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## **Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe**

A Way towards an effective Federal Europe

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

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# Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe

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# Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe

## Introduction

The purpose of this contribution is to fill a gap, namely by proposing simple methodologies, able to transform numerous ideas and options in operational concepts.

The formulation of a joint inclusive project for the future of Europe is dragging on, while there is a sense of urgency in view of the forthcoming European elections of May 2014. A joint project by the European federalists will enable them to participate in the European elections' debate.

The method based on analysis and synthesis is not new, but its illustration - applied to 12 European federalist visions - is.

The analytical part further calls on the decision-tree method where conscious choices are facilitated. It is a simple method that shows the relation and hierarchy of the numerous constituent options.

The author's formulation of a tentative federalist project for Europe is ambitious. Not just one project for the future of Europe is needed. More shall feed the public debate.

The European federalists need a conceptual paper that could become a reference to them.

This paper can invigorate European federalist thinking as well as boost the internal dialogue among European federalists and other people truly interested in the future of Europe.

## Executive summary

**Five angles of reflection** are considered. (First) A **comparative analysis** of 12 representative European federalist visions. (Second) A **summary** of these 12 visions, leading to a better insight into the respective choices and the scope of the proposed political visions. (Third) A tentative **list of choices** which European federalists should make. This list, structured in a **decision-tree**, provides an operational tool that facilitates the formulation of an inclusive project for Europe. (Fourth) By way of illustration two decision-trees and the **motivation of their choices**, are elaborated. Two opposite visions are exhibited. (Fifth) Two **advance thinking exercises** are analysed. The analysis of draft projects for Europe, is supplemented by advance thinking.

## Purpose

‘Politics are based on ideas and on analysis’  
Henk Hofland in NRC Handelsblad

This paper targets, within the European federalist movement (EFM) especially those in **charge** and/or **responsible for the coherence of ideas**, and next **these people that can influence our future**. EFM means the whole of movements and individuals that share the idea of a true federal, effective and democratic European Union as an end-goal.

This paper was prompted by **three considerations** :

First. **Inspiring papers**, dealing with the European ingration, enjoy often little attention, or are discarded since considered too technical.

Second. Many **public debates** just explain why different crises occur in Europe. New and hopeful perspectives or innovative scenarios for the future are usually missing.

Third. Many **socio-economic debates** in Europe are pointless. They emphasize the catastrophic effects of the challenges Europe faces, but use past national remedies.

These **shortcomings** have mainly four causes:

First. Appeal to **out of date** paradigmas and short term views.

Second. **Absence of an adequate methodology** enabling the integration of multiple loose ideas in an inclusive line of thought.

Third. Inability to move from a concept towards an operational and inclusive **future-oriented project**.

Fourth. Absence of a solid federalist **frame of reference**.

A adequate **methodology** can integrate different tools in an operational scheme. The methology needed here can be twofold. One way was elaborated on in the Series 'Which Europe?' (c), nrs 41 to 47, summarized in 'Raising the profile of the UEF (2)'. See [www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be), (esic/publicaties), showing how to gather momentum in action, by integrating content, form, current events and advance thinking. An internal dialogue by European federalists shall try to avail a shared vision.

The other way, elaborated here, emphasizes **interaction** between analysis, forward thinking and a **systematic build-up of basic choices**.

Claude Nijs in Liberales (2012) has an unanswered question: 'how to successfully join forces in society in order to bring about **proper polity reforms**'. Obviously not only a new polity is at stake, but at the same time new economic and societal paradigmas, able to resolve current and future challenges.

Formulation of a surveyable patchwork of political options can be entrusted to a **standing task force** inside the EFM. THIS task force will be asked to produce an overarching operational document signaling basic political and socio-economic choices.

**Change management** of society includes proper societal and political frames of reference and institutions, needed to trigger reforms in Europe. Reform is not an objective on its own. It is a meant to achieve legitimate goals and expectations.

The European federalist movement shall **adjust its frame of reference** as well. The context and the paradigmas of the sixties remain but partly valid. Adaptation is proof of

sensible anticipation and of a sense of reality. **Not just one project** is needed. The EFM will not refrain from formulating its own project.

A vision by EFM shall **answer following questions**: (1) which societal model does Europe need? and (2) which polity does the EU or the eurozone need in order to meet its basic assumptions? The EFM shall observe that sequence when formulating these aspects. If not, the new political system can be based on the wrong assumptions.

Our intellectual elites shall **express themselves** on the future of Europe. This cannot be evaded. Visionary opinions are often branded as exaggerated or utopic. This qualification is unfair, but the perception is there anyway.

Guy Tegenbos in De Standaard of May 21, 2103 formulated almost following idea: 'Europe has a lot of intelligent people, but is short of **great thinkers** who can inspire society. There are many ideas, but a too limited number of **great ideas** can steer society. Intellectuals and leaders in Europa shall see to it that great ideas and great thinkers emerge'.

Opinion-makers and politicians have the **moral duty to support** projects for Europe **in public** and connect them to political and societal choices (some quality newspapers and opinion-makers already do so). Europe is in need of a broad and deep public debate, the more so since opposition to European integration is gaining momentum.

**This paper implies a question**, namely which itinerary shall be chosen in order to link analysis to vision? Or how to achieve a sensible project starting from coherent assumptions? This process implies a specific sequence:

- (First) A **correct analysis** of useful contributions provide the European federalist movement (EFM) with a workable syntheses.
- (Second) These contributions will be **put to the test** of shared assumptions and of federal principles.
- (Third) These opinions have to be **converted into content** for effective use by the EFM.
- (Fourth) A shared ideology originates from a **confrontation of competing opinions** in the movement (unity in diversity). A dialogue among the stakeholders of the EFM will open up to a shared ideology and methodology.
- (Fifth) The federal principles will be **incorporated** in a coherent, operational, plain and **inspiring reference framework**, underpinning the ideology of the EFM.
- (Sixth) A **shared frame of reference** (not explicit on everything) pays attention to the basic political choices which have to be made by the EFM.
- (Seventh) The process of **ideological innovation** in the EFM is continuous.
- (Eighth) A shared ideology will be translated into a **shared strategy**.
- (Ninth) Strategy, projects and current events lead to short-, middle- and long-term **operational plans**.
- (Tenth) A **capability increase** within the sections will determine the scope of the federalist campaigns. All local sections shall support this objective.

An **ideal formulation** and a **perfect choice** don't exist. The EFM shall however try to come as close as possible to an outstanding project. There are two approaches: (first) the so-called opportunistic way, often with a low profile and (second) the outspoken approach with a federal union as an end-goal, to be achieved step by step.

The project of the EFM will try to convince public opinion and elites that the **success of European integration** is determining their future welfare, potential economic growth and well-being and Europe's role as a world actor.

A **deep federalist internal debate** should take place. 'What shall be understood by debate? If this is just to develop side by side particular (federalist) positions, the only outcome will be a cacophony. In a genuine debate protagonists are not just defending their position against the other's', says professor Michel Herland in the Federalist Debate of March 2013. 'The debate will be useful if it leads to a common position and permits to clarify the positions in question.'

## Analytical part

### Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe

#### Selection of these visions

'European militants share objectives with considerable potential, but which are hard to realize, and have ideas with much potential, but which are hard to formulate'

This part of the paper **analyses and summarizes** twelve inspiring visions as well as two decision-trees and two forward thinking papers.

The selection of papers or visions is in part **arbitrary**. These papers reveal a wealth of ideas after summarizing them.

These fourteen papers help us **mapping relevant aspects**. The selected papers use different lines of thinking. Their specific choices lead to different ideological and operational projects.

The papers show **diverging styles of writing**: technical, detailed, elaborated, concise, operational, cool or expressing indignation.

How can this abundance of **ideas** inspire the European federalist movement (EFM)? The summarized papers will adopt following standard presentation:

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
- Author(s)
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
- Outline of this contribution
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)

- Place in a broader context
- Coherence with European federalist principles
- Conversion into a useful European project

Nobody shall refrain from discovering the abundance of ideas in the **original papers**.

A **judgement** on the selected papers will not be expressed. Diverging visions by the authors on the future project for Europe are reflected. Contradictions will be signaled.

This selection does **injustice to all the excellent papers** which are not considered here.

This **selection** reflects, more or less in a rising order, a more ambitious federal project, but points at the difference between the current political situation and the ensuing proposals.

- (1) *'The eurozone, core of a political union'*, Notre Europe-Jacques Delors Institute  
Jacques Delors, former President of the European Commission  
in New Europe, December 9 2012.  
[www.notre-europe.eu](http://www.notre-europe.eu)
- (2) *'Could rescuing the Eurozone fatally Weaken the EU?'*  
Jean-Claude Piris, former DG of the Legal Service of the Council of the EU  
in The Federalist Debate of March 2013 (Article published in Europe's World, VIII, 2012, n. 22)  
[www.europesworld.org](http://www.europesworld.org)
- (3) *'Federal Union Now'* - The Federal Trust - August 2011  
*'On governing Europe'* - Policy Network - 2012  
Andrew Duff - Member of the European Parliament and Chairman of UEF  
[www.andrewduff.eu](http://www.andrewduff.eu)
- (4) *'L'euro, le modèle et la puissance'* - Madriaga paper - Vol. 6, No 2 (February 2013)  
Pierre Defraigne, directeur exécutif de la Fondation Madriaga-Collège d'Europe.  
[www.madriaga.org](http://www.madriaga.org)
- (5) *'A Europe of Hope - Democratic and Effective'* - The Federal Trust - February 2010  
Keith Richardson, editor and former Secretary General of the European Round Table  
of Industrialists and Gérard Montassier, former diplomat and President of the  
Fondation pour la Civilisation européenne.  
[www.fedtrust.co.uk](http://www.fedtrust.co.uk)
- (6) *'The Cost of Fiscal Disunion in Europe and the New Model of Fiscal Federalism'*  
Guido Montani, professor at the University of Pavia and Deputy Chairman of the  
Union of European Federalists (UEF).  
[gmontani@eco.unipv.it](mailto:gmontani@eco.unipv.it)
- (7) *'Les citoyens face à l'Union européenne', Innovation et Gouvernance européenne:  
une feuille de route pour sortir de la crise'*, published about 2006  
Jean-Claude Boual, Philippe D. Grosjean, Jacques-René Rabier, Daniel Spoel,  
Raymond van Ermen, all members of the Forum Permanent de la Société Civile  
Européenne, but writing in their own capacity.  
[www.forum-civil-society.org](http://www.forum-civil-society.org)
- (8) *'Le fédéralisme, c'est maintenant... Propositions pour fonder une fédération à 17 au  
sein d'une Union européenne à 27'* - Thomas More Institute - paper no 13 - July 2012  
Paul Goldschmidt, former director at the European Commission and counsellor to  
the Thomas More Institute.

[www.institut-thomas-more.org](http://www.institut-thomas-more.org)

- (9) *'Stand up Europe, a Manifesto for a post-national revolution in Europe'* - 2012  
Guy Verhofstadt and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, both Member of the European Parliament and chairman of a political group.  
[www.debezigebijantwerpen.be](http://www.debezigebijantwerpen.be) (summary based on Dutch version)
- (10) *'European Federalist Papers'* - 2012-2013 - numbers 0 to 25  
Leo Klinkers, director of Klinkers & Hovens Public Policy Consultants and Herbert Tombeur, senior officer in the General Policy Section, Department of Foreign Affairs at Flemish Government Services.  
These papers are available in Dutch and in English.  
[info@europeanfederalistpapers.eu](mailto:info@europeanfederalistpapers.eu)
- (11) *'A reversed approach in order to break the deadlocks of the past'*, May 5 2013,  
Robert Verschooten, political adviser to UEF.be and chairman of the Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC) vzw, Antwerpen (Belgium).  
This paper is only available in English.  
The author writes in his own capacity.  
[www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be)
- (12) *'A Plan for an effective Federal Union'*  
Formulated by Robert Verschooten, political adviser to UEF.be and endorsed by UEF.be, at its General Assembly of October 19, 2013  
This paper is only available in English.  
[www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be)

## Vision n. 1 by Jacques Delors

### Towards a Federation of Nations

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher  
*'The euro zone, core of a political union'*, Notre Europe-Jacques Delors Institute - in New Europe, December 9 2012
- Author  
Jacques Delors, former Chairman of the European Commission
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - Ideas formulated in view of of the European summit of mid-December 2012 and the European elections of 2014.
  - Pleads for a broad public debate.
- Outline of this contribution
  - Article identifying three key ideas.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - The European political union is already part of European reality and is an indispensable perspective. 'The debate on the political union shall cover the idea of a union aimed at a stable and well-running EMU. The idea of a political union needs clarification. It needs to be deepened, as does the Federation of Nations. This European political union shall meet three conditions : enforce joint powers, set up common institutions, and will be acting under citizens' supervision'.
  - 'At the European elections of 2014 not just new members of the European Parliament will be elected but also indirectly the President of the Commission. Political parties need to start identifying their candidates and prepare their electoral agendas'.
  - 'Combine efficiency and legitimacy through differentiation. A certain amount of

progress of European integration has been reached on basis of a stronger joint solidarity and supervision by the EU. Better organising our unity in diversity will allow European people to respond together to a good many of the internal and external challenges they currently face. Improving functional federalism, as already operational in the EU, is the most reliable way of achieving this, as opposed to the idea of a big federal leap’.

