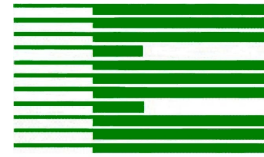




**European  
Partners for the  
Environment**



**Consiglio Italiano del  
Movimento Europeo**

## **The European co-revolution 2014**

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The authors of the report on *The European co-revolution 2014* combine the memory of Europe's founding fathers - particularly A. Spinelli - with the new global challenges for Europe in the 21st century. They have been involved in processes such as the establishment of the European Union Treaties, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, the Aarhus Convention, green growth, European innovation pacts and the mobilization of private capital in support of the EU objectives for an inclusive Europe and a green economy.

**Disclaimer: sole responsibility for this report lies with its authors.**

English Version. (short version) . The full report is available in French. Both are on the website of EPE which is celebrating its XXst Anniversary. [www.epe.be](http://www.epe.be)

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## **Chapter 1. The main lines of a European co-revolution**

*“Every valuable human being must be a radical and a rebel, for what he must aim at is to make things better than they are”. (Niels Bohr)*

We are living in times of profound change. We haven't heard so many calls for “revolution” for a long time. From the UN Secretary General and Pope Francis<sup>1</sup> to business leaders and the Indignant Citizens Movement, voices have been raised about the need for “revolutions” and major “transformations”, to be implemented “at war-time speed”, to respond to the three interlinking time bombs of social crisis, ecological crisis and democratic crisis.

*“We need a revolution, revolutionary thinking, revolutionary action, a free-market revolution for global sustainability. It is easy to mouth the words ‘sustainable development,’ but to make it happen we have to be prepared to make major changes in our lifestyles, our economic models, our social organization and our political life” Ban ki-Moon, UN Secretary General<sup>2</sup>*

Europe is clearly undergoing a systemic crisis in the field of finance, economy, politics, democracy and values. Nothing surprising when in the face of the “ecological wall”, the time has come for a change of paradigm – an essential change if Europe wants to maintain a leading position in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This is a good time for launching an action agenda for a European co-revolution. The title of this book is inspired by another, entitled *Long live the CO-Revolution! For a collaborative society*<sup>3</sup>. There is also a book by Jeremy Rifkin, *The Third Industrial Revolution*, subtitled as follows: “*How lateral power is transforming energy, the economy and the world*”. The European co-revolution must involve different types of players – we shall focus here on the role of lateral powers – and gain the support of institutions to ensure that the relevant issues are put on the agenda of the competent institutions to take decisions, such as the European Council, while mobilizing budgetary and diplomatic means. The lateral powers which are actors of the European co-revolution include the agents of millions of peaceful revolutions, young people, social networks, trade unions, religions, cities and regions, businesses, rating agencies, financial institutions, foundations and think tanks, the press and bloggers.

The planet will experience different forms of capitalism and the EU must be proud to create its own model on the basis of its own values. As Christopher Meyer wrote, “*Capitalism is what capitalists do. These choices of behaviour are shaped by rules and they coevolve with one another. The choices individuals make, in other words, influence the rules that operate in the system*”<sup>4</sup>. This is why this book calls on all the actors of the European co-revolution to understand that they can change the system, make it fairer and hence more sustainable by changing their personal behaviour and better coordinating with one another at European level.

Europe must come out of the current crisis by an upward route and manage to transform this crisis of fundamentals into an opportunity to renew the conditions but also the modalities of Europe's global reach. To this end, in a globalized world, Europe needs to acquire a new identity, a new ambition that can reconcile its citizens with its elites, new pride, a new desire for Europe as it has promoted new internal and external standards and procedures for economic, financial

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<sup>1</sup> “A Christian who is not a revolutionary today is not a Christian!” claimed Pope Francis before the thousands of participants in the annual Rome diocesan convention on 17 June 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Ban ki-Moon, UN Secretary General At the World Economic Forum in Davos, January 2012

<sup>3</sup> *Vive la CO-Révolution ! Pour une société collaborative* by Anne-Sophie Novel and Stéphane Riot. Manifestô collection, Alternatives Editions, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> *Standing on the Sun. How the explosion of capitalism abroad will change business everywhere*. Harvard Business review 2012, p 288.

social and ecological development. But we must not be naive. The obstacles to European success lie within Europe itself: the oligarchy defend their powers and privileges, the institutions freeze the game, lateral powers wriggle out their duties and the Anglo-Saxon model wants to maintain its hold.

