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## **BREXIT VOTE: STRATEGY OVER SPECULATION**

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EUROPE'S NEW GENERATION**

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of the Future look like?

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who do Politics differently

Restoring Confidence  
in Politics

Youth and Right-Wing  
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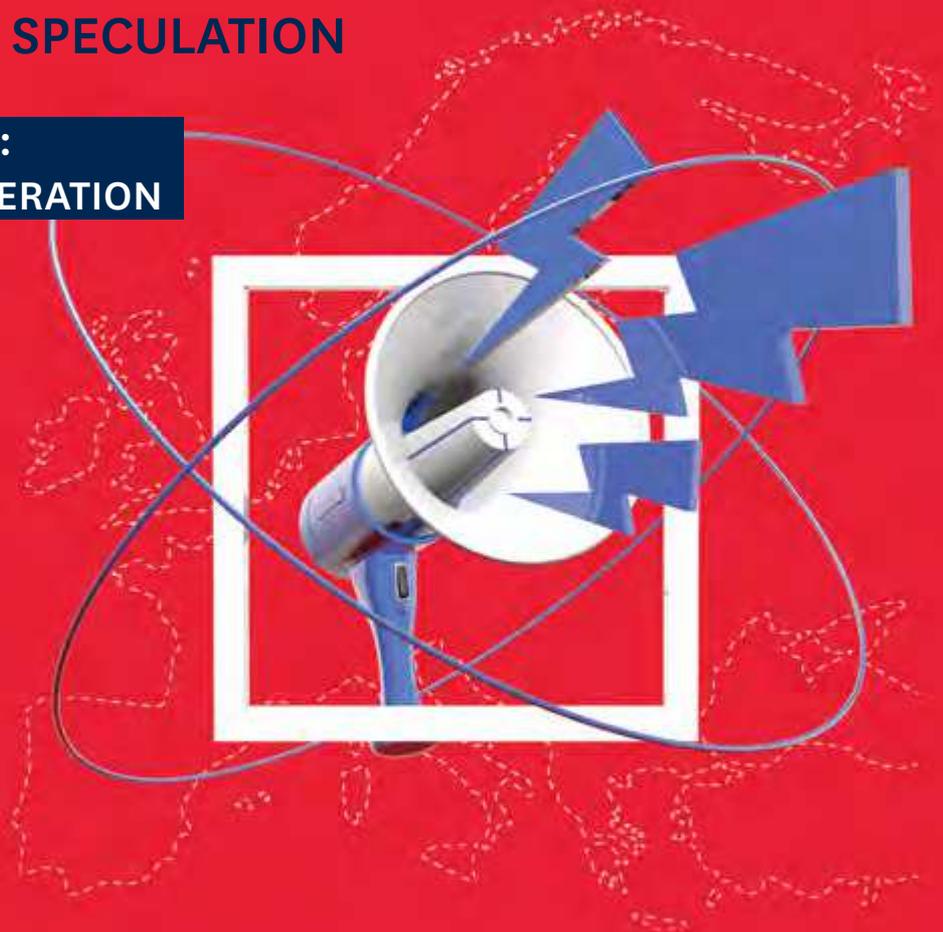
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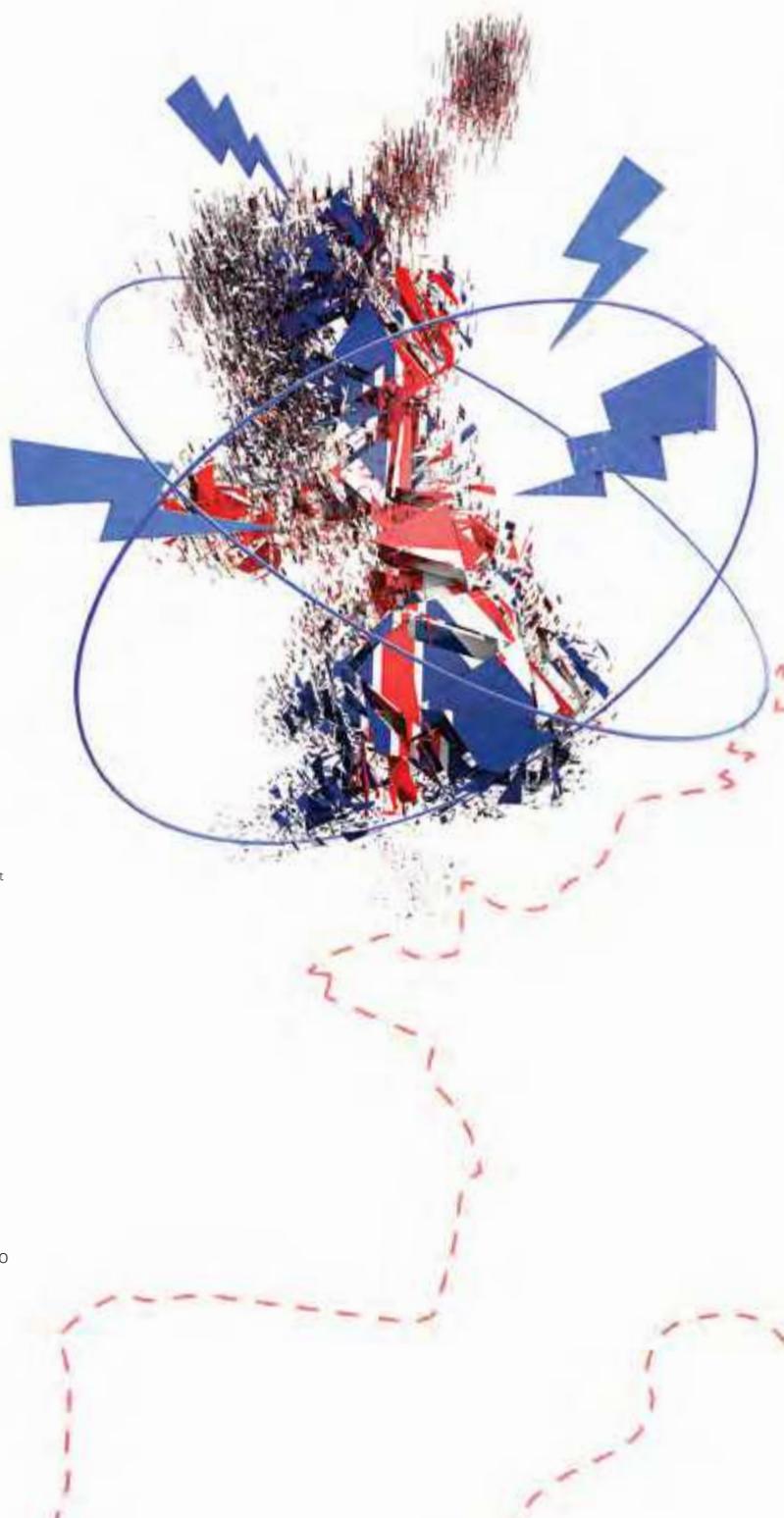
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**N°2 - Autumn 2016**

ISSN 2506-7362

**This edition is dedicated to FEPS Vice President,  
Karl Duffek (1962-2016)**

**Editor:** Dr. Ernst Stetter (Secretary General, FEPS)

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**Design & Production:** Polydea - [www.polydea.com](http://www.polydea.com)

**Photo Credits:** AP, EU, shutterstock

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# KEEP CALM AND REWRITE THE RULES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

by Massimo D'Alema, FEPS President, former Prime Minister of Italy

The negative result of the UK EU Referendum is the biggest signal for leaders to develop enhanced cooperation along with institutional reform. It means tangible reforms for citizens who consider the Europe Union as their present and future.



**B**rexit is currently the most tangible sign of the European crisis in Europe. But we know that this crisis does not consist exclusively of Brexit. In fact, elements that emerged during the UK referendum campaign are far from being exclusive to the UK. Distrust towards institutions, mistrust towards the elites and the political establishment, fear of immigration, and perceived inability of governments to provide viable solutions to the many challenges that the EU and its member states are facing, are far from being simply British issues. At the same time, since the financial crisis in 2008, the social situation has not been taken as a serious issue; inequalities have been growing, economic recovery has proceeded too slowly, and investments have remained too low. What is the conclusion we can

draw from this? That the neoliberal recipe made of austerity and structural reforms has failed. Nonetheless, the progressive recipe does not appear to be a viable and credible alternative, because we are increasingly identified with the political establishment. The differences between left and right are also fading away, mainly due to the politics of government coalitions, and, additionally, progressive parties are increasingly seen as losing the capacity of representing those parts of society they are still supposed to represent - people who feel betrayed, and not protected, by globalisation.

We have seen, for example, the disastrous effects that the lack of a common asylum and immigration policy has had on our mutual relations, in particular vis-à-vis the refugee crisis. As for our cooperation in the fields of internal security against terrorism and international security, I am afraid that we are still lacking a vision on how to deal with Islam in Europe. FEPS has tackled this issue, but it seems to remain a taboo that no one wants to really discuss.

## Call for institutional reforms

It cannot be business as usual for the EU, as we did after the referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005. We cannot repeat the same mistakes. We cannot keep wasting our time postponing institutional reforms, because we think that there are other priorities. The European Commission and the European Parliament propose many legislative reforms, but they often fail to implement them because they lack the institutional instruments to do so. For instance, we have been talking for years about the necessity to introduce the Financial Transaction Tax. Why have we not managed to do it? Because there are institutional blocks that prevent us from introducing it. This idea is going to be at the core of our project "Rewriting the rules" that we are realising together with Nobel Prize Laureate Joseph Stiglitz. But these rules can't be simply economic rules. We shall also discuss the reform of the treaties, because there is an inescapable link between institutional reforms and implementation of our progressive goals.

What is more, our focus should be on the Eurozone, because to some extent these are the countries that coincide with the historical EU at 15. We shall concentrate on some form of enhanced cooperation between those member states that are ready to act without making mutual vetoes. And, for instance, we need an agreement on asylum and immigration among those countries that are willing to commit to it. And those who are not will be simply left out from the common resources necessary to implement such policies. I believe in the power of example and consider that the first area where this should be tested must be the economy. Without a stronger budget, without redistribution mechanisms, without a common debt policy, without a common fiscal policy, without a common investment programme (including public investments), without a common industrial policy, without facing together the question of competitiveness and, last but not least, without a common social dimension, the EU and we, as progressive Europeans, will not go that far.



# “FRANCE AND BREXIT”

## AN OPPORTUNITY FOR FRANCE TO TAKE ON EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP

by Amandine Crespy

For France and François Hollande, dealing with Brexit is a high risk, high opportunity game. A main objective widely shared across the French political class is to regain a leadership which has been continuously declining over the past decade.

**A** major source of concern in France is that Brexit could be a catalyst in bringing about a nationalist wave which could be hard to contain for the established elites. The leader of the Front National, Marine Le Pen, has made jubilant claims that a “Frexit” was no longer out of reach. She has promised to place a referendum on EU membership at the heart of her campaign for the presidential election next year; a pledge likely to widen the already powerful appeal of the far right within the French electorate. The referendum from 2005 is still, for many French people, an open wound. While a majority had voted against the European Constitutional Treaty,

pro-EU elites, under the Presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy, decided to ignore the verdict coming out of the polls, as the French Parliament then went ahead and ratified the greatly similar Lisbon Treaty. This remains the most flagrant denial of democracy in contemporary French political history.

Meanwhile, the French political class could barely be more divided. Although it has not yet been clearly articulated, on the radical left, Jean-Luc Mélenchon is advocating a strategy of civil disobedience, until a left wing French government forces radical reform, away from neoliberal policies. The French Socialist Party has still not recovered from the contentious campaign of 2005 where uncreative EU critics

faced uncreative EU reformers. The Conservatives, who currently have 15 candidates running in the primaries for the presidential election, all have different views on how to deal with the post-Brexit EU. Nicolas Sarkozy has recently called for a refoundation of Europe through a new Schengen and a new treaty, possibly submitted to a referendum.

We are also witnessing the resurgence of old anti-European and anti-British sentiments. While some see Paris profiling itself again as a significant financial district alongside the City, there has been much UK bashing, as well as claims that the French influence would benefit from Brexit, calls to suppress the EU Commission, and

even demands that the English language should no longer be an official language of the EU.

Yet, what Europe needs is not old style French chauvinism, but decisive and responsible leadership.

### LEADERSHIP VS STANDSTILL

With Britain out, and panic shaking the continent, France clearly has a responsibility to endorse constructive leadership. The disintegration of the EU could not only result from a contagion of Brexit to other countries, but also from a deadly standstill. In this regard, the talks at the meeting of the European Council in Brussels on 27 and 28 June have not been reassuring.

Yet again, the EU is under the threat of paralysis, torn between those



> ABOUT

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STRASBOURG, FRANCE - French press headlines covering the result of the British referendum.

who want to relaunch integration, with new projects able to convince European citizens that further integration is desirable, and those who see Brexit as a sign that, on the contrary, people want less Europe and that the EU should mute towards minimal forms of classical inter-state cooperation. Under these circumstances, will France be able to play a decisive role in salvaging EU integration? French elites strongly aspire to rebalance the French position vis-à-vis German hegemony, thus restoring the historic power and prestige lost with poor economic performance and erratic politics. There have been rumours that a small group of politicians and EU

high officials had been preparing a French-German plan for strengthening cooperation in the realm of security, including border control and the fight against terrorism. While such a plan could potentially include all 27 EU Member States, it remains to be seen whether it can be convincing enough to bring about a new political impetus for the EU. Also, it would require strong political skills for it not to be framed in terms of building a fortress Europe, to egoistically immunise its scared citizens from its harsh realities, and feeding rather than tackling the concerns associated with the amalgam of refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, Muslims, and terrorists. Whether it comes from a voluntarist

France, from a novel French-German relationship, or from new clusters across the continent, the EU is in desperate need of new leadership. Everything that resembles the status quo is just not an option and it can only be advocated by those who desire the end of the European Union. Meanwhile, two things are certain. If the EU does not profoundly reform itself and find a way out through convincing projects, it will not survive. If there was ever to be a referendum in the foreseeable future in France, it is very likely to be just as contentious, ugly and unpredictable as in Britain.



Read this article in its entirety on

[www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)

# BREXIT AND A DIVIDED COUNTRY

by Uta Staiger

There are plenty of lessons to take away from the UK's vote to leave the European Union. Some of them make for uncomfortable reading. But they must not be ignored – for both the UK and the EU's sake.

**T**he UK's vote to leave the European Union has stunned and perplexed in equal measure.

The reasons however were plentiful – and always in plain sight. Take the historical sense of unease in an island nation, which always regarded the concept of shared sovereignty with suspicion. Take its media, which had spent decades vigorously, if often post-factually, skewering European integration; its long-standing preference for economic liberalism, which sat uncomfortably with the EU's regulatory ambitions; its emotional tether to the Atlantic alliance and the Commonwealth. Take, too, a deeply flawed referendum campaign, in which one side proved incapable of explaining, let alone praising, the club whose membership it advo-

cated, while the other was more than cavalier with the truth.

But there is more. The referendum has thrown a glaring light on a deeply divided country. One of the most unequal societies in Europe, the UK is home to entire regions that have had no share in the benefits EU membership brought to the country as a whole. Deprivation, job insecurity, decreasing wages, and comparatively low levels of education mark out a very different Britain from the capital. In these regions, it was the pace of immigration that was often experienced as a threat – no matter how beneficial it was for national GDP. Add to this a long-standing sense of political disenfranchisement, perpetuated by a voting system that structurally disadvantages smaller parties, and you could be forgiven for thinking that the 'es-

tablishment' has had it coming all along. This holds true even as the spectrum of Leave voters stretched further, easily encompassing a significant part of said establishment.

The referendum exacerbated the divisions with an emotional immediacy rarely seen in electoral politics. From feelings of quasi-be-reavement among Remainers to the celebratory glee among Leavers – not to forget a notable rise in xenophobic abuse – this country has been all but stiff upper lip since the morning of 24 June. Partly, this is because referendums simply are blunt, conflict-enhancing political instruments. By nature, the choice is binary: there is no room for complexity in plebiscite politics. Also, as with most referendums, this too was fought on the back of second-order domestic factors, as

much as on the substantive matter at hand. In the event, that much is clear, voters withheld their confidence in the status quo.

The referendum certainly mobilised a significant swathe of the population that had previously opted out of politics altogether. Weeks later, Brexit is still the talk of the town. This is unprecedented – and cannot be ignored. Precisely because the Brexit vote may truly have been a Brexit revolt, attempts to overturn the result at this stage, whether via a second referendum or a parliamentary vote, are profoundly misguided. It would do away with the last shred of trust that still remains in the political system. It would entrench rather than overcome social divisions. Of course, a second vote on the final exit deal could be on the table, in particular if negotiations end up delivering an outcome that does not truly reflect the majority of voters' preferences. But Europe should not bank on it.