- ‘The EMU shall be implemented through the enhanced cooperation procedure, namely on basis of current treaties, as to ensure effective dovetailing with the functioning of the EU’.
- ‘The eurozone is the centre of gravity of European integration. The current crisis confirmed the economic, financial and political interdependence of eurozone member states and citizens. Belonging to the eurozone means specific rights and duties as far as discipline and solidarity are concerned. It also underlines the flaws due to imbalance between a monetary union and an economic union and it must now firmly address the consequences and causes of such an imbalance’.
- ‘On the institutional scene eurozone summits already take place. The Commission must play its role to the full in exercising all of the powers conferred on it by the treaties. The European Parliament must remain a central player in the adaptation of the European legislative and budgetary decisions. Further integration of the eurozone remains open to all willing European nations’.
- ‘Further integration goes hand in hand with the launching of initiatives involving all EU countries. Within the single market, necessary efforts for an ongoing social and fiscal harmonisation are required’.
- ‘On basis of the Westerwelle report regarding the foreign and security policy speaking with one voice shall be promoted,’.
- ‘Combining the double perspective - eurozone and EU - EU countries will be able to deepen their action in all fields of common interest and so deepen the European political union’.
- Place in a broader context
  - Opinion in view of the European elections of 2014. All stakeholders are invited to start a public debate on the form and content of a European political union.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - The above definition of a political union of the EU/eurozone still contains a considerable portion of confederalism and open coordination.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - Analysis and proposals are sometimes difficult to be reconciled.

## **Vision n. 2 by Jean-Claude Piris**

### **The eurozone inside or outside the EU ?**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
  - ‘*Could rescuing the Eurozone fatally weaken the EU?*’
  - in *The Federalist Debate* of March 2013, pages 37-41.
- Author
  - Jean-Claude Piris, former DG of the Legal Service of the Council of the EU
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - Clarifies how the eurozone can function within or outside the EU and enumerates which additional policy domains could be attributed to the eurozone.
- Outline of this contribution
  - Thorough analysis. Clear enumeration of choices and consequences.

- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'The deep-rooted crisis in the eurozone makes the EU's present situation economically and politically unsustainable. An adequate reaction of the member states assumes a Union able to help them out of the present crisis. A number of positive measures is not enough, as it leads neither to a real convergence of economic and budgetary policies, nor to a genuine economic union. Actually they don't address the real causes of the problems'. (page 37)
  - 'A two-speed Europe seems like the only available outcome with two options:
    - Option one. Consists in progressing de facto towards a two-speed EU without any legal commitment. This cooperation should preferably take place within the EU's institutional framework. Only members of the Council representing member states whose currency is the euro will take part in the vote. To gain greater political visibility as well as to become economically coherent, they can decide to extend cooperation to other policy-areas: (1) a minimal harmonisation of tax legislation; (2) the adoption of common policy measures on immigration; (3) closer judicial cooperation in civic matters; (4) permanent structured cooperation in defense policy'. (page 38)
    - Option two. 'The group can consider taking some measures outside the EU framework. Which implies a legally binding international treaty for the participating states. This treaty, in addition to the European treaties, is mandatory if some members of the eurozone don't participate. When operating outside the EU framework, an intergovernmental cooperation would apply', being less effective than within the EU'. 'In all cases of enhanced cooperation only participating members have the right to vote'. 'A new treaty of this sort would take time to be agreed, ratified and implemented. However the announcement of a decision in principle might be enough to convince both the financial markets and people of the eurozone countries that a lasting solution is realistic and genuinely within sight'. (page 39) 'Joint responsibility would allow joint solidarity. The additional policy-areas in the first option might be extended further in order to establish a genuine Economic and Monetary Union. The group could accept a 'joint responsibility' by conferring powers of control and decision-making to central organs on national budgetary and economic policies'. (page 40)
  - 'Unanswered questions: how to protect the rights and interests of the other EU member states and how to preserve the EU's unity and cohesion?' (page 41)
- Place in a broader context
  - The author prefers institutional arrangements for a stronger eurozone within the EU, without the creation of any new body or institution.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - A federal end-goal is not at stake. A plea for more democratic and legitimized decisions. Is this possible in an upgraded intergovernmental system?
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - This is not examined. This paper limits itself to the presentation of two rather minimal options. Minimalism for the sake of political realism.

## **Vision n. 3 by Andrew Duff**

### **How to improve European governance ?**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
  - '*Federal Union Now*' (abbreviated: FUN) - The Federal Trust - August 2011
  - '*On governing Europe*' (abbreviated: OGE) - Policy Network - 2012

- Author
  - Andrew Duff - Member of the European Parliament and President of UEF
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - Recent measures to consolidate the euro proved inadequate. Suggestions in order to facilitate better governance.
  - Both papers are complementary. They clarify the purpose of the EU-reform.
- Outline of this contribution
  - Analysis and suggestions are concise and clear. Direct style.
  - Connects up recent events with a European Convention.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'The crisis is shaping the design of the new polity'. (OGE - page 10)
  - 'For the European Parliament, without a credible (and modest) European government to oppose, it has been difficult to command the genuine loyalty of the citizens it represents'. (OGE - page 13)
  - 'The governance of the EU's political economy is too weak. (FUN - page 1)
  - 'Replace ad hoc arrangements by permanent institutions which can manage affairs in a sustained way as befits a durable economic and monetary union with social objectives.' (OGE -page 56 )
  - 'The eurogroup should be made a formal part of the new system of governance of the Union. The eurogroup shall be embedded in a federal constitution. (OGE - page 58)
  - 'The new Union has to deliver deep democracy, fostering a sophisticated sense of European political citizenship with functional linkages, such as the media and political parties, connecting up the citizen with the supranational authorities'. (OGE - page 57)
  - 'Europe's federal democracy will only work if there is strong horizontal association among self-conscious European Union citizens of different nationalities as well as lively vertical liaison between the various levels of government.' (OGE - page 57)
  - 'Real fiscal solidarity between EU citizens as taxpayers implies the formation of a genuine European polity. The new European fiscal union has to be representative of its citizens as well as of its states, and must therefore acquire a proper federal economic government with powers to distribute resources and deliver public goods in a fair and efficient manner.' (OGE - page 57)
  - 'Mere economic policy coordination is not a federal solution and will hardly generate the necessary tough and inevitably unpopular measures which the deteriorating situation requires. (FUN - page 15) A federal economic government of a fiscal union, backed up by an appropriate budget, will save the euro and help economic recovery. A proper federal budget of the EU will serve to reduce fiscal pressure by lowering costs. A system of new sources of revenue and a multi-annual financial framework shall be decided by QMV'. (FUN - page 20)
  - 'A federal economic government shall have a larger scope of competences than the present European Commission. It will be accountable to the two chambers of the legislature, Parliament and Council'. (FUN - page 16)
  - 'Simple majority in the European Council can decide to kick off the process of treaty amendment at the request of the Commission, the Parliament or any single state. MEP's can insist on the holding of a Convention that will have to prepare by consensus (and in public) a text for unanimous agreement by an Intergovernmental Conference'. '(FUN - page 19)
  - 'Unifying the chairmanship of the three relevant bodies - European Council, Ecofin and Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers - in the persons of the President and two Vice-Presidents of the Commission (respectively, Treasury Secretary and Foreign Affairs Minister) would seem sensible'. (FUN - page 18)'

- 'A bold package of electoral reform should reform the European parties into proper campaigning party organisations competing with each other for ideas, policies, votes and seats.' (FUN - page 22)
- 'The European federal union of the future will be a bicameral and complex multi-level parliamentary democracy. No one legislature will be subordinated to another but coordinates partners in the governance process. Mutual coordination and cooperation are features of the new governance system'. (FUN - page 4)
- 'The delimitation of competences between the Union and its states along with the powers of the institutions will be confined in a written constitution. Federalism is neither centralisation (superstate), nor decentralisation'. (FUN - page 5)
- 'The creation of a federal economic government of a fiscal union requires a long term constitutional settlement'. (OGE - page 5)
- 'The new European federal constitution will be based largely on the existing EU treaties'. (FUN - page 5) 'Changing European treaties will have to go through a democratic European Convention. The author pleads for a lean or minimal federation, it is not a federal state, nor is it a substitute for Europe's existing member states, it supplements them.' (FUN - page 28)
- 'Post-national Europe needs a federal economic government that can be held up to scrutiny and trusted by both the political and financial representation of the people'. (OGE - page 71)
- 'Whatever emerges by way of Executive Authority, it will deserve a strong democratic counterparty in the shape of the European Parliament'. (OGE - page 61)
- 'If the UK rejects a European federation, a British veto can be circumvented by proposing an associate membership.' (FUN - page 12)
- Place in a broader context
  - A fairly detailed set of proposals aiming at a modest federation, 'for all a decisive move to a European federal government'. (FUN - page 2)
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - The proposals inspired by federal principles, mending current treaties.
  - Rejection of centralisation and decentralisation.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - Pragmatic objectives for a European Convention for the sake of realism.

## Vision n. 4 by Pierre Defraigne

### Why is a social Europe important to Europe ?

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
  - 'L'euro, le modèle et la puissance' - Madriaga paper - Vol. 6, No 2 (February 2013)
- Author
  - Pierre Defraigne, directeur exécutif of the Fondation Madriaga - Collège d'Europe
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - 'In spite of efforts to consolidate the euro, the crisis persists and unemployment increases.' (intro page)
  - 'The social contract, as a basis for a stable democracy, is losing ground in most member countries and therefore imperils cohesion in the European Union. (p. 5)
  - 'A federal project consists of a shared social model in the eurozone and on power needed to grant the eurozone a place among continental states'. (page 39)
- Outline of this contribution
  - A passionate and argued plea.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'Social justice and democracy are interwoven in a new project for Europe.' (intro)

- 'Today the social model is under thread in the absence of an ambitious political project and due to the crisis'. (page 1)
- 'The nation state is powerless to contain globalised capitalism and to face the geopolitical challenges'. (intro page)
- 'Market capitalism calls for a counterbalancing power able to impose executive policies'. (page 5)
- 'Not just the euro shall be salvaged. The social contract shall not be sacrificed to it since being the basis of democracy in Europe. Democracy in Europe will not survive without a shared social model'. (intro page)
- 'At stake in a political union are shared policy, a durable social model and a powerful eurozone'. (intro page)
- 'Without true European demos federalism is impossible in Europe'. (page 24)
- 'The issue is not just intellectual, a democratic consensus shall be reached too'. (page 8)
- 'The EU is the sole chance for Europe to face worldwide evolutions. A federating project shall be meaningful to people'. (page 1)
- Two issues baffle: first, 'reluctance of politics to redefine market functioning, and second, European public opinion's dislike of complexity of politics, reflecting a weakened sense of participation'. (page 2)
- Following subjects pass the review: 'crisis of western market capitalism, the unexpected acceptance by European elites of neoliberalism, an identity crisis in the EU, an ineffective internal market, the market opposed to the social model, governance crisis in the eurozone, adequate governance of the eurozone coinciding with a shared social model. A redefined European market capitalism can strengthen European identity. A new Europe requires a fair society'. (p. 47)
- 'Democracy is but meaningful if society keeps control over its future. Deep institutional reforms are needed to enable structural reforms'. Constitutionalisation cannot be avoided anymore'. 'People shall be consulted'. (page 47)
- 'The building of a social model implies the restoration of the equilibrium between the market and politics, by the eurozone, or whenever possible by the EU-27'. (p 40)
- Place in a broader context
  - This reflection reveals the origin of the European crisis in a completely different globalised world.
  - This reflection helps identifying remedial measures. Consistently linking an economic, a financial, a social and political model for Europe.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - A federation as a method, a constitution as a means and social equity as a motive.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - The synthesis of this paper can be used as an argument towards European decision-makers and people.

