts to the ideology* of EFs. A narrative links the present to the intended developments.
- Drawing conclusions from the present and the future will always be coloured by personal ideological* preferences, whatever precautions are taken. Each project will therefore be presented as one among other possible scenarios.

N43 **Which objectives* for a narrative?**

- EFs' narrative is easy to read, concrete, not detailed neither abstract and can be remembered.
- EFs provide elite* and supporters with arguments against egocentric and nationalistic* thinking and contribute to an open-minded attitude* towards societal and polity needs and expectations of tomorrow. Different narratives shall compete with each other.
- EFs narrative reflects on the consequences of a changing context.
- EFs rectify erroneous perceptions by the intended target audiences*.
- EFs seek association of an issue with a message of obvious change.
- EFs highlight their interest in people of Europe.
- EFs' narrative, as a translation of a federalist vision*, highlights its potential*. The EFs' narrative exposes populist reasoning that perpetuates political stalemate and generates egocentrism and shortsightedness.
- EFs answer following questions. What goes wrong and why? Who is responsible for

- current stalemate? How can stakeholders* shape their joint future? Which unique opportunities and perspectives open up in a European post-national federation?
- EFs' narrative and communication creates a positive perception by policy-makers and influential target audiences about a more effective and fair society/polity in Europe.

N44

Whom is this narrative intended for?

- European elite* is invited to join the reasoning of a step by step introduction of a post-national societal and political project.
- Access to target audiences will be achieved by reaching in the first place people with a positive inclination towards European political integration; those who can have a positive influence on larger audiences and those who can bring the EFs' project closer to completion.

N5

Changing and damaging political developments*

Societal and political consequences

Those who are not part of the solution are part of the the problem

N51

Call for a positive attitude*

- 'Complex developments, assumed unmanageable, create uncertainty and make people qualify each threat more dangerous than it is. Two groups of people can, more than anyone else, create a positive prospect*: media* and politicians. Both have great influence on people', em. professor Rik Coolsaet, UGhent, states. (De Standaard - 12/12/2015)
- (European) 'society and prosperity depend on freedom. Freedom implies (a high sense of) responsibility by its beneficiaries.' (P. De Keyzer - Growth Inc. - De Tijd - 23/10/2020)
- 'Opening up a prospect* shall not create an illusion. Current developments are alarming. Absence of true political leadership amplifies the feeling these developments are no longer under control. Helplessness make people believe they are left out', prof. em. Rik Coolsaet, complains. (De Standaard - 12/12/2015)
- Pessimism, indifference, hesitation, rejection, inertia and lack of political initiative are toxic ingredients to society. Lack of ambition never created jobs, prospecty*, innovation or trust.
- Blaming the system or politians for everything that goes wrong is exaggerated. Doing so makes people evade their own responsibility.
- Most crises in Europe in the past had a positive outcome. Geert Mak opinionates we need a crisis to generate progress in the EU. This is no optimal progress. EFs shall invest more energy in the formulation of remedies to current structural crises in Europe. These ideas shall find their way to the media respectively public debate resp. decision-making.
- People and politicians are afraid of change. Leadership in Europe is weak.
- 'European leaders feel uneasy about a well equipped geopolitical* tool box.' (Andy Langenkamp, ECR Research)
- 'Each politician is in the first place concerned about his grass-root supporters and he/she wants to score frequently', H. Portocarero, former EU-embassador to Cuba, said.
- 'Who do we need in society? Those who want to progress and have ambitious plans. Those who have confidence in another and better world. Those who refuse to accept their country (and the EU) has no future. We cannot allow maintaining business as usual' (adapted from Peter de Keyzer, MD Growth Inc. - De Tijd - 2/1/2021).

