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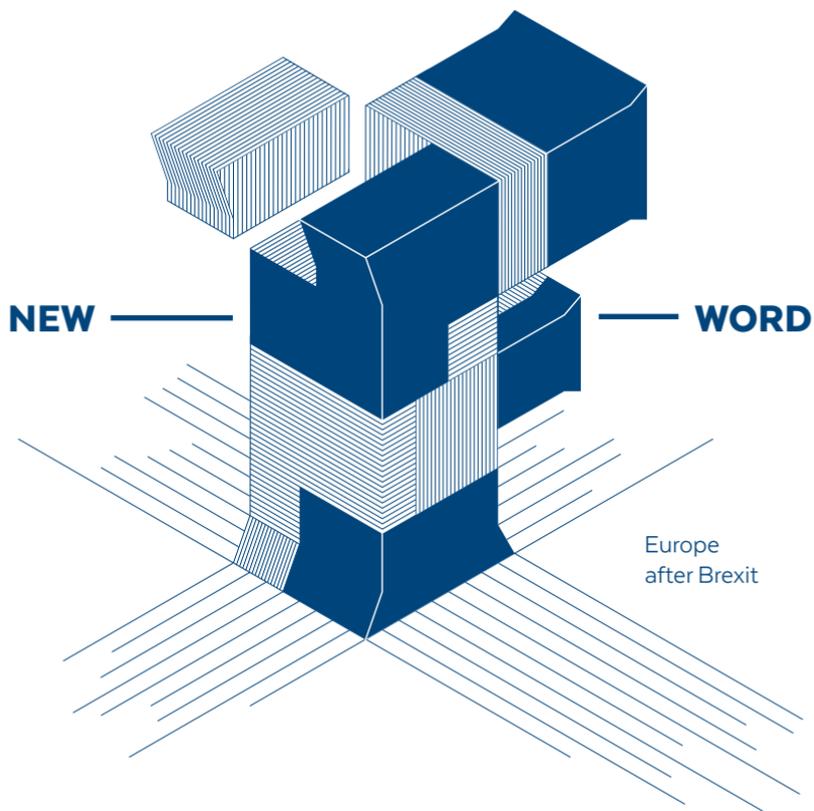
WORD

Europe
after Brexit

edited by
MIŁOSZ HODUN

zelf

profekt:polska



edited by
MIKOSZ HODUN



projekt: polska®

New F Word: Europe after Brexit
edited by **Miłosz Hodun**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editor's Word — Miłosz Hodun	5
“Well we got trouble” — Olle Schmidt	8
Rebuilding connection with citizens — Adam Szlapka	10
[Notes from the Conference]	14
Europe's Future: Two 'F' words — Kishwer Falkner	36
Seeking a way out the crisis — Bartłomiej E. Nowak	40
A new “F” word that could make the old “F” word more acceptable to all — Kryštof Kruliš	43
The New F-Word is Freedom! — Sissel Kvist	46
A Continental European Union — Anett Bósz	51
Norway: Nearly an EU member But Not Quite — Rebekka Borsch	55
United States of Europe — Stefan Windberger	58
New F Word — Conference Programme	62
Partners of the Project	63

Miłosz Hodun

Brexit took us all by surprise. Following the referendum, we woke up not believing what we were seeing and hearing. *Alas it happened!* We, who believed in the great European project, in the Union as a permanent element of our political life, a guarantor of security and development, didn't know how to react. We, who until the polls closed believed in the validity of our rational arguments and were convinced that the emotional campaign that took place in the United Kingdom could not end in success observed the triumph of the "leave" campaign with disbelief. The helplessness exhibited by Farage and Johnson brought no consolation, nor did Cameron's demise.

Miłosz Hodun —
PhD, lawyer, Inter-
national Officer of
Projekt: Polska

Brexit gave impetus to extremist parties in the whole of Europe. It awoke the demons of nationalism and the hopes of the Eurosceptics for "recovering nation states". The French demon is already announcing a similar referendum, if it comes to inhabit the Élysée Palace. The Eurobarometer is indicating that both the French and the Italians mostly support similar referendums, although the majority would still vote against leaving the EU. Jarosław Kaczyński also used the commotion caused by Brexit to announce his plan of writing new treaties and limiting the Union.

What about us? Are we capable of more than complaining and looking for ways of avenging the British people? *What is better,*

hard Brexit or dirty Brexit? What can we do to make them crawl back on their knees? We need a plan, and it has to be a good one if it will help us bring energy back to Europe and hope to the Europeans.

6 However, we must first figure out what kind of Europe we want. Also on the verbal plane. What will happen to the dream of federalism. Will it merely remain wishful thinking on the part of Guy Verhofstadt and a handful of federalists? Federalism, the F word, has for a long time sounded like a bad word that was uttered with unease. But if not a *federal Union*, then what? What should the New F Word be?

We asked the question to the participants of the “New F Word” conference that took place in Warsaw. To my surprise, many panelists and guests continue to defend the idea of federalism. The change that I perceive, is the direction that must be chosen to achieve this goal. Comments about a Europe of two speeds can be increasingly heard. It was once a way to scare procrastinators, today it is seen as a concept that can help uphold integration. Some readers will deem this the final capitulation of the camp of the Euro-enthusiasts. I perceive it as a sign of healthy rationalism. What were the other “New F Word” propositions? I encourage you to read this publication.

It is a summary of three panels. In the first panel, experts attempted to elaborate on why Brexit happened and whether it will be repeated. The question of PLeXit was reversed and it was discussed whether the Union will abandon Poland. The second panel reflected on the future of the United Kingdom outside the EU. The Norwegian model isn't viable here, nor is the Swiss one. What then? Perhaps new elections and a consitutional crisis in return for sustaining current relations with Brussels. In the last

panel we pondered upon the future of Europe and scenarios of integration. The Union, as a common home where everyone can choose their preferred room and floor. What exactly does it mean? The answers are on the next pages. We added commentaries and texts by authors from different liberal organisations to the panelists' statements.

The texts confirm our belief that the Union can be named differently and its future can be defined by various words. What must not be forgotten is that since its creation, the European community is a dynamic project, one which does not easily fit into the frames of international law and social sciences. The European Union is a process redefined not only by new treaties but also subsequent crises and summits of leaders and even elections in member states. The singularity of European integration lies in that dynamic.

“WELL WE GOT TROUBLE”

CONFERENCE “NEW F WORD” WELCOME SPEECH

Olle Schmidt

- 8 I come from a country without history. At least this is what we believe. We have had peace since 1814 and we have somehow been existing on the outskirts of European history. We don't really know what history is about. But European history is what we have in common.

Olle Schmidt —
Vice-President of
the European Liberal
Forum. He served as
a Member of the Riksdag
and Member of the
European Parliament
for the Swedish
Liberal People's Party.

My first political memory is from 1956. It's from Hungary. This year we are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution. In 1956 I was 7 years old and I remember perfectly well when it happened — this tells you how old I am. My dad showed me pictures from outside the post office in Budapest, it affected me. A few weeks later, the first

refugees started arriving to my forgotten village in Sweden, this also affected me a lot.