Rather, the UK government and the EU27 would do well to take heed. The vote has thrown down the gauntlet to the way we have been doing things. First, continue to obviate the political costs of allowing inequality, disenfranchisement and naked anger to fester at your peril.



| LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM - Thousands march against the Brexit vote in London.

Theresa May's new cabinet may find this a difficult path, as it seeks to reconcile libertarians aspiring to unfettered global trade with those who seek to reign in globalisation's socio-economic consequences. But all over Europe, and all over ideological left-right divides, the root causes of social discontent following the post-war welfare state's demise need to be addressed. This is particularly so, second, as the ever looser links between interests and the organisations traditionally representing them contribute, in a variety of permutations across Europe, to an increasingly volatile politics. Populism may put centrist governments in a tight spot. Distrusting those we elect to act on our behalf, questioning not just the outputs but also the process itself, heralds a crisis of representative democracy.

This, third, has consequences for the EU as a whole. Citizens' trust in both the Union's legitimacy and its capacity to act is at an historic low. Member States will need to balance policy coordination at EU level with disillusionment at the domestic one. With little appetite for further integration, we are heading towards an ever more intergovernmental EU, in which Member States, rather than Commission or Parliament, will set the agenda. Brexit is unlikely to spell the end of the EU, or the UK for that matter. The vote has exposed, not generated the multiple crises Europe faces. But on both sides of the channel, political institutions will be pressured to redefine their sense of purpose – and their modus operandi. It may just be the new normal.

“THE VOTE HAS EXPOSED, NOT GENERATED THE MULTIPLE CRISES EUROPE FACES.”



> ABOUT  
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**JOURNEY INTO THE UNKNOWN...**

# A NEW EFTA-EU RELATIONSHIP POST-BREXIT?

by Nat O'Connor

Trying to imagine a “perfect” agreement for the UK to enjoy a stable, friendly and mutually beneficial trading relationship with the EU is problematic. A better solution would be to envisage this future relationship as an ongoing process, rather than a final agreement or compact. The best candidate for this process would be a new relationship between the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the EU, based on respectful ongoing dialogue on the best way to organise trade with the EU’s neighbourhood. This would involve strengthening the EFTA into something more than it is today. If done right, such a process could provide the EU with a valuable mechanism for trading and co-operating with its close neighbours.

**T**oday, the UK is still in the EU, and in many likely future scenarios the UK will continue to have a close and amicable working relationship with the EU. It is certainly in Ireland's best interest to use whatever influence it has within the EU to help bring this about.

One major problem is the uncertainty about the details of that future arrangement, and the worry that there might be a period of years where the UK is completely outside the EU—i.e. operating according to WTO trade rules, tariffs and all. This would impose restrictions on Irish citizens' ability to work and live seamlessly in the UK, which has been taken for granted as part of the informal Common Travel Area since Ireland's independence.

Once the UK-EU relationship is stabilised again, most people seem to be contemplating one of four outcomes, most of which are conceived of as agreements or settlements that would result from years of negotiations: **1** - the EFTA-EEA option; **2** - the WTO option; **3** - remaining

in the EU after all, with or without special concessions; and **4** - some kind of new arrangement where the UK is able to trade freely with the EU but gains all sort of concessions. The fourth option is implausible, as the EU is not going to give the UK all the benefits of EU membership without also giving it most of the obligations and its share of costs. The third option looks like wishful thinking from some who are still struggling to come to terms with the referendum result. The UK would be allowed—and indeed welcomed by many—to stay in the EU, but irreversible damage has been done that will take time to repair. And the unhappiness of so many people in the UK, especially in its poorest regions, has been exposed to full view. Regardless of everything else, both the UK and the EU must recognise the need for much more socially-caring economic policies if they are to redress the inequalities that have been brought to the fore. The second option is dreadful for Ireland, because all trade between Ireland and the UK would be subject to tariffs, with no exemptions permitted for Ireland, as the EU is treated as a whole under these rules. It would not be good for the UK

either, as it is a trading economy that relies on having favourable access to its markets. The first option is the one being explored here, which is for the UK to re-join the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and to possibly trade with the EU under the European Economic Area agreement (EEA). There are different possible versions of this outcome. In version 1.1, the "Norway" model means that the UK joins the EEA and trades in exactly the same way as Norway, Iceland and Lichtenstein. However, that means free movement of people, and it also means that the UK would have to implement EU rules without having a seat at the table, when EU member states agree those rules. Unquestionably, this would be a worse position than EU membership from the perspective of many who voted for the UK to leave the EU. In version 1.2, the "Swiss" model means that the UK becomes a member of the EFTA but is not a member of the EEA. Instead, a broadly similar trading arrangement is agreed with some special opt-outs or exceptions. However, recent signals suggest that Switzerland will be put under pressure to accept free movement of people

if it wants to keep free trade, rather than allow an exception of this nature for the UK.

Nonetheless, some kind of hybrid EFTA arrangement—call it version 1.3—that represents a unique compromise between the UK and the EU seems the most plausible outcome. But this isn't the real answer either. Having brought the argument this far, a deep problem is exposed with the focus on achieving any kind of agreement, as if such an agreement could be set in stone. The UK must change on foot of the deep social divisions that have been exposed. The EU must change as similar social and economic divisions are rife across Europe, and are fuelling nationalist political projects that threaten the union's future. Both must change over time for countless reasons. How can there be a stable agreement between the UK and EU when both sides are moving targets? Even if such a mammoth document could be negotiated—and it would take years—future changes could put that agreement under pressure if one side wanted to change its policies in a way that imposed major changes on the trade agreement.

 Read the article in its entirety on [www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)



#### > ABOUT

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# BREXIT WILL NOT BE THE END OF THE EUROPEAN PROJECT, BUT EUROPEAN LEADERS MUST UNDERSTAND ITS MESSAGE

by Víctor Negrescu

The moment when the last ballots were counted, and revealed that the “Leave” camp in the British referendum had won, is still a vivid recollection. Not least because few had dared to actually consider the direct institutional, political, economic and sentimental repercussions of this divide. In an ironic twist of mood, recent events show that even the most prominent Brexiters were caught unaware by the sheer size of the turmoil that awaits them. The stark reality of Great Britain leaving the European Union is vivid because, on the one hand, I cannot imagine European history and culture without the contribution of the United Kingdom, and, on the other hand, I strongly believe that the future of all our societies remains one which can only be built together.

It is nevertheless tragic that a political move, which had more to deal with internal party strife and economic arguments, became what we had always feared it would become: an excuse for scapegoating immigrants as the cause of all our distress and misery. This happens while it is obvious that the economic models of austerity and unhampered neoliberalism were the ones that led many Europeans and many British citizens down

this path of misery and despair. The future prospects seem, at a first glance, bleak for all the protagonists. It is clear, for almost all informed observers, that Britain would find it very hard to prosper outside the EU. The negotiations on withdrawal will be undoubtedly a painstaking mixture of diplomatic struggle, economic acumen and dogged determination on all sides, and the two year interval many have alluded to seems like a very optimistic timeframe.

In the meantime, I cannot ignore the fact that there are millions of European citizens whose lives have

been thrown into turmoil. I am very disappointed by the cowardly and deceitful reactions of the Brexit leaders. There are millions of European citizens of all nations working and contributing to the prosperity of the United Kingdom, whose futures are mired under clouds of uncertainty. There are numerous Romanians among them.

In my position, as a Member of the European Parliament, as a social-democrat and as a citizen of the European Union, I will strive to ensure that the rights of these people, who bear no fault for a radically incensed campaign, will

be observed in any form of political and institutional arrangement pending the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. At the same time, I believe that in spite of the dark days we have witnessed, there are still reasons to hope and to look forward to the future – if we all understand this lesson. The story of the European project has not always been one of victories, achievements and progress. There have been setbacks. There have always been crises, and each time the European Project has emerged stronger and with a renewed sense of its own mission.



**LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM** - According to polling data from YouGov, 75% of 18- to 24-year-olds voted to remain in the European Union.

The shock of the first withdrawal from the European Union is undoubtedly a strong one. It is probably comparable to France's withdrawal from NATO's command structure at the height of the Cold War.

But the present days are also an opportunity. Not to blindly plead for more or for less Europe, but to build policies and institutions which are not only transparent, but also efficient. We should build these policies and institutions so that they are capable of convincing all European citizens that the European Project delivers on their expectations and hopes.

This is the chance for all EU

member states to reconsider the priorities behind their policies. This is the best opportunity for EU institutions to understand that people see them as too opaque and too detached from their daily struggle. This is the time for the political class – national and European – to acknowledge its failure and start building real solutions for people's real problems.

The same inequality and lack of opportunity are felt all across the EU. A nurse, a construction worker or a student in Romania or Poland do not feel they have access to the same opportunities as their counterparts in France or the United

Kingdom; but, as the results of the referendum vote showed us, a citizen of Yorkshire also feels less advantaged than one from London. And yet, one of the purposes of the European Union is to encourage solidarity and economic cohesion across all its territory, achieving lasting improvements in the economy and quality of life for everybody. This is what needs to be done in the future and I believe projects encouraging a two-speed European Union will only further hurt our common goal.

 Read the article in its entirety on [www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)



#### > ABOUT

**Víctor Negrescu** is an S&D Member of the European Parliament from Romania.



| LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM - British citizens protest in Trafalgar Square against the referendum results.

# ERASING FEAR: PROTECTING SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION

by Filippo Taddei

The decision undertaken by British voters to leave the European Union will soon produce effects very different from those that appear today. In the near future, this decision will have a greater impact on the political and cultural identity of the European Union, than it will on the Euro economy. I am not sure yet whether we will be able to say the same regarding the British economy.



> ABOUT

Filippo Taddei is the Economic and Labour Affairs Secretary of the Partito Democratico in Italy.

that the European Socialists and Democrats, more than anyone else, have to erase: it concerns fear, and fear destroys the protection of solidarity and cooperation.

The European challenge is thus clear: to make this failure – Brexit – “the opportunity more intelligently to begin again”, to paraphrase Henry Ford. To do this, European integration has to respond to two demands. Firstly, how can we make European institutions and governments more effective in responding to the different systemic challenges, as soon as they arise? Secondly, how can we make sure that, whatever response is undertaken, there is a strong sense of political ownership spread across European citizens, and not just European governments?

The answer to both questions depends on our ability to enhance coordination and cooperation between European governments that belong to the Euro Zone. We seem to forget that the adoption of the Euro sparked an irreversible political progress. There is no point in questioning the consistency and adequacy of the process that led us here. We lack time and we have to present prompt European responses to the systemic challenges. If we look at the management of the financial crisis of 2008-09 that led to the economic crisis of 2011, Europe did not lack ideas, it lacked resolution and coordination. European institutions and national governments alike ended up adopting effective responses to the calls of the crisis. From quantitative easing to a vast array of structural reforms, many of which are still in progress, the problem has never been the nature of our measures but rather the timing.

The delay of these responses ended up reducing their effectiveness, postponed the economic recovery and hampered job creation. Lack of jobs is a failure of the European promise.

Some Europeans respond to the shortcomings highlighted above by a rule-based approach. Rules, after all, are a coordination device and, if quick coordination is missing, this approach could foster prompter responses. There is certainly some consistency in this perspective, but there is a major drawback if we look at the origins of the European rule system.

The rule system that we have designed and approved within the European Union has been thought to manage the process of integration during tranquil times. It is not well equipped to face deep shock with systemic impact. At such a time, a rigid application of pre-established rules may be detrimental to the objective of the enhanced coordination necessary for an effective policy response.

*“The volatility triggered by Brexit is providing an additional, and possibly final, opportunity to revert the involution of European politics. We should never forget that the early promise of the European Union was not only peace. It was peace as the premise for prosperity.”*

We had guaranteed peace and prosperity until the technological transformation begun in the late 90s. That transformation has challenged the basis of the European socio-economic model. The economic crisis has only reminded us that we were faltering in front of this challenge. Let us take the opportunity of the British referendum as the last warning to overcome the shortcomings of an uncertain European integration.

In my opinion, the reason is simple and powerful at the same time. The project of European integration is built on the following assumption: fostering economic integration is quintessential to increasing political integration. The main pillar for the advancement of economic integration is the monetary union. Countries, like the United Kingdom, that stated their determination not to become part of the monetary union, have foregone their right to be a major player in the path towards increasingly stronger economic and political integration across European Countries.

Obviously this British decision took place well before the referendum and it has always been, in my opinion, the most important limit to the influence of Britain on European institutions. This influence, whenever it was felt beyond national interest, was always exerted to steer the EU in the direction of an open society. Although lately the British push in this direction has wavered, the outcome of the referendum may weaken the European commitment towards this open society. This is the major risk of the British referendum. It is a risk



| LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM - Students carrying posters outlining anxieties over the future, in front of the Houses of Parliament.

# REFLECTIONS ON BREXIT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

by Jernej Pikalo

The outcome of the UK vote on its membership of the European Union is sobering and worrying at the same time. It took many by surprise. It confirmed the potency of populist national politics on the one hand and, on the other hand, it highlighted the inability of the European political elites to deal with the populist arguments and to reform the democratic structures of the European political system. It showed that the main political cleavage has shifted from historical left-right to the not-so-new establishment–anti-establishment.

ments, but rather by sentiments of national opposition to European integration and anti-immigrant rhetoric. Sentiments of regained national sovereignty also featured prominently. In a nutshell, it was a potent mixture of nationalism and a longing for certainty and security that led so many people to vote for Brexit.

Europeans are increasingly worried about their future. The future seems less and less certain, a far cry from the Europe of hope and prosperity of the last half century. After the economic crisis in the last decade and the neoliberal measures applied by the national governments and European institutions, people are simply worse off than they used to be and that worries them. They distrust political processes as such, as they have seen too many times that established political parties in power have taken measures in the interest of the capital and against their own people. This meant less

solidarity among people and the states, and more questions on whom to rely on in times of hardship. Social democratic parties that had traditionally been successful with answers to such questions, have been in the last decade unable

to come up with coherent and convincing arguments to people's concerns about their security. Not just physical safety, but security in the broadest sense of the word: social, human security, including certainty of the future. While the Right has addressed the concerns

of the citizenry by emphasising physical security by law and order, closing of the borders, restrictions on movements of people, etc., the Left has struggled to explain its position to this day. This is one of the main reasons why populism, with its oversimplified explanations and solutions, is gaining so much support across Europe.

Brexit has shown that the European Union is in serious need of rethinking its way of doing politics, the contents of the politics and its institutional design. For the peripheral and core states alike, the EU meant more than just an addition or superstructure to their national politics – it meant new quality, new never seen before political, economic, social and cultural solutions that added to the quality of people's lives, in a way national solutions were unable to. Today the EU is increasingly second best choice to national politics.

*“As strange as it sounds in the age of globalisation, the national feeling of being on ‘its own’ has surpassed the supranational ‘common’ feeling in many polities of the EU. Populists are arguing for the renationalisation of the EU powers to national politics to defend ‘its own’ (which, of course, does not include the immigrants). That is why one of the greatest challenges in the ‘EU rethink’ will be how to make the EU and its politics attractive and trustworthy again.”*

In times when citizens are increasingly disaffected with how politics is done at home and in Brussels, this is a major task and an important step in the building of the new EU political structure. For states like Slovenia, it is of strategic importance to remain

at the core of the European project. One of the least desirable consequences of Brexit and EU restructuring would be the EU of “several speeds”, “several co-centric circles”, of “core and periphery”, etc. Such post-referendum solutions would add further differences to already established ones, and would not be cohesive for Europe, where some would feel second-class and disadvantaged. Slovenian political leaders have in their first reactions to Brexit emphasised the need for a stronger Europe, where a deepening of relations would not happen just in some areas and in some policies. Whether the future EU is a “closer Union” (i.e. deepening) or a “better Union” (more effective within the same institutional framework) remains to be seen. As it looks now, it needs a new vision, the trust of its citizenry and an institutional framework that would be more adept to answer the challenges of post-modern democratic life.