- 'Blind trust in progress doesn't help us either. It makes us believe tomorrow everything will turn out well. The momentum towards significant political adaptation* will not come from political leaders, but from critical opinion-makers and civil society. Political leaders will follow as soon as the direction is clear and a broad public support* is there', states Jelle Haemers (KU Leuven - De Standaard - 3/03/2016).
- Member countries defend for all their national interests (some do but that). That attitude cripples the spirit of the European Union.
- Intergovernmentalists* deny Europe needed integration. They cannot offer people what they are entitled to, namely good and effective governance*, more security and prosperity.
- 'Some member countries can be labeled affected communities, meaning their collective resilience is affected. A failed community can with an appropriate portion of civic duty and social capital* restore its self-control' (adapted from Lieven Pauwels in Liberales of 15/04/2016).
- Today's methods to solve public (European) issues are most of the time inadequate.
- In North-West Europe we believe we follow the itinerary* towards a world under control. Such a belief creates no change to history. Only what changes everybody and everything becomes part of history. That means we have to act now, bridge gulfs and use our time to prepare for the history of tomorrow.' (Olivier Boehme - De Tijd - 24/09/2020)

N52

People of Europe*

- Many people in Europe are pessimistic about their future and that of Europe. (attitude*)
- Deep-rooted pessimism undermines people's confidence in the potential* of Europe.
- 'An economic and political system that generates nothing tangible for the majority of people cannot survive.' (prof. Joseph Stiglitz - New Europe - 13/01/20213)
- 'The narrative* of a value-based Western society is not convincing if people don't recognise themselves in that narrative.' (S. Jansen in Huffington Post - De Standaard - 26/11/2015)
- People's involvement is influenced by the issues that reach the public debate*. Issues people know and understand determine their electoral preference.
- Adapting your opinion isn't easy because you admit you were wrong (adapted from Remnick).
- 'Can we maintain the illusion of a value-based society if we are confused about the difference between individual and social morality?' (S. Jansen - idem).
- Media* shall take greater interest to explain to people the need of deep reform in Europe. A public debate* should focus on the objectives for Europe instead of on unexplained policies.

N6

Intended* political developments

N61

A societal and political model*

- EFs' vision* of the future implies a new social and a consistent democratic project based on EFs principles and on responsible social governance*. (see B311/13, B312/17 and S21/33)
- EFs propose a polity* that provides safety and prosperity to the Union, making Europe a better place to live. 'The future of Europe implies intercultural dialogue, mutual respect, democracy and mutual trust' (H. Özcan Bozatl, president of the Assembly of European Regions).
- EFs' new polity* reflects the basic values and standards of Europe, as well as legitimated governance practices. 'How can EFs take their community in tow in order to coevolve towards a shared value model*?' (adapted from Drs. Van Bockhaven - Alechia Newsletter).
- EFs promote a Europe by and for the European citizens as a goal towards a (democratic,

legitimated and effective) polity and a societal model* for Europe, where participation* of people, transparency and dialogue are core features. 'Citizens shall be at the centre of public action at all levels of governance'. (Hande Özcan Bozatl) Committed citizens are important in an living democracy*. EFs define 'Europe as a model* of civilisation, purposely avoiding violence when solving problems. Pels qualifies Europe as a safe haven, in a physical, political and social meaning. (Dick Pels in Liberales - 23/01/2015).

- EFs elect differentiated development* in Europe in the absence of a better alternative (C51/52).
- EFs advocate the introduction of a European constitution* that defines the balance of power* and that enables institutional adaptation to changing circumstances.
- EFs claim good governance* requires motivated political choices. 'If done well there are more shared goals that polarised quarrelling suggests. A long-term vision* is essential,' prof. I Van de Cloot states (De Tijd - 24/03/2015).
- EFs support 'Europe will either move forward towards its political destiny* or will experience further erosion of its legitimation*'. (Dimitris Avramopoulos, commissioner)
- EFs demand more proximity and legitimated* governance. The new polity implies more commitment and participation* by people and more personal interest* in Europe and in the other levels of government.
- High standards for joint policy-making in Europe create the highest possible level of added value to people of Europe.
- EFs support demand for more direct forms of democracy* and forms of citizens' involvement, in addition to a representative democracy*.