1956 is also the year of the uprising in Poznań. “Poznań June” is part of our common European history. All Europeans have to take care of it and feel responsible. It's profoundly strange that the British people, who fought so hard for Europe, for freedom, would choose to leave the EU. But we can't point our fingers at them. We can't just blame those who voted “leave”. We, the rest of Europe, should all be blamed, we are all responsible. Just as we are all responsible for the future—a common future. The future of Europe is not easy. We should reflect on what we did wrong.

It's 2016. "Well we got trouble", as Bob Dylan would say. But we can't be pessimistic. We have institutions. It's easy to criticise them, to say they are dull but I believe they matter. Even those leaders who constantly criticise the EU in their own countries go to Brussels. Beata Szydło, Victor Orban—whom I met twice in my life. At one point he was a liberal, at another he wasn't. They are not arming their countries, they are there, in the EU institutions. They create peace and play politics there, and it matters. 9

REBUILDING CONNECTION WITH CITIZENS

CONFERENCE “NEW F WORD” OPENING REMARKS

Adam Szałapka

- 10 Brexit took us by surprise. Cameron took us by surprise. Many placed their hopes in Cameron, he was supposed to be a politician of „new style”, a modern conservative, one of Europe’s leaders. Alas. Cameron turned out to be a pure populist. Party politics turned out to be his priority. He sacrificed Great Britain’s membership of the European Union, the future of the European project as well as the security of his own country for the sake of party politics. The younger generation, mainly in favour of remaining in the EU, will never forgive him.

Adam Szałapka –
General Secretary
of Nowoczesna political party and Member
of Polish Parliament.
President of the
Parliamentary Group
of the Future of the
European Union.

Cameron disappeared, as did Farage, and left us with Brexit. What will Brexit be like? What consequences will it have? We don’t know but we have to face it. Donald Tusk says that the only real alternative to a “hard Brexit” is “no Brexit”. However, in a country in which democratic tradition dictates to respect the voices of the voters (unlike in Poland) could any politician in London afford the “no Brexit” option? Even those who voted “remain” could not imagine the government ignoring the decision of the majority. If Brexit does happen, what will the EU resemble? What freedoms will there be? What kind of free market?

Brexit may be regarded as a crisis of the entire post-war project. It’s another in a series of superimposing crises that overlap

each other and weaken integration. It's an economic crisis that dealt a blow to the young generation and to the south of Europe. It's a refugee crisis that exposed the weaknesses of the EU and regenerated internal antagonisms. It's a giant crisis of European solidarity and a huge crisis of European idea.

The conference "New F Word. The future of the EU after Brexit" took place in Poland—a country of paradoxes. On the one hand, Poles today are among the most pro-European nations, they support further integration and are aware of how important Europe is for security and development. On the other hand, our current government is the most Eurosceptic government in Europe. This government is itself a crisis, every day we witness how it provokes disputes on the domestic arena and insults foreign partners.

11

The question "what comes after Brexit" is a technical, yet important one. Brexit should be a time of deepened reflexion, a time to answer the question: what kind of European Union do we want? A two-speed Europe? A Union à la carte?

Would a two-speed Europe be the worst solution? It seems that way when you listen to debates in Poland. Personally, I am not convinced. A two-speed Europe is a community with a common goal and a single direction. Some may advance more slowly towards it but the common vision is there. What I am most afraid of is a situation in which we would follow different directions.

When Poland joined the European Union in 2004, I felt that I was a part of that decision. I actively took part in the referendum campaign, I wanted us to be on the inside. That was my place, my Union. I had a feeling of strong identification with the community and the project. Us liberals, we feel a connection because the Union is our project. We must keep that in mind today because

most of the time, it's the populists and Eurosceptics who discuss the future of Europe. They scare people, lie and manipulate. We are giving them the battleground and a voice. We discuss and inspire too little. We have given up on convincing them of our vision and including them into our community. We have taken offence to "Eurosceptic barbarians" who don't understand our Europe. That's not good, that's not how you win. We need more discussions and we need to take more responsibility.

The Founding Fathers of the Community, Schuman, Monet, Adenauer had a vision, they saw the political horizon. They wanted a Europe that would be strong and that couldn't easily be politically hustled by outside forces. At the time they couldn't suggest a united Europe because shortly after the war this brave proposition had no chances of finding the support of Germany, France and Great Britain. Therefore they were cunning and pragmatic. They began with coal and steel—matters of political interest and created the ECSC, the predecessor of the EU. Today, three generations later, the situation we face is entirely different and the community is entirely different. Our horizons are different. We no longer have to take small steps. On the contrary, we must act decisively and with vision. Our discussion has to be as wide as possible. People want to discuss, European citizens want to be listened to and to influence the reality that surrounds them. They don't understand how decisions that are important to them can be made without them. And today it's the Eurosceptics and populists that listen. If we don't talk honestly, *they* win and will destroy the accomplishments of the last 70 years. Disintegration will become a fact.

We lost the support of many young people. We also lost the energy to build a united Europe. Now we have to retrieve it.

So let's talk! About a common defence policy, about a common foreign and energy policy. To open up a discussion at the Polish parliament we created the Parliamentary Group for the Future of the European Union. It will counterbalance the anti-European and nationalist rhetoric of the Polish government, which currently permeates the public debate in Poland and strikes foreign partners. The "New F Word" conference was an invitation to a discussion. We've taken the first step. Let's not hesitate to take the next ones.

13

The future of Europe depends on the discussion that we started.





[HISTORY]

16 **STEFAN KASPRZYK** Britain views the history of Europe differently. After WWII, the UK continued to believe it was an Empire and therefore unique. The Labour government wanted to nationalise the coal industry and that's why the UK didn't join the Union for Coal. In the 60s, we tried to join but De Gaulle said "non" and this influenced the British psyche. Eventually, in 1973, we entered only because we wanted to succeed in terms of trade. We never wanted federalization, that was never our dream. The working classes and the elites only saw it as a trade agreement.

STEFAN KASPRZYK Brexit: Another empire is disintegrating. The empire was perhaps successful but the source of its success was external. Accumulation came from its colonies and it followed the industrial revolution. We no longer have these kinds of resources on the planet and we have to concentrate on the inner potential. The bigger picture is integration. We no longer live in times when a country can split up and build something new on its own.

STEFAN KASPRZYK Why did the British people vote to leave? UKIP did a great job. There's no free press, only corporate press. The refugee crisis happened.

STEFAN KASPRZYK Cameron saved the Tory party. The party was splitting and he did a wonderful job in keeping the party together. But he didn't care in the slightest about the One Nation. 17

JACEK PROTASIEWICZ Cameron is a lousy populist. He's a fool. He paid the highest price for it. He's not PM anymore and because of Brexit and what might happen to Scotland his country will remember him as the worst leader.

JACEK PROTASIEWICZ The populist movement is not against a federal Europe but against paying for Eastern Europe — the poorer part of Europe. That's why they will propose to build the Union around people, not the pocket.

KISHWER FALKNER It's easy for us to sit in warm rooms among liberals and discuss about right wing populists. Populism comes from demos, the people! We all have to be a bit populist! We misuse the term populism to make ourselves feel comfortable.

[PLEXIT?]

18 **JACEK PROTASIEWICZ** I don't think that Kaczyński is such a fool. He will not suggest that Poland leaves the Union. He doesn't believe in integration but he believes in money.

