

# FORUM

Permanent Forum of Civil Society  
Forum Permanent de la Société Civile  
Ständiges Forum der Zivilgesellschaft



OFFICIAL STATEMENT NO. 2008- 03 OF 15 OCTOBER 2008

## Memorandum to the European political parties Programme for the 2009-2014 Legislature “Exploring new approaches”

## Memorandum to the Governments of the Trio Spain, Belgium, Hungary 2010-2011

*Les hommes placés dans une situation de fait nouvelle, ou dans un système d'obligations différent, adaptent leur comportement et deviennent autres. Ils deviennent meilleurs si le contexte nouveau est meilleur ; c'est l'histoire toute simple du progrès des civilisations. (...). Des transformations psychologiques considérables, que certains cherchent à travers des révolutions violentes, peuvent intervenir pacifiquement si l'on oriente l'esprit des hommes vers le point où leurs intérêts convergent. Ce point existe toujours, il suffit de se fatiguer pour le trouver.*  
Jean Monnet

### INTRODUCTION

**"Europe of citizens is late and requires a radical new approach"<sup>1</sup>**. It tends towards an **"a-citizen Europe"<sup>2</sup>**. The drafting and adoption of the Lisbon Treaty were key moments in the evolution towards such an a-citizen Europe (without citizen) with the conventional method being set out of the game and the citizens prevented from having their direct say (except in Ireland).

The gap between citizens and the European Union is denounced since the Laeken Declaration. Never have political leaders offered avant-garde proposals except the one million signatures petition which, in fact, was suggested by civil society. Had Europe's leaders bravely dared to embark on a pan-European consultation on the constitutional treaty or later on the Treaty of Lisbon we would not be in the current disarray.

In addition, we have now our back to the wall, facing new risks of global warming, of damaged biodiversity and of problems relating to access and cost of energy, raw materials and food. Not to mention the financial crisis in the United States, which affects the whole world. We must accelerate the transition towards a new economy with low carbon emission and greater efficiency in terms of resources ( a post carbon and post nuclear economy by 2050 ), which is committed to a "new European dream" in which "new economy" and "welfare society for all" go hand in hand.

We must find the ways to do it and, to this end, carefully consider the potential context that the experts predict for the years to come. This new context will have profound implications for all citizens: competition between capitalism, a decade of stagflation in Europe, a EU that is more neo-medieval than "federal", a missed target in 2020 for reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Rapport Lamassoure, *Le citoyen et l'application du droit communautaire*.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Defraigne, Honorary Director General of the European Commission.

#### SIÈGE SOCIAL

Square de Meeûs, 25 - BE 1000 Bruxelles (Belgique)  
Phone : + (32) 2 508 30 84 – Fax + (32) 2 508 30 89

#### SECRETARIAT ET ADMINISTRATION

Avenue du Rond Point, 10 - BE-1330 Rixensart (Belgique)  
Phone & Fax : +32 2 652 27 82

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The next election must allow European political parties to focus on these issues.

For civil society to cooperate with the EU and to accelerate the transition to a "new economy" and "a new European dream", current systems are inadequate to "re-launch the innovative capacity of the Union". The current system of governance is not adapted to cope with changing factors described above. It is important that the EU creates a *European public space* and becomes the first polity that dares to solemnly recall that its sovereignty belongs to its citizens (Empowering).

The proposed themes are based on an analysis of the ill-managed European constitutional process (Treaty of Lisbon), the achievements of the European Council, the European Parliament and the Barroso Commission. They are also based on an analysis of the impact of regional reality in the EU, evolution in human rights, financialization of the economy which makes globalization enter into a new phase, and finally from the increasing risks associated with the scarcity of natural resources and the level of energy costs.

The themes proposed by the Forum are seeking an environment in which peace and development are provided within Europe and with its neighbours, justice and democracy prevail and a welfare society for all is in progress.