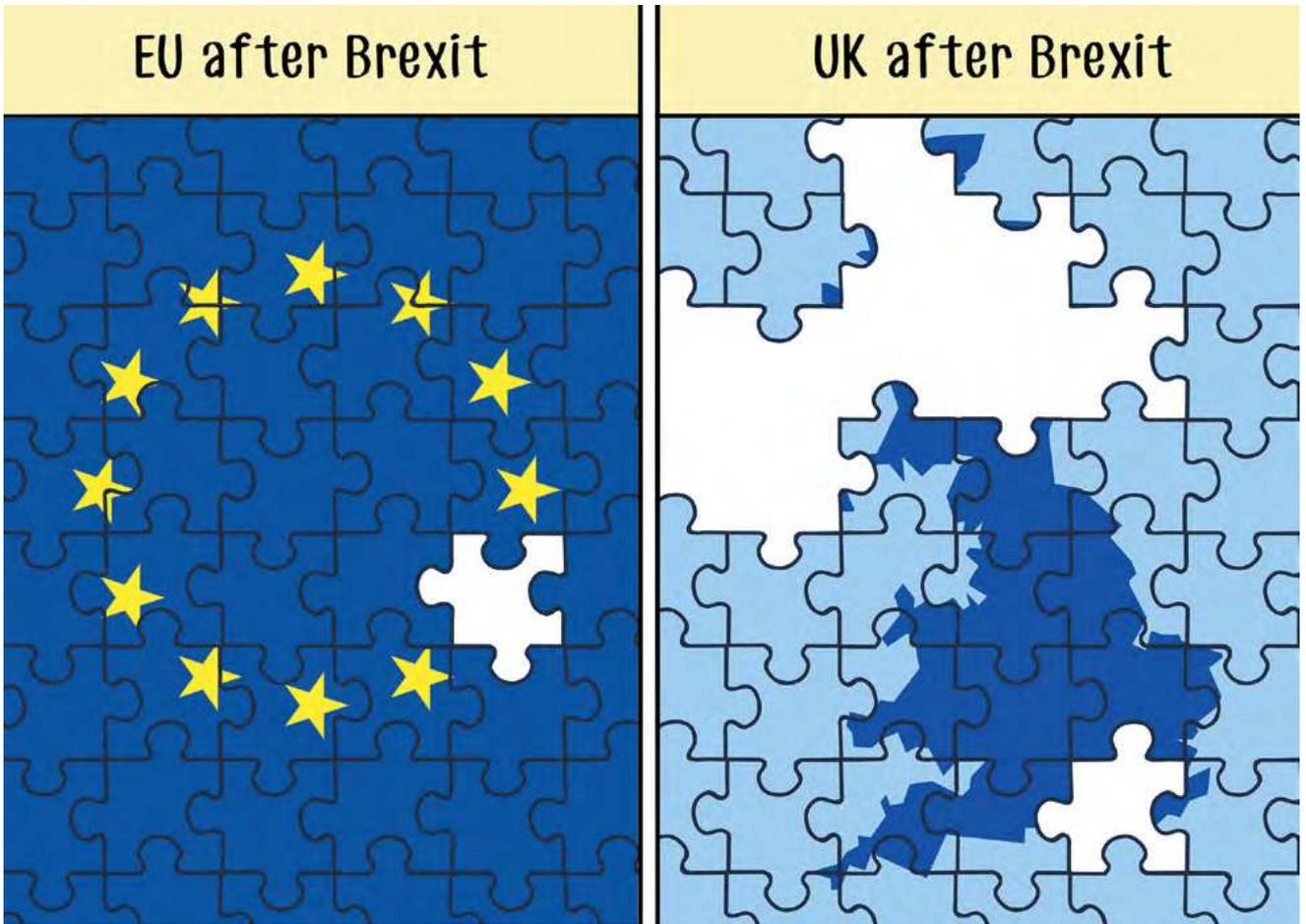
**P**olitics in Europe is being restructured due to populist forces on both sides of the old political spectrum.

Although ideas of left and right populism differ, they both feed on the same anti-establishment sentiment and depoliticisation discourse. UK citizens are distrustful about the ability of the established political elites, at home and in Brussels, to deal with what they see as the biggest threat to their livelihood - migrants taking away “their” jobs, “their” social security provisions, and “their” established way of living. Several post-Brexit analyses have shown that the people in the UK voting for Brexit were convinced not by the argu-



#### > ABOUT

**Jernej Pikalo** is a lecturer at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.



# OPPORTUNITIES FOR REFORMING EU COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE

by Arne Lietz

**A**t first sight, it seems obvious that the EU would be weakened as an international player as a result of “Brexit”. Great Britain is a key player in EU foreign policy thanks to its size, economic performance and military strength. It has also positively served a transatlantic bridge between North America and Europe. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it can speak on behalf of the Union at the United Nations. Furthermore, Great Britain is a progressive force in climate diplomacy and development cooperation: it is the second largest donor of development aid after the United States and the only country in the world that has introduced legislation committing to spend 0.7% of its GNI on development aid.

Nevertheless, Brexit also provides an opportunity to strengthen the EU as a foreign policy actor, as it would make a reform of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) more likely. It is in this policy area that British

Governments have consistently blocked any initiatives aimed at furthering integration in the past. Now former UK Prime Minister, David Cameron expressed his country’s outright opposition to a stronger European foreign policy after striking a deal with the EU, which he hoped would convince his fellow citizens that Great Britain should stay in the EU. Likewise, we have established once and for all in international law that Britain’s national security is the sole responsibility of the British government – so, for instance, we will never be part of a European army. Several strategy and position papers, which I will briefly present below, discuss the consequences of a possible Brexit with regards to the EU’s security and defence policy.

► **GREEN LIGHT FOR AN INTEGRATED EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY**

Just a few days after the Brexit referendum, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy presented a “Global Strategy” to the EU Heads of State and Government. The paper is Federica Mogherini’s response to the “existential crisis of the EU”. The crisis has been worsened by the decision of the British citizens to leave the European Union, while also representing an opportunity for the EU to reform the CFSP and CSDP. The High Representative calls for a “strong Union (...) that thinks strategically, shares a vision and acts together.” Those EU member states that used to hide behind or emulate the UK’s anti-integration stance in the Eu-

ropean Council now have to take a clear position. When doing so, they should take into account that

*“Europe’s citizens are largely in favour of a truly European foreign policy. According to a Eurobarometer poll from June 2016, half of them would like the EU to intervene more than it currently does.”*

66% are in favour of a bigger role for the EU in the field of security and defence. Consequently, we should use the possible exit of Great Britain from the EU to reform and strengthen the Common Security and Defence Policy.

► **CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR REFORMING THE CFSP AND CSDP**

In the joint paper titled “Founding Europe again” the president of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, and the president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), Sigmar Gabriel, call for a deeper integration in European foreign policy. Another joint paper by the foreign ministers of Germany and France, Frank-Walter Steinmeier and Jean-Marc Ayrault, which is titled “A strong Europe in an insecure World”, goes in the same direction, giving numerous concrete examples to illustrate what a reformed CFSP/CSDP could look like. As such, Steinmeier and Ayrault propose that the EU develop a common analysis of its strategic environment and a common understanding of its security interests, while highlighting that there are different levels of ambition among the member states. As a consequence, more ambitious member states should be free to develop a more integrated foreign and security policy that makes use of all available means.



► **ABOUT**  
**Arne Lietz** is an S&D Member of the European Parliament from Germany.

► **INSTITUTIONAL CONSEQUENCES**

The aforementioned reform proposals should go hand in hand with an institutional strengthening of CFSP/CSDP. I support the proposition of the German and French foreign ministers that the European Council and the Council of Ministers should focus exclusively on security and defence at least twice per year. This proposal has also already been called for in the SPD position paper mentioned before. I think it makes sense to put this idea on the agenda once again in the context of a possible Brexit.

To achieve this upgrade of the European Parliament, a change of the EU Treaties is needed, which requires an agreement among all EU member states. It is not clear that Great Britain’s exit from the EU would clear the way for such a step, but it would at least weaken the group of countries that has been opposing any integration in the field of CSDP in the past.

 Read the article in its entirety on [www.progressivepost.eu](http://www.progressivepost.eu)

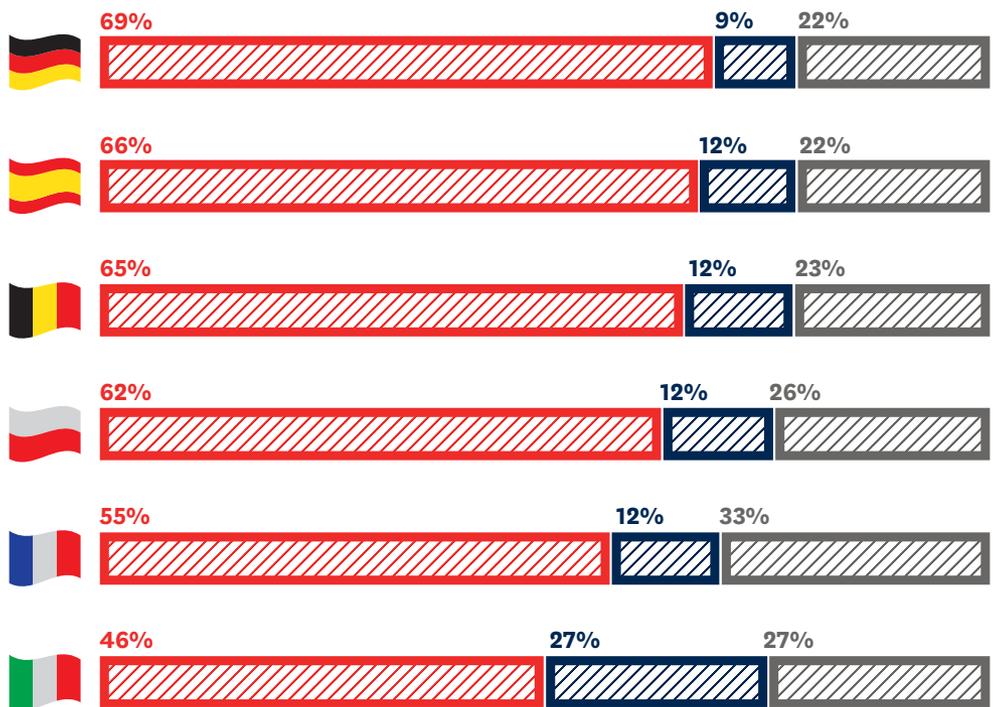
# EUROPEANS AND BREXIT

Opinion Poll conducted by FEPS and the Jean Jaurès Foundation



**O**n January 23, 2013, Britain's Prime Minister, David Cameron, sensationally announced that the United Kingdom would be holding a referendum on its membership of the European Union. That announcement became reality last June 23, and, with almost 52% of the votes, the Leave camp won the day. The British have decided to separate from the European Union. The situation is unprecedented and the consequences uncertain. Across Europe, the media, experts and politicians of all persuasions are concerned about the potential fallout from this exit, whether from the economic, geopolitical or institutional point of view. And while Brexit is of great interest to Europe's leaders, it is also of great interest to citizens in Europe.

DO YOU THINK IN THE FOLLOWING MONTHS AND YEARS, THE BRITISH ECONOMY... ?



Results as of July 2016, % of studied population

■ Will be weakened by the decision to leave the EU
 ■ Will be strengthened by the decision to leave the EU
 ■ Will be neither strengthened nor weakened by the decision to leave the EU

What are their reactions? Illustrated through a series of opinion polls, Jérôme Fourquet sums this up in an article entitled "Europeans and Brexit". To begin, he points out that public opinion in

Europe “seems highly contrasted” and attributes this situation to the uncertainty mentioned above. He observes that in countries where pro-European sentiment runs high, the predominant reaction is incomprehension (in Germany, for instance). Conversely, in the more Eurosceptic countries and in countries with fragile economies, the predominant feeling is one of understanding (for example, in France). Elsewhere, the prevailing sentiment is concern.

As for the impact of Brexit on the British economy, the vast majority of Europeans are sceptical. They feel there is a danger that this decision will weaken the United Kingdom. According to Fourquet, “the patriots have [thus] lost the battle for public opinion”. Remarkably, one of the more curious consequences of the victory of the Leave campaign is that many other people now see greater benefits in belonging to the EU. For instance, 80% of Germans and 70% of French take a positive view of their belonging to the EU, compared with just 62% and 57% respectively two years ago. This substantial upswing in public opinion regarding the benefits of Europe concerns all political parties in both countries (including the AfD – Alternative für Deutschland), with the exception of France’s Front National. However, public opinion in Italy seems to be the exception in Europe. In Fourquet’s view, this reaction can be ascribed to the migrant crisis – which is affecting Italy more than other countries – and to the budgetary concessions made to Brussels in recent decades.

Fourquet demonstrates that the corollary of this upturn in the

## A MAJORITY OF THE BRITISH PUBLIC VOTED IN FAVOUR FOR THE EXIT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION. PERSONALLY, HOW DID YOU FEEL AFTER THIS DECISION?

	FRENCH	GERMANS	ITALIANS	SPANISH	BELGIANS	POLES
Understand why	23	15	26	14	18	18
Do not understand why	22	45	18	20	31	19
Indifferent	17	9	9	17	12	16
Concern	16	17	17	28	22	31
Enthusiasm	10	4	9	4	6	2
Sadness	8	7	14	14	8	11
Anger	4	3	7	3	3	3

*Results as of July 2016, % of studied population*

feeling of belonging to Europe is the increasing hostility towards the organising of a referendum on whether or not to keep their country in the EU. For instance, while 54% of French and Italians are against the idea, the proportion is 59% in Germany, 65% in Belgium, 66% in Spain and even 67% in Poland. So at least for the moment, the idea of a domino effect seems out of the question, but with the UK serving as a case study, that situation could potentially change if its economy were to pick up.

In this context, public opinion everywhere seems little inclined to make any concessions to the British. A majority of Germans, French and Spaniards expect an intransigent stance on demands from the UK (in addition to a relative majority in Italy and Belgium). Only

in Poland is public opinion more inclined to take a conciliatory stance on Britain (70% want the EU to be “quite” or “very” conciliatory). Fourquet further observes that opinions vary by age category. Young people, who are less enthusiastic about the EU than their elders, are less intransigent than the latter. Likewise, the expectation of firmness with the UK is highest in the historically more pro-European political families (including over 70% of UDI and Modem sympathisers).

Finally, Brexit could bring the enlargement process to a halt. Back in 2004, 30% of the French, 37% of the Germans, 67% of the Italians and 78% of the Spaniards were in favour of Turkey joining the EU; those figures are now 13%, 12%, 46% and 34% respectively.

In addition to this reversal, public opinion in Europe is quite strongly against more recent candidates joining (for example, only 30% of French, Belgian and German respondents are in favour of Ukraine joining the EU). The case of the Balkan countries is more complex. In the founding countries, public opinion is very much against them joining the Union, whereas in Poland and Spain, public opinion is much better disposed towards the Balkan countries. In view of all these considerations, Fourquet warns against an enlargement process that would be contrary to public opinion (such as the case of Turkey) as this could jeopardise citizens’ trust in the EU and its institutions.

 Read the entirety of this analysis or full survey at [www.feps-europe.eu](http://www.feps-europe.eu)

## ONES TO WATCH

## ROBERT BIEDRON

Robert Biedroń shakes up most stereotypes one would have about Poland and its politicians. Born in the city of Rymanów, Mr. Biedroń has been active in politics since the early 2000s. His electoral victory in the October 2011 parliamentary elections meant that he was the first openly gay member of the Sejm (lower house of the Polish Parliament). Being victim to homophobic attacks during his tenure did not stop him from also breaking the record as the first openly gay mayor in Poland. Earning 57% of the vote in 2014, he became mayor of the city of Stupsk, and still holds the post to this day.



— **When did your interest in politics begin? Was it something ever-present since your youth?**

**ROBERT BIEDROŃ:** I must say, it was not just an interest in politics, it was an interest in society and solving its issues. Since I can remember, I was involved in school and local causes; I collected money for the Polish Medical System as a young volunteer. There was a no motivation from a specific person in my activities; I was just motivated by the willingness to change the world and fix the problems around me, that's why I started getting involved in politics. Politics was a consequence of these kinds of activities. I knew politicians had the power and tools to change the world – and I understood that if I wanted to be effective I needed to engage in politics, and so I did.

— **What prompted you to start a political career?**

**RB:** I think undoubtedly, personal experiences. I thought that as an atheist and openly gay person, I would not have an easy life in conservative Poland. I did not agree with many things that I saw happening around me, and thought that if I wanted to live in a better country – in a more open, tolerant, and diverse Poland – I had to engage. This prompted me to start a political career. I was looking for a political party, which was close to my political beliefs, and I found the Social Democrats and got engaged in the Social Democrat movement.

— **What was it like serving as an openly gay member in the Polish Parliament (the Sejm)?**

**RB:** Well, it was natural for me, because I was working. It was very hard for me, because people were constantly judging and insinuating that the only reason why I was

elected and in the parliament, was because I was gay. I did not think this was fair, and had to prove all the time that I was capable and deserved to be a member of the parliament. I know that unfortunately, this is a similar struggle sometimes with female politicians, who have to constantly prove their capabilities in the political sphere. I worked much harder than my straight colleagues, to prove that I had the knowledge, energy, and experience, alongside a willingness to engage. Unfortunately, this is a reality for many marginalized people in our society.