## **Vision n. 5 by Keith Richardson and Gérard Montassier**

### **Citizens centerstage in Europe**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher  
'A Europe of Hope - Democratic and Effective' - The Federal Trust - Feb 2010
- Author(s)  
Keith Richardson, former editor and former Secretary General of the European

Round Table of Industrialists and Gérard Montassier, former diplomat and President of the Fondation pour la Civilisation européenne

- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - 'A call for a democratic Europe'. (page 6) 'Restore hope in Europe by elevating democracy to the European level.' (page 8)
  - 'Emphasize role of the European citizen in a democratic Europe'. (page 8)
- Outline of this contribution
  - Explains the motives of important documents, such as the Founding Act, the Charter for a democratic Europe and the Political Project.
  - Example of concision, directness and focus on basic federal principles.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'Why does this large and prosperous Union so consistently fails to live up to its great potential and protection of its citizens?' (page 6)
  - Is Europe's relative decline in the world irreversible or not? Obviously not.
  - 'Since not every member state is ready for further integration, a Democratic Community within the existing Union should be envisaged'. (page 6) Powers related to personal issues remain national or regional prerogatives'.
  - 'The Union of today is weak and badly-governed. The Union cannot protect its people unless it is strong'. (page 7) 'Strength, unity and democracy are the key words for the revolution that Europe needs. Give democracy back to people and put them in charge'. (page 8) 'Let the people see that they are the ones who choose their European leaders, and that if these leaders fail to deliver then the people can replace them'. (page 6)
  - 'Sovereignty of the people should apply to Europe just as it does within each separate member state. Federalism and democracy are indissolubly linked'. (p 6)
  - Further ideas:
    - 'Put before the people a short and clear document called the Founding Act (possibly one page long) that establishes a truly Democratic Community and gives it the powers and flexibility needed to deal with future challenges'. (page 9)
    - 'The Charter for a Democratic Europe presents twelve basic principles on which the Democratic Community should be founded'. (page 9) The Democratic Community proceeds along its own way, but continues participating in the European Union. Staff and budget have to be reallocated'. (page 27)
  - 'Create the new Democratic Community within the existing European Union'. 'Any government which does not want to take part in the Union-wide referendum is free to stand aside'. (page 23)
  - 'The Democratic Community will further enlarge its own powers and will assume new opportunities. This Community remains open to further adhesions, as soon as countries are ready to join'. (page 27)
  - 'People of Europe will vote for or against the Founding Act in a single Europe-wide referendum'. (page 25)
  - 'Once the Act is in force democratic institutions can draw up detailed legislation to establish the working methods and strike a balance between the powers of the Community and that of the member states'. (page 9)
  - 'At the same time the Act should be supported by a Political Project that sets out the ambitions of the Community in terms of effective democratic governance, promoting and protecting its citizens' economic and social well-being, facing the challenges of globalisation and playing a decisive role in world affairs'. (page 9)
- Place in a broader context
  - These ideas fall within the scope of a constitutional process. Emphasizes the idea of a Europe of the citizen and the basic ideas for a constitution. However 'the new Democratic Community will be created within the existing European

- Union' (and treaties). (page 23)
- 'The Act provides an unequivocal transfer of power to the newly defined 'supreme democratic institutions, namely the Parliament and the Council'. (page 25)
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - The idea of a Europe of the citizen is part of the federal line of thought.
  - The authors reject the idea of a centralized European superstate.
  - The European project shall again become the project of European people. Therefore the authors insist on concise, clear and understandable basic principles in the founding documents'.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - The pragmatic content of these ideas doesn't ask for a transposition.
  - The European federalist movement can possibly find here an example regarding form and content of a draft Founding Act or Constitution for Europe.

## **Vision n. 6 by Jean-Claude Boual & co, members of the FPSC**

### **Which routemap towards pseudo-federalism in EU-27?**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher  
*'Les citoyens face à l'Union européenne', Innovation et gouvernance européenne: une feuille de route pour sortir de la crise', (63 p) published end 2005*
- Author(s)  
Jean-Claude Boual, Philippe D. Grosjean, Jacques-René Rabier, Daniel Spoel, Raymond van Ermen, are members of the Forum Permanent de la Société Civile européenne, but writing in their own capacity.
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - Suggest a routemap dealing not only with a constitutional treaty but also with other initiatives that place the Draft Constitution II in a wider context. (page 7)
- Outline of this contribution
  - Illustrate a number of initiatives.
  - Present a complete and final (page 54) political project, with a strong social undertone, within the context of globalisation.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)  
Different consecutive steps:
  - A 'Solemn Declaration of Interdependence of European people' casts a new context (page 7) where 'people together with the member states share the sovereignty of the EU'. (page 52) 'People of Europe expressing themselves directly when bringing to bear their European citizenship'. (page 55) 'This declaration will be the preamble of the Constitution'. (page 56)
  - 'A General Convention of the networks of Europe is convened, bringing together unions, business and civil society, that will adopt this Declaration'. (page 25) 'This General Convention will examine the challenges of globalisation, establish what they want to undertake together, not just issues related to institutions. The final text will be handed over to the European Parliament, which will formally - in the name and by authority of European people - transmit it to the delegates in the Convention III, with the demand to insert it in the Preamble of the future Constitution II'. (page 25)
  - 'Next to Convention III an Intergovernmental conference will handle the Draft Constitution II. The Convention III will formulate the Draft Constitution and a society contract, based on ethics of responsibility and new criteria of progress'. (page 4)
  - 'A new Constitution is needed soonest. Nine suggestions are formulated in order

to amend Draft Constitution I (dated 2004), which was already approved by the national governments'. (page 50) Parts I and II of Draft Constitution I will be the onset to Draft Constitution II. On the other hand most provisions of part III will be deleted and replaced by a 'Legislative Code of the EU'.

- 'No policy choices shall be included in Constitution II in application of the objectives of the EU'. (page 53)
- 'The final text, or the Founding Pact, will be approved by both the member states and by the citizens in a Europe-wide referendum. This Constitution II applies only to these states and to their citizens that ratified it'. (page 10)
- 'The wording of Constitution II will create with the people a genuine bond, a kind of legal and political patriotism, over its basic principles and values. This Constitution will include an autonomous procedure to amend it'. (page 54)
- 'The treaty can possibly consist of one article whereby member states confirm the acceptance of the attached Constitution II'. (page 54)
- 'The treaty is the competence of the intergovernmental conference. The attachment - Constitution II - cannot be the assignment nor be the responsibility of an intergovernmental conference'. (page 54)
- Place in a broader context
  - The authors plead for a different approach towards changing capitalism, the crisis of the European project, a consensus on a European social model, an improved governance, a democratic breakthrough in and outside the Union, and an harmonious dialogue between a multicultural Europe and other regions in the world.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - These proposals aim at a pseudo-federalism for the EU (page 58). The amended draft Constitution I can at best lead to a pre-federal Europe. Additional direct democracy and participation is promoted.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - The step by step plan about content and introduction of Constitution II contains interesting suggestions. The authors are not explicit about who will carry the 'revolution'.

## **Vision n. 7 by Guido Montani**

### **Basic federal principles for a monetary and fiscal union**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
  - 'The Cost of Fiscal Disunion in Europe and the New Model of Fiscal Federalism'*
- Author
  - Guido Montani, professor at the University of Pavia and Deputy Chairman of the Union of European Federalists (UEF)
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - Demonstrates that 'the aim of a monetary union is to remove the political risks - exchange rates and sovereign debt default - related to internal financial transactions' (page 1).
  - 'Fragility of the EMU caused the sovereign debts, banking and economic crises and became a dangerous vicious circle' (page 8).
- Outline of this contribution
  - A technical, argued and academic paper, including macro-economic and monetary theory. Aimed at specialists.
  - Takes the American monetary system as material for comparison.

- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'The cost of fiscal disunion has a high social price. A new model of fiscal federalism shall have to emerge' (page 1).
  - 'If we want to advance towards a well-run monetary union we must build a fiscal union and a federal government'. (page 6) The more since the real origin of the European crisis is political'. (page 8).
  - 'This model is based on following principles: (1) the relative autonomy of monetary policy from fiscal policy; (2) hard budgetary constraints at every level of government; (3) a limited transfer union and an autonomous federal budget'. (page 9)
  - 'EU's asymmetry is entangled with new problems, such as the challenge of global finance, the thread of climate change, the reform of old welfare state and the development of a multipolar international system'. (page 1)
  - 'The existence of a large and well-integrated market of perfectly transferable assets does not completely eradicate the regional problems in the long run, when structural differences at the regional level of per-capita income persist'. (page 5)
  - 'In the EU member states a dysfunctional equilibrium exists between national political commitments and national fiscal resources. Moreover, globalisation is relentlessly eroding the financial basis of the European fiscal system'. (page 14)
  - 'National governments strongly resist devolving more fiscal powers to the EU, but are unable to supply the public goods citizens need'. (page 14) If the size of the EU budget is inadequate to create effective convergence, hard budgetary constraints to national governments become a straitjacket'. (page 15)
  - 'The national waste of European resources causes less growth, more unemployment and more poverty in the EU. National governments believe a federal budget is not the proper way to collect European taxes. All in all, the effectiveness of the EU budget for the growth and stability of the European economy is grossly underrated. Thanks to co-financing European expenses stimulate national investments too and, in fact, the EU budget coordinates European investments more effectively than administrative rules can'. (page 15)
  - 'A well-run monetary union cannot work without a federal budget'. (page 1)
  - 'Money and a monetary union also have a political impact' (hence the need for a political union). (page 2)
  - 'One difficulty of advancing is the ignorance of federalist principles'. (page 1)
- Place in a broader context
  - This paper indicates how an equilibrated monetary union should look like and which preconditions should be met.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - This paper contributes to the conception of a federal project.
  - Connects a monetary and fiscal union with a federal union.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - Federal principles aimed at creating a monetary and fiscal union have direct relevance.

## **Vision n. 8 by Paul Goldschmidt**

### **Institutional principles for a differentiated development**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher  
*'Le fédéralisme, c'est maintenant... Propositions pour fonder une fédération à 17 au sein d'une Union européenne à 27'* - Thomas More Institute - note 13 - July '12

- Author
  - Paul Goldschmidt, former director at the European Commission and counsellor to the Thomas More Institute.
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - Relation between the 17 and 27 MS of the EU shaping a differentiated integration.
  - Proposes a binding step by step plan and time schedule for the eurozone. (p. 9)
- Outline of this contribution
  - A clear global proposal based on 16 distinct propositions.
  - Accessible text.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'Simplify the legal structure of the EU by two instruments: (first) the Treaty of the EU, creating a confederation of 27 MS and (second) a Treaty of the European Federation, creating a federation among 17 MS of the eurozone'. (page 7)
  - 16 propositions render a clear insight in a completely new institutional system and mutual relations between an intergovernmental union (EU) and a Federation of eurozone countries. Two legal entities with quite different end-goals. 'Especially the federation will be able to face the challenges of the future'. Joining the eurozone is still possible at a later date. (page 10)
  - 'Separate decision-making in the EU and the federation. In the federation the unanimity on the budget is abandoned and will be replaced by double QMV'.
  - 'A pan-European referendum will decide on important issues'.
  - 'The federation introduces an executive body accountable to the European Parliament. There is also a common external representation'.
- Place in a broader context
  - Can be an inspiring reference at a European democratic Convention.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - The enumerated constitutional principles reflect the line of thought and the political platform of the European federalist movement.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - No adaptation of the proposals needed.

## **Vision n. 9 by Guy Verhofstadt and Daniel Cohn-Bendit**

### **A plea for a post-national and federal Europe**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
  - 'Stand up Europe! A manifesto for a post-national revolution in Europe' - 2012
  - Summarized from the Dutch version. Editor: De Bezige Bij, Antwerpen - 155 pages.
- Author(s)
  - Guy Verhofstadt en Daniel Cohn-Bendit, are both member of the European Parliament and chairman of a political group.
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - This book originated from anger about 'the great naivité by many European member states and their leaders clinging to the remains of power and towards national elites that are just muddling on'. (Sara De Mulder in Liberales - 2012).
- Outline of this contribution
  - Plenty of arguments and a political platform. Militant and enthusiastic plea.
  - Accessible. Analysis of causes and comments on the different European crises.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'We are in a period of globalisation where the equilibrium of power plays at a continental or sub-continental level. In order to reconstitute a new sovereignty at worldwide scale, individual European countries shall transfer their representations

- in global bodies to Europe'. (page 13)
- 'Europe outlines the direction, nation-states implement these orientations'. (Sara De Mulder - SDM -in Liberales - 2012)
- 'Europe must, once and for all, get rid of the egocentrism of its nation-states'. (G. Bordino in The Federalist Debate - 3/2013 - page 63)
- The authors promote 'a different identity conscienceness, overstepping the limitative affinity at a national or geographical level. See Jürgen Habermas and his 'constitutional identity'. Here the citizens identify themselves with the European values, human rights and Europe as a political achievement'. (SDM)
- Plea for a European government with a directly elected President, two legislative chambers: the European Parliament (EP) and a House of the member states.
- 'Direct elections and own resources for the EU-budget grant the European citizens more control by EP. A federal budget of up to 10% of the European GDP'. (p 136)
- 'That kind of budget can puch back the economic crisis. Overall taxation burden shall not increase'. (SDM)
- 'On the eve of the European elections an ideological leap forward, directed at a federal Europe, is proposed by the authors'. (SDM) 'A radical revolution imposes itself. A European revolution with a great vision. A European federal Union must arise, that allows Europe, in the fastest possible way, to participate in tomorrow's post-national world'. (G. Bordino - o.c. - p 63)
- 'The goal of a European federal State needs a strongly majoritarian and cross-party consensus of political parties and of social actors' (G. Bordino - o.c. - p 62)
- 'After the European elections of 2014 the European Parliament shall, with the blessing of the Council of ministers and the European Council, proclaim itself a Constitutional Assembly'. (page 126)
- 'Europe is the main - if not the most important - lever to preserve our prosperity and independence in an ever faster changing world'. (page 15)
- Place in a broader context
  - Argumented plea for a post-national and federal Europe. A number of political choices are illustrated. Certain ideas question a number of economical and political paradigmas.
  - 'The federal Union is necessary for the new development of the continent, fit for the challenges of the globalisation process and, in a wider horizon, for a democratic and efficient governability of the world'. (G. Bordino - o.c. - p 62)
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - Completely within a European federal line of thought.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - The reader shall by himself progress towards a more detailed European project. Who will undertake this ideologic leap remains vague, though the role of political parties is acknowledged.

