



A ROADMAP FOR THE EU

Europe has a territory, what now?

Élysée, January 2020

Feeling Europe Foundation, against ignorance

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Feeling Europe Foundation fosters and guides values and affairs, aiming to improve living conditions as well as human condition. The desk:

- brings European values and affairs in front;
- takes position as nexus between citizens and institutions;
- delivers resonance, builds, informs and connects;
- is doing research.

Changing moral standards and values did stimulate to share European values and affairs. This is done via the website www.feelingeurope.eu, social media, campaign material, the network, and by taking part in gatherings focused on all learning disciplines of life. The desk is an outgrowth from the conferences '**Europe: A Beautiful Idea?**' (5th) and '**The Sound of Europe**'.

The next centres are committed: The Nexus Institute, Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Bruegel, Dutch Chapter of the European Movement International, Dutch Society for International Affairs, the Royal Dutch Economic Association, Caux Round Table for Moral Capitalism, Convention of Independent Financial Advisors.

Required knowledge was obtained through formal and informal settings, autodidacticism, and guidance by experts and community. Training on EU organization, decision-making and governance, international politics, geopolitics, music history, history of art (colloquium) and introduction on philosophy was taken in conventional manners.

The founder lives and is trained in the Netherlands. He worked for decades in several professions and business at financial institutions, mainly within the internal control sector, and from managerial positions. He got involved in the different stages of the classic financial bubble.

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‘In order to propose all the changes our political project needs’

‘Too much is tilting to remain in stalemate and debates and decisions on SDGs, pollution, functioning of the financial economic system and about how to shape our common future, rise far above national parliaments mandate’

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In 1517, Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus wrote 'Querela pacis', The complaint of peace. He focuses, among other things, against nationalism:

"When kings can find no cause anymore to practice their vices, as indeed they seldom can, then they set their wits to work to invent some fictitious but plausible occasion for a rupture. They will make use of the names of foreign countries, artfully rendered odious to the people, in order to feed the popular odium, till it becomes ripe for war, and thirsts for the blood of the outlandish nation, whose very name is rendered a cause of hostility. This weakness and folly of the very lowest classes of the people, the grandees increase by artful insinuations, watchwords, and nicknames, cunningly thrown out in debates, pamphlets, and journals.

Certain of the clergy, whose interest it is to cooperate with the grandees in any unchristian work, join, with great effect, aided by religion, in a pious imposition on the poor. Thus, for instance, an Englishman they say, is the natural enemy of a Frenchman, because he is a Frenchman. A man born on this side the river Tweed must hate a Scotchman, because he is a Scotchman.

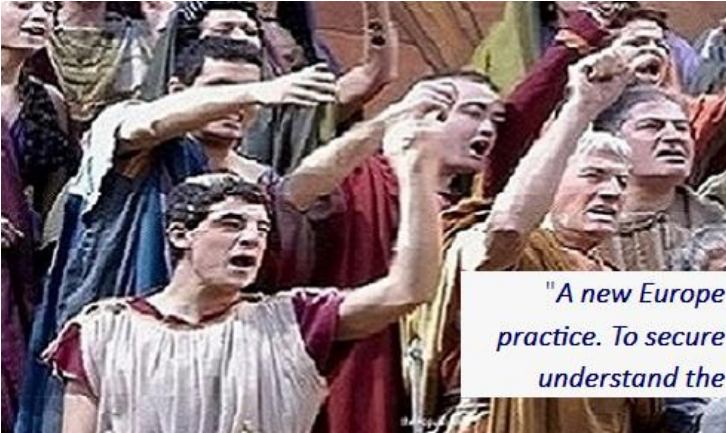
A German naturally disagrees with a Frank, a Spaniard with both.

O villainous depravity! The name of a place or region, in itself a circumstance of indifference, shall be enough to dissever your hearts more widely than the distance of place, your persons! A name is nothing, but there are many circumstances, very important realities, which ought to endear and unite men of different nations. As an Englishman, you bear ill-will to a Frenchman. Why not rather, as a man to a man, do you not bear him good-will? Why not as a christian to a christian? How happens it, that such a frivolous thing as a name avails more with you than the tender ties of nature, the strong bonds of christianity?