— **What was it like being the victim of homophobic aggression several times since your election to the Sejm?**

**RB:** To put it mildly, it was not easy. There were no other members of parliament that were being beaten up or who were victims of physical aggression. I faced not only psychological aggression and hate

speech – I was beaten up and spat at, it was not an easy time but I knew I had to survive and persevere, especially if I wanted people to get used to the presence of LGBTQI people in the public space. If we want to change people's minds, people have to meet us, touch us, look at us, to see that we are indeed, part of this society.

— **How has your experience in the Sejm been different than that in the mayoral office?**

**RB:** The Sejm was less practical. Being a mayor is a practical job; you have decisions to make about the holes on the road, to revitalization of streets and neighbourhoods to the building of schools. I have to say that being a member of parliament was more theoretical. While we make decisions in the parliament, we don't see the immediate impact of our decisions on people. While I enjoyed being Member of Parliament, I enjoy being involved in local government, which I find closer to the people.

HISTORY



| BRUSSELS, BELGIUM - Martin Schultz and Jean-Claude Juncker at the European Commission

# EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY NEEDS “SPITZENKANDIDATEN” IN THE 2019 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

by Jo Leinen

Members of the European Parliament usually don't vote according to their nationality, but according to the line of their respective political groups. This transnational competition between different political visions and ideas has not been presented to the electorate during the campaigns for European elections. The gap between the supranational functioning of the European Parliament and the public debate on Europe is often stuck in national silos and can only be overcome by the empowerment of European Political Parties – the natural actors who can Europeanise political debates. I am convinced that in the medium term, European Parties do not only need more resources, but, even more importantly, they need to have the opportunity to compete for mandates. Thus, they can evolve and become more than umbrella organisations for the national parties. The introduction of transnational lists for European elections, will require

hard work in the next upcoming years, but would mean that part of the European Parliament's seats won't be distributed through national contingents, as they would be distributed directly on the European level.

The nomination of European “Spitzenkandidaten” or “lead candidates” by the European Parties is another option to strengthen the European dimension of the European elections and to make them more democratic and transparent. Under the framework of the Lisbon-Treaty the

European Parliament elects the President of the European Commission, instead of only giving its consent to the European Council's choice, as it had been

*“European Parties still lack visibility, but because of their lead candidates many citizens made first contact with them. While the 2014 elections were a test-run, setting a precedent, the 2019 elections could mark the final breakthrough.”*

before. This stronger role of the European Parliament opens the door to align European democracy with the common democratic practice in the Member States. If on the European level candidates have to present themselves to the electorate during the election campaign and fight for a majority in the Parliament to become Commission President, it is in fact voters who are deciding who shall lead the EU's executive – instead of 28 Heads of State behind closed doors in the European Council. In 2014, the Spitzenkandidaten initiative was experimental, perhaps explaining its imperfect nature. For example, due to the opposition of some Heads of Government to this new modus operandi, too much attention in the media was given to the inter-institutional battle, at the expense of the political battle between the candidates.

Despite its imperfections, however, the initiative can be regarded

as a great success. For the first time, an election campaign for the European elections had personalities, which campaigned across the European Union and presented their programmes to the electorate. For the first time, European citizens knew before the elections, which party supported which candidate. And, for the first time, the people could watch televised debates between the candidates, making the European Union less abstract and more tangible.

The media, citizens, and European Parties themselves will get accustomed to the new practice. Increased media coverage and improved nomination procedures with intra-party competition will lead to higher interest among voters. European lead candidates cannot replace a necessary reform of the rules governing the European elections, but considering the lack of political will among national governments for a comprehensive improvement of the European electoral law, they are the best way to make the European elections more transparent and more European.

Not all national governments have come to terms with the fact that the election of the Commission President is something to be transferred to elected representatives in the European Parliament. For that reason, European Parties and political groups in the European Parliament have to

make it clear, in an early stage ahead of the elections, that there will be no falling back into old times and habits. European Parties, as main actors, have to be prepared well. National member parties should be involved and take ownership of the procedure. Just as the European Union cannot function without the support of its Member States, the success of European lead candidates depends primarily on the support they enjoy among the national parties.



#### > ABOUT

Jo Leinen is an S&D Member of the European Parliament from Germany.

# BUSINESS, BUT FOR PEOPLE!

by Peter Hunt

Business is the engine that creates the wealth upon which the progress of society is built. Yet in recent years we have seen the erosion of trust in corporations and the polarisation of the interests of ordinary citizens from the businesses for whom they work and with whom they trade.

**T**he rich have increased their share of wealth whilst global corporations have begun to behave as sovereign nations, but in the interest of their shareholders. At the same time austerity has affected working people most, with a whole new generation of young people facing greater challenges than ever before.

The way the economy is organised, how business operates, and ultimately how wealth is shared among people, is crucial to rebuilding trust with the electorate. Business needs to be trusted by its customers, to respect its workers, and to follow a purpose that serves the common good rather than private interests. Progressives need to be

able to present a positive vision of an economy that works for ordinary people.

In the middle 20<sup>th</sup> century, social democrats turned to the state for economic and social solutions; the subsequent swing to privatisation and marketisation left little response from the left. Too often, progressives offer only an alternative, albeit kinder, management of the same economic systems that are seen to have failed. The only radical alternatives being discussed on the left are throwbacks to an equally discredited state-controlled past.

We cannot offer a binary choice between government control or support for a free market. We need to find a policy narrative that connects with and inspires voters



©stefanolunardi

**STRASBOURG, FRANCE** - This bicycle shop in old town Strasbourg, is an example of a successful small business cooperative.

by aligning the recognisable social democratic political values of fairness and democracy with a new political plan for organising our economy and society.

A business policy that promotes the interests of citizens before capital could do this. In many EU countries, the history of cooperative and mutual business is interwoven with progressive movements. Many trade unions and socialist societies originally founded these organisations to provide services to their members. The size and scope of the cooperative business sector across the EU is already impressive. From the food we eat to the homes we

live in, our places of work and relaxation, our healthcare, financial well-being and energy providers, cooperatives are an intrinsic part of the lives of our people.

More than one in five of our citizens is a member of a coop – twice as many people as those who own shares in listed firms. Nearly five million people work in cooperatives, and these people's businesses collectively have earnings in excess of several billion Euros each year.

A progressive plan for business exists and is possible to grow. It should include a policy agenda that promotes and nurtures customer and employee ownership

of business through cooperatives and mutuals. This could help to develop strong progressive and populist policies that can work for many social democratic and labour parties in the EU.

These *People's* businesses :

- Work in the interests of their customers
- Share widely the rewards of enterprise
- Actively engage and involve their workers

It is the Progressive movement who can truly understand them, therefore value, embrace and encourage policies for them.



#### > ABOUT

**Peter Hunt** is Managing Partner and Founder of Mutuo, the leading advocate for co-operative and mutual businesses. Prior to that, for ten years he was the General Secretary of the Co-operative Party.

# THE PROGRESSIVE CONSUMPTION TAX: FISCAL MAGIC?

by Robert H. Frank

When all stand to get a better view at a concert or sporting event, none sees any better than if all had remained comfortably seated. Many forms of consumption spending are wasteful in analogous ways. Families spend more on their daughter's wedding in the hope of staging a celebration that guests will remember as special. But special is a relative concept. When all families spend more, the standards that define special merely escalate. The good news is that a simple change in tax policy could eliminate this form of waste.

**H**ow much do parents feel they need to spend on their daughter's wedding? They want guests to remember it as a special occasion, but "special" is a relative concept. Standards differ from place to place and from era to era. In 1980, the cost of an average American wedding, adjusted for inflation, was \$11,000; a princely sum in most parts of the world even today. But by 2014, that figure had escalated to \$30,000, and in Manhattan the average wedding now costs more than \$76,000. Why are people spending so much more? The short answer is that rising income and wealth inequality have sharply raised the bar that defines "special." There is no evidence that higher wedding costs have made marrying couples any happier. On the contrary, increased expenditures on weddings actually appear to increase the likelihood of divorce, they are almost purely wasteful. The good news is that a simple change in tax policy could free

up a large share of the resources currently being wasted in similar ways. Specifically, we could scrap the current progressive income tax in favour of a much steeper progressive tax on each household's consumption. Families would continue to report their taxable income and also their annual savings, as many now do for tax-exempt retirement accounts. The difference - income minus savings - is the family's annual consumption expenditure. That amount, less a large standard deduction - say, 30,000€ for a family of four - is the family's taxable consumption. Rates would start low and would then rise much more steeply than those under the current income tax. Families in the bottom half of the spending distribution would pay lower or no higher taxes than under the current system. But high marginal rates on top spenders would not only generate more revenue than the current system, but would also reshape spending patterns in ways that would benefit people up and down the income ladder. If top marginal income tax rates are set too high, they discourage productive economic activity. In the limit, a top marginal income tax rate of 100 percent would mean that taxpayers would gain nothing from working harder or investing more. In contrast, a higher top marginal rate on consumption would actually encourage savings and investment. A top marginal consumption tax rate of 100 percent, for example, would simply mean that if a wealthy family spent an extra

dollar, it would also owe an additional dollar of tax.

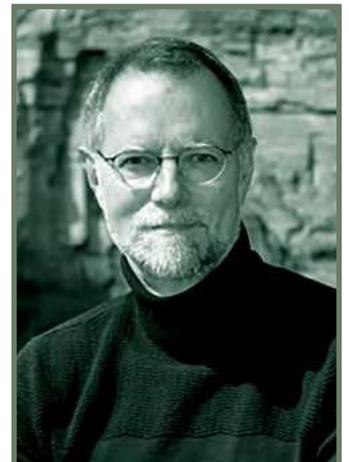
The incentive effects of a progressive consumption tax would be markedly different.

Consider, for example, how the tax would affect a wealthy family that had been planning a large addition to its mansion. If it faced a marginal consumption tax rate of 100 percent, that addition would now cost twice as much. Even the wealthy respond to price incentives (that's why they live in smaller houses in New York than in Seattle). So the tax would be a powerful incentive for this family to scale back its plans. It could build an addition half as big, for example, without spending more than it originally planned.

The fiscal magic occurs because other wealthy families who'd also planned additions to their mansions would respond in a similar way. And since no one denies that, beyond some point, it's relative, not absolute, mansion size that really matters, the smaller additions would serve just as well as if all had built larger ones. The tax would have similar effects in other luxury domains. Not a shred of evidence suggests that such a change would make top earners any less happy. If all mansions were a little smaller, all cars a little less expensive, all diamonds a little more modest, and all celebrations a little less costly, the standards that define "special" in each case would adjust accordingly, leaving successful people just as happy as before.



Conservatives have long favoured proposals to tax consumption instead of income. They generally favour a flat tax, but because flat taxes would make inequality dramatically worse, they are unlikely ever to be adopted. So a progressive consumption tax may be our only politically realistic hope for ending the downturn quickly and limiting the growth in consumption inequality that has made life so much more difficult for the 99 percent. As economists are fond of saying, there's no free lunch. An important exception to that rule, however, is that when existing arrangements are grossly wasteful, it's possible for everyone to have more of everything. Growing income disparities, which are largely a consequence of market forces, have made it far more expensive for middle-income families to achieve many basic goals.



#### > ABOUT

**Robert H. Frank** has been an economics professor for more than a decade. His books include *Passions Within Reason*, *Principles of Economics* (with Ben Bernanke), *The Winner-Take-All Society* (with Philip Cook), and, most recently, *Success and Luck*.

# TRANSPARENCY IN THE EU, POST-BREXIT



> ABOUT

**Emily O'Reilly** has been the European Ombudswoman since 2013. She was formerly Ireland's Ombudswoman and Information Commissioner.

by Emily O'Reilly

My original commentary on transparency has been blown off course - like so many things - by the UK's vote to leave the European Union on 23 June. The dust from the referendum will take many years to settle.

**F**rom an Ombudsman's perspective, however, one conclusion can already be drawn. The run-up to the vote saw the EU subject to a greater depth of scrutiny about what it actually does than ever before in its history. The detail with which serious British newspapers - and indeed serious newspapers right across the Union - wrote about European issues such as trade, migration or the EU budget was unprecedented in scale and scope. This is positive. Once people know more about what an institution or organisation does, it appears less forbidding. My experience as Ombudsman in Ireland showed that in the 'good times' - while the Celtic Tiger was still going strong - people had been relatively content to let the government go about its business, make its decisions and hold mee-

tings largely without active citizen scrutiny. This changed once the financial and economic crisis started. Suddenly access-to-document requests shot up. People wanted to know who made the decisions that set the country on course for an international bailout. So in uncertain times, when people are worried about their future, they tend to look more closely at how decisions affecting them are made.

It's important to stress that the European Commission goes a lot further when it comes to transparent decision-making than most Member States. It has taken on board the fact that the rise of social media has profoundly altered the parameters of what is considered an acceptable level of transparency for governments and their administrations. When Europeans rightly cry the lack of transparency

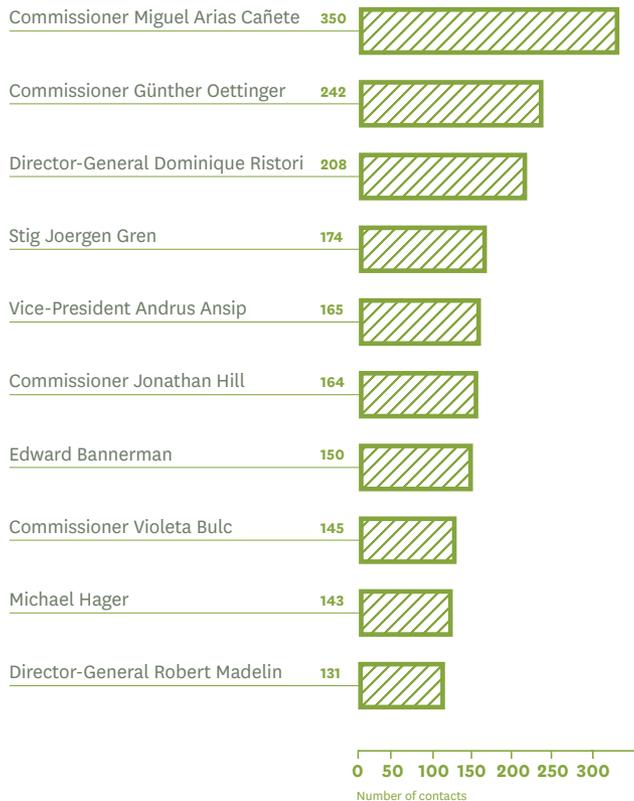
## EUROPEAN COMMISSION



Source: [www.integritywatch.eu](http://www.integritywatch.eu), 2015-2016

### POLICY LEVEL

Current transparency provisions apply to Commissioners (including President and Vice-Presidents), their cabinets and all Directors-General. The shares of the pie reflect the number of meetings by hierarchy level.



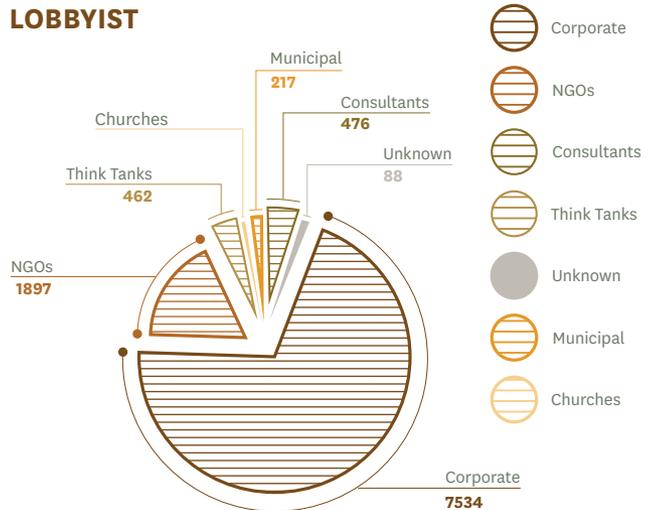
at the heart of the EU, the main problems do not in fact lie in the Commission or Parliament. As people receive news or hear about issues in real time, they demand answers in real time. Take the ongoing negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Initial grass roots concerns - as well as concerns raised by Members of the European Parliament - about the EU-US trade deal were amplified on Twitter and Facebook. In the absence of information about what exactly was on the table - at first even the negotiating mandate was under wraps - certain fears took hold. Following my office's intervention and that of the Parliament, the Commission has taken a much more proactive approach to releasing documents.