## **Vision n. 10 by Leo Klinkers and Herbert Tombeur**

### **Arguments for a federal union and a draft constitution**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher  
*'European federalist papers'* - 2012-2013 - number 0 to 25  
 These papers are available in Dutch and in English.
- Author(s)  
 Leo Klinkers, director of Klinkers & Hovens public Policy Consultants and Herbert Tombeur, senior officer in the General Policy Section, Department of Foreign Affairs at Flemish government services.

- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - 'Open up the eyes of deceived citizens for genuine European capability, protection and power demarcation implied in the concept of federalism'. (p 1 of n. 5)
- Outline of this contribution
  - Accessible platform. Easy reading text. Stepwise build-up plea.
  - A dialogue taking the 85 Federalist Papers of 1787-88 as example and referring frequently to them. Past and current experience in other federations, namely the USA and Swiss, helps to formulate the principles and the text of a Draft Constitution for Europe.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - 'The intergovernmental system is - in the second decennium of the 21st century - increasingly harming communitarian Europe. Only a federal polity can maintain coherence in Europe'. (page 1 of n. 0)
  - 'Federalism is the polity of the future, especially for public bodies'. (page 1 of n. 4) It does not evaporate the nation-states. (page 4 of n. 16) On the contrary. 'A federation for Europe does not have to evolve in statehood'. (page 1 of n. 2) 'Federations can create win-win situations'. (page 6 of n. 7)
  - The first ten papers explain superiority of a European federation over the current intergovernmental system in the EU.
  - 'Public administration principles elucidate why a European federation cannot emerge by mere adjustment of current EU-treaties'. (page 1 of n. 12)
  - 'The conception of a European Constitution will but succeed if people and their organisations will do it by themselves, without interference from 'Brussels'.
  - At the end of this series of papers a draft Constitution for Europe is proposed: 'compact, without democratic deficit, with vertical and horizontal division of power, with the conservation of national sovereignty'. (page 7 of n. 14) The authors motivate extensively a presidential and bi-cameral model. The constitutional and institutional conditions necessary to lead towards a European federal Constitution' are enumerated. (n. 21)
  - 'A representative democracy is best served by a European Parliament and a President with a democratic mandate. (page 5 of n. 17)
  - Subsidiarity is sidelined since being too unpredictable. (page 11 en 13 of n. 21)
  - 'A European Convention should not take place after the EU-elections but rather in 2013. The elections should focus on the choice to vote either for or against federalisation'. (page 5 of n. 16)
- Place in a broader context
  - Strong plea in favour of European federalism and the basic principles of a system that will shape a society and political project for Europe.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - The suggested principles refer to an innovative interpretation of democracy and federalism. Division of power and equilibrium among institutions are the rule.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - This new draft Constitution can directly be used by a European democratic Convention.

## **Vision n. 11 by Robert Verschooten**

### **An out-of-the-box proposal to break the deadlocks of the past**

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher
  - *'A reversed approach in order to break the deadlocks of the past'*, May 5 2013,

- Author

Robert Verschooten, political adviser to UEF.be and Chairman of the Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC) vzw, Antwerpen (Belgium).

The author writes in his own capacity.

- Purpose and motives of this contribution

- Offer an answer to the question why the ideas of the European federalist movement often fail to gain broad support.
- This plan tries to reconcile different objectives: (1) reverses introduction of the reform procedure of polity in the eurozone; (2) tries to coalesce different tendencies in the European federalist movement; (3) tries to catch genuine attention through an innovative approach.

- Outline of this contribution

- No analysis. Just a concise proposal.

- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)

- A step by step plan will gradually lead to the full implementation of the federal constitution. This step by step plan extends over a considerable period of time. The announcement of the plan and its backing by decision-makers will create anticipated hope for a better future. The plan becomes selffulfilling as soon as its positive effect is acknowledged.
- If transfer of power meets red lines following procedure can apply: (1) the contested domains will be introduced anyway in the final step by step plan; (2) their implementation can be postponed for a maximum period of 3 years, provided European Parliament agrees; thereafter the European Parliament can by QMV activate these domains; (3) not all transferable domains are eligible for postponement. Can be denied if imperiling optimisation of governance.
- The step by step plan for the eurozone provides simultaneous progress in different policy areas. This could entail: (first) the creation of an European economic government boosting macro-economic coherence, restructuring financial markets and steering a common migration and asylum policy; (second) extension of power of the economic government encompassing social policy, taxation and close cooperation in the field of defense, security and a common External Action policy; and a full empowered European Court of Justice; (third) completes political integration by the introduction of qualified majority vote on all decisions, own financial means covering European expenditure in the eurozone, speaking with one voice on External Action, structural cooperation in the field of security and defense and a fully implemented federal Constitution for the eurozone.
- Two task forces in the European federal movement should soonest: (1) draft a Fundamental Law and a Federal Constitution inspired by available concepts but sharing compatible assumptions; (2) get professional counselling on the formulation of a well-thought-out step by step plan and tactics, in order to negotiate this plan with the final decision-makers and (3) finalize joint assumptions and federal basic principles. A time schedule shall apply to the three topics.

- Place in a broader context

- Draft a political initiative on equal foot with other projects in the public debate at the occasion of the European elections of 2014.

- Coherence with European federalist principles

- A democratic and federal project, based on federal principles, legitimized by referendum.

- Conversion into a useful European project

- A detailed step by step plan, proper communication about this approach and sponsoring plan (political support).

## Vision nr 12 by UEF.be

### A Plan for an effective Federal Europe

- Title, year of publication, series, publisher  
*'A Plan for a effective Federal Europe'*  
This Plan was endorsed by UEF.be on Octobre 19, 2013
- Author  
Robert Verschooten, political adviser to UEF.be and Chairman of the Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC) vzw, Antwerpen (Belgium).
- Purpose and motives of this contribution
  - This effort was undertaken in order to provide the UEF.be with a effective Plan for the future of Europe, spelling out the joint assumptions.
  - This tool will enable UEF.be - and hopefully other sections and European federalists - to better position themselves in a possible confrontation of ideas in view of the campaign for the European elections of May 2014.
  - This Plan/Perspective or Project is an attempt to systematically formulate basic choices, strategy/tactics and methodology for joint action.
- Outline of this contribution
  - The objectives guiding UEF.be are formulated in a sequence that observes an hierarchy between objectives and more detailed operational choices.
  - Associates methods (tools) and the making of sensible (motivated) choices leading towards a political project for an effective federal Europe.
  - Propose a European federalist centered approach.
- Central and derived themes (not exhaustive)
  - Plea for differentiated integration (two speed), in which a federal (empowered) Union for the eurozone and a less empowered EU coexist and cooperate.
  - Plea for an outspoken federal project for the eurozone, implemented step by step. No one else will formulate such a project, which does reflect the specificity of the EFM.
  - This step by step Plan follows a progressive track which is known and accepted in advance.
  - Realistic objectives by the European federalists will stimulate them to cooperate and score together while propagating their joint message to the right target audiences. United they will achieve.
- Place in a broader context
  - By formulating a joint narrative/perspective/project/plan the EFM can initiate a true interregional cooperation, enabling to organise joint campaigns and increase their impact respectively their notority.
- Coherence with European federalist principles
  - This Plan is written with the aim to inspire the EFM stakeholders on its leading ideas and federal principles.
- Conversion into a useful European project
  - Federalist principles apply to the EFM joint Plan, to their joint campaigning and to their joint assumptions.

### Political courage

'Courageous political decisions shall be maintained on the playing field.  
If needed they shall be enforced. The ultimate move matters.'  
Wouter De Geest, CEO of BASF Antwerp

'Getting used to the crisis impairs our combativity'  
Daan Struyven in De Tijd of 17/04/2013

'Dreams need a **reality check** prior to their implementation', Stefaan Michielsens said (De Tijd - 12/04/2013). This reasoning is used in the context of sound management. Can this reasoning not apply to European integration?

The crucial societal and political project for Europe shall not get bogged down in stagnation. Needed **reforms cannot be postponed** until the downfall of Europe. However many top European politicians believe they can tempt fate.

The question whether societal projects can be **subjected to experiment** remains open. As such each new piece of legislation is an exercise in societal relevance and effectivity. Certainty about the desired societal benefit can hardly be predicted in advance. This shall be no excuse to postpone needed reform. Further delay to reform the eurozone will dramatically inflate the cost of adjustment.

'Leadership yields orientation, inspiration and  
cares for progress in the chosen direction'  
Jeroen Van der Veer, former CEO of Shell

In spite of recent remarkable progress, the various crises hitting Europe demonstrate failure of the current governance system. A superficial reform doesn't resolve the fundamental challenges. Europe needs a **long term vision**, an ambitious and **future-oriented** project, and **courageous statesmen** supporting a sensible European project.

European policymakers have to innovate. Do they? At European level they mainly fail collectively. What can we do? This question falls outside the scope of this paper. One aspect will be covered: how shall one or more projects, dealing with the future of Europe, be formulated by civil society? How will these projects come on the political agenda?

Belief that the nations are the ultimate savers shows, in spite of repeated proof to the contrary, to be alive and kicking. National leaders are aware of this, but allow populism and nationalism to prevail. **When will** politicians become courageous?

Can this attitude be changed by external pressure? This can - among others - be started by media, political parties, the EFM and by influential persons, sharing the same end-goal and expressing themselves unambiguously in favour of a **new, sensible, well-structured, European polity**. This polity should enforce cohesion.

Why do national leaders not **seek consensus** on a European end-goal and the motives justifying this end-goal? However, a consensus among all EU-countries is most of the time impossible. This proves difficult, even within the eurozone. Possibly with less participants? The entire eurozone remains the best choice, but shall be no justification for a status quo. Which other taboos shall also be overcome?

The EFM shall loud and clear denounce the **absence of inspired leaders** able to communicate with people, rather than with their colleagues.

'Our society requires new answers for different questions'  
F. J. Quesado, General Manager of the Innovation and Knowledge Society (Portugal)

'We shall **show resilience** instead of demonstrating self-pity. Do revolt! People accept that politics and business do settle things among them.' (Daan Struyven)

This revolt can be expressed by formulating a project that will rescue Europe from drift and decline. William the Silent stated: 'There is no need for hope in order to undertake, neither is it necessary to succeed in order to maintain.' This applies to the EFM as well.

If national political leaders are unable to work out adequate solutions, capable to confront current and future challenges, who will? **Which individuals and/or movements** in civil society can contribute to reinvent European society?

Those who have great kinship about Europe and federalism applied to Europe will have to organise themselves **outside existing political movements**, without losing touch with political parties and unions. Why outside? In order not to weaken the EFM-project by opinions about Europe, which the EFM combats.

The EFM shall **reinvent itself** as well. For the sake of convenience it is assumed that the EFM is able to do so, but didn't succeed yet.

An estimated 6% of population is interested in politics (M. Duverger). However **how many** are interested in a project for Europe? Possibly less. Obviously there are gradations.

'**Well-informed citizens** facilitate proper functioning of democracy. It is striking how little their number is in a democracy. Voters are aware of the limited benefit of being well-informed'. (Rémy Bonnaffé in Liberales of May 2013)

Worth mentioning is: most interested individuals **will by themselves not undertake** an effort to formulate such a complex project. Just a few will. Ten, fifty or hundred capable men and women in Europe can deliver a project. A moral duty rests on them to formulate this project and propagate it. Not easy, but not impossible either.

Political preferences are different and lead to diverging projects. A multitude of projects represents however an unvaluable source of inspiration. This shall be encouraged. **One of these projects shall be formulated by the EFM.**

The **confrontation of these projects**, in a public debate, gives this debate content, and orientates the debate. Possibly will these projects be included in the electoral platforms of the political parties. Hence the public will become knowledgeable of these projects, and can express in due time its preferences.