N62

People of Europe

- EU needs to address following two-fold problem: fill the legitimation gap and connect it to the expectations* and needs of citizens. EU shall deal with the growth problem, growing inequality, poverty and precarity'. (Rena Dourou, governer of Attica, Greece - New Europe - 01/15)
- 'The European project has to elaborate a new governance paradigm* by the people, for the people', Rena Dourou, said. (idem)
- 'Europe shall create a context where people acquire influence to adapt society'. (J. Habermas)
- 'In an open society and a lively democracy people give legitimacy to their political representatives, keep MP's and the administration focused and make them feel monitored'. (E. Lachaert)
- 'Citizens no longer act on demand of policy-makers. More often they do so by their own will through more direct channels, such as social media, opinions in media, associations, etc. Nowadays politicians are accountable* on a daily basis, in every stage of a process or for important decisions' (E. Lachaert in Liberales - 15/05/2015).

N63

Education*

- Education* plays an important role explaining context and objectives* of the European project.
- EFs can remediate poor understanding of European integration by a plain project for Europe. This interpretation extends beyond a description of institutions* and procedures.
- Historical key developments and turning points have to be known and understood by young people. These notions shouldn't revert exclusively to the nation-state standpoint.
- EFs back the idea of teaching a broadly accepted vision* of the future of Europe. Various alternatives will be compared. Teaching new ideas on Europe shall not be limited to one teacher/ discipline. Different teachers shall join forces. Teachers confine themselves often

too exclusively to environmental* matters or ethical subjects. Taboos and prejudices about Europe will be rectified. Challenges to Europe, its civic values, its justification and people's expectations should be part of a new curriculum. Europe's potential* and interdependence are the central lines of thinking that offer a perspective to youth.

N7 ***Changing and damaging social-economic-ecologic developments****

N71 **Economic context**

- An overload of legislation, disruptive business-models, new technology* and geopolitical* adjustments, actually a fast changing world.
- To distinguish good from bad growth, the effect of our lifestyle on next generations shall be checked on durability. 'Politicians shall focus on a type of growth that yields ecologic* and social added value, without harming themselves or other people.' (Beeckman - De Tijd - 18/08/15)
- 'Will Europe become a less dynamic continent with a lower rate of growth?' 'Is this a fatality to Europe? Surely not'. (Peter De Keyzer) 'Current upsurge of pessimism about European economy is exaggerated'. (adapted from Bart Van Craeynest - De Tijd - 4/12/2014)
- 'Present situation will not change in the short or medium-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.' (Langenkamp - De Tijd -13/02/15)
- 'Many global* issues come from a non-sustainable organisation of the globalised* economy.' (prof. Koen Schoors, University of Ghent, (Liberales - 27/04/2015)
- Technology* impacts people more than they believe.
- 'In the field of scientific research Europe did not (or couldn't) achieve what was expected: coordinate all national and/or regional funds for scientific research in Europe. 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 Inoviris acknowledges 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)
- 'A combination of big data, 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)
- Sooner or later professions disappear or change. Today people are replaced by cheap (or by more skilled) labour, smart software packages, disruptive business models or polyvalent robots.' (Sam De Kegel, author, in B NK a crossmedial content-platform - De Tijd)
- 'Each manager will face a moment were he can be replaced by a computer. Human intervention will be confined to asking 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)
- 'If we look at the facts, it is clear European economy can't survive, let alone grow, unless we take some radical steps to increase our resources' efficiency and move towards a true circular economy without waste and with durable products,' Sirpa Pietikänen, MEP EPP group states. (New Europe - 01/2015)
- 'The highest temperature was registered since observations started. But it can get worse. Scientists see a clear limit to the warming up of planet earth.' (De Tijd - Hanegreefs/Van Haver - 5/06/2015)

- 'If the external costs of climate and environment* would be included in the price of fossil fuels, renewable energy will have a bright future. That is why we shall capitalise on that technology where Europe can take the lead. Internalising the economic costs of climate change in a higher cost of fossil fuels can accelerate this process.' (Peter De Keyzer - chief economist BNPParibasFortis)
- '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. These challenges call for radical changes* or energy transitions (towards a zero carbon society). Transitions* do not only pose technological impending challenges, but imply enormous social and economic changes too.' (Milesecure-2050 Project - Manifesto)
- 'How much affluence do we need for 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.' (De Tijd - 28/11/2015)
- 'In the past 20 years a fast shift towards the emerging countries occurred. They produce now half of global 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 - 14/03/2015)