This is very different to previous trade agreements. Still, the TTIP timetable is uncertain. Not least because many people are distrustful of those taking decisions on their behalf. While transparency is never a 'silver bullet' to regain trust, it is necessary to increase trust in the decision-making process. People should be confident that negotiations carried out in their name are being done in good faith; that the results have not been subject to undue lobbying and that there is rigorous parliamentary scrutiny. But this checklist does not only apply to negotiations on TTIP. It should apply to all aspects of policy-making. It should be clear, for example, what kind of advice is given by the over 800 Commission

TOP 10 HOSTS

Individuals from the European Commission with most contacts with lobbyists. When individuals meet several lobby organisations in a single meeting, the tool counts each contact separately. The number of contacts can thus be higher than the number of meetings.

LOBBYIST



CATEGORY OF LOBBY ORGANISATION

The classifications in this graph reflect the categories established by the EU Transparency Register. Names have been shortened. The shares of the pie reflect the number of registered organisations per category.

expert groups and how it feeds into the Commission's policy-making process. There should be robust - and fully implemented - rules governing senior officials moving to take jobs in the private sector. These are two areas that I have looked into and have received a good response from the Commission. There is scope for further improvement however. The Juncker Commission took the praiseworthy step of obliging all senior officials in the Commission to record and publish their meetings with interest representatives. I see no reason why this obligation should not be extended to all Commission policy staff; after all it is desk officers who do the preliminary work on a piece of legislation. A test of all three of the main institutions' commitment to more

transparent decision-making will come via the Transparency Register. Talks are currently underway to overhaul it. To my mind, the new-look register - which should become really mandatory and be extended to the Council - should become a 'central transparency hub' for anyone trying to find out exactly how an organisation has sought to wield influence in the EU. The EU needs to set the 'gold standard' when it comes to being open and accountable, because its decisions have far-reaching implications for citizens, yet it is perceived as distant and unknowable. As profoundly as the Brexit vote has shaken the EU, this is also an opportunity for all of us to reassess how we communicate and interact with European citizens. We should not fail to grasp it.

# AN ENLIGHTENED INDUSTRIAL POLICY FOR EUROPE



## > ABOUT

**Tomas Wyns** is a Doctoral Researcher at the Institute of European Studies (ULB), working on the design of an EU Emissions Trading System. He was formerly a climate policy officer in the environmental administration of the Flemish government in Belgium.

by Thomas Wyns

At a time when belief in the European Union as a project for peace and prosperity is challenged, an enlightened industrial policy that matches reducing greenhouse emissions with improving competitiveness could give oxygen to Europe's workers and entrepreneurs. It can become the foundation of a new prosperous and low-carbon age in Europe's history.

**D**eep greenhouse gas emission reductions in Europe's energy intensive industries are often regarded as expensive, harmful to competitiveness or even impossible. In a recent report, the Institute for European Studies (IES) analysed the potential of important European industrial sectors, such as steel, chemicals and cement, to reduce emissions by more than 80% by 2050. This would enable the EU to contribute significantly towards achieving the long-term goals mentioned in the Paris Climate Change Agreement. However,

researching decarbonisation cannot ignore essential economic challenges for these industries, such as increased international competition and global over-capacity. A new public sector led industrial policy would be able to address both elements at the same time and hence catalyse the transition to a competitive, highly innovation-driven and low-carbon European industry.

Between 1990 and 2013, EU industry contributed significantly to the economy-wide emission reductions in the EU. However, tapping into the reduction potential of 80% and beyond will not be

easy, as most of the low-hanging fruits have already been picked. There also is no single silver bullet for these deep emission reductions. Therefore, an economically attractive low-carbon transition will require the combination of three pillars. These are the process, product and business model transformations.

Radical process innovation is still an important option for the industrial sector. In the chemical industry, there is ample potential for using biomass waste, as a feedstock for replacing most of the oil-based inputs. The cement industry seems to have a unique

opportunity to use a specific type of CO<sub>2</sub>-capturing technology, which comes with important co-benefits. In the steel sector, a new type of blast furnace, currently tested in the Netherlands, would be less costly to build and operate compared to conventional technologies while reducing emissions significantly.

Innovative high value-added products will also play a key role in the industrial low-carbon transition. Development of new high-performing chemical compounds that can easily be assembled from bio-based feedstock will be critical here. For cement, a promising and



© Jm73

**I CZECH REPUBLIC** – Air pollution and its controls are a significant concern for EU policy makers.

widely abundant clinker substitute, mentioned in this report, can reduce emissions by 30%, while giving the same properties as the commonly used Portland cement. Advanced material science leading to high performance and lightweight steel can open a market for steel producers, which targets downstream consumers in need of these types of steel for low-carbon performance of their products.

Business model transitions will be essential to enable both economic and environmental benefits. Ammonia and fertiliser production can move from a manufacturing sector more into the direction of agricultural services, by benefiting from the use of emerging biotechnologies. The cement and steel industries will have to address the current (and possibly structural) overcapacity through

streamlining, modernisation and increased overall value added at lower sales volumes.

These three industrial transitions cannot be seen as isolated from other major shifts in the EU economy that are expected over the next decades. The growth of renewable electricity can become an economic asset for industrial transformation through the smart use of demand response. Increased resource efficiency as part of a circular economy is another example. Both the steel and the chemical sector have significant potential to increase re-usage and recycling of products. For the steel industry, this would fit well with a move towards higher levels of electric arc steel and away from blast furnace production.

Realising a low-carbon industry will require smart and committed public policies and support. One of

the more challenging parts of the industrial low-carbon transformation will be to bring promising low-carbon process technologies to the commercialisation stage. These new process technologies will need to be market-ready by 2030 to allow for deployment across the EU by 2050. Again, these investments will be capital intensive, but also, due to their pioneering nature, risk intensive. The proposed EU Emissions Trading System Innovation Fund for the period 2020-2030 can become an important tool to enable a timely commercialisation of these process technologies. Governments can also enable the creation of markets for new low-carbon products through public procurement. Avoiding regulatory misalignment is a third element that requires evaluation, as to avoid (unintentionally)

punishing industries that move towards low-carbon processes or business models.

The EU finds itself at an important moment in its industrial development. Thanks to technological process and product innovations that are happening throughout the industries, achieving competitive deep emission reductions can be possible over the next decades. The public sector has to play a catalytic role in enabling this transition, driven by a vision that fully integrates decarbonisation challenges in a modern industrial policy. At a time when belief in the European Union as a project for peace and prosperity is challenged, this enlightened industrial policy for Europe could bring hope to workers and entrepreneurs. It can become the foundation of a new prosperous and low-carbon age in Europe's history.

# USEFULNESS, EQUALITY, TRANSFORMATION: THE THREE CONDITIONS FOR INCLUSIVE LEADERSHIP

by Laura Slimani

Left-wing parties are traditionally more associated with a democratic practice of power than the right. But is organising primaries enough to make a political formation inclusive? Answering the call for choice in our societies implies calling into question our collective and individual habits.

**P**arty leadership contests set the pace of life of our political parties with, sometimes, surprising results. The last example that comes to mind is undoubtedly the victory of Jeremy Corbyn of the leadership of the Labour party, which nobody expected and yet enthused an impressive number of campaigners. Change is always met with some resistance, but that capacity to respect the vote of supporters is

specific to the left, against a right that is perpetually awaiting the providential man or woman.

However, this pattern is eroding, as right-wing parties have understood that in societies increasingly educated and informed, a leader is stronger if chosen democratically by his political family. As evidenced by the internal election of the right-wing Spitzenkandidat to the European elections of 2014 – interestingly, the right had a real internal election opposing Juncker to Barnier, while the socialists had only one candidate...

Moreover, is our political family as democratic as it pretends to be? Is the multiplying of primaries to desi-

gnate candidates and party leaders sufficient? How do we explain the fact that the faces of left-wing leaders are so alike?

Shouldn't we be looking at the experience of internal democracy of Podemos, in which sympathisers vote a lot more often, or that of the Five Star Movement in Italy, whose MPs adopt at Parliament the policy dictated by their electorate after an online consultation?

On the other hand, how do we explain that extreme right parties, gathered around a figurehead such as Marine Le Pen, Victor Orban or Jorg Haider, have such appeal? Ultimately, what is expressed, through authoritarianism or de-



**LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM** - Students and first-time voters usually play crucial roles in deciding which policies and parties govern their future.

mand of choice, is a willingness of citizens to master their own destiny and a feeling that this is not the case currently. Democracy in the practice of power isn't only defined by a set of rules that guarantee votes will be respected. Three conditions are necessary for a genuinely inclusive leadership.

First, voting must matter. Why vote in a leadership contest if the die has already been cast through secret arrangements? Why participate if there is only one candidate? If new faces are to be drawn to politics, ballot papers must be given some power. For example, it would be interesting if socialist and social-democrat voters were to decide on a possible coalition with the right following the next European elections, and the basis on which such alliance could be made possible. Any truly demo-

cratic consultation implies some risk-taking, and we are seldom ready to take it. We must understand that refusing to debate substantively will only weaken a political family founded on principles of democracy and equality. The second condition for an inclusive leadership is that all should have equal access to participation, whatever the gender, colour of skin or social background. However, we need only look at the group pictures from the socialists' European pre-Council meetings to see that isn't the case. The die is cast. Democracy implies that each of us should have the key to comprehending the world and system around us. We must, therefore, put in place necessary mechanisms for equality and its respect, to strengthen the education of the public, so that all can access knowledge and

use it. It implies working on the domination mechanisms within our parties to address them, as well as supporting youth organisations, which encompass a lot of young people and will do it even more if they are given the means to develop themselves.

The third condition for an inclusive leadership is that it remains so, once in power. Too often, left-wing parties give in to the system in place, mainly economic. Real questions emerge on the capacity to carry out leftist policies in Europe within institutions and rules that render it extremely challenging to raise low salaries, tax profits and capital, or reduce working time. It is a whole other debate, yet it needs to be addressed. There is no point leading a party if it means being powerless in transforming society.



**> ABOUT**  
**Laura Slimani** is the President of Young European Socialists, which gathers all socialist youth branches in Europe.

# YOUTH AND LEADERSHIP



## > ABOUT

**Elio di Rupo** is the former Prime Minister of Belgium

by Elio di Rupo

European youth is particularly affected by the current crisis. Austerity has made them poor and rendered their future cloudier. Today there are 4.5 million young people unemployed in the European Union, and in some countries, 50% of young people are jobless.

In a recent poll, young Europeans were asked: “Do you think that the economic crisis has marginalised the youth in your country, that is, excluded them from the social and economic life?”, 57% answered “yes” (Eurobarometer survey - May 2016).

Young Europeans aren’t disinterested by social issues, quite the opposite, they are always joining new forms of mobilisation. But there is no denying that they feel increasingly alienated by traditio-

nal politics, which they perceive as distant from their concerns and with little influence on their day-to-day life.

And could we blame them at a time when member states flout fundamental European values? When governments erect fences and walls within Europe instead of showing solidarity towards migrants fleeing death. When the interest of multinationals manifestly has priority over those of citizens, especially in business. Or when former leaders supposed to protect the European common good unscrupulously join big finance – the very industry that has destabilised Europe.

The neoliberal model is bringing Europe to its economic, social and democratic demise. Austerity has done more damage than

good. It has also distanced Europeans further away from Europe. We need Europe. To preserve peace and protect those that globalisation has forgotten. Saying it isn’t enough – we need to prove it. Without action, European integration, already questioned by Brexit, will be permanently stopped.

Leaders have a great responsibility to close the gap with an indispensable youth. They have to show that politics can be the shield of the general interest against private ones.

Progressives, gathered within the European Socialist Party, have a responsibility to suggest a clean break with the neoliberal model and the rules it has imposed on Europe: sharing rather than owning, trading rather than accumulating, solidarity rather

than isolationism. The task is ours to invent new social protections, to guarantee a better quality of life, to create a new solidarity amongst Europeans rather than organising social and economic competition, which opposes them. Jacques Delors once said that nobody falls in love with a common market – I’d like to add that young Europeans will not fall in love with austerity either.

Rethinking and preserving our shared future requires changing the economic and social agenda. This urgent task cannot be left to governments alone. The elaboration of a new European political project that upholds the values of solidarity and fairness will only happen if civil society, and in particular European youth, is associated to the rethinking of Europe.

# YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN EU ELECTIONS IS FALLING: DIFFERENCES ACROSS MEMBER STATES

by Doru Frantescu  
In partnership with VoteWatch Europe

Data from the last European elections shows a sharp decrease in the turnout of young people voting. Even more worryingly, the gap between the participation of the oldest generation and the youngest one is widening. While an opposite trend can be observed in some of the Member States such as Sweden, Italy and Greece, the overall issue of youth participation in EU elections should be addressed.

**P**olls show that a majority of the youth trust EU institutions. On the other hand, the low level of interest of young people for the European elections only creates a new paradox of old habits. As little as 27.8% of the youngest generation (18-24 years old) voted for their MEPs in 2014. Moreover, the large gap between the participation of the youngest and the oldest age groups is striking, to say the least - a valid source of concern



**MAP - ELECTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT 2014:  
GAP BETWEEN TURNOUT (%) OF VOTERS AGED 55+ AND 18-24**

for the European institutions. In fact, as young people hold more positive attitudes towards the EU than older generations, their absence at the polling stations actually rewards parties that are more critical of EU integration.

Some examples can shed light on this difference. The first map shows that, in Ireland, there was a gap of 55 percentage points between the turnout of the youth (18-24-year-olds) and older generation (55+) in 2014. Next door, a high level of dissatisfaction of young people is also observed in the United Kingdom, as less than 20% of young people exercised their right to vote over the last European elections. On the other hand, over 50 percent of the elderly went to the British polling stations. When it comes to

the national elections, however, this gap is much lower, as in the case in Ireland, where more than 75% of Irish youth voted. This pattern holds for almost every European country, with the notable exception of Sweden, and, of course, those countries where voting is mandatory: Luxembourg and Belgium. In fact, in the last European elections, many more young Swedes showed up in comparison to their older counterparts (a positive difference of 17%). Furthermore, millennials were the most participative age group. Such a difference is even more striking when the figure is compared to the estimates of participation by age for the national elections. In the same year, 2014, fewer young Swedes (81.3%) voted in the national

elections than the national average (85.8%). This difference might partially account for the different electoral results of Swedish political parties in European and national elections, as smaller left-wing parties (such as the Feminist Initiative) performed better at the European elections than at the national ones.

If one compares the results of the European elections of 2014 to 2009, paradox strikes again. Not only was there an overall sharp decrease in youth electoral participation, but a further widening of the generational gap. As is shown by the second map, there is an overall increase in the gap between the older and the younger age group, although in the case of Sweden its direction is reversed, with the younger demographic now participating more than the elderly.

The case of Sweden is not isolated. It rather stands as the start of a pattern which can be also seen in countries struck by austerity, such as Greece and Italy, where more young voters participated in the European elections, while the level of abstention increased among the older generation. Italy is one of the most prominent cases of a reduction in the participation gap between the two generations.

This trend does not hold in the case of Cyprus and Portugal, where youth participation fell dramatically in 2014. Specific factors related to the different political systems in these countries account for this difference, such as the absence of strong left wing anti-establishment parties, able to capitalise on the disaffection of young voters towards austerity policies.

“AS YOUNG PEOPLE HOLD MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EU THAN OLDER GENERATIONS, THEIR ABSENCE AT THE POLLING STATIONS ACTUALLY REWARDS PARTIES THAT ARE MORE CRITICAL OF EU INTEGRATION.”

The crisis of the Eurozone and the heated debates on austerity measures show just how deeply the decisions taken at the EU level affect the daily lives of its citizens. This is arguably what could have spurred the desire of young Spanish and Italians to change. After all, young people are the most affected by the rise in the unemployment level in Southern Europe. Time will tell if these patterns will last. One thing is certain: the Union needs its youth back – its opinions, ideas and energy, in order to stay strong.

COUNTRY	2014 (18-24 years)	2014 (55+ years)	DIFFERENCE
IE	21%	76%	55
CY	29%	64%	35
UK	19%	53%	34
EE	16%	49%	33
FI	10%	43%	33
FR	25%	57%	32
DE	29%	59%	30
NL	18%	48%	30
LV	17%	45%	28
DK	38%	64%	26
ES	27%	52%	25
SI	14%	37%	23
RO	20%	42%	22
PT	19%	41%	22
AT	29%	50%	21
MT	62%	82%	20
HR	13%	32%	19
EL	45%	64%	19
LT	44%	61%	17
HU	20%	37%	17
BG	27%	43%	16
PL	14%	28%	14
SK	6%	18%	12
IT	45%	53%	8
LU	87%	92%	5
CZ	16%	20%	4
BE	90%	88%	-2
SE	66%	49%	-17

Data source: VoteWatch Europe

# MILLENNIALS WANT LEADERS WHO DO POLITICS DIFFERENTLY



## > ABOUT

**Emma Murphy** is a professor and the current “Head of School” at the School of Government and International Affairs, at the University of Durham.

by Emma Murphy

Today’s European political leaders bemoan low rates of youth mobilisation in formal institutions, such as political parties and electoral voting, but in doing so they take little account of the fact that the meaning and practice of politics is changing for young citizens. Millennials have no problem with political participation; they just do it in different ways and in different places from their parents. As they in turn become the leaders of tomorrow, this will transform the political landscape.