These projects shall be **coherent** in their strategic choices. **Transparency** implies visible choices. The **motives** for these preferences shall be communicated. **Appropriate methods** will facilitate the formulation of a vision.

The vision of the EFM shall in the first place be directed at the **media, political parties, governing and intellectual elites and civil society** in Europe. Changing the opinion of these elites is not evident. How can a momentum be created? How shall this momentum be maintained? And how can these new insights find their way to the political agenda?

## How much synthesis is needed?

In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister  
(German saying)

Making synthesis after synthesis can go indefinitely. That is not the purpose. **Sufficient insight** can rapidly be reached. Next comes the identification of conformity and difference. A broader context will enlarge the number of basic choices.

A **focus on the main choices** will benefit surveyability. A summarizing table will reveal conformity and difference better than a text.

A summary table of the main ideas expressed in the 12 visions can be considered **almost** complete. Moreover **opinions evolve with time**. Constant adaptation will ensue.

An **incomplete overall synthesis doesn't impair** a satisfactory definition of a representative European project. **Near completeness** now shall be preferred to deferred attempts aiming at a perfect project.

Why are choices important? Each basic choice defines the **track** of a project.

Evading or deferring these choices weaken the EFM. This paper hopes **to boost the making** of consciously made political choices.

## Comparison of 12 visions

‘A new European project fails without new patterns of thought‘

A comparison of previous 12 visions is given below (**chart 1**). These 12 visions are checked up on similarity in the horizontal lines and on difference in vertical rows.

### Chart 1: Comparison of 12 summarised visions

An empty box means that the author didn't express himself on this choice.

This chart doesn't reproduce all political choices offered by these 12 visions (surveyability).

F1	Delors	For a federation of nations
F2	Piris	For a eurozone inside or outside the EU
F3	Duff	For better governance and a federal Europe now
F4	Defraigne	For a social Europe
F5	Richardson Montassier	For a Europe of the citizens
F6	Boual a.o.	For a roadmap to overcome the crisis
F7	Montani	For an economic & monetary union and fiscal union
F8	Goldschmidt	Federal principles ruling relation EU/eurozone
F9	Verhofstadt Cohn-Bendit	For a federal Europe
F10	Klinkers Tombeur	For a federal constitution
F11	Verschooten	For a reversed approach
F12	UEF.be	For a Perspective towards a Federal Europe

Summary	F1 Del	F2 Pir	F3 Duf	F4 Def	F5 Ric	F6 Bou	F7 Mon	F8 Go	F9 V-C	F1 K-T	F11 RV	F12 uef. be
Federation of nations	x											
Functional federalism	x											
Eurozone as driver	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Differentiated development	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x
Democratic legitimation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Design of reform			x	x	x	x			x		x	x
Performing institutions	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
Fiscal solidarity			x				x		x			x
Additional policy domains			x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x
Founding documents			x		x	x		x		x		
Convention/ constitution			x		x				x	x	x	x
European citizens' role					x				x	x	x	x
Fiscal federalism			x			x	x		x	x	x	x
Federal principles					x		x	x		x	x	x
Bridging different unions	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Maintain nations	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x
Constit/presid/ bicameral			x		x		x		x	x	x	x
Pan-E popular consultation			x		x				x	x	x	x

**Chart 2** focusses on the difference between an ever more **alarming analysis** (vertical axis) and an ever more **advanced federal project** (horizontal axis). Visions are a mix of both.

The chart has four compartments with following characteristics:

- Top left (1): a daring analysis and a cautious political project
- Left under (2): a cautious analysis and a cautious political project
- Top right (3): a daring analysis and an outspoken federal project
- Right under (4): a cautious analysis and an outspoken federal project

**Chart 2: Plotting of the 12 visions**

- Tentative plotting according to the preponderance of either aspect in the adequate compartment. Each vision is represented by its serial number as used above.

^ Ever more alarming  
^ analysis (urgency)

<p>1 A daring analysis and a cautious federal project</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2      3</p>	<p>3 A daring analysis and an outspoken federal project</p> <p style="text-align: center;">4      5      6      9    10   12</p>
<p>2 A cautious analysis and a cautious (partial) federal project</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1      7      8</p>	<p>4 A cautious (here no) analysis and outspoken federal project</p> <p style="text-align: center;">11</p>

More advanced federal projects >>

Interim conclusions (1)

- Basic choices in each federal project can on the one hand **concur on a number of choices**, while on the other hand can **differ on other choices**. Shared choices can be misleading since possibly masking the **points of difference** that matter.
- A number of **decisive political choices** emerge from the individual visions. A joint selection of political choices will define the scope of the EFM project.
- Making an **inventory of possible choices** is not impossible. This inventory shall not indicate the political line, but will document it in a surveyable way.
- An inventory of choices shall be made **now**. If incomplete, it can still be completed later. The overview matters, since working as a benchmark.

- The recommendations by the **European Social Committee** can provide the EFM with additional insight in the socio-economic background of a European project.
- The European project shall **not be a middle-of-the-road project**. It shall incorporate the paradigmas and principles of a new societal and political project. Deep adaptation will be made, or the effort will be pointless.
- **Incomplete projects** have until now prevailed, originating from misleading shortcuts or quick solutions.
- Peoples of Europe will refuse to consider the project of the European integration, if it is unproperly justified. A **detailed project** for internal use can still be summarized for external use. Qui peut plus, peut moins. Not the reverse.
- For three reasons formulation of an EFM **European project** is urgent: (1) the world develops at a high pace, despite of Europe's relative standstill; (2) the EFM shall endorse the principles of a common European project; (3) participation of the EFM in the confrontation of visions at the European elections campaign of 2014 is pointless without a joint project.
- The project of the EFM shall stand **neutral towards the political parties**, but shall maintain sufficient common ground with them.

## Tentative list of choices

‘The key to success is making sense of cacophony’.  
Ian Mundell, prof. Princeton Univ., in European Voice of 28/02/2013

This chapter will place the different choices in a **broader theoretical context**. For each choice different **alternatives are put next to** (under) **each other**. In the second place this chapter tries to **improve the understanding** of the relation between the various choices, whose correlation is possibly hard to establish or the shortcomings are hard to be detected.

In a truly **theoretical approach** more choices will be considered. This listing will be structured in **categories and subcategories**, facilitating the formulation of a **coherent, logic and inclusive project**.

**Following categories** are considered:

- **Initial choices** (basic choices)
- **Long term choices** (strategic choices)
- **Short term choices** (tactical choices)

Each subcategory is identified by a serialnumber (..). In each subcategory parallel choices are presented in rising order. See dashes written in italics. If an analysis is inserted instead of starting with a listing of choices, this will be mentioned.

- **Initial choices** (category 1) (basic choices)

(11) *Which design for the European federalist movement? (EFM)* (in rising order)

- *Design not formulated:*

- absence of direction means muddling on;
- uncoordinated action has very limited effect.

- *A formulated design:*

- gives direction to and focus towards a common design;
- local sections carry out centrally proposed EFM action themes;
- local sections can, after consultation, present their own adapted version.

(12) *Which basic assumptions for EFM?* (in rising order)

- *Analysis of the failing governance system in the EU/eurozone:*

- suited for limited ad hoc remedy action;
- inadequate for the formulation of a coherent project.

- *Design of a European project by the EFM:*

- expresses shared assumptions by the EFM;
- anticipates to a changing context and reacts to a fast deteriorating position of the EU and/or eurozone in the world;
- spells out the basic objectives of a shared societal project and a political union for the EU and the eurozone.

(13) *How basic shall the EFM project be?* (in rising order)

- *Incomplete and superficial* (institutions and socio-economic):

- incomplete goes hand in hand with ill-formulated assumptions;
- inadequate hierarchy among the EFM campaign themes.

- *Gradual formulation of the vision of the EFM:*

- step by step formulation on prioritarian issues;
- involving internal democracy in the EFM.

- *Outspoken formulation of a fully fledged federal project:*

- a systematic joint and sustained effort shall be made;
- for some tendencies in the EFM this can go too fast.

(14) *Extent of the EFM-project?* (in rising order)

- *Limited political project:*

- the intergovernmental method is maintained, apart of some minor changes (not involving treaty change);
- national governments can back out of previously concluded technical accords aimed at overcoming the eurocrisis;
- a number of Treaty of Lisbon provisions are not implemented;
- incomplete and weak project (ad hoc in every way);
- limited economic governance (by far no economic governance);
- limited increase of powers of the European Parliament;
- limited increase of powers vested with the European Commission and the European Court of Justice.

- *A pre-federal project:*
  - as an intermediary step towards a true federal Union;
  - fits in a binding timing of intermediary steps.
  
- *Fully fledged political project with a design and with intermediary steps:*
  - a democratic European constitutional Convention drafting a federal project for the future;
  - a Federal Union embedded in a democratic constitution, instating:
    - 'a multilevel constitutionalisation, which allows to view the EU as a tiered community' (Paola Bilancia, reported by Claudio Bandrino in *The Federalist Debate* - 7/2013 - p. 58);
    - empowered economic government;
    - majority vote in the European Council;
    - full co-decision by the European Parliament;
    - legitimation of all decisions;
    - empowered European Court of Justice.
    - a referendum deciding on important issues;
  
- *Inclusive project (to be executed in following order):*
  - a societal project by the EFM (at least its basic principles);
    - seeking to break up the gulf with/malaise of/rejection by people;
    - spells out values and standards of the new society;
  
  - a political project by the EFM (derived in part of the societal project);
    - answers the democratic deficit in Europe;
    - brings about the necessary legitimation, decisiveness and efficiency;
    - meets the demand for a common external action policy and a meaningful European présence in the world;
  
  - operational model for the EFM (integrated content, form, timing and strategy):
    - the EFM is visible, credible and relevant;
    - the EFM formulates the right proposals related to good governance in the EU and the eurozone;
    - the EFM becomes the accepted flag-bearer of the European federalist standpoint;
    - the EFM champions a valuable alternative European federal project.

(15) *How will the EFM promote itself? (and/and)*

- *Local sections promote individually the EFM-vision.*
- *The EFM presents itself as a think tank to the public.*
- *The EFM presents itself to the general public as a group with a solid agenda.*
- *The EFM operates as a lobby and action group targetting a limited number of selected audiences. Lobbying shall be systematic and purposive.*

(16) *Which form and content for the EFM-project? (and/and)*

- *Framework of appropriate principles (summarized form):*
  - preceded by a list of shared assumptions;
  - a list of federalist principles serving as a reference to the EFM values.

- *Mission statement, manifesto, ideology and strategy:*
  - when the principles are established, the other papers can follow;
  - each paper shall reflect a logic build-up of the EFM-vision;
  - strategy and tactics.
- *A completely spelled out project - see (14) inclusive project:*
  - shall gather consensus in the EFM;
  - the project will position the EFM.

(17) *How much democracy do we want at European level?*

- *Limited or indirect democracy at European level:*
  - intergovernmental cooperation in the EU; yielding possibly significant technical progress, proceeding under the exclusive leadership of the European Council;
  - EU cooperation, not involving all European institutions, creates additional democratic deficit.
- *Differentiated democratic powers for EU resp. eurozone:*
  - for the EU more co-decision by the European Parliament in technical and non-political matters;
  - for the eurozone a pre-federal stage laying the basis of a federal Europe.
- *A vital democracy (for the eurozone):*
  - installation of a representative, transparent and interactive democracy, with participation by and consultation of people, on important issues;
  - equilibrated institutions, with a clear division of powers;
  - the European Council becomes a senate on equal foot with the Parliament;
  - the European Commission performs as an empowered executive;
  - introduction of the function of president of Europe, directly elected by the peoples of Europe, chairing the European Commission and possibly the European Council;
  - creation of ministers of Economy and Finance and Foreign Affairs;
  - the European Court of Justice is competent in all policy domains.

(18) *How shall a treaty or a constitution for the eurozone be formulated? (in rising order)*

- *By a limited change of current European treaties:*
  - stays within the framework of the Treaty of Lisbon;
  - changes partly within, partly outside the Treaty of Lisbon; when outside mainly on base of sheer intergovernmentalism, or with a very limited increase of empowerment of the European institutions.
- *More changes to current treaties regarding certain competences:*
  - the majority of these changes will require a treaty change; implying either a new treaty or substantial changes to the Treaty of Lisbon.
- *Formulation of an intermediary pre-federal stage for the eurozone:*
  - will require a new treaty and detailed transitional measures towards a federal Union;
  - intermediary stages will make more acceptable to the MS the leap forward.
- *Formulation of a federal constitution for the eurozone:*
  - an incomplete deal without transitional measures will fall short of expectations;
  - a full fledged federal constitution accompanied by accepted transitional measures and an agreed upon timing of implementation; requires a completely new legal framework and new constitutional principles; adaptation of treaties is not meaningful.