All the reforms to be achieved at institutional, economic and societal level have been put forward by innovative political leaders, entrepreneurs and trade unionists as well as many actors of civil society (think tanks, groups of scientists, NGOs, etc.). But these proposals are not followed by decisions, thus generating frustration and the development of populism.

We are no longer in a pyramidal system in Europe, in which those at the top of the pyramid have the power to decide and mobilize. Through the European co-revolution we would like to emphasize that new forms of partnership between "vertical" powers and "lateral" powers are needed. Economic and social actors should take initiatives demonstrating a shared collective intelligence, which can force institutional change and leave behind casino-type capitalism.

To succeed in accelerating the transition, the agents of change in every field should be able to recognize, consult and support one another while mobilizing forces ever more strongly; finally, these agents should be recognized as such by the European institutions. Conditions for transparency (especially with a view to putting an end to double talk) and for negotiation between stakeholders at European level should also be created. This is the meaning of the proposals for "*Partnership Covenants*" and "*European Convention*" which we shall address further on.

The European co-revolution would not only be "political" but also "economic and social", "ecological and civilizational". Gandhi wrote that "*you never change the world by fighting with the existing model. You build a new model that makes the existing model obsolete*". The young fledgling entrepreneurs of the "new European prosperity" are around throughout Europe, but they should be made more visible and be helped to create a scale effect during the 2014-2019 Parliament's term by relying on the dynamic forces existing in Europe which would be only too happy to get involved. The time has come for societal innovation with a view to greater prosperity and democracy. Prosperity increases in a society in which knowledge, natural resources and financial means are shared in new ways in a knowledge-based, participatory and contributive democracy, with a renewed sense of "responsibility" and accountability and a sense of solidarity that has a liberating effect.

We shall propose a method of action for 2014 based on the "strategy of small levers" in a collaborative society. We shall identify the levers corresponding to new forms of systemic cooperation and governance and propose a timetable for 2014-2015 so that once these levers are activated in 2014, they can set Europe and Europeans on a new trajectory.

This book does not cover the actions to be introduced in the form of legislation, taxation, prices, indicators, etc. These fields are the subject of many "action plans" from the OECD<sup>5</sup>, the EU, think tanks, NGOs, etc. Those who monitor the "ecological risks" issue will say that the agenda and the proposals for action date back to at least the 1970's and that the intervening decades have been "lost" as regards making our countries more resilient. We shall therefore focus our attention here on replying to other questions on "governance": why can't we manage to take decisions? What collaborative mechanisms should be set up to accelerate both decision-making and the implementation of decisions at all levels by all relevant partners? To succeed, the European Union should be encouraged to make full use of the potentialities of a knowledge-based, contribute democracy in support of institutional democracy, which should itself be reviewed. The objective is to address the two time bombs - the social bomb and the ecological bomb - and

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<sup>5</sup> See in particular its work on Green Growth.

the element "that blocks change", in other words the crisis of democracy and the related European governance of institutions and lateral powers.

We have structured these "co-revolutions for Europeans" and their objectives around three key areas: new prosperity, new democracy, the MED-EU youth and we propose an agenda for 2014-2015.

## ***Chapter 2. Fix the Planet***

The European Union needs a new narrative as a basis for a new "vision" of Europe. In Tallinn in May 2013, during a meeting of the Club of Venice which is an informal network of communication officers on Europe within EU institutions and the Member States, Simon Anholt<sup>6</sup>, a British expert in the image of nations at international level, was asked to set out his vision of the role of the European Union in order to enhance its international image and attractiveness in the face of Euro-sceptics. He replied: "*Fix the planet*".

In other words, the European Union is on the best of terms with itself and can attract the support of public opinion when it can concretely demonstrate that it can meet mankind's expectations (peace, the protection of global common goods, prosperity for all) through its modes of organization and its forms of cooperation.