JACEK PROTASIEWICZ I'm not afraid that Poland will leave the Union. I'm afraid the Union will leave Poland. There's a stronger tendency to build a stronger Union inside the EU. Western European leaders face real problems and their people want them to act. They don't want to bother with Kaczyński. Kaczyński won't stop them from building efficient institutions.

STEFAN KASPRZYK Plexit won't happen anytime soon. The incumbent Polish government is engaging in anti-European rhetoric but Poland has been taking part in the European dream.

JIRÍ ZLATUŠKA The biggest threat to the EU is external. I am not convinced by arguments about Brussels bureaucracy because it only replaces our own bureaucracy. I'm afraid of Russia. President Zeman consorts with Putin and this can affect public opinion.

JIRÍ ZLATUŠKA If we show Europe that we don't belong to the community of solidarity with refugees, Europe will have the green light to throw us out of the EU.

MIŁOSZ HODUN The Czech Republic is a land of paradoxes. President Zeman wants to hold a referendum and claims he would vote “remain”. PM Babiš says he doesn’t want a referendum but if it does take place, he would vote “leave”. 19

JACEK PROTASIEWICZ We shouldn’t be afraid of talking about a federal Europe. Today populists enjoy increased support, tomorrow it will decrease. Let’s mobilize our countrymen. Let’s show Western Europe that we’re not pickpockets but we want to discuss problems and ideas. We’re politicians and also have to face populists at home.

[ARMY]

20

STEFAN KASPRZYK If Scotland gains independence, federalization will become inevitable because it will be the way to defend the islands.

JIŘÍ ZLATUŠKA Our Prime Minister supports the creation of an EU army. But an important implication of the setting up of a European army is the creation of a sovereign European entity, which no one seems to be talking about. The project could be slowed down by a popular vote and emotions stirred up by talks of sovereignty. The creation of a European army requires federalization.

KISHWER FALKNER The European army: The UK is the only country other than Greece that meets its obligation towards NATO of spending 2 percent of its GDP on defence. We contribute significantly to all joint NATO missions. The UK is one of two European countries with nuclear deterrence. The kind of deterrence that Russia and China recognize. Leaving the EU is a strong signal. People need to feel loyalty towards the sovereign power if we expect them to fight and die. We need to feel loyalty towards the sovereign power they are protecting. Mr Juncker is not someone people could feel a sense of loyalty towards. We need to build institutional structures that people will respect and be loyal to.

[THE NORWEGIAN MODEL]

REBEKKA BORSCH Norway is not a member of the EU but it's part of almost everything that's been invented by the EU. That can be called second class membership, and facetiously you could say it's De Gaulle's fault. Norway applied at the same time as the UK but De Gaulle didn't want the Brits in and said "non" to Norway too. Later we discovered oil and in 1972 and one more time in 1994 a tiny majority said no to the EU after a quite bruising referendum. The EU is still one of the most difficult subjects to talk about.

21

The history of Norway is 300 years of occupation by the Danes and 100 years by the Swedes. "Union" is not an all right word to use.

We're part of the EEA since 1994. It covers the entire market. Norway implements 75% of EU legislation. We're part of Schengen and Frontex, but we have no say when it comes to the drawing up of EU rules.

The Swiss case is different. Switzerland is not a part of the EEA but is a part of EFTA (European Free Trade Association), which is less integrated than the EEA. The EFTA agreement is more difficult to renegotiate. If Switzerland wants to negotiate a small chunk of the agreement, the EU can say "we should negotiate everything" and that can take years.

[WHY BREXIT WILL HAPPEN]

22

KISHWER FALKNER Are there any chances that Brexit won't happen? Two things might impede Brexit from happening.

Firstly, we're hearing from Europe about hard Brexit. I'm getting depressed that this is the narrative since the issue is so important to both sides. Some Europeans hope the negotiations will be really difficult and that in a few years the Brits will regret and beg for forgiveness... This won't be the case. Cameron wasn't being foolish when he called this referendum.

For 20 years three political parties—Labour, the Conservatives and the LibDems, promised the Brits a referendum on the future of the EU. As a matter of fact, I know what I'm talking about because in 1994, I personally put in place a referendum pledge in case we ever join the Eurozone. But election after election, we were denied this promise. The 2002 French referendum should have convinced us to have our own referendum. In its pro-European enthusiasm, my party wrongly decided to sign up to the Lisbon treaty without one. Had Cameron not conducted a referendum, it would have been held by the next parliament.

Secondly, in December, the Supreme Court will rule whether parliament has to be consulted before art. 50 can be triggered. The government believes the ruling should say “no” while parliament is expecting a “yes”. Regardless of whether the Supreme Court says yes or no the parliament would not go against the will of

the Brits. 544 MPs voted for the referendum while only 53 were against. Are we seriously going to say that we gave people the voice and now we will not listen? If the parliament said no to the triggering of art. 50 there would be a constitutional crisis. And even those who voted “remain” like me would feel uncomfortable with this crisis and with changing the referendum results with a new general election. People will be outraged by this but it’s not going to happen. Britain is a democracy. We consider it the mother of democracies and democratic decisions must be listened to. 23

Some people also hope parliament could vote “no” on a final deal. Europeans think that if they give us a really bad deal, then Labour and the LibDems will vote against it. But that won’t happen. We were given a bad deal because of a sense of outrage. We would lose our opt outs! We would lose Cameron’s deal with the EU.

[FURTHER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION]

24

KISHWER FALKNER Our global economic system is so integrated that if money, finance and banking grow, so will our economy. And the straight jacket that is the Eurozone, is preventing this growth from happening.

In 2017 the European Commission will present a white paper which advocates the need for fiscal transfers or risk sharing. Both are extremely difficult without democratic accountability. And this is the biggest problem of the Eurozone.

People can't vote against Juncker so they vote against their national leaders.

A core group of EU countries will go forward to complete the monetary integration.

DETMAR DOERING The UK was always a supporter of an open economy, free trade. We're losing an ally and are weakened by it. Unfortunately the Brexit campaign was not about the economy, about cultural issues, migration...

KISHWER FALKNER Merkel said: 3 years ago 7% of the world population lived in Europe, the continent produced 25% of global GDP and 75% of the world's welfare spending. That's the immigration debate. How do we protect this life style and still have open borders?

KISHWER FALKNER Even this government- and I'm no friend of this government- has never said that the arrangement for those who are currently in the UK will change. They're unlikely to change because there are 2,5 million Brits in Europe and 3 million Europeans in the UK, and naturally there must be negotiations. They can't sacrifice the 2,5 million Brits. 25

[GERMAN HEGEMONY]

26

DETMAR DOERING German hegemony is a myth. There's no master of the German government. The current government is not capable of having a master plan; they're improvising and don't have such intentions. They're pragmatic. Because of the refugee crisis, Germany is now isolated in many ways.

I wish there had been a hegemonial power when the euro came. Many French people thought the euro was a conspiracy of Germany to gain hegemonial power. The Germans, on the other hand, thought it was imposed by the French as the price for unification. They were both wrong. The euro was a long term plan for Europe.

You have to form coalitions and sometimes Germany is in a very strong position and sometimes it's not. Other countries can easily prevent Germany from becoming a hegemon. There's more isolation now.