N72

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 spoil the future of its children and grandchildren in order to enjoy its own comfort?' (De Tijd - Peter De Keyzer, chief economist BNPParibasFortis Belgium - 18/09/2015)
- 'Globalisation* and migration are a source of increased uncertainty for the western middle class. 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. How can politicians face populists? They shall concede prosperity* will increase less than in the past. Maintaining prosperity* will require more effort'. (idem)

N8

Intended* social-economic-ecologic developments

N81

Towards a sustainable economic system

- Growth at all cost shall not be the prime objective anymore. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) shall be implemented in a smart way.
- 'Europe must know how to integrate its citizens* in a positive way. Social cohesion* is stimulated by participation* of the citizens and an effective mobilisation of this effort. Education* will be the tool for this strategic ambition.' (F. J. Quesado - New Europe - 17/01/16)
- 'The difference of a new economy will be in the exercise of the capacity of the individual participation* as a central contribution to the reinvention of the collective society.' (F. J. Quesado - New Europe - 29/11/2015)
- 'Europe shall take the lead in new technologies* and concepts, i.e. internet of things, artificial intelligence, robotica, clouding, data-mining 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)

- Managers shall acknowledge their knowhow can soon be outdated.
- 'An employee will 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', P. van Lieshout states. (Het Financieele Dagblad - 2015)
- 'Innovate to survive. Business as usual equals regression. Tomorrow six megatrends will not only determine the way of doing business, but will show what the world will look like. These megatrends are: entrepreneurship will boom; health will be reinvented; the future will be digitalised; globalisation* dynamises emerging markets; the world will urbanise at high speed; we shall deal with planet earth in an innovative manner.' (Inzicht, Tijd Connect - Braes - 19/06/15)

N9

Consequences of the corona pandemic

N91

Corona pandemic

- The EU and the other actors were totally unprepared for the pandemic or a mega-crisis. Belief prevailed everything will continue to run smoothly. This proved wrong. Question is how to organise a society able to absorb severe shocks.
- 'The corona crisis is the first crisis in a leaderless geopolitical* world, but it accelerated geopolitical* trends that were already simmering.' (Ian Bremmer - Eurasian Group - De Tijd - 14/04/2020)
- Global* economy came suddenly to a standstill. This is a crisis never witnessed before in peacetime. Cost of the pandemic is still unknown, but will be high and a remedy is still missing. A temporary lockdown of public life couldn't be avoided.
- Multinationals experience a disruption of their supplylines and are politically pressed to renationalise and to reorientate their businessmodel towards less profit optimisation and more national focus. 'A fragmented approach to a deglobalised* world will determine the world order of tomorrow.' (Ian Bremmer - idem)
- Onshoring in Europe will bring supplylines closer to home. Relocation of strategic production can open up to the reindustrialisation of Europe.
- Consumers have temporarily reduced their purchases. EU-countries that would introduce national industry strategies will affect single market* rules.
- 'Nassim Nicolas Taleb recommended in January 2020, at the early signs of the outbreak of the pandemic in Europe, a fast and drastic intervention by the authorities. If we had done so the medical and economic disaster would have been much smaller.' (De Keyzer - De Tijd - 24/04/20)
- The corona pandemic learned us that prosperity* in western countries depends on free human interaction. We are very dependent on each other, but are more vulnerable than we believe. Since human physical contact is considered toxic we have to rediscover the importance of human contacts.
- A fast revival of economic life is needed. Most enterprises are in lockdown, much prosperity* is lost, many employees are about to lose their jobs and many enterprises will fail.
- The European Commission proposed a European Recovery Fund together with an increased pluriannual budget for the next seven years.
- In the aftermath of the pandemic authorities play a bigger role and intervene more often.

What will be the new normal?