In the face of global mutations, in the technological and environmental fields in particular, the issue at stake for Europe is to manage to conduct a "mutation of mankind". The time has come to reflect on the way in which a "material" mutation of mankind might lead to a "*new moment of evolution of mankind*" and management of its interdependencies. The mutation of the "financial and economic system" – together with its impact on globalization – only reinforces the question.

As pointed out by Commissioner Potocnick, "*the 21st century is a century of fragility. We must turn it into a century of sustainability*"<sup>7</sup>. To this end, the European Union must be clearly aware of the pillars of this metamorphosis, i.e. a new ethics of responsibility, a new vision of common goods, the notion of sufficient quantity and a search for justice and peace extended to the economic, social and ecological fields.

To this end, much greater coordination is needed between European vertical powers and lateral powers. An essential point is that we must cooperate in order to "redirect globalization". The "new capitalism" which is becoming perceptible will be based on "shared value"<sup>8</sup>, a redefinition of "performance"<sup>9</sup>, new forms of "transparency", "dialogue", "cooperation" and "partnerships" for a "fair" transition marked by "solidarity". To do so, European partners should all use "small" levers that will change the world market on the basis of five types of action:

- modifying the scoreboard;
- changing the rewards (bonus: linking 25% of short-term objectives and 50% of long-term objectives to performance in the field of sustainable development, as is already the case in a number of companies<sup>10</sup>);
- resorting to extra-financial rating agencies;

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<sup>6</sup> [www.simonanholt.com](http://www.simonanholt.com)

<sup>7</sup> Commissioner Potocnick. Paris. Sciences Po. 3 April 2013.

<sup>8</sup> *Creating shared value*. Michael E. Porter, Professor at Harvard University, and Mark R. Kramer, senior fellow of the CSR initiative at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government (co-founded FSG).

<sup>9</sup> *The Performance Economy*. Walter R. Stahel. Ed Palgrave. Second Edition 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Including Novozymes. DK

- making credit rating agencies toe the line (ecological risks and the risks linked to an ageing population should be included in the parameters of the "*socioeconomic data that might have an impact on future expenses and income*");
- badgering institutional investors.

### **Chapter 3. The co-revolution of prosperity**

*"Men who are placed in new practical circumstances, or subjected to a new set of obligations, adapt their behaviour and become different. If the new context is better, they themselves become better: that is the whole rationale of the process of civilization itself". [...] "Major psychological changes, which some seek through violent revolution, can be achieved very peacefully if men's minds can be directed towards the point where their interests converge. That point always exists, but it takes trouble to find it". Jean Monnet.*

The time has come for a "*co-revolution of prosperity*". On top of keeping budgets in order, there should be an ambition to achieve greater prosperity and good living for all. Things should be clearly stated. Weak economic growth – in the usual sense of the phrase – is not incompatible with the strong growth of prosperity.

With the help of a wide range of texts, the contours of new prosperity begin to be outlined.

In *Redefining prosperity: Milestones for a public debate*<sup>11</sup>, the authors underline that through the definition of prosperity, *we try to imagine what constitutes social progress – a fundamentally political task. By reinvesting the political sphere as a place where the definition of prosperity researched through our societal development model is collectively discussed, there is a break with the logic of liberal individualism; the socialization function of politics is also reaffirmed: creating a society of people who not only live alongside one another but above all who live with one another and are engaged in communication and recognition relations around a common history and project.*

For T. Jackson, prosperity means "*capabilities for development*", with the list of "core capabilities" requiring negotiations within the framework of open dialogue<sup>12</sup>.

New prosperity will be based on new forms of fraternity, sharing and collaboration but also democracy. We must rediscover the meaning of "fraternity" and innovate in terms of sharing: sharing knowledge, sharing natural resources, sharing financial resources. A novel vision of prosperity should "*foster social justice and the functional completion of productive projects as well as the subjective experience of a living work*"<sup>13</sup>.