**- Long term choices (strategic choices) (category 2)**

*(21) Which deadlines for the European political project? (in rising order)*

- *Short term vision limited to the internal market:*
  - pragmatic/opportunistic/limited ambition (unadapted to needed reform);
  - short term vision enabling technical arrangements (small steps, unplanned).
- *Medium term vision for the EU (slightly more ambitious than current situation):*
  - pragmatic/ad hoc (technical) legislation; without a global or long-term design;
  - limitations of current treaty provisions prevent significant progress.
- *Long term vision: a federal Union for the eurozone:*
  - the eurozone is possibly the only configuration capable of an ambitious integration;
  - an adapted polity will yield better governance and increased legitimation;
  - an effective economic and monetary union stimulates welfare and stability in the eurozone;
  - common external action, and a defense and safety policy will strengthen eurozone's position in the world;
  - a consistent long term project, implemented by intermediary stages, can be called the great (final) federal leap forward.

*(22) What do people expect from the eurozone?*

- *What do people experience? (analysis)*
  - disappointment about inadequate protection offered by the EU;
  - discouragement about decreasing prosperity in the EU;
  - lack of transparency in European decision-making;
  - the feeling that the economy only serves the business' interests;
  - absence of a direct link between people and the European institutions.
- *What do people expect from the eurozone? (analysis)*
  - more insight in the added value of the European project;
  - more insight in the motives behind European policy-making;
  - more respect for people's needs and preferences;
  - more assurance about the future.
- *Which possible answers by the EFM? (and/and)*
  - a societal and political project centred on democratic and effective institutions;
  - a project based on specific European constitutional values and standards;
  - a project where people (and their representatives) share full European sovereignty with the member-states.

*(23) How shall a federal Union be introduced? (in rising order)*

- *Without a design or deadline:*
  - leads to nowhere (deadlines are conditional to an implementation);
  - without clear objectives no political commitment is possible.
- *Without a plan or intermediary steps:*
  - leads to nowhere;
  - without direction no adequate action can emerge.

- *With a design, with agreed upon intermediary steps and with a deadline:*
  - can create a momentum;
  - after a (long) transition period the constitution can be instated when all intermediary objectives were gradually implemented; these intermediary steps shall be agreed upon in advance.

(24) *Which type of federalism is elected by the EFM? (in rising order)*

- *Functional federalism:*
  - the European Council sets the extent and pace of reform.
- *Pre-federalism:*
  - increased number of pre-federal procedures and decisions by QMV and co-decision;
  - introduction of an economic government for Europe;
  - the European Court of Justice acquires more competences.
- *Federalism:*
  - links legitimation, effectiveness, sense of purpose, and division of powers;
  - democracy by checks and balances, subsidiarity and proportionality;
  - sovereignty of people and of member-states on equal foot.

(25) *Which member-states share what political end-goal in the EFM project? (rising order)*

- *A Europe of nations (EU):*
  - corresponds almost to the current situation and creates the wrong impression of being a new approach; brings possibly very limited added value;
- *A two-speed approach towards a limited European political Union:*
  - acknowledges the difference between governmentalists and federalists;
  - the eurozone can acquire more competences, the EU little more; both continue to use the same European institutions;
  - inside current European treaties the eurozone will make little progress.
- *A two speed approach towards differentiated development:*
  - the eurozone or less member states (with a minimum of 9) will embed its federal project in a separate treaty or constitution:
    - the political union will include at least 4 unions: a banking union, a fiscal union, an economic and monetary union and an overarching political union; that union is not yet a fully fledged federal union;
    - the eurozone countries, adhering to the federal project, will meet the Maastricht criteria; otherwise transitional measures will befall them;
    - shared sovereignty is a condition to a fair amount of solidarity;
    - the eurozone members not participating in the federal project will see a number of their competences reduced (not below the present level);
    - the non-eurozone-members, not participating in the federal project, have no impact on the eurozone and will not hinder integration of the willing;
    - the failing members of the eurozone will acquire a special status, involving strict monitoring, as a counterpart of received assistance;
    - the core eurogroup remains open to these member-states (within or outside the eurozone) which do meet the accession criteria and accept the acquis and federal goals of the eurogroup;
  - the EU further develops along communitarian principles; with separate objectives from the eurozone.

- *A third European way:*
  - reticent MS can acquire the status of associated member to the EU, close to the European Economic Area status, implying loss of co-decision and subsidies, no access to the advantages of the internal market decided in the eurozone-group; they stop contributing to the European budget; participation in community programmes shall be paid for;
  - reticent MS of the EU shall not oppose enhanced cooperation or the federal project.

(26) *Which political system based on federalism for the eurozone? (in rising order)*

- *Eurozone (or less member-states) as a federal legal system:*
  - a legal system is as effective as a European state, provided federalism is embedded in a constitution.
- *Eurozone (or less member-states) as a federal state:*
  - a federal statehood creates the perception of a centralised unitarian state, which shall be avoided at all price by EFM.

### **Short term choices (category 3)**

(31) *For the European federalist movement (EFM):*

(311) *Which priorities for the EFM? (priorities and/and and for each dash in rising order):*

- *Priority goes to analysis (fact-finding and choices):*
  - analysis is helpful to draw partial conclusions;
  - analysis as a move towards remedy;
  - analysis as a move towards a society and a polity based on federal principles.
- *Priority goes to content:*
  - vague/incomplete/evasive regarding vital choices;
  - develop specificity of the EFM.
- *Priority goes to inclusive/integrated operational initiatives:*
  - individual, uncoordinated and diverging initiatives (as to form and content) of geographically dispersed stakeholders of the EFM:
    - does not strengthen representativity nor the effectiveness of EFM;
    - does perpetuate the fragmentation in the EFM;
  - coordinated initiatives by local sections as to form/content /strategy/tactics/ timing within a specific operational model:
    - increases capability of the EFM;
    - favors adherence of or cooperation by outsiders.

(312) *Who spells out the EFM project? (in rising order)*

- *A few persons:*
  - too limited and not representative at European level;
  - can initiate further in depth work on a larger scale.
- *A task force:*
  - is a way to formulate joint opinions; its outcome is however uncertain;
  - will possibly split up in a minimal and a maximal point of view/different project/vision.

- *Cooperation with think tanks (but not under their direction):*
  - with a clear work distribution according to specialisation/availability;
  - valorise scientific sources.
- *Democratic consultation in the EFM:*
  - as soon as draft projects are available this consultation can start;
  - requires a focussed and systematic approach.

(313) *Which (individual or joint) action by the EFM? (in rising order)*

- *Ad hoc punctual local action and opinions:*
  - is not concerned about a global plan or strategy;
  - loose initiatives do not profit other sections.
- *Limited ad hoc coordination:*
  - by country:
    - yields almost no effect on target audiences;
    - yields no effect on general public;
  - at a transnational level:
    - yields marginal effect on target audiences;
    - yields no effect on general public.
- *Intermittent interregional lobbying:*
  - remains ineffective;
  - the selected target audience(s) will not feel appealed (attention is lost each time, if attention could be captivated anyway).
- *Planned/continuous lobbying within the framework of clear objectives:*
  - some effect can be expected;
  - target audience(s) (elites) will start noticing the EFM and can possibly start developing some appreciation for the EFM-vision.

(314) *With whom shall EFM communicate? (partly and/or, never or/or)*

- *Its volunteers (internal communication is a must anyway):*
  - maintain a permanent contact;
  - enforce coherence, motivation, orientation and steering of volunteers.
- *General public:*
  - inadequate focus/communication capacity and financial resources;
  - at random efforts yield little to zero effect.
- *Limited and relevant target audience(s):*
  - to be reached through differentiated communication;
  - a semi-professional approach: limited but realistic objectives can be achieved;
  - conditional of planning/cooperation and quality of communication.

(315) *How shall the EFM organise its action? (see also 313)*

- *Ad hoc flash mob (mobilisation):*
  - first step in a learning process; cannot be the standard.
- *Through a systematic approach:*
  - formulate a future-oriented project (with a roadmap); that plan will be subdivided in

- consecutive stages matching the capacity build-up in the EFM;
- formulate a common strategy and tactics;
- planning and coordination of action (learning process);
- communication plan fitting in a well defined/agreed upon strategy/tactics;
- capacity build-up by attracting new volunteers with specific capabilities and by creating new sections.

(316) *Which image does the EFM want to develop? (in rising order)*

- *No specific image pursued:*
  - stakeholders are satisfied to be federalists and democrats (with a limited vision);
  - the EFM assumes that the formulation of 'some' themes will do.
- *A vague image is considered adequate:*
  - the EFM stakeholders are federalists, who will try by a European Convention to instill more legitimacy and more involvement of people in the European project;
  - it is doubted that such a limited scope can catch and retain the attention of the political parties/top politicians/policy executives and of the general public.
- *Image build-up (identification) thanks to a purposive continuous and intense effort on following ideas: (and/and)*
  - the European project of the EFM is a global and inclusive project, not just economic or political, but in the first place a societal project;
  - Europe shall protect its peoples; Europe shall be able to intervene pro-actively and safeguard competitiveness, employment, growth, equity and solidarity;
  - Europe shall assume a place in the world in order to protect its joint interest;
  - the EFM promotes good governance and democracy at each level of government;
  - the EFM considers European expenditure more effective than at national level; more with less; the European budget shall increase without increasing global taxation;
  - the total European budget shall be covered by European financial resources;
  - the European project of the EFM stands for a true representative and interactive democracy.

(32) *For a European union:*

(321) *Which approach to prepare for the future of Europe? (in rising order)*

- *The EFM proposes a draft constitution for the eurozone and a draft new treaty for the EU to the European Parliament and the European Council:*
  - asking them to accept or amend it in a democratic European Convention;
  - in this Convention European Parliament and European Council will have equal co-decision with regard to the eurozone;
  - the final texts will ultimately be submitted to a pan-European popular vote.
- *The European federal movement (EFM) proposes the European Parliament and the European Council to convene a democratic European Convention after the European elections of May 2014:*
  - in order to formulate together a European federal constitution for the eurozone a limited political union for the EU;
  - the final texts will ultimately be submitted to a pan-European popular vote.
- *Political fractions in European Parliament set out their vision on the future of Europe for the next legislative period (5 years).*
- *MS outline a vision on the future for the next revision period (around every 10 years).*

- *European Parliament* spells out the new rules for an Internal Market Plus for the EU:
  - this proposal will be submitted to the European Council;
  - together they will decide on a final text;
  - this text will ultimately be submitted to a pan-European popular vote.
- *European Parliament formulates a draft constitution for the eurozone:*
  - this draft will be submitted to the European Council (of the eurozone only);
  - in a European democratic Convention both legislators will co-decide;
  - the final text will ultimately be submitted to a pan-European popular vote.

(322) *Which socio-economic end-goal in the EFM-project? (in rising order)*

- *A European Union dealing only with the internal market (EU):*
  - the internal market and a few additional powers (EU);
  - the internal market and a limited fiscal union (all EU-MS or less).
- *A EU with extra powers and legitimation in or outside of the Internal Market Plus project:*
  - a little more democracy and legitimation will be achieved but this will be too limited in order to speak of a breakthrough.
- *Eurozone:*
  - the eurozone, or less MS, with a limited fiscal union, without additional powers or enhanced cooperation; can perform hardly better than the EU today;
  - the eurozone, or less MS, with additional powers in a limited number of domains and calling on enhanced cooperation; diverging country configurations will hardly strengthen the polity of the eurozone;
  - the eurozone, or less MS, with additional powers and embedded in a separate pre-federal treaty and ultimately in a federal constitution; this constitutes a breakthrough.

(323) *Which other prioritarian powers? (and/and)*

- *More effective internal market in the EU or eurozone:*
  - autonomous trade policy;
  - integrated energy policy;
  - integrated large networks (energy/broadband/research);
  - integrated asylum & migration policy as well as proper borderprotection;
  - harmonised internal affairs;
  - integrated transport policy;
  - harmonised safety policy;
  - harmonised external action policy (based on a strong mandate);
  - harmonised social policy (e.g. against social dumping and poverty);
  - harmonised taxation (e.g. against tax evasion);
  - autonomous budget, at least for the eurozone, covered by European resources.
- If an internal market initiative is vetoed at EU-level the eurozone will be empowered to take *its own legislative measures*, after having consulted the other U-MS, but without granting them a right of veto.
- *Active democracy/legitimation within the eurozone*, with full co-decision by the European Parliament, abolition of unanimity in the Council of ministers and the European Council and empowerment of the European Court of Justice.
- The European Commission becomes *a true executive* and an economic government.