## JUNE 2009

### 1 – Lisbon Treaty – Pan-European consultation

If the "No" won in Ireland this is not because of "too much" but "not enough" democracy. The gap between the EU and its citizens has been denounced since the Laeken Declaration. No political leaders have offered avant-garde proposals.

**2009.** For the final adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon in the current context, the Forum continues to believe that a wide consultation of all citizens at the same time as the European Parliament elections remains a path to explore.

### 2 - A Ticket and a Programme

**2009.** In anticipation of the Treaty of Lisbon which specifies that the election of the President of the Commission shall take into account the results of the election to Parliament, the Forum requires each European political party to submit, either alone or in coalition,:

- a) The candidature of a ticket "President of the Commission and Vice-President for External Affairs", which should respect gender parity.
- b) A programme addressing the themes indicated hereafter.

In addition to these themes and for both the European political parties to play their full role and the election campaign to really focus on European issues, the Forum wants European political parties to clarify their initiatives in terms of:

- Managing their campaign and debates in Member States
- Selecting candidates,
- Organizing the elections,
- Candidates' commitment towards more transparency,
- Human Resources Management,
- Attendance to parliamentary sessions, etc.



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## RIGHTS AND DUTIES

### 3 - The Charter of Fundamental Rights, pillar of social justice.

Rising insecurity and fall of purchasing power endanger the cohesion and the future of the European Union. The "Charter of Fundamental Rights" should be regarded as a pillar of social justice in Europe and the Commission must propose a Union programme of action for programmatic by-rights (for instance, under the Right to Housing, institute by-rights to citizens and communities for assistance in "equipping their building" and make them more energy efficient).

**2009-2014.** The Commission and European Parliament should adopt a multi-year plan of action to contribute to the implementation of the Charter, chapter by chapter.

**En 2012** the EU should hold a summit of civil societies from signatory Member States to help make the Charter implemented, enrich it and ensure compliance with its terms.

### 4 – A Charter of Common Goods and Collective Rights.

*Personne ne peut s'approprier les biens de la terre. Comme le disait Ambroise de Milan « la fécondité de toute la terre doit être la fertilité pour tous » (...) Cette vérité doit se traduire par la ferme volonté de vivre et d'agir en solidarité avec ses frères, en vue du bien commun.*

Jean-Paul II.

This quotation from the most illustrious of Poles in the twentieth century, famous for his criticism of communism and capitalism, is an invitation to everyone, whatever their opinions, to consider *common* goods and rights in a world in profound change. The question is therefore whether we are witnessing a *paradigm shift*, a substantive change that would require safeguarding common goods and collective rights to better protect humanity and the individual rights.

In a way, since the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950, the gradual construction of a united Europe has played the role of a lever towards a new kind of relations between sovereign states in order to pacify the European continent, and of a model likely to be adopted by other continents. This declaration has initiated an essential and profound transformation process of humanity.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights, which deals with the rights of "individuals", is – after the Helsinki process and the enlargement of the EU – a "snapshot" of human rights in Europe at the end of the twentieth century. As such, the Charter of Fundamental Rights is just closing a chapter in the history of Europe. The question that the Permanent Forum of Civil Society raises is whether the new emergencies of the twenty-first century, must not lead to open a new chapter.

**2010-2011.** After leaning on *individual* rights (the Charter of Fundamental Rights), it seems necessary at the Forum to equip the EU to enable it to meet new global challenges and contribute to the protection of Common Goods and Collective Rights, a "change of humanity", a better management of its "interdependence", a universal right to "welfare for all".