REBEKKA BORSCH Our generation is about to tear down something that we've been building for the last 50 years. We live in peace on a continent where we can drive freely from Lisbon to Stockholm. We can't lose that.

DETMAR DOERING My hypothetical question: Why did this referendum take place? Because of internal British politics. Conservatives tried to take a piece of UKIP's cake. I'm a pessimist when it comes to the results of the negotiations with the UK. There is a feeling of hostility in the EU. Certain EU member states would like to weaken the UK. There is an alternative to hard Brexit. It's "Dirty Brexit"—no agreement after 2 years—it's risky for the EU but more so for the UK. If there's no agreement on Britain's access to segments of the European internal market, it will have to face hundreds of treaties and custom barriers on EU borders. 27

KISHWER FALKNER Dirty Brexit? It's feasible but it won't happen because today's protagonists won't be there in 2 years. Merkel? Renzi? Hollande? They won't be there. Sarkozy says he will go to Brussels, Berlin and Rome to speak about a different kind of Europe which will render Brexit unnecessary. He's saying the deal with Cameron didn't go far enough and he wants to reduce the speed of integration and make it more nationally democratic.

[DEMOCRACY]

28 **MICHAŁ STASIŃSKI** Nowadays in Europe if you're a liberal, you're a weak person. Nationalists are on the wave. How do we make the idea of Europe more sexy to voters?

DETMAR DOERING Because of Brexit and the fact that we don't like certain results, there's a sort of backlash against direct democracy.

I don't know why they did it—Brexit? But I know that both electorates have hated each other for many years. They were maniacal. Cameron wanted to resolve this brutal campaign once and for all.

DETMAR DOERING Federalism can mean anything to anyone.

29

We should have a clear vision of what the EU should do, and carry it out efficiently. It may go in the direction of federalism. However, we should also agree that there are certain powers that the EU shouldn't have. High level government, such as the EU shouldn't govern in a way that causes people to see it as a silly compromise.

Schengen was "half baked". It was a great idea but member states didn't want to put their sovereignty at risk.

[MARKET & GROWTH]

30 **BARTŁOMIEJ NOWAK** We listened to Guy Verhofstadt recently in Warsaw. Does the language of Verhofstadt in regards to federalism and his vision of Europe speak to you?

MAREK GRELA I'm not going to comment on that. It's an interesting intellectual contribution to the discussion on Europe. In its 60 years, the European community has seen many treaty revisions. The Union has to adapt to the new circumstances. I want to comment on what is really important.

First of all, I don't think the Eurozone is the biggest achievement of the integration. The decision was taken in 1989 in the face of the reunification of Germany. Back then, Thatcher was in favour. Even the USA contributed to the debate on the Euro.

Second of all, I want to stress that the two biggest issues for the EU are market and growth protection. The UK not only contributed to the market but was its driving force. The implementation of the SEA in the late 80s was a huge contribution on the part of the UK. What brought Britain to the EU? It has a completely different business culture, it is world oriented and liberal. The UK was Poland's liberal mentor when we entered the EU. The other factor was foreign policy. The UK and France started European military cooperation. The UK was very supportive of enlargement. And not too many were...

Revenge for Brexit would be dangerous for Britain and against Europe's interest. We need some time to accept this decision. And we have to find an arrangement. 31

European balance. It is needed in the EU. Some countries, let's say Southern, may try to impose a model of closed economies. Europe can't become inward-oriented. We need moderation and federalism is part of the picture. It's intellectually attractive to discuss federalism but we have to be down to earth and discuss what's really important, namely the economy.

I can imagine a smaller Europe, with Euro zone countries and some others, like Sweden.

[MODELS OF EUROPE]

32

BARTŁOMIEJ NOWAK What kind of Europe do you think is necessary? A Europe of multiple speeds—at least its underlying assumption is that we're going in the same direction and our common aim is closer integration. The second model is more cohesive—we're moving at the same speed but it's the lowest common denominator. The third one is Europe à la carte.

EMIL KÄLLSTRÖM Today we're witnessing Europe à la carte and it's a big problem if you're dreaming about a federal Europe. The most preferable is a multispeed Europe. It's the most democratic option. I would like to offer a fourth model: Europe with a common floor and a common roof. To be in the EU you have to accept that you're in the same house but you can choose the floor.

My view is pragmatic: as long as member states still want to be in the Union, I'm happy.

SISSEL KVIST I'm a proponent of the first model. We have to agree what the common floor is—the free movement of goods, services and investments. This keeps us together.

MAREK GRELA In reality we've had a multispeed Europe for many years. The problem is that convergence has finished. We need more Europe and involvement in the global economy. Today all

advanced economies in Europe are increasing their trade with the outside world. 50 % of EU export to China is from Germany. We need to be more integrated in the global market. 33

KISHWER FALKNER Whatever we choose must be built on voluntary decisions of the people in the member states. And the four freedoms can't be absolute. Exercise your democratic powers more and don't look at the European Parliament!

[YOUTH]

34

REBEKKA BORSCH How can the EU be attractive for the young again?

EMIL KÄLLSTRÖM Populists promise they will bring people back to the world from the past, and that's not possible. If we continue to run dysfunctional countries, the populists might take over. I'm not going to sit and wait for Brussels to become popular. In the USA all the patriots love America but they hate Washington. That can be a healthy state of mind. In Sweden we want to decrease the competences of Stockholm. Healthy distrust of a centralised government is not wrong. Being pro-European doesn't exclude being against the power of bureaucrats in Brussels.

SISSEL KVIST We have to communicate better with emotions. For many years we thought we have all the facts and knowledge and we were too good to use emotions. But we have to be more dimensional and use different languages in explaining the Union, especially to the youth.

When I ran for the EP in the south of Denmark I used the argument that the EU gave us the right to cross the border to Germany freely and buy cheap beers. We have to break down the EU to simple facts and be understandable.

EMIL KÄLLSTRÖM Young Brits voted “remain” and we should treat them well to have something to build on in the future. 35

SISSEL KVIST There have been so many crises. Maybe we should slow down for a moment and fix what’s wrong. Especially when it comes to young people and youth unemployment.

EUROPE'S FUTURE: TWO 'F' WORDS

Kishwer Falkner

- 36 On the morning of 24th June I took a flight to Geneva for a Liberal International meeting. I had been up all night watching the referendum on Brexit results coming in. There seemed to be

Kishwer Falkner —
Liberal Democrat
who is Chairman of
the House of Lords EU
Sub-Committee on
Financial Affairs and
a Member of the Lords
EU Select Committee.

something symbolic that my first foreign trip after Brexit was to tiny Switzerland—another country 'of' Europe but not 'in' Europe. But I fear the UK is unlikely to emulate Switzerland's mix of independence and prosperity.

The UK will change as a result of Brexit—the economy will probably get worse in the next few years and possibly better after that. Nobody can predict either the depth or length of the decline but the uncertainty itself will be bad. The question not asked here in Britain is what this will mean for the future of the EU. The EU is at an uncertain stage: unable to stop Russian expansionism; unable to sign major trade deals in a timely manner; unable to manage migration or to be able to achieve the growth needed to reduce youth unemployment of over 20 per cent across its member states. All, while facing the rise of left and right-wing populist parties which at best are distracting political figures from dealing with the things that matter.