(324) *What about failing eurozone member-states?*

- *How to identify a failing eurozone MS?*
  - non observance of Maastricht-criteria; a transition status applies;
  - enjoy transition measures and assistance in order to regain full status.
- *What is expected from failing eurozone MS?*
  - implementation of the imposed recovery plan;
  - discipline, sense of responsibility, faithful cooperation;
  - acceptance of strict monitoring and supervision.
- *What is expected from the healthy eurozone MS?*
  - solidarity and a reasonable self-interest attitude;
  - severity towards public authorities but fairly accommodating towards people without encouraging indebtedness;
  - can impose guardianship on the failing MS in return of (collective) aid.
- *What about a transfer union, a European debt agency, European bonds, credit facilities, economic incentives for failing eurozone countries?*
  - a transfer union can only work after the harmonisation of taxation, a completion of a fiscal Union, common European resources and the introduction of a (pre-) federal constitution for the eurozone;
  - a step by step implementation of new rules and procedures shall be made possible;
  - the implementation of a long term and inclusive European plan in a known and in advance agreed upon timeframe.

### Interim conclusions (2)

- Structure and interpretation of this classification can cause **differences of opinion**.
- This classification shall be considered tentative and is just a **methodological tool**.
- The central idea behind this exercise is to inspire other federalists to undertake the **same exercise**. By doing so they will better see how to position their own ideas and their project for the future of Europe in a broad context.
- Interregional cooperation in the EFM can but ensue if assumptions and the narrative of the stakeholders **coincide**.
- Wherever conclusions are reached, they will need **periodic updating**.

### Two decision-trees

Two visions were chosen in order to illustrate **opposite positions**. The choice shows the considerable difference between two federalist visions with regard to the political analysis and the scope of the proposals.

**The decision tree according to the vision, called a ‘Europe of nations’**, presented by Jacques Delors - F 1. The decision-tree follows above classification. This listing is an indicative checklist, not a straitjacket.

**- Purpose of this vision:**

*- Explicit goals:*

- reopen the public debate on a political union for Europe;
- mobilise people aspiring to an effective and legitimised European Union;
- define a political union, with particular attention to shared powers, shared institutions and governance under the supervision of the peoples of Europe;
- underscore the partly existence of a EU political union now;
- give sense to differentiated development by combining efficiency and legitimacy; hence the eurozone becomes the qualified driver for a political Union, namely through an enhanced staging of its unity in diversity and an increased capability to face external challenges;
- implement enhanced cooperation in the eurozone; being the most trustworthy road to progress, as opposed to the big federal leap forward;
- point at the European elections of 2014 as a pivotal moment because not only members of the parliament will be elected, but the chairman of the European Commission too, though indirectly;
- request political parties in the European Parliament to start playing their role.

*- Implicit goals:*

- hope that a limited political ambition can transform in part the intergovernmental system into a more democratic and effective polity;
- trust that the current hybrid set-up can, by small adaptations, generate needed reform;
- link federalism to the eurozone and yield added value;
- propose a limited and pragmatic programme as proof of statesmanship.

**- Form of this vision:**

- *An analysis of the current situation, rather than an elaborated political vision.*

**- Content of this vision** (decision-tree as proposed in the theoretical survey):

*- Initial (implied) choices:*

- (11) a vague design for the EU and the eurozone intended to facilitate acceptance by European leaders;
- (12) possible assumptions by Jacques Delors:
  - unicity of decision; the European Commission as guardian of unicity;
  - no new political institutions, but a new coordination mechanism, with a key-role for the European Commission;
  - institutions will gradually be adjusted to the needs of the time;
  - if this process will require more time it be so;
  - European decision-makers will realize they shall deal with the asymmetric growth in the EU, in order to stop the loss of prosperity and the loss of influence of the EU/eurozone in the world;
  - EU and eurozone integrate differently within the same institutions;
  - there is no contradiction between the nation, as ultimate saver, and the European institutions as executor of the will of the nations;
- (13) limited additional institutional tools to reach above objectives;
- (14) limited political project; hardly different from current situation:
  - the eurozone is the obvious (?) driver of a political union;
  - a plea for new cooperation procedures, under the lead of the European Commission; not necessarily more democratic/legitimised;
- (16) limited project providing incomplete answers;

- (17) limited and indirect democracy, though more control by people is advocated; how is unclear;
- (18) limited change - inside or outside - to current treaties.

**- Long term choices:**

- (21) a medium term pragmatic vision;
- (22) current situation is the startingpoint of a reform involving little change;
- (23) no deadline, except for the European elections of 2014;
- (24) functional federalism (almost equal to confederalism);
- (25) all EU countries participate in the further deepening of the internal market; the eurozone is the driver towards a federal Europe;
- (26) the EU and eurozone operate as a legal system; no statehood.

**- Short term choices:**

- (321) heads of state and premiers continue to set the pace of progress;
- (322) ad hoc response to challenges;
- (323) failing eurozone-countries: being given a more or less ad hoc response.

**Decision-tree according to the vision, called the 'reversed approach',** presented by Robert Verschooten - F 11. This decision-tree follows above classification. This listing is an indicative checklist, not a straitjacket.

**- Purpose of this vision:**

**- Explicit goals:**

- avoid deadlocks of the past, among which a vague project;
- a clear end-goal and intermediary steps are formulated simultaneously;
- a sense of urgency is needed for the EU and the eurozone in order to stop decline and safeguard autonomy.

**- Implicit goals:**

- realistic transition periods can ward off negative reactions by MS;
- the progressiveness of the proposal can induce the European decision-makers to reduce possible opposition to further integration;

**- Form of this vision:**

- No attention goes to the analysis of the current political and socio-economic situation, since falling outside the scope of this paper.
- the explicit character of the reversed approach constitutes an alternative to other projects.

**- Content of this vision (decision tree as used before):**

**- Initial choices by the EFM:**

- (11) the formulated end-goal reverses current reasoning and therefore opens new perspectives:
  - the reversed approach deals exclusively with the eurozone as a spearhead of political integration on a democratic and federalist basis;
  - on the other hand the INternal market project will limit the scope of change;
- (12) from the onset all assumptions/proposals are spelled out;
- (13) a detailed project that is gradually implemented on base of a preliminary decision and binding deadlines;
- (14) an inclusive vision that integrates content, form and operational conditions;

- (17) goal: a vital democracy where people are part of and feel involved in;
- (18) a federal constitution for the eurozone and an adapted Lisbon Treaty for the EU.

- *Long term choices by the EFM:*

- (21) the eurozone will have a long term vision related to the implementation of a European federation, embedded first in a pre-federal treaty and later in a constitution;
- (22) realize a new societal model and political project for the eurozone;
- (24) outspoken democratic federalism which is citizens' centred;
- (25) a two-speed development and the concept of associated membership;
- (26) a European federation as a legal system, not as a state.

- *Short term choices by the EFM:*

- (311) joint political analysis, content, operating methods and action by the EFM, elaborated by its stakeholders;
- (312) a EFM task force seeks cooperation with think tanks in order to:
  - draft a pre-federal and federal constitution, based on joint assumptions;
  - boost internal adhesion of EFM stakeholders to this joint project;
- (313) planned and continuous lobbying based on clear objectives;
- (314) looks for limited but relevant target audiences, semi-professionally reached by differentiated communication;
- (315) sets up its campaigns within reach of its volunteers;
- (316) purposive image-building.

### Interim conclusions (3)

- The first-decision tree is formulated by a former **high level** policy-maker. His viewpoint focusses on the idea how to continue the current system by adapting it marginally. Continuity and feasibility take precedence over an ambitious project for Europe.
- The **medium term ambitions** conflict with a enormous challenges facing the EU.
- The second decision-tree is formulated from the viewpoint that **acknowledges the urgency** to deal with the existential challenges confronting Europe.
- The second approach incorporates the **long term perspective** in order to structure and organise the needed transition towards a better polity and new societal model for Europe.
- The **difference in approach is fundamental** and shall not be underestimated. The second approach enables a **structured and conscious track** with objectives that are clearly formulated in advance and adhered to. The first approach will not warrant a predictable outcome, but will instead generate a deviated and belated track record.

### Advance thinking exercises

'Who disregards the future, has little future'

'**Project Europe 2030**' and '**Global Europe 2050**' are two exercises in advance thinking. This type of analysis is indispensable in order to put the EFM project into perspective.

The first analysis was made on behalf of the European Council:

### **Project Europe 2030**

Challenges and Opportunities (subtitle)

European Council (editor), May 2010

A report to the European Council by the Reflection Group on the Future of the EU in 2030.

This Reflection Group was chaired by Felipe Gonzalez Marquez, former prime minister of Spain. This Group counted 12 members and numerous advisers.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/en\\_web.pfd](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/en_web.pfd)

Various quotes are taken from this paper.

### **Comments on this paper:**

- Form of this document:
  - Evaluation of all EU-policy domains (in 52 pages).
  - A sensible listing of numerous ideas addressed to specialists/policy-makers.
  - The analysis of the actual needs is accompanied by a list of about 90 relevant findings and around the same number of recommendations for the future.
  
- Explicit purpose of this paper:
  - In 2006 the European Council put a Reflection Group in charge to formulate recommendations which could be implemented ahead of 2030.
  - The mandate of the Reflection Group, formulated in 2007, reflects a fierce aversion in the European Council towards treaty change.
  
- Implicit purpose of this paper:
  - Intended to avail a list of non-binding recommendations.
  
- Some revealing quotes in this report:
  - 'Addressing these challenges will not require changes to the Treaty; nor, in accordance with our mandate, does the report rigorously distinguish between the different levels of power or at what level action has to be taken' (page 7).
  - 'If the EU is to achieve its goals, the European Council and the Eurogroup will need to strengthen their leadership role, in coordination with the Commission and the European Parliament (page 7).
  - 'The enhanced cooperation procedure, if used in moderation, can work as a palliative where divergences remain on important issues' (page 44).
  
- Following quotes could have been made by European federalists:
  - 'Our findings are reassuring neither to the Union nor to our citizens' (page 3);
  - 'The choice for the EU is clear: reform or decline'. (page 13)
  - 'Member-states should increasingly understand and rely on the EU as a power multiplier'. (page 44)
  - 'The situation calls for strong political leadership'. (page 8)
  - 'The EU will need to pursue an ambitious agenda' and 'the EU urgently needs a shared understanding of how to realise its ambitious agenda'. (page 51)
  - 'If the EU is serious about reform it must make proper adjustments to its governance structures and resources'. (page 20)
  - 'Measures to overcome the current crisis must be connected to the medium and long-term reforms which the Union needs'. (page 4)
  - 'The Union requires an ambitious reform programme with clear priorities and more effective enforcement than the Open Method of Coordination can provide'. (p 5)

- 'Against the background of new domestic and global pressures Europe's economic and social model needs to be re-defined and adapted to a changing context'. (p 15)
  - 'If governments continue as and when it suits them to treat the EU and its institutions as alien or hostile, there is little hope of creating the kind of popular identification with the EU which is needed for its success'. (page 14)
  - 'The EU has the capacity to think and act in the long-term interests of European citizens'. (page 52)
  - 'Assessment procedures should focus on outcomes rather than on inputs or processes'. page 20)
  - 'For the EU to become an effective and dynamic global player, it will also need to shift solidarity to the heart of the European project'. (page 13)
  - 'We now need to take decisive action and implement a new 'European Security model'. (page 38)
  - 'Delivering good governance is by far the EU's most powerful means of ensuring the continuous commitment and engagement of its citizens'. (page 47)
  - 'All of this needs to be combined with more coherent use of the EU's own financial resources pooling together the funding destined to cover agreed priorities'. (p 20)
  - 'The EU can be an agent of change in the world, a trend-setter, and not just a passive witness'. (page 3)
  - 'If the EU is to deliver on its ambitious agenda, it will need to become a much more assertive player on the international scene. (page 43)
  - 'This mission requires political courage and collective ambition, solid pragmatism and a clear sense of ideals worth fighting for'. (page 52)
- Outcome of this paper:
- The European Council did not use this paper as a blueprint for further action.
  - The European Commission can have found some inspiration in this paper.
  - The paper as such fell more or less in oblivion.
  - The global context further degraded; minds have possibly become more receptive now to treaty change (likely limited to the eurozone).
  - This analysis offers the occasion to draw other conclusions which are not limited by the mandate of the Reflection Group.
  - Good questions are raised, but the recommendations are sometimes self-limitative.
  - This paper can hardly be summarized (variety of subjects and recommendations).
  - There is a dramatic gulf between the recommendations of the Group and their feasibility within the straitjacket as defined by the mandate of this Reflection Group.
  - Most recommendations imply a considerable deepening of the institutional system as outlined by the Treaty of Lisbon. It remains a conjecture that this contradiction was purposely introduced by the Reflection Group in order to demonstrate the need for deeper integration.

The second analysis was made on behalf of the European Commission:

### **Global Europe 2050 (2012)**

European Commission DG-R&I - Unit B.5 - Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities  
Supervision: Domenico Rossetti di Valdalbero

[http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/global-europe-2050-report\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/global-europe-2050-report_en.pdf)

Various quotes are taken from this paper.