‘Now we reach a never normal situation, without status quo’

Peter Hinssen - Nexxworks - De Tijd - 10/10/2019

- ‘The capacity to adapt doesn’t mean a perfect adaptation* to current situation’. (Roland Legrand - De Tijd - 14/03/2020) Not everyone welcomes change. But people accept change* if they see the added value and its benefits. On the other hand people don’t change because they see the light, they change because they feel the heat.’ (De Tijd - Business experts - prof. Peter De Prins - Vlerick Business School - April 2020)
- Some people expect the end of an era. Other predict a return to business as usual. It is too early to make an evidence based evaluation, but a number of changes will likely remain.
- Public authorities are not the only instances that can broker the transition* to a new normal. ‘Life can be facilitated if authorities take the right decisions now’. (prof. Johan Albrecht - UGhent - De Tijd - 5/11/2019)
- In a period of fast and deep change policy-makers bear extraordinary responsibility, but shall be properly empowered without transgressing individual liberties.
- The exit strategy of the corona pandemic can be summarised as follows: small steps at a time, trial and error, fast feedback and quick adjustment. Concertation among the member countries of the EU. A continuous monitoring of breaches of privacy and of other liberties.
- The corona pandemic put forward the bottlenecks of current supply chains. Hence a call to produce strategic products in Europe (for example medical material, basic medicines and production capacity for vaccines and chips). The ‘buy local strategy’ shall not become the rule, because the EU depends heavily on international trade. It is important to develop the global economic order away from defensive or protectionist* reflexes resp. autarchy.
- Increase of just-in-case stock, reduce just-in-time supply. Dual sourcing gains ground. A geographical spread of suppliers diminishes dependency on a single supplier or region.
- A coordinated corona exit strategy facilitates revitalisation of economic life in Europe.
- ‘How will the ‘new normal’ look like? How to live and work in a ‘one-and-half-meter-economy?’ How will our society function in this new setting? Changed social relations, working patterns and mobility impact us all.’ (adapted from R. Verrycken - De Tijd - 25/04/2020)
- Some consequences of the pandemic:
 - the impact will extend into coming years;
 - consumers are consuming otherwise;
 - shift of consumers’ habits accelerated suddenly: online shopping, less fun shopping, delivery at home, e-payment, grouping of errands, more homecooking, cocooning;
 - employees are afraid to lose their jobs;
 - home working, part-time or full-time, will be a means to cut costs and increase productivity by digitalisation and robotica, teleconferencing will partly replace life meetings;
 - a new equilibrium between work and life will be found;
 - ‘hybrid work will become the new normal; flexibility and working differently together will matter; business shall invest in technology* and in company spirit (I. Christiaens, HR-dir. Siemens Belgium - De Tijd - 30/03/2021);
 - ‘fast adaptation to a changing global context boosts making business-units to branch off and more joint-ventures being contracted by multinationals’ (idem);
 - increased focus on teambuilding and informal deliberation; competences will be activated differently, implying another and new labour organisation;
 - productivity and investments will increase over the coming years;
 - innovation regarding business models, products and procedures;

- an era of new opportunities will start;
- a return to business as usual is an illusion; the new normal cannot be reversed; the question is how much of it will persist?
- the health sector is heading towards a big transformation*;
- important climate and energy choices shall be made now;
- tourism and civil aviation will face a difficult future with a long recovery time;
- authorities will force the banking sector to keep economic life afloat by credit;
- financially stronger countries will generate stronger companies; this will result in cheap take-overs and a reduction of competition in Europe; the risk of take-overs by Chinese or American companies grows and increases dependency on these countries for strategically important products.

(adapted from Tijdconnect - Dirk Ector, KBC - 2/05/2020)

- A script for a safe corona exit doesn't exist. It is uncharted territory. 'An exitplan will for all deal with adaptation* to a life with a virus. This crisis goes about finding a new equilibrium between health, business and society. This search is uncertain and political leaders in Europe are no longer used to take risks'. (adapted from Piet Vanthemsche - De Tijd - 2/05/2020) An exit strategy requires a medium and long-term vision.
- Following post-pandemic measures are recommended by Herman Daems, chair of KU Leuven. First, restore interrupted relations between customers and business. Second, increase risk capital of independent workers and enterprises. Third, grant adequate solvency to business. Fourth, public support schemes will considerably increase the budget deficits.
- Everyone's health depends on the physical condition of the others. The covid-19 virus is a global phenomenon that shall be combatted worldwide. The virus hits everyone indiscriminately (Bill Gates - De Tijd - 14/04/2020). The pandemic will cease when the infection is completely defeated by massive vaccination.
- 'Each workable vaccine should be considered a global property and should be accessible and affordable to everybody' (Bill Gates and Ursula von der Leyen).
- 'Today nothing can be taken for granted. We shall be prepared for each situation. That will be the guideline* in the coming years for politics, diplomatic, financial and economic policies. Have a fighting spirit, be prepared to react to the worst and be prepared for fast and well thought-out action' (Peter de Keyser, Growth Inc - De Tijd - 8/05/2020).