Yet it seems that as it celebrates 60 years of its existence in Rome next March, there will be a push for more EU integration.

'More EU not less' seems to be the response of some in Brussels to deal with all the things mentioned above, although it seems to go against public opinion in EU countries. Brexit might also affect the calculations. It will have an economic impact as well as affecting the EU's management of its neighbourhood in both security terms (Russia) and migration (Africa). Add to that the changes to governments in France, Germany and Netherlands which are all facing elections in 2017 and the mood-music in Brussels changes.

37

At the moment we know of some of the Brexit implications: the UK contributes 12 % of the EU budget and the bulk of that is spent on cohesion funds, and the Common Agricultural Policy—all of benefit to Eastern European states. The UK is the second biggest net contributor to the budget and Poland is the biggest net recipient from the budget. In terms of the EU's external affairs, too, the UK has a large footprint. It is the largest European contributor to NATO. Along with France is the only other member of the UN Security Council and is a founding member of several other organisations. It is therefore really important for both sides to work for the UK to continue to support the EU voice in multilateral negotiations.

We do not know how the Eurozone will progress. There is likely to be further Eurozone integration with a move towards EU level fiscal policy in a proposal from the Commission in March 2017. There could be a move towards greater EU control and sanctions of member states' budgets along with some fiscal transfers from north to south in the Eurozone. In any event it would impact Poland in the longer term as it has to eventually join the Euro.

What is worrying about EU and Eurozone integration is that the greater the move towards a monetary, fiscal, or political union, the less democratic accountability elected governments have. The more power flows to Brussels, the less national politicians can do to change their own national policies according to their citizens' wishes. It is right to say of course that the European Parliament represents EU citizens. But people cannot change the 'government' or 'parliament' of the EU on their own national or political preference. It is also the case that in an age of such political distrust, the more removed institutions are from us, the less our sense of allegiance to them, hence the frustration with national politics.

So what might an optimal solution for Europe look like without being made to sacrifice our national identities and interests? An inner core of EU states moving to deep political integration if they want it makes sense, with those on the outer core having the right to join when they are ready and qualify with the political and economic criteria. This could be done within the current European structures, in a similar way to the Eurozone currently. The inner group of what I call the 'Federation of Europe/FE' would have their own institutions but also share other institutions such as the Commission and parliament with the outer group. Different compositions of parliamentary committees would cover the inner core and joint committees could deal with the whole of the EU's business.

This would be more than an 'a la carte' EU, as the current members would all be within the overall structure. What the outer structure might gain, nevertheless, would be some flexibility with the current framework—i.e. greater margins on the current debt and deficit criteria, or more 'emergency brakes'

when they can temporarily opt out of, for example, Schengen or free movement of labour.

So my new 'F' word would still be Federation for those who want it, but more Flexibility for those who want to go slower or stop from time to time. They say two is better than one.

SEEKING A WAY OUT THE CRISIS

Bartłomiej E. Nowak

- 40 “I did it my way” — Frank Sinatra’s song gave rise to a popular theory explaining the collapse of communism. It alluded to a policy of Warsaw pact states to choose their own way. We can easily draw parallels with the European Union and its current state. Disintegration strikes at the heart of the most successful integration project created as consequence of the scourge of war. A couple of years ago, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Today it has too few defenders to survive turbulent times without major setbacks. This trend is reversible but we must start with a real assessment of where the problem lies.

Bartłomiej E. Nowak — Political scientist and economist. He holds a Chair of International Relations at the Vistula University in Warsaw and is Foreign Affairs Secretary of Nowoczesna (“The Modern”) political party.

Clearly it is not at the level of European institutions. All policy failures of recent years can be attributed to the national level rather than to the mythical ‘Brussels’. We tend to think about the EU’s missing legitimacy while it’s the member states who continuously impede the EU from acting. In these crises, there wasn’t ‘too much Europe’, on the contrary — failure was due to insufficient transnational integration or the fact that too many countries were breaking the rules and stayed unpunished — the Eurozone is a clear example. It’s the member states who failed. Nevertheless, for years, they chose to blame the EU for everything that went wrong with their national policies. Problems

were Europeanized while EU successes were nationalized. The fact that the Brexit referendum was lost, is no coincidence, given that for such a long time the British political elite portrayed the EU as an enemy only willing to interfere with the rights of the British people. The British PM's change of heart shortly before the referendum came too late to be credible.

Now the search for a remedy for the multidimensional and multiple crises of European integration may turn into a vicious circle. No one is thinking about a great leap forward although usually crises gave that sort of leverage and historically the EU tended to get stronger through crisis. On the other side populists have an appetite for spill out and the shift of some competences to the national level. However this will surely not resolve Europe's problems because they are not solvable on a single country level. The traditional muddling through strategy will also not work. Continuing business as usual may simply deepen the crisis of the EU. It looks like we have a crisis in crisis management.

41

After decades of optimism we should start imagining Europe without the EU. If we do not fix that project and make it successful, it may turn out to be mortal. The EU does not need a major structural overhaul or another treaty change. It needs a change of attitudes. European citizens will no longer legitimise the process of European integration as was the case in the past. But they will legitimise the outputs. They need a Europe of results while politicians must be honest on which level the results can be achieved. The British government has organized a very detailed review of competences and found out that the EU's activities brought added value to resolve public problems. But this fact was not politically used in the debate.

Politicians should also be much more creative when they think about the nature of the problems that we face in Europe. If there is record-high unemployment of young people across Europe, why not think about a pan-European solution? It's visible that states cannot cope with this alone. Take the example of the European Border and Coast Guard. Where there is a will, there is a way.

42

Finally, politicians should educate themselves. They should spend less time with media advisors and more time with policy advisors. If they come to China, it would also be useful if they look for a moment at a Sino-centric map and try to find Europe on it. They should also educate their electorates instead of following popular resentments and emotions. Again, it is all about leadership.

A NEW “F” WORD THAT COULD MAKE THE OLD “F” WORD MORE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL

Kryštof Kruliš

If the search for a new “F” word to replace “federalism” were to start in the time following the June referendum in which the United Kingdom decided to leave the European Union (EU), it would be a big paradox of the European integration project. John Major’s fight led to the removing of the term “federalism” from the draft text of the Maastricht Treaty and replacing it with the code phrase “ever closer union”. In early 2016 the rest of the EU gave a hard time to another British premier, David Cameron, who was battling for further concessions from the ever closer unionism for Britain. 43

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national Affairs (AMO)

The concept of federalism is, however, not one to be easily abandoned. Well-functioning, “federal-like” institutions at EU level could be a solution to many existing problems on the continent, such as the protection of external borders of the Schengen area. Some countries perceive the lack of protection as more favourable than the fulfilment of their duties. Similarly, there are many other functions that could be more effectively exercised by a federal system. For instance, the Czech Republic is notoriously known for its inability to construct crucial highway and railway infrastructure. Being a country in the very centre of the continent, this shortcoming affects all, not just Czech citizens. Due to incomplete infrastructure in the Czech Republic, travel-

ling from Vienna or Linz to Berlin takes significantly longer. In a real federal state, the spinal infrastructure network, including financing and administration of necessary constructions, would be in the competence of a federal agency. As follows, the federal level would be blamed and praised for shortcomings and successes. Many other domains of equal importance would be better coordinated from an EU level. But there are other reasons for not abandoning the concept of federalization.