According to Dennis Meadow, "*social changes are required to achieve the most attractive future. They will give better results than technical changes, which will not be enough. We need to invest in new governance schemes, new business models, new lifestyles and culture. More changes in terms of goals, attitudes and habits have to be expected in the next 2-3 decades than there have been in the past 100 years*"<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> *Redéfinir la prospérité. Jalons pour un débat public.* Collective work by Isabelle Cassiers et alii. Editions L'aube, 2011.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem. *Peut-on dénouer les liens entre prospérité et croissance?* by Dominique Méda, Study Centre on Employment and member of FAIR; p45

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem. *La prospérité au travail* by Thomas Périlleux and Julien Charles. UCL P151

<sup>14</sup> Denis Meadow at the World Resource Forum. Davos, September 2009. Denis Meadow is one of the authors of *Limits to Growth, first report to the Club of Rome*, 1972.

Jeremy Rifkin, in his book *The empathic civilization – the race to global consciousness in a world in crisis*<sup>15</sup>, sees the European dream focus more strongly on the quality of life and "measure success on the basis of social criteria such as the universal access to health, quality education, leisure, urban redevelopment and a clean environment". He also considers that "the democratization of energy becomes a rallying point of a new distributed social vision"<sup>16</sup>.

In the meantime, the austerity that the ruling class wants to impose and the shock strategy conducted by the oligarchy have led to closing – instead of developing – the most useful public welfare services such as education, health, and care of the elderly<sup>17</sup>.

Shaped by thirty years of financial capitalism, the majority public opinion in Europe will need time to rediscover the ways of the "common good" and even more so of "joyful simplicity", unless the shock strategy forces it to rediscover – for survival's sake – a culture of solidarity and mutual help and substitute it for the culture of individualism and competition<sup>18</sup>.

The "common goods" will constitute the pillars of this new mode of development. "A policy to make all these common goods accessible will therefore enrich the community, which will compensate for the reduction in material consumption"<sup>19</sup>.

The underpinning objective is strategic: to boost resilience and enhance security and the global reach of the European Union. To this end, Europe should become the first region in the world to adopt a new economic, environmental and societal paradigm while the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be a century of fragility (climate change and tensions about natural and energy resources as political destabilizing factors) and a century when the social and ecological sectors will be the "*Silicon Valley of new capitalism*".

#### **Chapter 4. New democracy**

At a time when the European Union has been awarded the Peace Nobel Prize and its leaders are confronted with the silent dictatorship of financial economy, hunger has reappeared in European cities and the demonstrations taking place are reminiscent of what happened in the 1930's. Anger and frustration have been rising in Europe, a situation that is not confined to populists! Pro-Europeans are just as frustrated not to be heard, associated, involved. There has been a "crack": the "social compact" between institutions and citizens has broken down in Europe as in other parts of the world<sup>20</sup>.

It has to be said that in December 2012 the European Council was unable to create the conditions which would have made it possible to use 2013 to re-establish the "social compact" and mobilize the pro-European dynamic forces on this issue in the areas of new prosperity and new democracy (industrial and technological revolutions, revolution in financial management, revolution in resource management, new partnerships). As the UN Secretary General wrote, "*the challenge is to join forces and bring together key stakeholders to bring the transformative change we need in the world*"<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> *Une nouvelle conscience pour un monde en crise. Vers une civilisation de l'empathie*. Edition LLL, p 471. Original title: "*The empathic civilization – the race to global consciousness in a world in crisis*".

<sup>16</sup> *ibidem*, p 494.

<sup>17</sup> Kempf, p 103.

<sup>18</sup> Kempf, 114.

<sup>19</sup> Kempf, p 106.

<sup>20</sup> *La Cassure. L'état du monde 2013*. B. Badie and D. Vidal, Ed. La Découverte.

<sup>21</sup> UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon at the EU Sustainable Energy for All Summit. 16 April 2012. Brussels.



Systemic changes do not occur because European political and economic leaders regard themselves as market servants and are afraid of citizens. Experts speak of Europe as a post-democracy since the actual decision-making mechanisms seem so far away from citizens. It is also often said that citizens are powerless to have an impact on the course of events. But those days are over!

In fact, citizens have never had so many new means to get mobilized and be active, thanks to a knowledge-based democracy. And – good news – this is what is actually happening at political level and market level, from the indignant citizens movements and cooperators of new banks to consumer-to-consumer communities, albeit in still "minority" forms. This is all the more important since we need to reinforce the resilience of our societies in the face of the major shocks linked to systemic effects, as can be observed in the financial and climate fields. For Patrick Viveret<sup>22</sup>, "we have entered a phase of systemic chaos, bringing on the delivery of a new world. But monsters can emerge".