N93

Contribution of Europe

- Ursula von der Leyen, chair of the European Commission, organised a donorconference in Brussels to enable the EU to develop new vaccines, medicines and testing material against the pandemic. This multilateral* approach has following objectives: an acceleration of the vaccine's availability and the production of vaccines accessible to the greatest number of people worldwide. This conference was organised together with the World Health Organisation and the Bill and Melina Gates Foundation. About 7,4 billion euro were collected. Actually five times more will be needed to combat the pandemic.
- The corona pandemic made the European Commission a target of criticism. Why was the Commission not proactive? Where is European leadership? The EU is not empowered* to intervene. Healthcare is the member countries' exclusive competence. Until now member countries reacted in a scattered array. Ursula von der Leyen promised 'to do everything that is needed, possibly behind the scene'.
- The EU shall work out a deal on the subject of strategic reserves of vital supplies. There shall be a shared procedure to prevent repetition of the nationalistic and protectionist attitudes.

- The European Commission qualifies the economic crisis a recession with historic proportions. Differences of opinion in the EU threaten the chances of a smart economic revival and the future of the single market*. The Commission believes most member countries will start to recover moderately in the second half of 2021 and will continue to do so in 2022. A new outbreak, financial instability and more protectionism* will increase recession and worsen forecasts by the European Commission. In July 2020 minus 7,2%, later minus 12% of EU GNP.
- A successful joint recovery will depend on a coordinated action at European respectively national level. Recovery will be uneven and will depend on the speed the lockdown can be lifted in each member country.
- The pandemic forces the EU to develop a stricter strategy* vis-à-vis China. Reinhard Butiköfer, MEP said: 'The last few months public opinion in Europe developed scepticism and severe criticism about China. Its diplomatic style created resentment. In two months time China lost credibility in Europe. China shall become a responsible partner in a multilateral* system. Europe will take unilateral measures that will influence mutual relations: anti-dumping taxes, joint investment screening and scrutiny of unfair export subsidies.'(De Standaard- 8/05/20)
- Deep cooperation doesn't mean everything should be unified or regulated by Europe. Decentralisation*, autonomy* and complementarity* shall guide European integration. There is no need for a European superstate. No massive transfer of power* shall take place. However deep cooperation shall be made possible to the benefit of the EU as a whole, when needed. The pandemic is an example where deep cooperation* shall apply.
- If peoples of Europe expect help from the EU, our political leaders shall not exclude an increased empowerment* of the EU. The European Commission holds a unique position and has an extraordinary capacity of coordination in European matters. The Commission is experienced and has the knowhow to make this coordination a success.
- Europe shall develop a lighthouse effect based on confidence, democratic leadership and people taking pride in Europe, as part of a promising societal and political project aimed at increasing welfare, wellbeing, peace, safety and social equity.
- The future of Europe is an open page, that will be written by historic developments. Its future is not predetermined. European federalists claim the egocentric and nationalistic reasoning will bring Europe to decline. The future will spring from prolonged efforts to introduce new ideas that shall find broad response and acceptance.