In fact, nowadays the EU resembles a big bee hive in which everyone influences what everyone else is doing, and in some cases, the persuasion of the general discourse prevents individual choices at various levels of governance. The resulting consensus is sometimes a universally balanced amalgamation of views. This would not be the case in a functioning federal system. Federalism not only guarantees effective powers at the federal level but also protects all other levels from being stripped of their competences. A good example is the US federation with its dominant principle of entitlement. The concept of federation could soon be invoked not only by centralists but also by those who stress that the principle of subsidiarity should be with all honesty applied to the division of competencies between different levels of governance. Thus, the concept of federalization has not yet been exhausted and could still yield many important incentives to the debate on the future of our continent.

If there is something to be learned from the British referendum, it's that the old "F" word could be complemented with another important "F" word: flexibility. Stubbornly insisting on the full application of all provision of *EU acquis* to every member state with access to the single market could help in keeping some of

its less popular aspects operational, but it is increasingly connected with disadvantages. When we see that the United Kingdom, which for years stood in the foreground of the internal market, had to threaten the rest of the EU with a referendum in order to open negotiations over new concessions, it means that the time to look for more flexibility has passed. Do we think that the rest of the EU would spend several days in February this year debating new conditions of British membership with David Cameron had there been no threat in the form of a referendum? We should also bear in mind that sworn resistance to flexibility has not only pros but also cons. For example, it could result in forbidding countries from being exempt from specific pieces of secondary law for determined periods of time under sufficiently serious circumstances. The imminent cons are decades of deadlock preventing the adoption of new measures in different areas, whether it's the principle of the country of origin in the free movement of services, or the Common Consolidated Corporate Tax Base. States cannot be expected to grant consent to such ambitious steps if they know that once the measure is adopted, there is no turning back. Introducing "Flexibility" could be an answer. Ex ante flexibility within given limits could bring new energy and more willingness to many much needed steps in integration. Flexibility could be a new "F" word that could make the old "F" word more human and more acceptable to all.

THE NEW F-WORD IS FREEDOM!

Sissel Kvist

46 The EU is in crisis—again—some might want to add. This time it's the British voters' decision to leave the EU that triggered the crisis. Last time in 2005, it was the Dutch and French “no” to the

European Constitution that brought the word crisis on everyone's lips. In 2005, Barroso, the President of the Commission at the time, initiated a time out in the aftermath of the “no” votes. As he said, it was time for both the European citizens and politicians to think and reflect. The pause eventually led to the Lisbon Treaty in 2007. This time around, there is no time for a break or a time out. The first consequences of the Brexit vote were immediate. The value of the British pound has decreased dramatically, people and businesses are starting to leave the United Kingdom and the populists, the far left and the far right across Europe, are trying their best to take advantage of the turmoil.

As liberals, we will have to make the best of the worst, and we have to act fast. We all hoped and worked very hard for a different outcome. But despite the disappointing result, we still have an obligation to continue to develop the European Union. There is no time to waste. Both inside and outside of the liberal family, some are arguing that we need to slow down within the EU,

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in Amsterdam.

that things have been going too fast and that member states are falling behind. The argument seems to be that we either have to wait for countries to catch up or for the winds of change to blow over certain member states, where EU support is challenged. In other words, we either move together or we do not move at all, effectively ruling out a Europe of multiple speeds.

However, this point of view seems somewhat arbitrary. The fact is that we already have a European Union of multiple speeds. Euro countries, non-Euro countries, opt-outs and opt-ins are already in place and not since yesterday. The first opt-outs took place in 1993, it was the Danish opt-out from the Edinburgh Agreement. While opt-outs are certainly not optimal either from a national or European perspective, they are a reality. Hence, a Europe of multiple speeds already exists and is a part of our common history by now and will therefore not easily be changed.

47

As liberals, we should not be afraid of either a more federal Europe or one of multiple speeds. On one hand, we have the courage to dream big and are not afraid of painting our dreams for the rest of the world to see. On the other hand, we are simultaneously able to take the lead and be pragmatic when the situation requires it. By doing so, we ensure that our dreams partially become reality. We are the ones who build coalitions and bridges between left and right.

The question that arises from this, is where we as liberals draw the line. What part of the European Union can we accept that not all agree on and participate in, and what not? Where does the pragmatism end and the principle begin?

For me as a liberal, it is relatively straight forward. We cannot restrict or compromise on freedom. In the European Union

we must insist on being united when it comes to freedom and to acknowledging it as the foundation on which we build everything else. It might sound trite but it is not. Firstly, we have the four freedoms of the EU: free movement of persons, goods, services and capital. Secondly, freedom is also outlined in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which is incorporated in the Maastricht Treaty. These freedoms are in their bare essence quite similar to the four freedoms that American President Franklin D. Roosevelt mentioned in his famous four freedoms speech in 1941.

This second group of freedoms is an inalienable right of all human beings. It should be upheld, even without a European, or any, Union. These are fundamental rights that are valid and true for any human, as reflected in the establishment of the European Court of Human Rights by the Council of Europe, an organ which ensures that the convention is being watched over. Of course we can always improve these institutions, and as liberals, we should keep fighting for these rights to be universally applicable and the court to be strong enough so their judgments can't just be ignored.

The four freedoms of the EU are very interesting and can roughly be divided in two categories. On the one hand, there are the personal liberties, in the form of free movement of persons. On the other, we have the free movement of goods, services and capital, which essentially enable free trade.

When it comes to the freedoms that make up free trade, they represent values which are essential to liberals. One might even say that free trade is one of our core beliefs. The other core belief is freedom (of movement) for individuals. Within our Union, the right to absolute and unconditional free movement of individu-

als, for me, is almost as important as the human rights outlined in the ECHR. If a citizen of the European Union is not free to seek his or her future within our entire union, then there is not enough trust to keep going forward in this multilateral journey that we embarked on with the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. These freedoms bring up the famous quote as coined by Gournay: “*Laissez faire et laissez passer, le monde va de lui même!*” („Let do and let pass, the world goes on by itself!”)

49

Then, one might ask, which potential parts of the EU should be subject to negotiation or multiple speeds? Three simple examples: the Euro, a European standing army and direct European taxation. While they might be nice to have, none of these topics are crucial or essential to the freedoms. Additionally, these three examples, like many other problematic and difficult discussions, directly infringe on the national sovereignty of member states.

Having the Euro makes trade and travel easier and cheaper, but trade in different currencies is and has always been possible as long as people and businesses are free to import and export goods and services ensured through tax and trade treaties.

A European standing army would of course be a strong tool in demonstrating European unity and strength and the possibility of fast mobilisation of military forces when necessary. Further, not having one army does currently not stop members from intervening and working together. This can range from working together on a permanent base like the “I. German/Dutch Corps” as part of the NATO high readiness forces, to working on a case by case base like various European military operations in the Balkans or various missions under the United Nations.

Direct European taxation would in many ways be a logical next step. An independent democratic parliament should ideally always be able to set the budget for its government and check it. Currently, as somebody else sets the budget, the members of the European Parliament are limited in their freedom to assign monetary means to goals they want the union to achieve. But
50 will this taxation promote the freedoms? No it will not. It is in fact of no consequence to these freedoms.