In a book entitled *Un New Deal pour l'Europe*<sup>23</sup>, two economists propose a radical deepening of the Union, a new federalism based on two central elements: a "European social compact" and a common growth project driven by sustainable development, a "*citizens' pact to participate in transforming lifestyles*". The rise of populism will be halted by this mobilization for a fair, resilient, inclusive, innovative Europe, which will have taken on again a leading role at global level because it has gone ahead of the other continents in successfully managing the shift to "*sustainable prosperity to change the world*" – a prosperity called for by local and regional authorities, a number of employers and trade unions and ever larger sectors of civil society!

Crises lead governments, businesses and civil society to become aware of the new collective issues at stake. Multiple initiatives have been taken, though in a piecemeal manner. The European strategies agreed by the EU are primarily intended for public authorities and it is very hard to mobilize the other players about them. We could therefore imagine a "bottom-up strategy", building a pyramid of actions from the bottom upwards. However, the governance framework necessary for "reflecting this dynamics, recording ideas and adding follow-up indicators and control systems"<sup>24</sup> is missing. Individual or network actions will thus benefit from collective dynamics, scale economies and new forms of cooperation to bring about the whole transformation.

To initiate this transformation at European level, we need a new type of European Convention for 2015. This Convention would bring together representatives from governments and national parliaments, the European Parliament, the Commission and European dynamic forces – employers, trade unions and civil society – and would have three objectives:

- Setting out the new European societal compact in a Declaration of Interdependence. A roadmap entitled "*Good living for all in an inclusive Europe*", which will define the *European societal compact*, has been outlined in a European report<sup>25</sup> as well as in a German report<sup>26</sup>.
- Recording thematic Partnership Covenants for a Europe based on solidarity and inclusiveness (see the 10 Covenants below).

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<sup>22</sup> Communication at the Summer University of Communication and Sustainable Development, 2011, ACIDD. France.

<sup>23</sup> *Un New Deal pour l'Europe. Croissance, euro, compétitivité*. Michel Aglietta and Thomas Brand. Ed. Odile Jacob 2013.

<sup>24</sup> *Rethinking the governance framework*. IDDRI Activity report for 2012.

<sup>25</sup> *For a European Social Compact* by the Permanent Forum of Civil Society (2010)

<sup>26</sup> *World in Transition. A Social Contract for Sustainability*. German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU).

- Amending the Treaties accordingly. In a second phase, the Convention would focus on a "new democracy" and would address the following issues: the internal organization of the Union, *the election of the Commission President by universal suffrage, a pan-European referendum at EU and Euroland level, and a finance package*<sup>27</sup>.

In 2016 citizens should be able on the same day to adopt a new, profoundly consolidated European architecture through a pan-European consultation – equivalent to ratification – while the EU would have recovered its internal and international credibility.

The Budgetary Treaty should also be put on the right track. The ecological risks – as well as the impact of ageing – should be among the parameters of the "*socioeconomic data that might have an impact on future expenses and income*". Parliaments – both the European Parliament and national parliaments – are asked to look into the role of credit rating agencies within the framework of the implementation of Article 13 of the EU Budgetary Treaty.

The Commission has set three objectives under the EU 2020 Strategy, including "*empowering people in inclusive societies*". Democracy and poverty should be addressed within the framework of Convention 2015.

The time has come for '*contributive democracy*', as a complement to political democracy which remains the essential core. The term '*contributive democracy*' concerns the mission and objectives taken on by Europeans. We all have responsibilities, "*shared though differentiated*". Contributive democracy means taking on these shared responsibilities by ensuring through our purchases, our investments, the trust we give, the opinions we share, that Europe is better able to be "inclusive" and secure "prosperity and peace". The European Union is an ethical project. It is up to citizens to strengthen it by casting their ballot papers during elections and by taking action at the counters of our banks, in the aisles of our supermarkets or in associative, social and cultural life.