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Place, local distance, separates the persons of men, but not their minds. Hearts can gravitate to each other through intervening seas and mountains. The river Rhine once separated the Frenchman from the German, but it was beyond its power to separate the christian from the christian. The Pyrenean mountains divide the Spaniards from the French, but they break not that invisible bond which holds them together in defiance of all partition, the communion of the church. A little gut of a sea divides the English from the French; but if the whole Atlantic ocean rolled between them, it could not disjoin them as men united by nature; and, while they mutually retain the christian religion, still more indissolubly cemented by grace."

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"A new Europe has formed in practice. To secure its future we must understand the nature of it."

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The goals of the European Union are:

- **promote peace, its values and the well-being of its citizens**
- **offer freedom, security and justice without internal borders**
- **sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress, and environmental protection**
- **combat social exclusion and discrimination**
- **promote scientific and technological progress**
- **enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among EU countries**
- **respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity**
- **establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro**

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INTRODUCTION

Sydon, Gorty, Athens, the era from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius (1), cities along the Via Regia (2), St. Petersburg, Berlin, Venice, London, Prague, Lisbon, Serajevo, Budapest, Vienna, Trieste, Edinburgh, *“Her journey was so remarkable, the whole landmass west of her home country is named Europa in honor of her”* writes Stephen Fry in Mythos.

Europe’s culture and scientific development transcends national borders and Europe caused boarder-cross destruction, pollution and hugh financial debt. These days many Europeans live in discontent. Today we are in Paris, one of the cities along the via Regia, to define a roadmap.

For many reasons, European societies revolt (3). How can we achieve a better society? Must Europe once again be first on fire before we see the value of its construction? No, **we are obliged to prevent such and to discuss ideas**; we refuse to join le trahison des clerics.

The European space, made possibe through creativity and its supranational institutions, which make longlasting peace and common prosperity. Europe’s characteristics and achievements should be explained: the battlefield from then made way for AFSJ (4), a democratic area with rule of law, where debates, discussions and dialogues take place, and citizens live in peace and enjoy a great deal of individual freedom and social protection.

Africa sees Europe as a ‘paradise’, while we Europeans live in discontent sometimes equal 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1968, and let dominate apathy and ignorance. But indeed, the European idea and project is ‘under attack’, from the outside as well as the inside. Russia is revanching itself because of events from the past, China tries to be the largest world power in 30 years, and large groups of fighters want out of a certain conviction build up their own way of living together at the expense of almost all other cultures.

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From the inside:

- a large minority doesn't realize the added value no longer or is indifferent to it
- for own electoral gain: demagogues are yelling "boss in your own house" to voters who feel insecure about their own future in a drifting world
- as a result of flaws in the construction of the euro and implementation (and compliance) of Schengen acquis, and
- due to the great recession, which caused serious social unrest.

These aspects, together with the vision of the nation state as a cultural and political community, undoubtedly contributed to the lack of will to share sovereignty in general and in a number of key areas in particular, and to keep considerable autonomy at state and local levels.

**Be honest
with Europe**

Europe is quite alone, the people pay close attention. We have an area with its roots of humanism and room for faith. What now? Although recently the world turned from humanistic attitude into more tribal behaviour, we should not step into race and ethnic thoughts which can lead to variant treatment and impact social identity giving rise to racism and the theory of identity politics, but our priorities must be focussed on concluding **political agreements**, the completion of **unfinished business**, strengthening **democracy** and **citizens' engagement**.

There is already initiative: the **new strategic agenda for the EU 2019 –2024 (5)** and the embracement of **policy proposals by the new Commission**, which however may have overestimated support for its ambitions in the Council. The level of ambition and related commitment from von der Leyen may work well in showing visionary leadership, but it may harm the moderation required for actual progress. To take further steps it is recommendable to be honest with Europe and to define realistic objectives.

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work further on a European authority (transgovernmental method?) to steer protection, foreign policy, energy, pollution, euro unit

a brief, clear and fair narrative about Europe to all citizens

Prepare the people for changes to come

Capture and implement key political agreements

participate fully in the 'Big Chess Game'

Complete unfinished business (euro unit, Schengen acquis, ...)

enter into a modern social contract and a European solidarity, coupled with conditionality (for this, negative side effects of neo-liberalism must be reduced)

continue to focus on enlargement

radiate that you care about the soul of Europe: revive its grand history and culture of places where people discuss and where ideas are born

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HOW CAN WE MOVE FORWARD?

We need insights, schooling and a strong narrative about both **the Idea of Europe** and **the European project**. Politics and education have a duty to emphasize the importance of the European construction, its role, position and added value, as well what the Union can't and will not do because member states are able and want to do it by themselves.