**T**omorrow’s political leader will be a true digital native, having been socialised as much through the internet and social media as through conventional routes like the family, religious institutions or school. Their political consciousness will be less territorially fixed, and less constrained by old locally bound identities and vocabularies. They will understand the nature, function and spaces of political communication different-

ly. Out will go the spin-doctor who translates complex party manifestos into mass-media sound bites, grooming politicians to be characterless, humourless, over-coiffured figureheads. Instead, political leaders will speak directly to mass publics and individual citizens alike. Every potential voter will be a ‘friend’, the personal and the public persona will blend, and communication will be rapid and interactive. They won’t have to adjust, or even try – this will be as much their natural state as speech giving at party congresses or grandstanding in parliaments. They will need to be able to think

faster, to filter their thoughts as they become words, but at the same time remain authentic to their voting interlocutor. Who cares if you wear a suit and tie for a Tweet or an Instagram post? Be natural, be sincere, be yourself. But don’t be frivolous – we are not idiots just because we only use 40 characters and like a witty meme.

There are other political spaces in which tomorrow’s leaders will be found, beyond the obvious. Millennials express their political preferences and opinions, mobilise and are active, in what might normally be thought of as leisure spaces.

Young people sing their politics (well that’s nothing new), they enact it through popular art and culture, shopping preferences, food choices, and sports activities. The next generation of political leaders will be not just present in these political spaces, but dynamic actors. They will not just drop in for the day, wearing casual clothes and hoping desperately not to look awkward as they show their eagerness to be seen to be listening. Rather, this will be where they come from and they won’t feel a need to cast off the cultural habitus of youth in order to progress to the adult world of politics.



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But what happens when they move into positions of power? Today's youth mistrust politicians; too many manifesto promises have been broken, too many compromises made in order to retain a share of power, too many private pockets filled with public money, too many favours done for friends. Millennials may like activist coalitions that set aside ideological differences in order to achieve a shared goal, but they intensely dislike grand-coalitions among leaders, which entail abandoning fundamental party values and reversing ideologically driven policy commitments. Political

leadership has become synonymous with opportunism, both personal and on behalf of traditional parties. It has been cut off from its democratic roots through its professionalisation, bureaucratisation and centralisation.

The Brexit result confirmed to British youth that they are effectively excluded from the political system and its decision-making processes. According to polling organisation YouGov, 75 percent of 18-24 year olds and 56 percent of 25-49 year olds voted to remain in Europe, but their wishes have been set aside by older genera-

tions who arguably have less to lose, or at least less time to endure, the consequences. Those aged between 16 and 18, who are legally considered old enough to marry, drive a car, own a business, pay tax or die for their country, were not even allowed to vote (although one online wiki and forum, The Student Room, conducted a poll which revealed that 82 percent of voters in the age group would have voted to Remain).

By the time any withdrawal is complete and the contours of a new UK-EU relationship have started to take shape, it is these citizens who will have to navigate

the 'brave new world'.

So tomorrow's political leader will need to stake out a clear normative agenda, both for themselves and for their party – and stick to it regardless of the implications for accessing power. They will no longer be able to say 'we deal with the world as it is' but rather they will need to convince citizens that they also believe in a vision of what the world should look like. They will need to join the single-issue dots of today's millennialist activism into a coherent and hopefully progressive discourse, which is inclusive of all citizens whatever their age.

# WHAT WILL THE NEXT LEADER OF THE FUTURE LOOK LIKE?

by Fabio Wolkenstein

There is a robust tension between the idea of leadership and the idea of democracy. For if the people ought to rule themselves, what room is there for representatives to shepherd them in a certain direction? So as good democrats, we should perhaps be sceptical about leadership as such.

**T**his view is widely shared among those on the left who consider bottom-up decision making and direct-democratic rule the only valid form of democracy. And we should take it seriously. For in many European countries, we are witnessing a renaissance of this perspective, for example in the “Momentum” movement in the British Labour party, which grew rapidly since Jeremy Corbyn became party leader. Promising to democratise not just the party but local government, workplaces and society itself, this movement is especially successful at attracting young people. It speaks to millennials who want to change the rules of the game through political participation - and largely without leadership. The appeal grassroots movements like Momentum, that exercise on millennials, should give

progressives pause. Is this an indication that progressives should strive for a kind of democracy that places utmost emphasis on collective participation, rejecting the idea of strong leadership? Is, in other words, the question of how future progressive leaders will look, the wrong question to ask?

I think not. The way forward is rather to think about leadership and bottom-up participation together. Progressive grassroots movements such as Momentum can provide important normative impulses, promoting as they do a distinctive vision of an alternative, possibly better, society - a vision the larger political party they belong to might have abandoned a long time ago. Yet not everyone can be expected to engage in these movements, and the participatory institutions they institute, in a continuous and coordinated fashion, not least because most people lack the time

regularly to attend activist meetings. This is where leadership has its place. A democratic political leader can build a bridge between those who engage at the grassroots level in pursuit of a particular political vision, and those dispersed citizens who - at most - participate in elections every four or five years. They can instil in those latter citizens a sense of shared commitment to

“THE WAY FORWARD IS RATHER TO THINK ABOUT LEADERSHIP AND BOTTOM-UP PARTICIPATION TOGETHER.”



## > ABOUT

**Fabio Wolkenstein** is a researcher at the European Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

a collective political project and, at the same time, ensure that that project remains responsive to their preferences and values. Reflecting on this “bridging” role of political leadership, one already gets a first glimpse on what future progressive leaders might look like. Such leaders could harness the normative ideas and motivational potential of grassroots movements to recruit the non-organised citizenry as a genuine partner in shared political activity, establishing a connection between the political aims pursued by the activists on the ground, and the ideals and concerns of those who perceive themselves as passive recipients of policy. This is of course not going to be an easy task. But, to their voters, it seems clear that future leaders will have to invest their efforts and energies into reconnecting with the grassroots, not least because of the latter’s capacity to inspire political activism among millennials. And if the grassroots are also capable of providing progressive politics with sustained political visions, the progressive project at large is likely to profit.

# RESTORING CONFIDENCE IN POLITICS

by Anne Muxel

The attraction of populist parties in segments of the European youth isn't new. But in recent years it has gained momentum in many countries and has led to the consolidation of a strong electoral base. Parties that merge anti-immigration policies with a nationalist focus and an anti-establishment stance have been able to develop that base and capitalise on it.

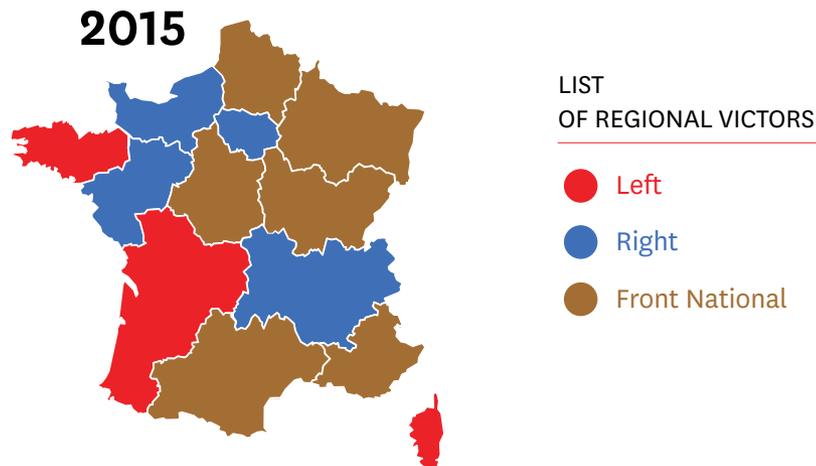
**T**he impact of youth unemployment is significant: 60% of unemployed first-time voters or first-time job seekers are willing to vote for the FN candidate in France (against 36% of unemployed people in the broader population). But the electoral attractiveness of Le Pen encompasses segments of youth less exposed to the economic and social crisis, and with easier access to jobs: 27% of 'students' are also tempted by that political road. In many European countries, young people are the first group affected by the lack of access to the labour market and by rampant unemployment. In most cases, the responsibility falls onto the big government parties, which are considered inef-

**“ THIS FEELING OF VULNERABILITY ABOUT THE JOB MARKET IS REINFORCED BY YOUNG PEOPLE’S QUEST FOR IDENTITY IN AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX ENVIRONMENT.. ”**

icient. The EU is accused of eating away at national sovereignty to the profit of liberal globalisation forces. This thesis is nurtured by “anti-system” parties and echoes the concerns of downward social mobility of the low-skilled youth, with little education and belonging to the working class. Of course, populism also affects rich countries where the economic crisis has had little impact. But it appears particularly convincing for struggling young generations, which see themselves as the losers of the economic globalisation. It is therefore unsurprising that the working class youth finds in the programmes of populist parties, an outlet for its social issues and its worries and doubts about its future. This feeling of vulnerability about the job market is reinforced by

young people’s quest for identity in an increasingly complex environment. The lack of a supra-national mythology to help decipher the globalised and open world in which they evolve, fuels nationalism and protectionism. Indeed, no other European narrative has been able to replace the once uniting post-war idea of Europe as an engine of peace and growth. Against this vacuum, the most socially and economically fragile young have found solace in the simple and perennial symbols of the nation, defined by a language, a flag, a national history and local particularisms. National identities rally people around cultural references rooted in a familiar history. Finally, national-populist parties benefit from their position outside of the ‘system’ and often appear

## FIRST ROUND FRENCH REGIONAL ELECTIONS, 2015



### > ABOUT

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## HISTORICALLY



as new; bringing new values and untarnished by the exercise of power. This is helped by the current political representation crisis where distrust towards political parties is strong and is damaging the democratic pact.

How should we address the success of populist parties with some young Europeans? By inventing a narrative and establishing practices in at least three directions. The first, which is the most fundamental and urgent one, is the issue of unemployment and the absolute necessity to contain its damages. This has profoundly diminished the confidence of young people in the societies supposed to welcome and integrate them. No partial measure will remedy this problem. Getting a job should

be the focus of political action, of all political stakeholders at all levels of governance. Training must be completely redesigned to adapt with the evolutions and transformations of the job market. It is also necessary to look into the professional orientation of young people from the start, alongside their professional integration.

The second direction that will recapture the politically disillusioned and disappointed youth, is the renovation of the political landscape. We need to find a new medium between citizens and those who hold power, through inclusive organisations. We need a better articulation of participative democracy, which is the direct intervention and expression of citizens, with representative democracy, which

is the political representation and organisation that entails delegating responsibilities and power. Political and democratic pedagogy is necessary to reconcile these two levels and rehabilitate political action in young people's minds. It is also vital that we redefine what the general interest is through common values, at a time when single-issue protests are multiplying. Moreover, we need to show strong resolve in fighting corruption, which erodes confidence in politics and its representatives, whilst widening the gap between the people and the elite. In taking this direction, we need to reinstate long-term politics as a project for a shared society. What is required is a roadmap that liberates the political agenda from the diktat of short-termism, in particular that is imposed by the media.

The third direction is a call to Europe and the European construction project. In this too, a real pedagogic effort is needed. It is urgent that the project be incarnated by social, economic and cultural personalities - but first and foremost, by politicians. Such reformulation of the European political project must not do without national feelings of belonging. But these must be redefined to be inclusive, with rights and duties being upheld within an open nation. This is an ambitious and visionary charter. It defines what the relationship amongst these national feelings of belonging should be, within Europe and beyond. What it does is allow us to address issues of immigration constructively, without fear and exclusion. The time has come to write the first draft of this charter.



| GERMANY - Right-wing German organisations protesting against the arrival of refugees.

# YOUTH AND RIGHT WING POPULISM IN EUROPE

## A PERSPECTIVE FROM LOWER SAXONY

by Birgit Honé

“Let’s imagine we wake up one morning and realise that suddenly all people have the same skin colour and share the same religion. Without doubt, we would come up with a new prejudice by noon” wrote the German philosopher Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**T**he rise and electoral success of xenophobic, right-wing populist, and extreme right-wing parties all across Europe alarmingly illustrates this quote's relevance to the current situation. That is why in April 2016, I teamed up with the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) to organise a panel discussion titled "Right-wing Populism on the Rise - Progressive Counter-strategies in Europe" at the Representation of Lower Saxony to Brussels. The aim was to analyse this current political trend and to find answers on how to jointly stop this dangerous evolution.

Right-wing populists tend to consider themselves the defenders of national values, and warriors against an alleged multicultural domination by foreign influences. While agitation against all minorities, and "the other" in general, is their common direction, it is mainly Muslims and refugees who are currently af-

ected. When we search for the development's social causes in Europe, we encounter centuries-old mechanisms of racism and the creation of scapegoats. These parties and groups fuel fear and offer seemingly simple solutions to an increasingly complex world. It can't be denied that people feel threatened by the economic development in Europe, which is accompanied by the growing gulf between rich and poor. Populists encourage the resulting fears and prejudice. We need to oppose this with determination.

We are facing two big challenges: on the one hand, we need to communicate once more the European idea as a peace-making ideal that unites people, and, on the other hand, we need to open up new perspectives to those people who feel they haven't found their place in society. In this regard, the young require special attention. Young people need to have a better future in Europe. Above all, they need work that they can live off and better education. Precisely, this includes civic education and education in democracy, which will hence allow them to acquire knowledge of modern social values within the context of an ever-evolving world.

Therefore, the Government of the Land of Lower Saxony relies on concrete measures and specific educational programs. Currently, we are working on a particular state programme against right-wing extremism and we are establishing a State Agency for Civic Education. This helps us strengthen active citizenship against right-wing extremism, and we are simultaneously expanding counselling and support services for

victims of extreme right-wing violence. With the help of the new state agency, we will be able to reach and teach more young people about civic education, social values and open-mindedness, and show them opportunities for participation.

Variety and diversity enrich our society rather than threaten it. We need to raise and strengthen the awareness of the fundamental value of democratic, social, and constitutional structures as the core of a liberal society, within the context of a peaceful Europe. Cross-border exchange and open-mindedness towards the culturally different are central pillars in this task for the future - be it in Lower Saxony, or throughout Europe.

**“WHEN WE SEARCH FOR THE DEVELOPMENT'S SOCIAL CAUSES IN EUROPE, WE ENCOUNTER CENTURIES-OLD MECHANISMS OF RACISM AND THE CREATION OF SCAPEGOATS.”**



**> ABOUT**

**Birgit Honé** is a German administrative lawyer and ministry official. She is the State Secretary for Europe and Regional Development at the State Chancellery of Lower Saxony, SPD.

# THE FUTURE STARTS NOW!

Inspiring lessons from the FEPS Millennial Dialogue  
by Ania Skrzypek

“We should not expect the millennial generation to become like us” – were the words of Frans Timmermans, the First Vice President of the European Commission at the opening of the FEPS 6<sup>th</sup> Call to Europe. Indeed, it is not about them *conforming*, but about progressives confronting the stereotypes that they comfortably cultivated about the *youth of today*. This is the first guideline in renewing the movement in order to reconnect it with the younger voters and ensure its political power to shape the course of things to come.