***The Charter of Common Goods and Collective Rights would involve "common goods", i.e. goods, services, resources and various kinds of gains that benefit to all.***

***These are concrete realities (the planet Earth, for example), economic, cultural or social, which are crucial to respect Life and thus also ecosystems and the development and well-being for all. They are also ethical and moral principles defining the rights and duties which are essential to manage interdependencies between people.***

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*The Charter would ensure, from the global to local levels, recognition and protection of common property against the usual rivalry (consumption/usage of a property preventing its consumption/usage by another) and exclusions. The Charter would like to help make this time of global change, a time for a change of humanity through better managing our interdependence and our solidarities for more justice, peace, welfare and better development of all persons.*

*The Charter of Common Goods and Collective Rights would begin with a "Declaration of Interdependence." It would have four chapters: tangible common goods, intangible common goods, "natural" common goods and democracy. Each of these chapters would deal with rights and duties attached to European citizenship, the way how common goods should be managed, the rights of groups, minorities and territories and the European Union in the World.*

## 5 – European citizenship.

*Cinquante ans après, on constate un déséquilibre préoccupant. L'intégration économique est allée jusqu'à la fusion des monnaies nationales, alors que l'union des peuples et des citoyens reste balbutiante (...) d'innombrables obstacles rendent difficiles une vie harmonieuse dans cet espace commun. Rapport Lamassoure.*

**2009-2014.** An action plan "citizenship" should be presented by the Commission. It would include initiatives on rights and duties of citizens, issues relating to residence in the EU and to individual citizens (such as those proposed in the report Lamassoure) and others.

## DEMOCRACY.

For civil society to cooperate with the EU as well as for accelerating the transition to a "new economy" and "a new European dream", current systems of governance are inadequate to "re-launch the innovative capacity of the Union". The current system of governance is not adapted to cope with the changing factors described above. It is important that the EU creates a *European public space* and adopt an **EMPOWERING** programme (see attached report following the conference in Bergamo in November 2006). Among the elements of this programme:

## 6 – A European participatory budget.

A European Union closer to its citizens and strengthening the European citizenship should provide for participatory mechanisms to associate citizens to establishing its budget.

**2009-2014.** The European Parliament should:

- Convene a session of a CITIZENS' AGORA devoted to the European Union budget. It would be the appropriate place for debating over the relationship between European citizens, political priorities and funding of the Union budget.
- Propose a scheme for EUROPEAN PARTICIPATORY BUDGET.

## 7 –Public inquiry

The public inquiry is essential to ensure transparency in budgetary matters and a criteria to ensure that the principle of European added value is actually respected.

**2009-2014** Regarding the "structural funds", local/regional surveys in advance of the projects and budgets submitted to the Commission should be made mandatory.



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## ETHICS

*Les positions relatives de chaque nation, de chaque entreprise, de chaque famille, de chaque acteur sont redistribuées. Le partage économique du monde évolue chaque jour. Citons la montée en puissance des fonds souverains, l'émergence d'entreprises globales issues des pays émergents, l'explosion des rentes des pays disposant de ressources naturelles...Oui, la crise actuelle correspond bel et bien à l'émergence d'un nouveau monde économique – au sens braudelien du terme – avec ses conséquences sociales et politiques. Face à ces bouleversements, les politiques nationales traditionnelles de gestion du cycle apparaissent inefficaces, voire perverses. Quant aux institutions internationales, elles n'ont été capables ni de prévoir ni de gérer la crise : il faudra les reformer". Denis Kessler, Président du Réassureur SCOR. (Le Monde 28/8/2008)*

### 8 – A civilized capitalism.

The neoliberal wave that was widely supported by both the European Commission and Governments, including those from the Left, the financial scandals linked to the emoluments of the CEO, the role of the Hedge Funds, the weakening of our energy dependence are increasingly seen by citizens as symptomatic of a real crisis of civilization whose responsibility is largely based on an unbridled capitalism showing disdain for of human rights<sup>3</sup>. Franklin D. Roosevelt, by the control he took on large industry between 1941 and 1945, showed a capacity to "civilize capitalism" which, today, we need more than ever if we are to transform "at the speed of war time" the current economy towards a post-carbon and sparing of natural resources economy.