For me, as you can see, it is very clear. Liberals in Europe should unite behind the four freedoms of the EU. As outlined in the beginning, there is no time to waste if we don't want the populists, the right and left wing, to beat us. We cannot accept cherry picking, our freedoms are the basis of a better and more liberal Europe. In all discussions related to the EU it is crucial that we as liberals show and explain our ideals, it is however even more important that we get the political families together. Because only in unity we can build trust towards each other. It is therefore that I say: "The new F-word is freedom!"

A CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN UNION

Anett Bősz

Great-Britain's leave-taking is a huge loss for the European Union. The first edification that we have to learn from this sad case is that populists are able to press upon their will even in the most important, well-developed Western countries, even in the homeland of the modern democracy. We should use Brexit as a case that we have to take as a lesson because there is always chance to change things, institutions, co-operations and treaties but if we throw out everything it never helps—just like deciding for divorcing. 51

Anett Bősz –
Member of the
Leadership Hunga-
rian Liberal Party

With Brexit the European community lose an important country that was strongly criticizing the European Union and that was fighting for an institutional and political reform. The European Union has to understand the message of a country that was going to work for a European reform but the community was acting too slowly and ineffectively so the society became impatient. The growing Euroscepticism endangers the success of the beautiful, peaceful and valuable initiative that was grounded after the 2nd World War for peacekeeping.

There are hard times in institution's life when the new challenges and the new generation's requests corrode them. These are historical moments when leaders are in charge for reforms and for changes otherwise people can lose these institutions, values and opportunities because the system collapses. Now it is hard

to find anyone that would be against an EU reform—apart from extremists and populists that would love to see the European Union's disintegration.

We need more Europe in political positions, policy areas and co-operation fields. The problem is that we do not have enough Europe.

52

Liberals criticise the EU because of the overgrown bureaucracy and because of the weightless positioners of Europe that are better bureaucrats and grey eminences than politicians however we would really need a strong, democratically elected political leadership, at least for the most important policy areas like finances, defence and foreign policy. Unless an elected political leader of the EU we will never know “whom we should call if we want to talk to the European Union”.

The request of Henry Kissinger became reality and it staggers Europe. Europe needed a burning house to realise all these.

The European Parliament needs more weight; the decision-making processes should be closer to the European citizens. The members of the EP should be taken serious by the Member States that delegate them. Let's be honest: the EP-lists are full of politicians that are embarrassing at home so they are sent far away from their domestic politics, slap to Brussels that is too far from people, too far from Member States and enough far to spoil nothing at home. There is one third of MEPS, that are working excellently and that are in the best place but the other two third consist from those that everyone wants to remove from the domestic politics and from those that need to learn and observe to be a fully-fledged politician.

The European Union is too important to burn our resources at a peep. In this present crisis we have to fight for everything that our forefathers were dreaming of and even more. For Europe with save boarders outside and no inside-boarders, for Europe with tolerance, diversity, human dignity, prosperity, peace... these all cost much more than few years ago. The price of them is to create a stronger European Union. Not a Europe of Nations States, not a Europe of regional co-operations, not a Europe that accepts a Western and an Eastern Union with different gears, different growth of GDP-ratio or different political culture. Not a Europe that is not able to fight effectively against populism that created an alliance with Putin who attacks the EU.

53

The European Community was founded for avoiding wars. Those that want to rout the EU — in a coalition with Russia — that wants to create chaos in the 21st century and fish in troubled waters. We have to hamper this.

The most effective weapon against populists is efficiency. If people receive relevant answers from their leaders for the refugee crises, for terrorism and for their everyday problems, they drop populists and extremists. This efficiency can be found in strong and big conglomerates of democratic states that are engaged for market economy, for freedom and for peacekeeping. In the multipolar world we face the growing number of antidemocratic and minatory countries like China and Russia. Likewise the NATO at defence, we need a strong Euro-Atlantic economic alliance with the United States and with Canada (TTIP, CETA) to be stronger than them.

In a chaotic situation it is normal that warning shots pop off, but Brexit was a warning shot that hit Europe's leg. The only

chance in a “post-Brexit” Europe is to learn from the British case and to correct the mistakes with strengthening the EU and deepening the integration. This is not just a chance to do it better. This is *the chance* to survive and to keep up.

NORWAY: NEARLY AN EU MEMBER BUT NOT QUITE

Rebekka Borsch

Every now and then, in the debate on Brexit, you can hear politicians and pundits who claim that Britain could prosper outside of the EU. But just look at Norway. 55

Believe me, you don't want to be in our shoes. As outsiders we are practically forced to adopt laws pushed through in Brussels but have no formal say in formulating them to begin with. We stand on the sidelines as the EU shapes the future and wait to adopt what the EU decided. Norway misses out on key benefits while still making substantial contributions.

Rebekka Borsch —
Politician for Norway's liberal party Venstre, Chair of the party's International Committee

So what is the Norwegian Model, and how does it work? Well, you might call it the “nearly but not quite” model of EU membership. Norway is chained to the EU through the European Economic Agreement (EEA), which it entered in 1994. EEA membership gives Norway full access to the EU internal market, allowing us to trade goods with EU member states without customs fees, except on food and drinks, which are subsidised by the EU. Iceland and Liechtenstein are also members of the EEA. In return for that access, Norway is obliged to implement all EU laws relating to the internal market. As a result, Norway has had to implement about three-quarters of all EU legislation, including the working time directive.

The EEA Agreement does not cover the following EU policies:

common agriculture and fisheries policies (although the EEA Agreement contains provisions on trade in agricultural and fish products); customs union; common trade policy; common foreign and security policy; justice and home affairs (the EEA EFTA States are however part of the Schengen area); direct and indirect taxation; or economic and monetary union.

56 What input does Norway have into EU rules? Frankly speaking; none. Norway has representatives in the EU institutions, but we have no decision-making power in how EU rules are drafted. Our country has been granted participation rights but no voting rights in several of the union's programmes, bodies and initiatives, including the European Defence Agency, Frontex, Europol and the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction.

Is the "Norway option" cheaper? Yes, but not by much. In 2012, Norway was contributing €340 million per year into the EU budget—the tenth-highest contributor. The thinktank Open Europe estimates that the UK would pay 94 % of its current costs (£31.4 billion annually) if it left the EU but adopted a Norway-type arrangement.

What about immigration? The UK has more control over its borders than Norway, because our country is part of the Schengen border-free area. As a result, Norway has higher per capita immigration than the UK. In practice, we are fully integrated into the EU's free movement rules and the EU has repeatedly made it clear that the free movement of persons is the price that must be paid for access to the single market.

So whenever I listen to Eurosceptic foreigners who congratulate Norway on having stayed out of what they see as a messy EU, I think: they don't see what life looks like on the other side—

the EEA side. We have no representation in the European Parliament, no representation in the European Commission and no representation in the Council of the EU. We do not have a vote, even when the issues concern our future. We are left to bargain with our closest EU allies, linger in the lobby as representatives brush through on their way to a meeting. We stand in that lobby together with interest groups of all kinds, and I would hate for the UK representatives to join us out in the cold. 80 percent of our laws are made in Brussels, but we do not have a vote. Once the rest of Europe has passed them, we cannot do much to change them. You don't want to be in our shoes.