### ***Chapter 5. MED-EU youth for human dignity, peace and prosperity***

Today the European Union is faced with a "trilemma"<sup>28</sup> that is a major issue for the societal compact: budget streamlining, investing in green infrastructures, maintaining the Welfare State (population ageing) and public services. The EU needs to define an intergenerational pact taking into account the trilemma identified by the European trade union research institute (ETUI) and its impact on young generations within and outside the EU.

Peace and prosperity in Europe largely depend on our relations with the southern region of the Mediterranean area and the new types of cooperation that we can develop with its strongly in demand, hyper-connected young people.

We call for a *MED-EU youth conference* to be convened under the EU Italian presidency during the second half of 2014, focusing on the theme: "*The right to dignity, peace and prosperity*", indissociable from economic and social rights and from democracy.

The conference might be followed by a MED-EU diplomatic conference on the right to dignity, a huge field that is not yet covered by efficient international cooperation instruments and initiatives in the Mediterranean area.

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<sup>27</sup> See also the proposals put forward by Mr Lamassoure, MEP, Chairman of the EP Budget Committee.

<sup>28</sup> *Pourquoi la Stratégie UE 2020 n'est-elle pas appropriée ?* Philippe Pochet. ETUI.

Steps should be taken to prepare for the creation of a "*Euro-Mediterranean community*"<sup>29</sup> limited to those countries which have laid down by law a new regional institutional, legal and democratic framework *in statu nascendi*. This community would be a kind of new Olympic ring involving the European Union and neighbouring countries and inspired from precedents such as the European Coal and Steel Community and the Helsinki Process.

We are confronted in the European Union with nationalistic tendencies and an "everyone for themselves" attitude. *Our world is changing and this creates a new divide between winners and losers in this transition period. There are losers. For them, Europe appears as a Trojan horse letting in globalization, loss of identity, cosmopolitanism, immigrants from "foreign" cultures, etc. Populism influences political parties and feeds on hatred, which seeps throughout society*<sup>30</sup>. This is why we prefer the "Olympic rings" approach in which the European Union, which works more in depth on its integration and inner democracy, gets involved with neighbouring countries in a community which it is a member of. This MED-EU Community could also have "observer members" such as the United States, Russia, China and the Persian Gulf states.

### **Chapter 6. Alliance between European institutions and lateral powers**

Public authorities, and most particularly European institutions, need to develop an alliance with lateral powers to accelerate the transition, reinforce the means towards new prosperity and Europe's resilience in the face of risks. This Alliance is also what is required at world level and Article 13 of the conclusions of the Rio+20 Conference calls for a global alliance between governments and other interested parties, although it fails to determine how to proceed. Europe can play a global leading role if it can establish this alliance at EU level. The Alliance with lateral powers implies a new framework. This Alliance could be built in two steps: firstly the negotiation of 10 Partnership Covenants in 2014 to establish the European Societal Pact/Compact, then a European Convention in 2015 to be agreed by the European Council .

Partnership Covenants: related to European Innovation Partnership in place or to be launched :

Smart Cities & Communities, Covenant of Mayors  
Covenant of Regions  
Covenant of Retail Banks  
Covenant of Institutional Investors  
Covenant on Health and Population Ageing  
MED-EU Youth Covenant  
Raw Materials Covenant  
Water Covenant  
Sustainable Agriculture Covenant  
Post-Carbon Economy and Energy Covenant

The European co-revolution can take off in 2014 with the election process in May 2014 to renew institutions, then the launch of the Partnership Covenants in Rome in November 2014 under the EU Italian Presidency as a first milestone on the way to the European co-revolution. If European institutions and lateral powers are successful, a new era will open for Europe and the chances of success in major international negotiations such as the 2015 Climate Conference will increase, simply because Europeans will have proved to the world that they are the best as regards radical collaboration for greater prosperity between political institutions and lateral powers, between political, economic, financial, trade union and religious leaders and citizens exercising their double right to vote in the political field (right to elect and participate) and in the market field (right to buy and invest).

<sup>29</sup> A concept already launched in xxxx by personalities from the Mediterranean area.

<sup>30</sup> Jean-Michel De Waele, CEVIPOL Director at the Brussels Free University (ULB). Published in *Le Soir*, 21/9/2010.