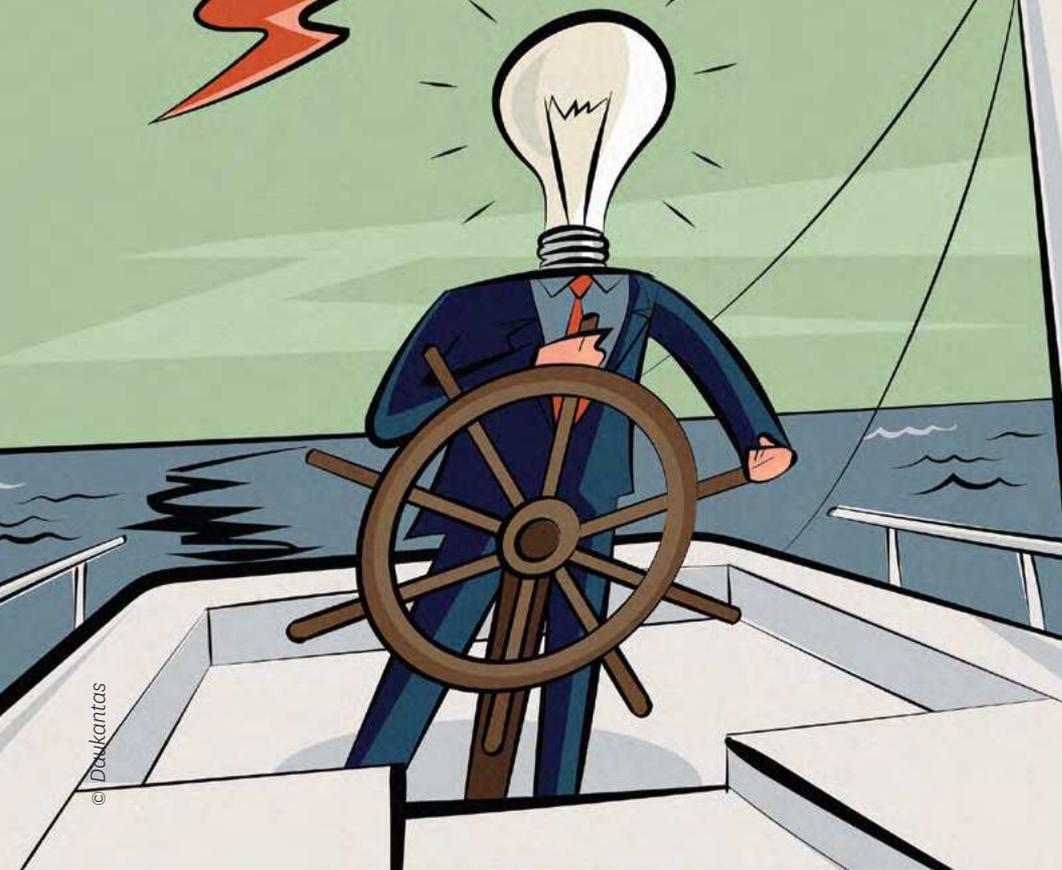
**M**illennials are politically aware. Against repeated prejudices, they know of political parties and they recognise leading politicians. But they are not interested in politics of today. There are three main reasons for it. First, they think that contemporary politics exposes weakness. It is feeble than the economy, which on the other had they see as more of determining their fu-

ture. Secondly, they don't trust politicians. They admit that the traditional parties, and among them progressives, show a high degree of professional competence – but they point out that they lack social skills. They do not listen to the people, and especially not to the young ones. Thirdly, they are open in saying that therefore politics does not excite or mobilise them, however the vast majority of them announce a readiness to vote – should elections take place tomorrow. What it means is that they are more likely cast their ballots in favour of those who are not part of the existing system. The

only way to win their hearts back is for the progressives to profoundly change and become yet again a trustworthy voice of the opposition, which demands primacy of politics and understands that its legitimacy comes from abiding by the principles of political representation.

**Millennials have clear political priorities.** These connect with their own dreams of being happy, healthy and empowered to do and say what they want. Against what has been frequently claimed, they indicate their strong support for an agenda of an active welfare state, whereby almost all of them see the

provision of healthcare, job creation and education as priorities in terms of public spending. But, with the exception of Germany, very few of them believe that the governments deliver on these expectations. Similarly, they tend to think that the politicians do not put citizens first and do not work to ensure the best possible future for young people. Millennials admit feeling that the interests of the older generations get priority ahead of theirs, while their views are mostly ignored. Only about one in ten believe that they can make their voices heard. The only way to reconnect and change it is for the



> **ABOUT**

**Ania Skrzypek** is the Senior Research Fellow at the Foundation for European Progressive Studies.

progressives to restore themselves as a movement defending and developing the agenda for prosperity, welfare and empowerment for all, while showing the path out of inter-generational and distributional conflicts. It is essential that the plea they make on issues they stand for comes hand in hand with a strategy on how to implement it, and hence with a vision on how to make government and public institutions effective in their work again.

**Millennials evaluate politics alongside specific criteria.** The most important factor that influences their voting is without exception what they think about a leader of a respective party. Then they also weigh up their opinions seeing the candidates in action, namely while they are giving interviews or taking part in a debate. What contradicts the cynicism in

claiming that no one reads the manifestos nowadays, is the fact that the survey showed that reading of the respective party programmes is potentially 3<sup>rd</sup> most relevant incentive for their electoral deliberations, coming way ahead of the social media campaign or the views of the parents. This finding is further proven by another outcome of the survey, which is that once asked about how the millennials themselves would start a campaign - the top scores are noted by *through an article in a newspaper or through an online blog*. To that end, the only way for the progressives to redesign their campaign to effectively rally the younger generation is to show that they understand politics as a dialogue; the words matter, as through them the ideas are developed and promises to be kept are articulated. These are just 3 out of numerous

inspirations that the progressives should reflect on, while examining the incredibly rich data collected through the FEPS Millennial Dialogue survey. It has engaged over 20,000 young people within the 12 EU Member States and many more across the globe. It has abided by the 3Ps principle – remaining a *participatory* process, being focused on *positive* recommendations and, in essence, trying to be committed to contribute to the renewal and strengthening of the *progressive family*. Although it has just seen a major event that summarised the findings collected so far, in the shape of the recent FEPS Flagship event “Call to Europe”, it is certain that the most crucial test is the one that is at hand now. It’s essentially down to a question – how far the progressives will be able to draw the conclusions, denounce the myths of a *disengaged and*

*alienated youth* and pursue the ways to a new understanding of millennials, which this incredibly successful FEPS project has paved already. While comprehending that it is not about demanding the millennials to change, but instead about changing the movement to respond to the hopes that could be potentially entrusted in it - they will need to find ways to reconnect and reengage. What is at stake is their future as the political movement - and it is not a matter of tomorrow or the next vote. To the contrary, it starts now.

 More data can be obtained through a study: *The Future Starts now! 10 Cornerstones for a Dialogue between the Progressive Family and the Millennials Generation*, by A. Skrzypek with support of M. Freitas, published by FEPS in June 2016 on [millennialdialogue.com](http://millennialdialogue.com)

# YOUTH, LATIN AMERICA, AND PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT

by Ricardo Lagos

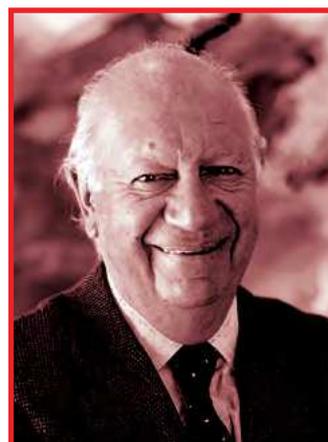
Why do the youth of today feel so distanced from the stances of the progressive world?

**O**ne answer could be that the technology they use is changing their expression. The youth of today choose to be informed by various social networks, such as Twitter and Facebook to instantly communicate facts. Surveys say that in the last US presidential election (2012), 65% of youth received their information principally through social networks, rather than the more traditional mediums of television, radio and

written material. Considering that our messages tend to be sent via traditional methods of communication, it would be perhaps too easy to conclude that this is why the youth don't connect with them. An alternative reason could be that we weren't able to understand that globalisation produces certain forms of income concentration, meaning that the middle class suffer the most. The students of this class subsequently have a difficult time obtaining work, and this happens even in the most developed countries. But there's another reason. The 2008 recession did not have a coherent answer from the progressive world. Instead it opted to promote the politics of auster-

ity, and failed to enact political expansion "à la Keynes" when the inflation came. The result of this was heightened unemployment, especially for the youth.

In Latin America, the middle class has had a remarkable expansion. Some are so vulnerable after leaving behind poverty that they will go back to it. Others, as a result of growth, are the young people that aspire to receive higher education. The youth are able to gain access to it because of their achievements, but are unable to pay. Furthermore, other young people feel discriminated against because they see the lack of social mobility between those from modest homes and those from more



#### > ABOUT

**Ricardo Lagos** is a lawyer, economist and social democrat politician, who served as President of Chile from 2000 to 2006.



© Evron Lang

▮ SANTIAGO, CHILE - Young Chilean students during a protest for education equality.

affluent ones. It is rare to see the youth surpass the level of education received by their parents. For those who can't afford higher education or feel that the education they receive is of a poor quality, their response is to take to the streets and protest. These young people are demanding different educational policies from those that existed when university was only available to a select few. For the most part, these demands from the Latin American youth are not met. However, in some countries, the market has been allowed to adjust to the expansion of higher education, but students often find that, after completing their studies,

they are unable to find work in their specific fields. In Latin America, an estimated 40% of young people between the ages of 18 and 24 are in higher education. In some more advanced countries, the sum is more like 60%, and in Chile, it is more extreme with a total of 83% of this age group in higher education. However, this 83% is the same group that goes out to protest, because the education they receive is of an inferior quality. How does one react to this situation, whilst simultaneously bringing about a realistic and progressive policy? No one can disagree with these young people's justified de-

mands. Therefore, public policies have to respond to a new scenario as a result of economic growth. However, it is important to remember that there are also other factors that lead to protest, for example, the corruption that appears in many of our countries. The youth of course feel distanced from these practices, and the political figures that tolerate them.

How do we gain back young people's trust? Latin American political parties have low levels of citizen approval and many of our political institutions are losing legitimacy. Reversing this trend is the task that lies ahead of us.



©AP/Ebrahim Noroozi



#### > ABOUT

**Beatrice Maneshi**, Project Director and **Mattia Yaghmai**, Research Associate of Fanack Academy (an independent online media organisation committed to publishing balanced and informed analysis about the Middle East and North Africa).

I TEHRAN, IRAN – Iranian youth celebrate as the nuclear deal was reached between Iran and the six world powers.

# IRAN'S MILLENNIALS: THE BURGEONING GENERATION

by Beatrice Maneshi and Mattia Yaghmai

Iran's millennials (*Nasl-e Sevvom* meaning the 'Third Generation' in Farsi) includes the generations born in the post-Islamic Revolutionary decades. Their presence in society is first and foremost impressive in its sheer number, composing more than 60% of Iran's population of 75 million.

This youthful group has grown up in the reformist Khatami administration (1997-2005) and painfully entered adulthood under the conservative Ahmadinejad administration (2005-2013). The generation's first serious movement toward shifting politics was met with a violent response - mass arrests and fatalities in 2009. Demonstrators, mostly made of millennials, poured onto the street in their millions across the country,

to ask "Where did my vote go?". The 2009 election, which ushered in the political-fraught, second Ahmadinejad administration, not only resulted in the arrest of his liberal opponent Mousavi (and the mass arrest of thousands of his supporters), but also sent a stark message to Iran's next generation that their political involvement was unwelcome, as the price for participation would be high.

The ability for there to be mass mobilisation during the 2009 elections, dubbed the "Green Revolution", and the spread of information during protests was made possible by the use of technology and instantaneous communication. With more than 30 million internet users on government-banned digital platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube - not withstanding

various blogs - this dissemination of information to the Iranian population and international community was made possible.

Iranian youth have found ways to bypass ever-increasing government censorship, thus continuing their political conversations and movements online. Ironically, Iranian authorities have had to recognise that their outreach to the population is best achieved through an active online presence on those very platforms that they themselves have banned.

A massive brain drain with a high cost for political activism has left many youth sceptical about a possibility for large-scale change in the country. Instead, millennials are increasingly turning towards bringing small changes within the system.

Through the use of internet-based activism, millennials galvanised successfully behind the election of the free-market oriented Rouhani administration; and the latest polls illustrate a swing toward a more liberal parliament.

The latest results increasingly suggest that this generation does not share the same Islamic-Revolutionary consciousness, nor ethos, of their parents. Perhaps now more than ever, many youths are motivated to change the political system by working within, rather than against it. The challenge in the coming years will be how millennials can remodel the aging power structures in the Iranian government, in order to have better representation that reflects their desires and needs.

# POWER2YOUTH: YOUTH IN SOUTH EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES



by Maria Cristina Paciello and Daniela Pioppi

Over the last two decades, “youth” has become increasingly central to policy, development, media and public debates across the world. The South East Mediterranean countries are not an exception to this trend. In the region, “youth problems” had started to be a political priority on the public agenda of both national governments and international donors already in the nineties due to a combination of factors.

**T**he region was on the verge of an unprecedented “youth bulge,” – meaning a rapid and unprecedented increase in the proportion of 15 to 24 year-olds in the total population. Legions of young men and women had to enter the workforce at a historic moment in which opportunities were limited and public policy constrained by the structural adjustment programmes.

The attention to youth reached its peak with the wave of anti-authoritarian protests in 2010-2013 that provoked a real explosion of the category of youth at all levels of the public debate. The so-called “Arab Spring” was largely portrayed as a “youth revolution”, and youth became the keyword to understand both the root causes and the dynamics of the uprising, as well as the priority of the post-uprising political transition. In the political debate, youth came to embody dynamism and positive change, and the lively part of society that was

repressed and mistreated under authoritarian rule.

All of this enthusiasm for youth brought a multiplication of youth-targeting programmes and initiatives, mainly carried out by national governments through international cooperation and NGOs. “Youth exclusion” became the buzzword in official documents everywhere in the region, requiring the development of policies aimed at “youth inclusion” and “youth empowerment”.

However, despite the pervading political discourse on youth, post-

Arab Spring policy solutions to youth problems in countries such as Tunisia, Morocco or Egypt appear in full continuity with the past. They do not address the structural problems producing social inequalities and unemployment in the first place, thus reinforcing what is largely perceived in the region as a failed development model, as demonstrated by the persistence of protests in marginalised regions, particularly by unemployed youth, as well as the mass phenomenon of youth migration. Moreover, the prevailing discourse on the



PARIS, FRANCE – French youth of Tunisian descent protest for Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor who set himself on fire, igniting the “Arab Spring”.

importance of enhancing youth political participation stands in stark contrast with the repressive strategies (from the use of force to intimidation practices) increasingly pursued by state authorities in most South Eastern Mediterranean countries. Indeed, the political instances brought by youth activism in the last decades were re-appropriated and instrumentalised by national governments and international agencies, producing an overwhelming narrative on youth which had the paradoxical effect of voiding youth claims of their transformative political potential. For instance, the framing of the uprisings as being “youth-led rebellions” had the effect of isolating youth agency from the larger so-

ciety. The emphasis on youth as “revolutionary actors” largely underestimated the important role played by adults and by adult-led organisations protesting over issues (such as decent jobs, political freedom, free access to health services and so on) that concern not only young people, but the whole of society. Youth groups and organisations were certainly pivotal in recent mobilisations (as well as in previous ones in the Arab world or elsewhere), but they are a part of a broader spectrum of organisations, such as trade unions, peasant movements, faith-based movements, etc.

The prevailing “youth” narrative has also the effect of hiding other

forms of social differentiation, based for instance on class, thus downplaying broader social and economic conflicts potentially more disruptive than the generational one. Considering the “youth” as a homogeneous actor is also concealing the enormous inequalities between the youth themselves, depending on different social backgrounds (for example, class, urban/rural, ethnic/confessional/communities, gender, etc.). More recently, with the spread of wars and political repression in the region, the security discourse on youth as a fertile ground for extremism and violence has re-emerged. This time, the negative construction of youth is applied to young volunteers to the Islamic State, and to those who support local terrorist

groups, but also, and more broadly, to youth voicing their discontent in universities, marginalised regions or elsewhere. From revolutionary heroes, “excluded” (or unsupervised) youth are thus again potential terrorists and troublemakers undermining national cohesion and the prospects for a bright future, reflecting the need of public authorities to restore order and stability.

Again, the explosive social conflict caused by rising inequalities and a failed development model in the region is reduced to a question of juvenile extremism and/or to a question of enhancing youth skills to enter the job market, which can be dealt with using a mix of repression and palliative youth-targeting initiatives.

# BEYOND REFUGEES: SYRIAN ARTISTS IN EUROPE

by Manaf Halbouni



> ABOUT

**Manaf Halbouni** left Damascus for Dresden, Germany to continue his artistic studies and avoid the mandatory two-year military service mandated by the Syrian government. He works as a sculptor – using metals, concrete and wires to convey the chaos and disorder in his life and Syria.



■ Manaf Halbouni,  
*Entwurzelt/Uprooted*, 2014.  
Mixed media  
Transformation of a car into  
a living space for one person.  
Concept: Mobility in life  
and the desire to take root again.