The *institutional dialogue between the EU institutions (Presidency, Council and Commission) and the social partners (Business Europe, Public Enterprise, Trade Unions)* does not reflect the full diversity of the business world. In so doing, it focuses on short-term interests and sends intentionally biased signals to political institutions.

**2009-2014.** Pending a change in the Treaty on this point, the period 2010-2014 should be utilized to expand the *Cologne Dialogue* on macroeconomic prospects to the network of banks with funds for socially responsible investments and to representatives of social economy (The Cologne Dialogue brings currently together the social partners, the European Central Bank and the ECOFIN Council).

### 9 – Security of the banking system.

The catastrophic banking crisis of recent days demonstrates that safety and efficiency of the banking system are essential to the smooth functioning of a market economy where all transactions are translated into monetary exchange. Banks receive deposits they use to make loans. In good economic theory, these funds should be used to finance real investment or trade and not be purely speculative. In Europe, it is usually private institutions that provide this service. Now, the EU has a common market for goods and services on which it has established rules enforced in the industrial and commercial areas, but it has strangely left all responsibility for regulating the financial area to national governments.

The globalizations of trade in all areas make national economies increasingly interdependent. The health of the EU economy is subject to the vagaries of the U.S. economy and emerging countries. To avert the threat of a systemic crisis of its economy,

<sup>3</sup> See GROSJEAN Ph. D., *L'engagement pour les travailleurs* (Commitment to workers), L'HARMATTAN, Paris, 2007. This book analyzes the legitimacy of the wage earning contract in comparison with the inherent dignity of the person and concludes that the employment contract violates the principles of the institutions that are usually associated with capitalism. The employment contract is the Achilles heel of the capitalism system!



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**2009-2014** it is urgent that the EU, or at least the Euro zone of the Union, establish common rules for the banking system, which are based on harmonizing the regulations currently applied within Member States, and on the most advanced legislation in terms of protecting citizens against speculation. It would be essential, pending a comprehensive renegotiation of the Bretton Woods agreements, that the Euro zone countries prohibit purely speculative financial products, any transaction with "tax paradises", purely fictitious property rights and non-transparent balance sheets. It would be appropriate to set common standards for annual reports, including a social and environmental components. It is, indeed, urgent to restore confidence to revive the currently stagnant economies.

### MOBILISE

*Les hommes placés dans une situation de fait nouvelle, ou dans un système d'obligations différent, adaptent leur comportement et deviennent autres. Ils deviennent meilleurs si le contexte nouveau est meilleur ; c'est l'histoire toute simple du progrès des civilisations. (...). Des transformations psychologiques considérables, que certains cherchent à travers des révolutions violentes, peuvent intervenir pacifiquement si l'on oriente l'esprit des hommes vers le point où leurs intérêts convergent. Ce point existe toujours, il suffit de se fatiguer pour le trouver. Jean Monnet*

#### 10 – A Third Convention « Objective 2020-2050 ».

The global and European economies will face for several decades the impact of a "triple crunch": the combination of a financial crisis, an acceleration of climate change and the rising of energy prices with the "peak oil" on the horizon. The European Union must take the lead for a "the third industrial revolution" – already called for by a written declaration of the European Parliament – and thus accelerate the transition towards a new post carbon and post nuclear economy in 2050, a era where each building is "producing" energy, where – like in nature – there is no waste because everything is recycled, a new era of abundance where the emphasis on "ownership" property is replaced by systems that focus on "services".

However, to achieve the goals set for 2020 by the European strategy for sustainable development and climate, the levers in place will not be sufficient and, according to the Scientific Committee of the European Environment Agency, the objective to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 20% will not be reached (the reduction will be of only 5%). One must find new ways of partnerships to achieve the objectives (see annex to the conclusions of the Agora on climate change). One must in particular go beyond the logic of Kyoto (cost sharing) and summon up all one's strength towards "the transformation of economy in a cooperative framework."