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15 Yrs ago was stated: Fifteen years ago, during the conference “**Europe: A Beautiful Idea?**”, was stated: *“Europe is more than a market and a single currency, the European spirit is missing, Europe suffers from an identity crisis, you only become aware of values when you lose them, the EU has lost its citizens somewhere on the road, fear, uncertainty and nationalism are re-emerging, what are the European countries going to do about social exclusion, do we want to make a beautiful museum, or do we also want to be a player in the world.”*
—————

The idea of Europe brings us the coffeehouses, salons, monasteries and universities where conversations and discussions take place and where ideas are born, which benefit societies in a spiritual, artistic, literary and social sense. The result: love, beauty, truth, and greatness, rule of law, a life with humanism, and the heritage of Gothic art, the Renaissance, the Baroque, the Enlightenment and Romanticism.

We must fulfill the statements and revive such a culture.

The last big European project, **the European Union**, put an end to the frequent and bloody wars between neighbours, which culminated in the Second World War and is working to unite European countries economically and politically (6).

We Europeans must stand up to unite us further.

Without doubt, we must not abandon such Europe and further European cooperation, because we want to keep, to increase and to protect our prosperity and well-being.

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But by means of which polity? Is the current construction of a mostly regulatory organisation adequate? Does Europe need to move towards a more federal system? Can the EU to become a replica of a nation-state? And what interests and sovereignty involved?

To play on the ‘Grand Chessboard’ and to protect our prosperity and well-being, Europe must become a **global player**, ensure **values** that can serve world-wide, a strong **economy**, a solid **foreign policy** and a proper **policy for security** (7), accompanied by legitimate transparent institutions, supranational in nature, to settle matters. Not by a Hobbesian performance, but by a humanistic attitude. Europe should fulfill the need to operate as a major power, acting between the US and China.

WHAT HAS ALREADY EMERGED?

Europe started the most successful integration experiment of all time, building an ideal of a civil society and has committed itself to multilateralism. Partly thanks to a well-functioning internal market, it is in this world the largest area with common prosperity and long-lasting peace. While functioning of balance of powers is there by virtue of the national parliaments, there are the institutions, including the European Parliament, directly elected by European Union citizens and that has become more polyphone after the last elections. This has reduced the democratic deficit and increases legitimacy of the EU as a whole.

The **new strategic agenda for the EU 2019 – 2024** (5) sets out the priority areas that will steer the work of the European Council and provide guidance for the work programmes of other EU institutions and focuses on protecting citizens and freedoms, developing a strong and vibrant economic base, building a climate-neutral, green, fair and social Europe, and promoting European interests and values on the global stage.

But whether this will be enough to achieve the goals of the EU (8)?

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WHAT BIG ISSUES TO COMPLETE?

People outside Europe say “I’m from the US”, “I’m from Africa”, “I’m Rus”, “I’m from China”. Through our vision of the nation state as a cultural and political community there is no such binding factor for Europe. We say: “I’m Dutch”, “I’m British”, “Tsjech”, “I’m from Poland, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Serbia, Belgium, Latvia,

"Unless philosophers become kings, cities will never be freed from their afflictions," writes the Greek philosopher Plato in *Politeia* (around 380 BC). There is much wisdom and truth in it. In this regard also Badiou, Erasmus, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Decartes, Smith, Durkheim, Engels, Mill, Engels, Marx, Žižek, Keynes, Hayek, Rawls, Augustine, and many others guides us.

Can the European people find out a new movement from the humanities that provide mutual connection and gives truly satisfaction? So that eventually we will be able to say: *Nous sommes des Européens!* (9).

And if the member-states are willing to share sovereignty towards the EU concerning a number of key issues in order to resolve these and the EU could stand more visible and active in the member-states, will this, coupled to a common ideal how to live together, reduce a community deficit? (10).

Without losing sight of reality, we are obliged to imagine a common ideal how to live together, not with populism but by building on a common factual basis, a shared analysis framework and the making of compromises to resolve big issues. This all in consultation with citizens.

And with a European humanism, ethics of comity, a wide spread European solidarity, coupled with conditionality, and a modern social contract (11).

That desire must be radiated and, together with a fully fledged authority and monetary unit, which should steer our protection, energy security, reduction of pollution, and a social Europe, be our roadmap for the era to come.

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Is it the Council, stupid?