57

Whether it's refugees, banking crises, the capital markets union, the digital single market or the transatlantic free trade deal, the EU is where decisions are made in Europe. Norway tries to keep up, we yearn to have our voice heard early on in the process but the truth is we have little to say when, for example, the EU concludes a free trade agreement with the U.S. We have little to say on how the agreement will look but we hope for the best. As an EU member you can help shape the agreement, make sure it protects British jobs and products. We cannot. You don't want to be in our shoes.

Yes, European politics is messy. The truth of the matter is that politics is messy in this interlinked world. EU politics is messy because 28 members—soon it may be only 27 due to Brexit—make decisions together. However, if we want to solve an economic crisis, we need to solve it across the board. If we want to handle the refugee crisis in a good way, we need to do it together. These crises know no borders, so neither should our answers to them.

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Stefan Windberger

- 58 Imagine a world where European States negotiate for several years about a comprehensive federation treaty (encompassing common institutions, armies and courts) and a parliament reigning supreme over all European countries.

Stefan Windberger —
Political scientist
and entrepreneur,
International Officer
of NEOS (Austria).

Is this a mere illusion at a time when populists trump facts and Orbans reign supreme even with the urban electorate? At a time when the fate of the Euro as a common currency, is uncertain at best? At a time when people stop expecting a European

solution to the mass migration that has fostered the rise of the demagogues? Possibly.

Surprised to hear that all of this happened in the 15th century? George of Podebrady, proposed the above mentioned idea in *Tractatus Pacis Toti Christianitati Fiendae* in 1462, but negotiations broke down due to papal anxiety over a possible secularization of Europe and resulted in the excommunication of the King of Bohemia from the Catholic Church by Pope Paul II. The United States of Europe, so to say, is neither a delusional nor a new idea—it is eventually bound to happen.

HOPE

Counter to the intuition of many, the potential for a European federation is not only good faith, but also sound political and

economic reasoning. In the realm of politics, a unified European voice allows member States much more leverage over global decisions. The observer status of the EU at both the UN security council and the G20 are the institutional embodiments of this process, while, Kissinger's, famous remark: "Who do I call if I want to call Europe", serves as a clear demonstration of the further potential for a united Europe in the concert of international relations. Moreover, the concept of a regional alliance permeating the political, social and economic spheres is already being emulated: think ASEAN or the EAC, both of which are not only contemplating a common market, currency and institutions, but have already implemented big chunks of it.

59

From an economic angle, the benefits of EU membership clearly outweigh the costs for all member states. However, more jobs, lower prices and increased exports, are not as tangible as voters would like them to be, which is why a working communications channel is the one thing on which we should build our hopes.

VENTURE

Logically speaking, more hope implies more ventures, and this is the point where a fundamental change is required. The current EU policy, is at times too all-encompassing in its approach, resembling Platonian utopian engineering. What a United States of Europe really needs is the opposite, a piecemeal social engineering of the Popperian sort. Central planning can never work, due to the dispersed nature of knowledge (Hayek), which in turn requires the United States of Europe to be organized as a federal union of the kind that Altiero Spinelli envisioned in the *Manifesto di Ventotene*. Daring more also means doing more. Bearing in mind

JFK's statement (wrongly ascribed to Dante) that "the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in times of great moral crisis, maintain their neutrality", it is high time for all critics to move towards a more constructive stance by actively taking part in European politics.

60 **THE F WORD**

Even if we assume that a federal United States of Europe is the only means to ensure lasting power and plenty, how can we make sure that neither populists on the rise nor the prime ministers in the European Council will shut down this vision for mere electoral gains?

We need to focus on emotions. Facts alone are not sufficient for people who think that "they've had enough of experts", as Michael Gove puts it. The USA has been a great inspiration in terms of creating an emotional narrative. On this side of the pond, the European narrative has been rather dead than alive since the days of Mitterrand and Kohl. Reviving it requires bold and clear steps. In Austria, NEOS, has always been very vocal in their support for the European cause. One of our campaign slogans for the EP elections in 2014 was "We love Europe*", with a footnote that read "*But there is a lot of relationship work to be done". This work is twofold: First, we need to step up our communications game and explain who the culprits are. The lack of a common European asylum system is not the fault of "Brussels" (whoever that might be), some murky bureaucrats, or the European Parliament. It is the fault of 28 heads of state who decide on this behind closed doors in the utterly nontransparent European Council. Second, we need to propose something that people can understand easily.

Bringing all migrants in, is as dangerous as keeping all of them out. Only a European solution can make this work, which needs to be communicated appropriately. It's our turn to not repeat the mistakes of the 1930's.

NEW F WORD – CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

WARSAW, 23RD OCTOBER 2016

62 10:00 – WELCOME REMARKS

- **Olle Schmidt** – Vice-President, European Liberal Forum
- **Dr Miłosz Hodun** – International Officer, Projekt: Polska Foundation

10:15 – INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC

- **Adam Szlapka** – Secretary General of Nowoczesna, Member of Parliament and head of the Parliamentary Group of the Future of the EU

10:30 – PLEXIT? IS WARSAW THE NEW LONDON?

- **Jiří Zlatuška** – Member of Parliament for the ANO party (Czech Republic), former rector of Masaryk University
- **Jacek Protasiewicz** – Member of Parliament for the European Democrats (Poland), former Vice-President of the European Parliament
- **Stefan Kasprzyk** – former mayor of Islington in London, LibDems (UK)
- **Moderator: Dr Miłosz Hodun** – Constitutionalist, International Officer of Projekt: Polska

12:00 – EU WITH THE UK, UK WITHOUT THE EU

- **Rebekka Borsch** – Chair of the International Committee of Venstre party (Norway)
- **Detmar Doering** – philosopher, head of Prague Office of Friedrich Naumann Foundation
- **Kishwer Falkner** – Lead Liberal Democrat Spokesperson for Foreign Affairs in the House of Lords (UK)
- **Moderator: Michał Stasiński** – Member of Parliament for Nowoczesna (Poland)

13:45 – THE NEW F WORD, FUTURE SCENARIOS FOR THE EU

- **Emil Källström** – Member of Parliament for the Centre Party (Sweden)
- **Sissel Kvist**, President of LYMEC
- **Prof. Marek Grela**, former deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, former Ambassador of Poland to the EU
- **Moderator: Dr Bartłomiej Nowak**, Vistula University

PARTNERS OF THE PROJECT

THE EUROPEAN LIBERAL FORUM (ELF) is the foundation of the European Liberal Democrats, the ALDE Party. A core aspect of our work consists in issuing publications on Liberalism and European public policy issues. We also provide a space for the discussion of European politics, and offer training for liberal-minded citizens. Our aim is to promote active citizenship in all of this.

PROJEKT: POLSKA are people who are dreaming of a modern, open, and liberal Poland. Those, to whom a democratic, effective and citizen-friendly government is a key goal, and who help accomplish this goal while enjoying themselves, forming new friendships, and furthering their own interests. The Projekt: Polska Foundation is our framework, a group of professionals with immense experience in direct action: entrepreneurs, leading NGO heads, civil servants.