For the EU, this issue must become an essential element of the post-Lisbon 2010 strategy on competitiveness and growth. The "European Competitiveness 2010-2050 strategy" should result from a new type of dialogue and coordination with all partners having a role to play in establishing a "European New Deal".

How to transform our economy, at a war time speed but yet peacefully, in a carbon-free economy as the Allies did under circumstances of similar emergency during the Second World War? The answer lies in the memoirs of Jean Monnet. At the beginning of the Second World War, Jean Monnet was appointed officially, by W. Churchill, as "British officer" to the *British Supply Commission* in Washington where Franklin D. Roosevelt – before the U.S. went to war – decided to make America the "great arsenal of democracy". The needs and resources were ambitiously quantified and their impact on the value chain carefully identified. The decisions and mobilization followed efficiently. J. M. Keynes said at the time that Jean Monnet had reduced the war by a full year.



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While, as the Nobel Prize Paul Crutzen says, "60% of ecosystem terrestrial services are already degraded" let us hope that we, in the twenty-first century, shall be able to achieve a "global change" with the same collective intelligence.

**2010- Presidency by Spain:** In the current context that severely threatens us, the launching of a **Third European Convention "Objectives 2020-2050"**. The aim is that all European stakeholders - public authorities at all levels, enterprises and financial institutions, trade unions, consumer organizations and Civil society in the broadest sense - negotiate a "*European Green New Deal*" (the post-Lisbon Strategy) for the implementation of the objectives set by the European institutions on climate change, efficient management of energy and natural resources, competitiveness and job creation. The plan would cover our consumption patterns, include new indicators of "well-being" and effective management of resources. Finally, if negotiators were to agree – a Charter of Common Goods & Collective Rights.

## **THE LARGE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS REGIONS**

### **11 – Regions in Europe.**

They are many countries in Europe where the national pact is in jeopardy. The role of the European Union under the regionalist/ethnic movement in Europe should be debated jointly by the European Parliament and the Committee of Regions. The success of the peace process in Northern Ireland, continued attacks in the Basque Country and Corsica, the importance accorded to armed movements having practiced ethnic cleansing and sexual slavery (Kosovo), the threats to the Belgian model, etc. are reasons to question the role and influence of the European Union in the last two decades and the need to establish a new framework to complement the current instruments of governance in order to strengthen the recognition and visibility of the Committee of Regions.

**2010-Presidency by Belgium:** Parliament and the Committee of Regions should hold a joint meeting and heard a report from Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, The League of Human Rights, the Council of Europe, etc. The joint programme of Belgium, Spain and Hungary in 2010 should provide for a session of the European Council and a delegation of the Committee of the Regions to draw conclusions from the meeting between Parliament and the Committee of Regions.

### **12 - European Communities of human development**

The theme of "**European Communities of human development**" should be on the agenda of a joint session in 2011 of the European Council and a delegation of the Committee of Regions. As part of the large European Union of 27 Member States and over, "*European Communities of human development*" based on indicators other than the GNP (such as indicators of well-being of Eurostat and the UNDP indicator of Human Development) should be established. They will be pillars of participatory democracy in Europe. They will deal with policies that require taking account of geographical, climatic and cultural specificities. They will monitor the implementation, at community level, of the European strategy of sustainable development and certain aspects of agricultural and forestry, , energy, water policies

**2011 – Presidency by Hungary:** The theme of "**European Communities of human development**" should, under the auspice of the Trio Belgium-Hungary-Spain, be on the agenda of a joint session in 2011 of the European Council and a delegation of the Committee of Regions.

## **PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT.**



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*Climate change could bring globalization to an end by 2040, according to a new report from leading national security experts – with nations turning inwards to save resources as new climate-related conflicts arise. (...) scarcity of resources may "dictate the terms of international relations" for years to come as rich countries could "go through a 30-year process of kicking [the poor] away from the lifeboat. The Age of Consequences report, produced by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in the US*

Mankind has entered a critical phase that requires an "exemplary European Union, mobilized and cooperative" being equal to the stakes that, ultimately, are issues of war and peace.