A Union is an organization with members who have the same goal in mind. The 'European authority' (**12**) is not a fully internationally recognized single political entity, neither a replica of a nation-state or central government, but a group of cooperating states that retain their independence.

Many important decisions are made by the Council, often taking national interest into account. The view that the Commission then represents Europe and the Parliament the citizen may be correct, but can within such system, Europe ever become great? That is possible when the Council wants to invest in Europe and makes a turn with the help of a transgovernmental method (**13**) and coordinated sovereignty.

The EU should marshal herself a stronger international position, start a more effective representation in IO's, organize European elections in which pan-European parties can participate (we saw eg. the pan-European political movement Volt take the bumpy road in creating a true European party), act with a fully-fledged role of the EU in the world through a common foreign-, security- and defence policy, and enter into political agreements for protection, energy, pollution, and the euro unit.

Monetary unit

The **euro** was developed to promote international trade and to become an important currency on the world market. However, imperfections in the architecture, found both before and after the introduction, and the new birth of neoclassical economic school of thought, societies got into the Great Recession. 2 Major steps must be taken:

1. the euro for the purposes for which the currency was conceived: thus strengthen its construction (**14**) and reduce the high money debt
2. a new interpretation of the economic system of capitalism. In its current form the system has upset a healthy balance among its various means and ends. Moderation and self-correction are the hallmark of sustainable equilibrium to meet the broadest needs of the people.

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Protection

As mentioned in the introduction, there are serious external and internal threats to fight. NATO has been challenged, there is no European army, no effective control of our external borders. **How are we going to protect our way of life? (15)**. Do we really understand what it means to have a territory?

In addition to its soft power instruments, the EU should conduct Realpolitik. Border-control is a requirement that must be there for the survival of a state. To cross the border of the country that is included in the Schengen area a valid identity document is shown and in absence no access is allowed **(16)**.

Why is there no European army? Why does Europe not have a permanent seat in the UNSC? Europe, arrange a shared strategic culture for European defence **(17)** to organize effective power.

Energy

Energy is indispensable to all human or industrial activity. Europe needs a common energy policy in order to guarantee for its citizens energy at reasonable and stable prices, to maintain its industrial competitiveness, to promote sustainable development and, due to climate, the transition to a low-carbon society and to ensure security of energy supply for all Europeans.

Energy demand is inelastic and supply often requires very large investments. Moreover, energy is increasingly being transported and transmitted via networks. The construction and operation of these grids raise technical, financial and regulatory issues. And finally, energy sources and carriers and energy technologies change over time.

What is the status about the energy strategy for Europe?

Pollution

Approximately one third of all **CO2 emissions** due to human activity come from fossil fuels used for generating electricity, with each power plant capable of emitting several million tonnes of CO2 annually.

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Europe wants energy-efficient houses, less 'old' fuels, more trains, fewer trucks, taxing aviation, CO2 collection and storage, and fast linking of energy networks.

No lack of plans. Europe must be climate neutral by mid-century. No more emissions of greenhouse gases and if that is the case, they must be collected and stored.

That is the ambition of the European Commission, on behalf of the member-states (**18**).

We produce 311 million tonnes of new plastic annually. More and more plastic waste is floating in our oceans and seas. Every year, about 5 million tons end up in it. This comes from waste that we throw away in the street, fishing nets that are left behind, but also by washing synthetic clothing or by brushing teeth. All these different types of plastic together form the **plastic soup** in the seas and oceans.

Only collective approach and acting is eligible to find and apply solutions for major cleaning of pollution.

Social Europe

In April 2008 the European Commission in cooperation with the Center for European Policy Studies organised the conference “**Is Social Europe Fit for Globalisation**”. The event was related for a part to the Commission’s preparations for a renewed Social Agenda. Nevertheless, in 2017 there were 112.8 million people in the EU-28 who lived in households at risk of poverty or social exclusion (ARPE). That begs to work on improvement of the social system.

The Europe 2020 strategy promotes social inclusion, in particular through the reduction of poverty, by aiming to lift at least 20 million people out of the risk of poverty and social exclusion.

What is the progress? Is the objective achieved?

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References:

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(1) 'Since the disappearance and silence of the gods and when Christ was still to come, there was from Cicero till Marcus Aurelius a unique moment where there was only man' (NEXUS Institute, brochure 'The Ring or What Will Rule the World?').

(2) The name of the oldest and longest road link between the East and the West of Europe.

(3) e.g. 'yellow vests': 'Lettre ouverte au Président de la République de la part des gilets jaunes de Rouen (1-1-2019, François Boulo), and many other protests in other countries.