### **Comments on this paper:**

- Explicit purpose and methodology of this paper:
  - The European Commission asked twenty five leading analysts 'to look into the

future and work through a number of scenarios to see where the EU might be in 2050'. (page 3)

- Three key scenarios are analysed describing 'different, but nonetheless possible pathways that Europe could choose to follow over the decades to come'. (page 3)
- 'Scenerio building that seeks to optimally combine visionary thinking with plausibility'. (page 19)
- 'This forward thinking exercise is not set out to forecast or predict the future, but rather to provide images of possible futures that can stimulate and inspire policy and decision makers, and society at large'. (page 19)
- 'Point a number of currently unfolding (macro-socio-economic) trends at the global level in six dimensions'. (page 8)
- 'In the focus of these scenarios the potential impacts of EU-policies are devised and assessed'. (page 20)
- 'The perspective followed to build the scenarios is deliberately EU-centric'. (p 20)
- 'The paper does not only demonstrate the power of forward-looking exercises but light the path to a better future'. (page 3)
- 'The EU innovation gap is not an unfolding trend common to all scenarios, but a past and present trend that has created a state of affairs that needs to be changed'.

- Implicit purpose of this paper:

- 'Demonstrate the power of EU research and innovation policy that can generate growth, employment and welfare on the condition its procedures and policy are adapted to actual needs' (o.c.).

- Form of this paper:

- Three scenarios are elaborated: (1) Nobody cares; (2) EU under threat; (3) EU renaissance.
- For each of the three scenarios the analysis uses of the same agenda.

- Some revealing quotes in this paper:

- 'In the global strategic architecture for 2040, the most important breakthrough could be a further step of European integration, creating a powerful political union, not only in the economic and monetary dimension, but also in the political and defense dimensions; a real European Political Union may be created, based on a new EU constitutional treaty which introduces reinforced versions of the present institutions'. (page 34)
- 'In the Renaissance scenario the primary assumption is that the EU manages to optimally target its research and innovation policy'. (page 99) '... benefiting from such sound policies Europe enters into a virtuous circle whereby its economic influence is reinforced by 2050, compared to the Nobody cares scenario'. (p. 99)
- 'To maintain its standard of living also in the future, Europe will need to import a substantial number of citizens from other regions of the world'. (page 101)
- 'Indeed, the growth of the civil society is one of the major, but widely invisible, social innovations characterising the modern societies'. (page 102)
- 'It is assumed that a third 'Asian based' global currency, will be used together with the US dollar and the euro to regulate international trade and financial transactions'. (page 107)
- 'It is still not clear what are the implications and possible pathways of a knowledge based economy and its effects on industrial and service production, gross-value-added and last but not least job growth'. (page 109)
- 'Cooperative forms of knowledge generation and diffusion will increasingly take place'. (page 112)
- '...the almost certain emergence of the new techno-economic paradigm around the 2030 decade'. (page 112)
- 'In the global strategic architecture for 2040, the most important breakthrough

- could be a further step of European integration, creating a powerful political Union, not only in the economic and monetary dimension, but also in the political and defense dimensions'. (page 119) 'The new EU will be able to speak with one voice'. (page 119) The new EU will continue to promote cooperation and partnership with other regions of the world'. (page 119) 'The EU will increasingly become a world actor/model/leader on the global stage, increasing the power of Europe in defining global rules and being actively engaged in dealing with global challenges'. (p 121)
- 'At the political level, there is gradual recognition that the financial crisis can only be solved through stronger European as opposed to national representation and control'. (page 136) '...the economic and monetary union cannot survive without an increased political integration'. (page 136)
  - 'Slowly, public opinion and policy makers start to realize that a number of political integration steps are needed for the EU to fully benefit from its integrated union status'. (page 136)
  - '...the result is a pragmatic approach to EU reform whereby subsidiarity and additionality are the key concepts in providing legitimacy to newly created decentralised institutions with locations in different member states'. (page 136)

## Interim conclusions (4)

- Reading these advance thinking reports is **warmly recommended to** all federalists who are interested in mapping the future of Europe.
- European federalists would not always have reached the same recommendations, but the overall orientation is **sensible**. The recommendations are sometimes ambitious.
- European federalists should take this type of analysis at heart in order to underpin their political conclusions. This type of analysis not only scrutinizes the situation of all EU policy areas but joins recommendations as **how to meet the needs by 2030 or 2050**.
- This **perspective coincides** with the one the European federalists should use, but focusses on the policy adjustment of the EU and/or eurozone.
- Both advance thinking papers try to link their observations to the **political consequences** they can imply, for the better or the worst scenario.
- Drawing from structural trends and from the evolving strategic outlook of key international actors, some insights into the **future international political system** emerge.
- European federalists **kept away from** this fundamental research work on the long term. This is regrettable since forward thinking provides additional tools and ideas.
- Operational scenarios, as shown in the Series Which Europe? Numbers 41 and 47, do **complement forward thinking scenarios** by the EFM. So will do number 50.
- Updating of forward thinking and operational scenarios alone is not sufficient. An analysis of **current developments in Europe** is to be included in a yearly exercise in order to reach adequate political conclusions and possibly adapt tactics.

## Practical part

### Basic choice and what matters

The European federalist movement (EFM) shall clearly opt for an **opportunistic or an outspoken approach**. Mixing both is not sensible. If EFM elects the outspoken approach, this shall be made clear to the 'outsiders'. An opportunistic approach is deemed to yield little effect since not differentiating the EFM adequately from the opinions it is combatting.

**What justifies** the outspoken approach? The EFM shall be the promotor of an outspoken federalism. This is precisely the **specificity** of the EFM. No other political movement/ party will compete with the EFM on this subject. A step by step implementation will demonstrate the sense of reality of European federalists.

The EFM shall position itself as the **critic** of the intergovernmental governance system. At the same time the EFM requests a better governance system, namely European federalism.

Some detect here an unsustainable source of tension. There is no need for this span if the **deadlocks of the past** are avoided. Vision nr 11, among others, shows the way. Its basic idea is a reversed approach to break these deadlocks.

**Vague compromises**, based on sheer opportunism, hardly yield proper themes for the targetted elites or public. The basic ideas shall be logic, evident and plain. Simple but ambitious. Ambitious but gradual. Courageous and generous. Responsible and solidary.

These goals are often qualified as **contradictory**. A sensible approach remedies this critic.

Whatever is achieved, the whole venture **can still fail**. Therefore this section. Two approaches are outlined to better understand what is missing in order to make the joint effort successful.

A first approach makes the distinction between **internal interaction** and **external interaction (1)**. A second approach incorporates this effort in a **sequential scheme (2)**, where a number of stages are identified. The latter scheme becomes **gradually more detailed and better suited for implementation**.

#### **(1) Forms of interaction:** (not indicating a sequence)

##### *- Internal interaction by the stakeholders of the EFM:*

- Establish a joint analysis of the situation, subject to periodic updating.
- Accept joint assumptions/design/end-goal.
- Evolve towards a joint vision of the future incorporating a strategy and tactics.
- Elaborate a communication policy, using differentiated communication.

##### *- External interaction by the EFM targetting:*

- Joint themes (form/content/timing): making compromises or being outspoken.
- Joint campaigning (objectives/target audiences) and promoting the image EFM wants to acquire in the target audiences.
- Continuity of action based on an ongoing presence with themes that promote a federal Europe, not restricted to institutional matters only.
- Reaching, with adequate communication, the right target audiences. This effort is generated by a gradual capacity build-up and qualitative communication.
- Action with clear objectives, fitting in an overall strategic plan, means that each activity is part of an ongoing process sharing precise and complementary objectives. Action is subject to periodic evaluation.

#### **(2) A sequential scheme for the EFM:** (in rising order of intensity/detail)

- *Fact-finding and formulation in an analysis of the political and socio-economical situation and forward thinking at European level. (see previous chapter)*

- *Formulation of joint assumptions*, mission statement, manifesto and strategy/tactics (positioning and specificity of the EFM). This exercise can be carried out by a task force.
- *Elaboration* by a task force of a *cooperation model* applicable to the sections and the international secretariat(s).
- *Communication by EFM shall be positive*. A combination of criticism and hope shall be directed at target audiences. Themes as public rejection, creation of growth and prosperity, employment and the pursuit of happiness shall not be shunned.
- A communication policy will be split up in *long term and short term objectives*. The long term policy reflecting the strategy of the EFM. The short term policy is broken down in a listing of complementary and consecutive initiatives. Reaching target audiences will be the benchmark for the quality assessment of communication by the EFM. Both the assimilation of the EFM vision by the audiences and effective image-building by the EFM do matter. A minimum level of impact shall be reached when campaigning.
- *Joint themes* will underpin the political message of the EFM. They will be the outcome of the interaction between the ideology of the EFM, current events, strategical and tactical considerations and advance thinking. A steering group will be in charge.
- A limited number of volunteers - with many untapped capabilities - can develop effective campaigns by using semi-professional methods. These can be translated in fairly simple tasks, which can be labour-intensive. They can partly be prepared in advance or are repetitive. Not the number of volunteers matter, but their determination and their skills. Seeking professional counselling matters, at regional and interregional level.
- *Abstract concepts* in external communication by the EFM shall be shied, since leading almost certainly to rejection or to absence of interest. Instead very concrete issues, involving peoples of Europe, shall spark off their attention.

## Conclusions

- A **United** EFM can achieve and can amplify its output and can increase its impact. In these circumstances EFM will not be 'too small to lobby' (Geert Noels).
- A logic EFM project will benefit from the **different methods** outlined in this paper (analysis, summary of ideas, list of choices, decision-tree, forward thinking).
- This paper is **analytic** and not exhaustive, but exemplifying.
- This paper is intended as a **possible starting point** for a deep internal debate about the design of a project and the objectives of EFM/UEF/UEF.be. Therefore this paper can - at this stage - be considered a **working paper** for an open discussion.
- An **open approach** can induce different tendencies in the EFM to cooperate under a joint and accepted common denominator. Absence of adherence to all choices should be no reason not to participate in joint action.

## About the author

**Robert Verschooten** (1939), master in commerce, transport and consular sciences (RHSA) (1961), Post-university programme in business administration - PPB (IPO-Antwerp) (1975). Was active in logistics, sales, procurement, public relations and environmental matters. European federalist since 1956. Now active in the Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC) first as director (1977) and later as president (1996). Is political adviser to UEF.be and member of EMB. Editor of ESIC Newsletter (c), the Series 'Which Europe?' (c) and the ESIC website [www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be). Initiator of Café-Europa (c), in cooperation with Europakring Antwerpen and of an annual cycle on 'Federalism, Democracy and Europe' (c), in cooperation with the University of Antwerp (department political sciences).

## Publications

- Numbers 41 up to 47 in the Series 'Which Europe?' are summarized in the paper '**Raising the profile of UEF (2)**'. These papers share the same assumptions. A Dutch and an English version are on the website: [www.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be) (c), see ESIC/Publicaties.
- These papers cover following topics:
  - Number 41: 'The European federalists confronted with themselves' (c), (2010): how can the working methods of the European federalists be improved?
  - Number 42: 'The European federalists confront Europe with their project' (c), (2010): introduces a three steps scenario in a broader context;
  - Number 43: 'How can European federalists develop their project?' (c), (2011) develops a three steps scenario from an operational viewpoint;
  - Number 44: 'Which European federalism?' (c). (2011) (only in Dutch)
  - Number 45: 'Proposals to make the European project progress' (c), (2012)
  - Number 46: 'Which society model leads to which political union for Europe?', (2012): exploration of the the relation between both concepts;
  - Number 47: 'How to communicate?' (c), (2013): which type of communication shall be implemented by European federalists in order to enhance their political impact?
  - Number 48-49: 'Twelve Visions for a Federal Europe' (c), (2013)
  - Number 50: 'Which Way towards the Future?', now only available in Dutch under the title: 'Welke weg naar de toekomst? The undertitle reads: 'A few Scenerios towards a European Political Union' or 'Enkele scenerio's naar Europese politieke Unie', outlining a.o. a steppingstone plan towards a federal Union.

## What is ESIC?

- Created in 1963 in Antwerp by European federalists, who participated in two successful Free European Elections by the Congress of European People (an initiative of A. Spinelli).
- The Europees Studie- en Informatiecentrum (ESIC), a non-profit organisation offers: a library and documentation centre, a ESIC Newsletter (c) (4x/yr), two thematic papers p/yr in the Series 'Which Europe?' (c), a website [ww.europadebat.be](http://www.europadebat.be) (c), debates with students in 'Café-Europa' (c) and an annual cycle called 'Federalisme, Democratie, Europa' (c), training sessions and lectures on European themes. Free of charge guidance, support and advice.