The military and economic weakening of the U.S., the instrumentalization of human rights by the Bush administration, and so on have led the decline in human rights and have direct effects on the European Union as "soft power" There is a "de-westernization" of the world with the emergence of competing political and economic powers.

### **13 – A win-win scenario instead of war.**

After the Balkans, the events in Georgia in the Caucasus is once again the result of errors in which "Westerners" have their full part. Once again, we return to the Middle Ages and we have our share of responsibility.

On the other hand, and as demonstrated by the failure of WTO negotiations, "the worldwide regulatory bodies are in trouble given the accumulated liabilities and the current balance of power. We will see in the next decade to the emergence of regional institutions, local coalitions.<sup>4</sup>" But the proliferation of initiatives by Member States to launch alliances and unions with neighbouring countries (Mediterranean, East, Caucasus) lead to weaken the EU as a "soft power".

**2009- 2014.** We call for a debate, during the election campaign, on the interrelationships between files which are in fact linked:

- a) The Partnership with Russia,
- b) The new role of NATO,
- c) The Taliban, Al Qaeda-Pakistan - Afghanistan,
- d) Israel-Palestine,
- e) Iran,
- f) The Caucasus,
- g) Energy, etc.

Based on the findings of this debate one must, in the new legislature, restore order in the proliferation of initiatives by Member States.

For the EU to be a genuine "peace broker" in both the Caucasus and the Middle-East, a new framework, "the second Olympic Ring," should allow for a partnership on equal footing in the geographical area of Three Seas - Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea and Caspian Sea - between the "empires", hard or soft, that are or will want to be the United States, Russia and the EU (the EU on behalf of its Member States) in cooperation with regional powers. One must abandon the logic of "expanding empires" (EU, NATO, Russia) and adopt a logic of "joint management between empires", hard or soft, in cooperation with regional powers: Turkey, Iran, Israel, the Alliance of Arab countries and all bordering states as well as China and Japan.

After the withdrawal of Russian forces from Georgia, one should propose a new type of partnership with Russia. It should be a win-win scheme based on the experience of the Community of Coal and

<sup>4</sup> SAPIR J., *Le nouveau XXIème siècle*, page 169.

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Steel yesterday, the Helsinki Accords, and the attempted European Community Energy today. For Europe, the key condition for peace and development in the twenty-first century are there (see the proposals for an Alliance of Three Seas, its "baskets", its "institutions" on the website of the Forum.

### 14 – Fortress Europe

**The shameful directive marks the minds.** Nobody would accept treaties or international agreements on freedom of movement. However, facing the risks of increasingly forced immigration as a result of climate change, the EU needs to develop a common strategy aiming at the United Nations finally adopting and granting a special status of freedom of movement to climate migrants.

**2009-2014** This directive is "*an escalation in the criminalization of migrants*" according to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right of migrants, the Mexican Jorge Bustamante. It must be reviewed. In addition, the European Parliament should initiate a process to bring European representatives within the UNFCCC to add a new protocol on forced climate migration to ensure freedom of movement for climate migrants. From this new legal basis, the European Parliament can then launch other steps to bring the European representatives in the WTO and other international decision-making bodies, to propose the development of a series of agreements expanding international freedom of movement to other categories of people.

*Every few hundred years in Western history there occurs a sharp transformation. Within a few short decades, society rearranges itself: its worldview (paradigm), its basic values, its social and political structures, its arts, its key institutions. Fifty years later there is a new world". Peter Drucker, Post Capitalist Society, 1993.*

### ANNEXES TO THE FORUM'S PROPOSALS.

- 1) The evaluation of the CITIZENS' AGORA experiment.
- 2) Synthesis of the recommendations adopted by Citizens' Agora on climate change.
- 3) Proposals formulated after the meeting *EMPOWER* at Bergamo (Italy) in November 2006

On 15 October 2008.