(4) a collection of home affairs and justice policies designed to ensure security, rights and free movement within the EU. Some notable projects related to the area are the European Arrest Warrant, the Schengen Area and Frontex patrols

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(5) protecting citizens and freedoms | developing a strong and vibrant economic base | building a climate-neutral, green, fair and social Europe | promoting European interests and values on the global stage (<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/eu-strategic-agenda-2019-2024/>)

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(6) 'As of 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community begins to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/1945-1959_en

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(7) EU in UN: granted permanent observer status, right to speak, to propose. Not granted to vote. Proposal for a permanent UNSEC-seat is dismissed by France.

(8) "to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its citizens | offer freedom, security and justice without internal borders | sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress, and environmental protection | combat social exclusion and discrimination | promote scientific and technological progress | enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among EU countries | respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity | establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro.

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(9) Je suis Européen! *Nexus Symposium*

(10) “**The EU makes a new push for democracy**” (Andrew Duff, 28 November 2019)

(11) social contract, ensuring the legitimacy of the authority of the state over the individual, <https://www.rousseauonline.ch/Text/du-contrat-social-ou-principes-du-droit-politique.php>

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(12) the European Parliament, the European Council (defines the general political direction and priorities), the Council of the European Union, the European Commission, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank and the Court of Auditors.

(13) Clingendael, ‘**COMPARATIVE TRENDS IN EU GOVERNANCE**’ (04 JUL 2019): We observe an emerging split between policy areas that are governed by the Community/Ordinary method, such as more technical single market issues, and politically sensitive policy areas that are governed by what is usually termed as “intergovernmentalism.” However, the governance structures that we see emerging in politically sensitive policy areas cannot be properly described as “intergovernmental” because they display a stable set of new interinstitutional relations, in which the European Commission also plays a varying role, albeit that the Member States overall have a more pronounced role. Hence, we see a shift from “the” interinstitutional balance to the emergence of two different interinstitutional balances: the Ordinary method and the Transgovernmental method.

Transgovernmentalism is characterised by a bigger role for the Member States and a less strategic role for the Commission (and hence the EP and European Court of Justice) compared to the Ordinary method, but goes beyond simple intergovernmental governance, because it is clearly based on standing European practices, meetings with defined procedures and reporting mechanisms. Evidently, the role of the European Parliament is different in both areas. The consequence for the further development of defence policy is that we assume that it will develop along the lines of transgovernmental governance, even though the European Commission and potentially other EU institutions might favour the “efficiency” of a single, Ordinary method, with a more focal role for the European Commission in the interinstitutional balance.

(14) OMT programme, the consequences of the Central Bank’s balance sheet reduction, the amount of sovereign debts, a mechanism to prevent unsustainable deficits in the future (halt government financing and regulate cash flows until the deficit has been resolved), apply SGP criteria, further reinforcement through a ‘European Monetary Fund’/ ESM, SSM, Bicc, completing the Banking Union, no bypasses that will serve as transfer union.

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(15) Summary-Notes of working-luncheon session ‘**The European Way of Life**’ during the conference ‘The Sound of Europe’ in 2006 (conference attended by **Josep Borrell**) by students of the Diplomatic Academy Vienna: Is it a model for the world of the future?: Following the introduction of the topic by Paolo Bulgari and his definition of the European Way of Life as the ability of European citizens to count on the welfare state, to rely on democracy, to live in a healthy and safe environment and to practice solidarity, a heated debate amongst the 24 participants of the working group about the existence of this European Way of Life and its possible continuance occurred. The threat to the European Way of Life was perceived as coming from both inside and outside the European Union. From an economic perspective, the outward movement of capital and the loss of working places due to the inflexibility of the labour market to countries like India and China was mentioned; from a cultural perspective, the loss of solidarity amongst Europeans generally and the European nations in particular and the integration of immigrants was mentioned. In terms of remedies, the number of suggestions reflected the number of participants. Agreement was only reached on the essence of educational reform, the change of the labour market and the reform of the welfare state to facilitate the European Way of Life.

(16) Let AI be of support (Institute for Accountability in the Digital Age (I4ADA)

(17) PESCO, EDF, the European Intervention Initiative (EI2), “**Should the European Union be able to do everything that NATO can?**” (2003)

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(18) **Strategy for a climate neutral Europe by 2050 – Questions and answers**