G

Glossary of terms

Assumptions	taken as true without proof (Longman), initiating a line of thought
Bicameralism	two interacting legislative chambers in a political system
Citizen-centered	with special attention for the citizen
Coexistence pact	a gentleman's agreement between two groups of countries with different ambitions, in a European two speed context
Differentiated development	two speed integration in the EU with a spearhead group and a group of low speed member countries
Hard power	refers to military or economic instruments of coercion; countries try to bend others to their will. (Zaki Laïdi)

Hyperglobalisation	a questionable paradigm where the global economy has priority over the national (European) economy
Intergovernmental	a union in which the member countries hand over a small part of their national competences and sovereignty to the EU level and decide by unanimity on important matters
International	above the national level, cooperation with third parties outside EU
Multilateral	concerning more than two parties/groups/countries
Multilevel governance	multitier governance; level and tier are used alike
Multiperspective approach (Diction)	consideration and importance given to each part (Longman Diction)
Narrative	story(ies) intended for target audiences confronting core-ideas of a movement with current issues/situations
Paradigm	opinion that is largely accepted, but limited in time
Politicalisation	involving people in politics
Polity	political system
Post-national	new way of political thinking after the nation state era and that distances itself in part or totally from it by referring less to the past and more to the future
Shared sovereignty	shared (federal) powers (in Europe)
Soft power	refers to the exercise of political influence through flexible, non-binding instruments such as economic assistance; dissemination of environmental, health, and civil-security standards, and export of cultural goods; soft power leaders are generally reluctant to coerce others. (Zaki Laïdi)
Spearhead group	willing EU-countries that want to integrate faster and federate
Stakeholders	actors in a given context
Supranational	exceeding the member country's level, here in the EU
Transnational	relations among member countries
Trias politica	the three powers in a political system, namely the executive, legislative and judicial power
Vision	future-oriented ideas

Way of life (in W-Europe) includes culture, identity, rule of law, human rights, political culture

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Abbreviations:

federal principle: FP; derivative principle: DP; spearhead group: SHG;
 economic and monetary union: EMU; European Defence Union: EDU;
 permanently structured cooperation: PESCO; power: po; democracy: dem;
 European Court of Justice: ECJ; transfer: tf; governance/government: govern

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	Transnational	B21/8	B222/10	B311/16(FP13)
		B4441/27	B4511/27	B4551/30
		B4561/31	B46/31	C34/52
	Transparency	B121/7	S212/33	
	Trias politica	B311/14 (FP6)	S212/33	
U	Unanimity (voting)	B4521/29		
	Unity	B121/7	B311/16 (FP11)	
	Unique sellingpoint	C32/51		
	Utopian ideas	B322/20 /DP13)		
V	Vademecum	D/3	P/5	P/6
		S1/32		
	Values and norms (european)	B121/7	B122/8	B311/15 (FP7)
		B312/17 (FP16)	S2/33	S211/33
		S212/34	S412/35	C31/51
		C512/53	C822/59	C823/60
	Vicinity	B4231/23		
	Vision	B24/11	B25/12	B41/22
		B4521/28	S411/35	S513/45
		N43/62	N61/64	N63/65
W	Way of life	B123/8	S211/33	S47/42
		S72/48	C823/60	
	Wellbeing/welfare state	B25/12	B4251/25	B4542/30
		S431/38		

What is UEF?

Union of European Federalists (UEF) was established in 1946. See <https://www.federalists.eu/>. UEF-Belgium is a local section of UEF. See <https://uef-belgium.be/>.

What is ESIC?

The **Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum** (ESIC) (1963), or European Study and Information Center, was established in Antwerp by European federalists (Ludo Dierickx) as a non-profit organisation.

European federalists successfully participated in two free European elections by the Congress of European People (an Altiero Spinelli initiative) in Antwerp. ESIC existed until July 25, 2019. It had a library, a documentation center, two publications, an annual academic cycle, training sessions, lectures and free of charge advise.

About the author

Robert Verschooten (1939), master in business, transport and consular sciences (RHSA) (1961), post-university programme PPB (IPO-Antwerp) (1974-6). Was active in logistics, sales, procurement, PR and environmental matters. European federalist since 1956. Active in the Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC) as director (as from 1977) and as president (1996 until 2019). Was editor of a newsletter in Dutch and the Series 'Which Europe? Initiator of Café-Europa and of an annual cycle 'Federalism, Democracy, Europe'. Political adviser to UEF.be (as from 2013). Is animating now a working group in the Flemish speaking part of Belgium to develop new activities for UEF-Belgium.

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