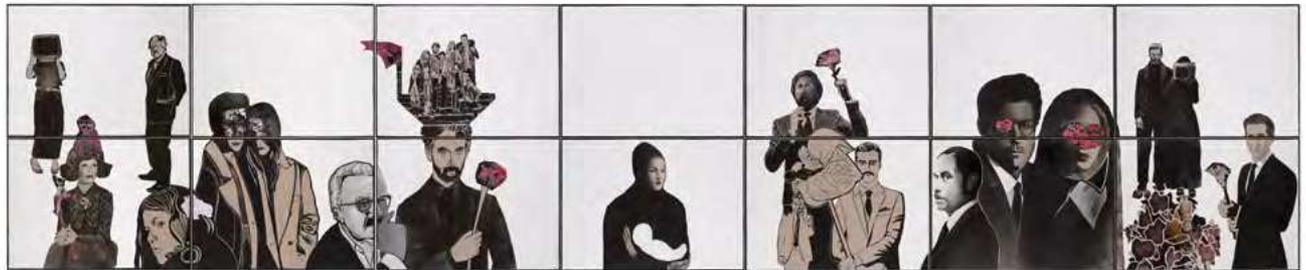


**| Manaf Halbouni,**  
*Projekt Monument/*  
*Monument Project*, 2016.

A mobile exhibit, the “monument of resistance” is a placement of three passenger busses from Aleppo in front of cultural landmarks around Europe. At its core: the concept of how life pushes you to achieve and overcome events. Manaf is currently trying to realize this project in front of the Church of Our Lady in Dresden.

**| Manaf Halbouni,**  
*Trauermauer/The Mourning Wall*, 2012. Mixed media/video installation. A concrete wall with an excerpt from the Koran in the front and a large monitor in the back, showcasing videos from the Syrian Revolution. Red and white candles adorn the exhibit.

by Khaled Takreti

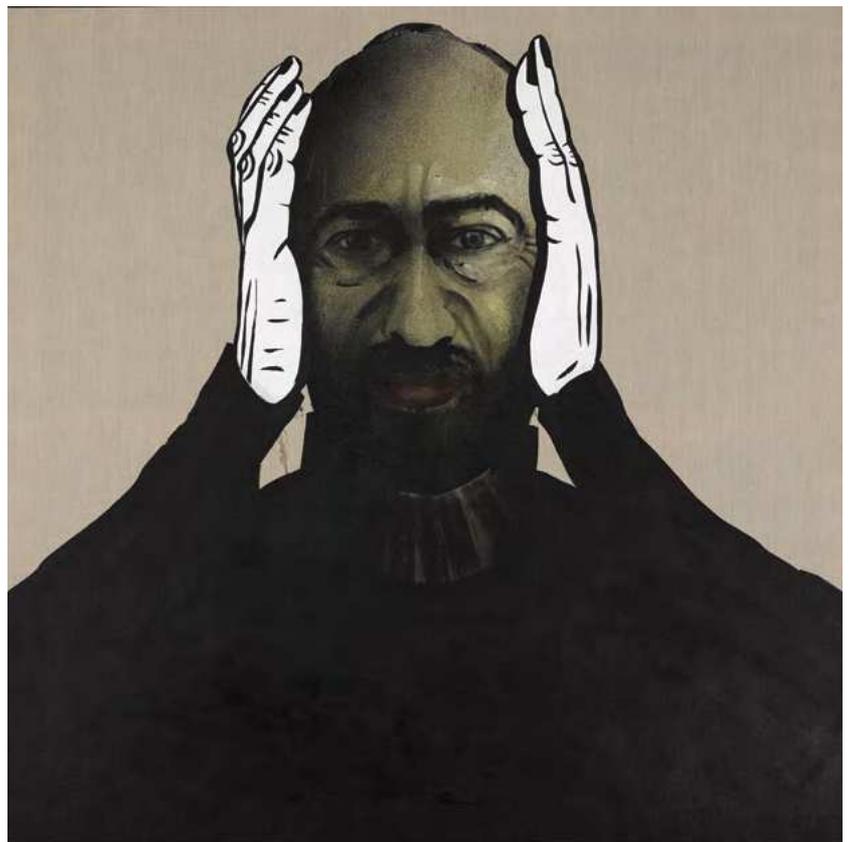


| Khaled Takreti, *Mes condoléances/My Condolences*, 2015.



> **ABOUT**

**Khaled Takreti** was born in Beirut, Lebanon. He comes from a Syrian family from Damascus. Khaled lives today in Paris. He is a leading Syrian artist whose pop aesthetic has influenced a subsequent generation of contemporary Arab painters. Originally trained as an architect at the University of Damascus, he is recognized for his innovative approach to portraiture. Khaled doesn't offer formal descriptions for his art, inviting audiences to make their own interpretations of his work.



| Khaled Takreti, *Then What?*, 2016.



| Khaled Takreti, *J'ai faim/I'm Hungry*, 2015.



| Khaled Takreti, *LOL*, 2015.



| Khaled Takreti,  
*The Second Marriage*, 2016.

# A PROGRESSIVE POLICY FOR OUR NEIGHBOURHOODS UNITED IN DIVERSITY

by Javier Moreno

It is a paradox that our European Union, so scorned from within, especially by extremists of all backgrounds, remains a centre of peace, stability and hope that attracts human beings that flee violence and misery, and sometimes both. Given the political and economic situation in the neighbourhood of Europe, those who despair, whether they are refugees or economic migrants, will continue to arrive in our continent and, for the most part, are here to stay.

**W**e should accept and take responsibility for these two realities. We should develop, in partnership with third countries of origin or transit, a holistic and coordinated European immigration policy. The counterbalance of the fight against illegal immigration must be a legal route and the integration of migrants in our societies. We, Socialists and Democrats, will have risen to the challenge if we understand that we cannot be for or against globalisation, nor for or against immigration, but that we must manage them responsibly in emergencies as well as in the middle and long term.

To achieve this, we must change the narrative imposed on a large part of our citizens by the extreme right and populists, who link migrants to criminality, terrorism and insecurity. They raise the spectre of hatred, menace, invasion, fear of others, and intolerance, which all create a feeling of stigmatisation

that is increasingly widespread. It is imperative that we respond loud and clear by working on amplifying our voice to impose our approach. Let's demonstrate and proclaim that we are in a win-win situation. Migrants who try to find a decent life with us contribute to our economic prosperity (many recent economic studies have proved it once more) and to our demographic needs by rejuvenating our populations. They enrich our societies culturally, socially and even politically. The recent election of the London mayor is a perfect example of it.

Former Chilean President, Ricardo Lagos, said that, in the end, the answer to the global challenges of our planet is to be found mainly at the local level. Immigration is a global phenomenon, and we must, therefore, develop a comprehensive approach based on solidarity and respect for human dignity, along with a division of responsibilities amongst European, national and local levels. The integration of migrants must be the ultimate goal. That is why mayors and local authorities play an essential role. First, we should work to give them back their dignity and hope of finding a decent life again. We should guarantee access to healthcare and housing. Many of them, especially those most vulnerable, such as women and children, have experienced moral, physical or sexual abuse. We must pay particular attention to them, especially unaccompanied minors (which, according to recent estimates, number over 90,000), physically challenged people and all those who suffer from psychosocial problems.

Following that, and as soon as they arrive in our communities, migrants must be able to access education or training adapted to their needs and enabling them to thrive in our societies and get a decent job. Municipal authorities, NGOs, associations and neighbours must promote their participation in the social life of migrants, through cultural exchanges and sporting events.

To achieve this, we must recreate the conditions for job growth, the redistribution of wealth and the development of social wellbeing, so that the neediest and those excluded from our societies are not made to compete with the migrants we are welcoming. This growth is essential and enabled Spain to welcome near 5 million migrants at the beginning of the century, which in turn contributed to the wealth of the country in a positive cycle.

The scale of the challenge requires the deployment of all Funds and European, national and local instruments, and that we consider creating an investment plan for third countries as well as issuing Eurobonds for immigration.

We, Socialists and Democrats, should continue to work so that immigration is no longer an obligation but a right, and that migrants have the same rights and duties as our citizens. We must invest in making migrants accepted and integrated into our cities and communities.

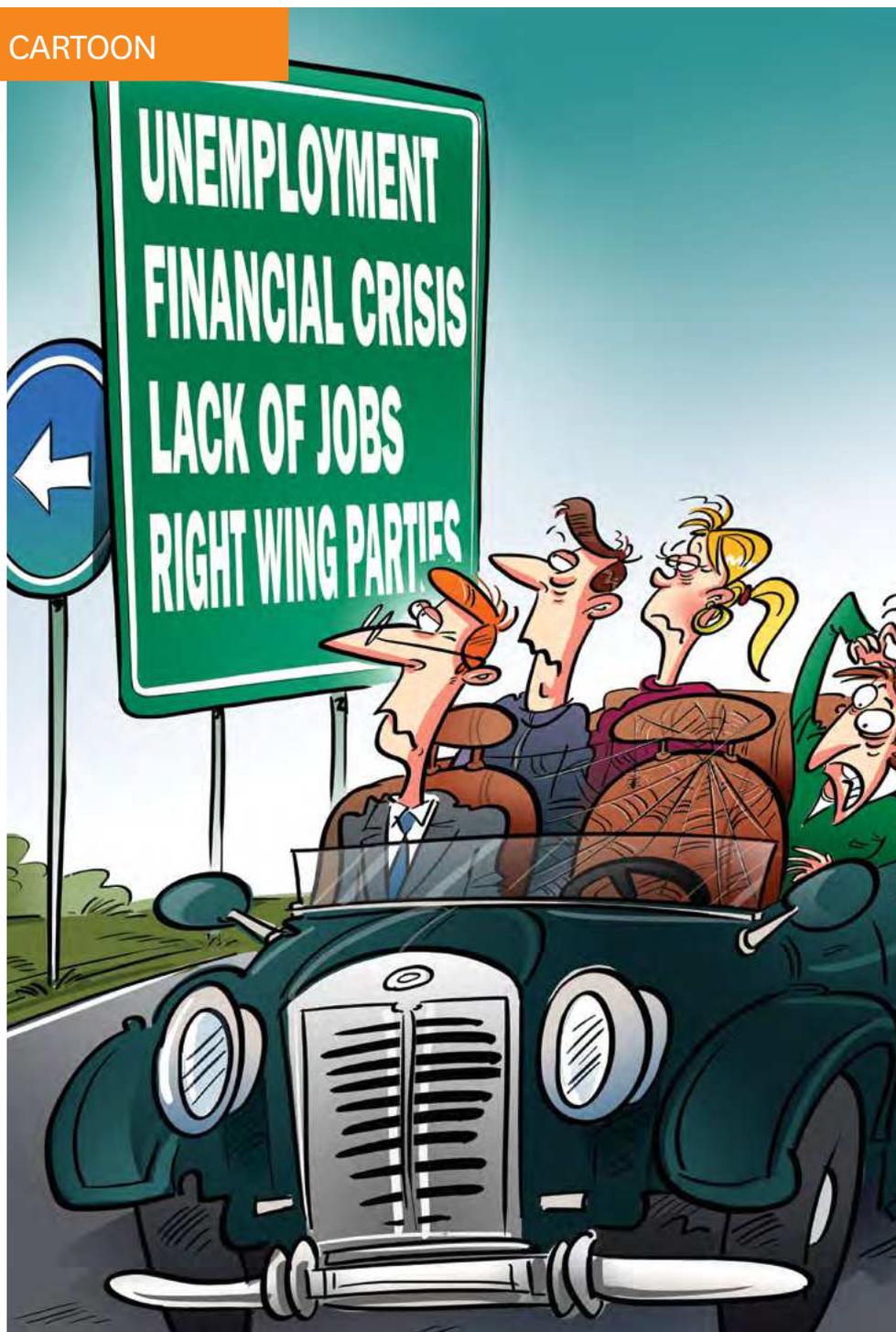
Let's unite in diversity. The result will be tolerant and multicultural societies, and a win against extremists, xenophobes and racists of all stripes.



### > ABOUT

**Javier Moreno** is the current Secretary General of the S&D Group.

## CARTOON



## Rytis DAUKANTAS

© DAUKANTAS

**Rytis Daukantas** is an architect and cartoonist from Lithuania. Since 1999 his political cartoons and illustrations were published in various international newspapers and magazines. He is the creator of The virtual Cold War Cartoon Museum.

## WHAT KIND OF FUTURE FOR MILLENNIALS?



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## TO WATCH

### **THE PANAMA PAPERS: SECRETS OF THE SUPER RICH**

April 2016 - ABC AUSTRALIA

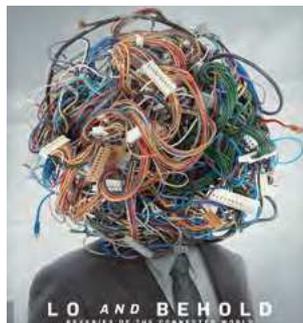


The international news media have been preoccupied by a new financial scandal as of late. Their stories focus around the Panama Papers, a set of leaked documents which reveal the identities of over 200,000 companies, trusts, foundations, criminals, world leaders, and other figures of wealth and influence who keep

great sums of their money hidden in offshore accounts. Calling upon the talents of highly skilled investigative journalists across the world, the new documentary *The Panama Papers: Secrets of the Super Rich* probes the contents of these documents in an effort to unravel a complex tapestry of suspicious financial activity.

### **LO AND BEHOLD, REVERIES OF THE CONNECTED WORLD**

August 2016 - Werner Herzog - USA

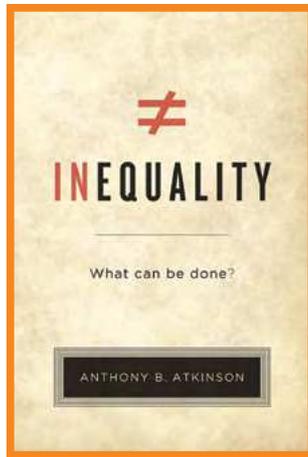


Society depends on the Internet for nearly everything but rarely do we step back and recognize its endless intricacies and unsettling omnipotence. From the brilliant mind of Werner Herzog comes his newest vehicle for exploration, a playful yet chilling examination of our rapidly interconnecting online lives.

## TO READ

**INEQUALITY  
WHAT CAN BE DONE?**

by Anthony B. Atkinson,  
HUP, 2015



“*What can be done*” is the underlying question asked by Anthony Atkinson’s book, addressing the issue of how national and international political relations are organised. In Atkinson’s book, this question features in the title and centres around the issue of inequality, whose importance for the stability of states was rediscovered by Thomas Piketty. What is interesting with Atkinson’s approach is that she escapes the common temptation of fiscal populism. However, she does make the scientific investigation on the notion of inequality and acknowledges the profound modification of wealth distribution to the detriment of the majority of European and American citizens. Her suggestion then isn’t to confiscate the wealth accumulated by a minority, as a justicist trend would have it. Instead, she seeks to correct the logic and mechanism of its distribution. There is no Prometheus-like ambition with Atkinson, but a series of concrete propositions inspired by the English-speaking world’s utilitarian and reformist traditions as well as quantitative economic studies. Two key features in her study deserve particular mention.

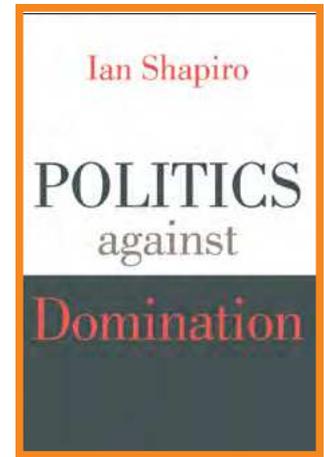
The first is a reminder of the historical efficiency of welfare states and social dialogue by unions in the reduction of inequalities in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, at least until the 1970s.

Atkinson isn’t prone to nostalgia often seen in speeches from the radical left. Instead, she advocates an adaptation of the structures that have made the success of the social market economy. The challenge with this adaptation is that the world will not longer be characterised by traditional forms of employment.

The second is the reactivation of a political proposition defended by Tony Blair. It consists of endowing children reaching majority with personal financial capital corresponding to a fraction of the intergenerational collective inheritance. Atkinson does not entirely reject the classic neoliberal argument that any political authority must reduce public debt, as it constitutes an inheritance for future generations. Instead, she pleads for a broader vision. On the one hand, the financial evaluation of that inheritance should not constitute a public debt and must be integrated into investment spending. On the other hand, a part of that inheritance would benefit from becoming individualised in the form of individual transfers with the aim to contribute to beneficiaries’ start in life. Surprisingly, this section of the book, fundamental for the future of Millennials, is not tied up with the issue of universal basic income, addressed in other parts of the text.

**POLITICS AGAINST  
DOMINATION**

by Ian Shapiro, Harvard University  
Press, Cambridge, 2016



At a time when confusion dominates and fuels passions in Europe, American political literature makes for a useful read. Indeed, rather than engaging in mythology, it prefers to address the more fundamental political question once exposed by Lenin: “what is to be done?”

Yale professor Ian Shapiro belongs to a pragmatic and pluralist intellectual tradition headed by John Dewey and Robert Dahl. From the former, he takes the necessary avoidance of Marxist and Christian Telos in social development and focuses on the perfectibility of democratic institutions. From the latter, he defends the idea that fantasies of unity are dangerous and that our interest lies in managing the multiplicity of divisions.

Thus, the definition of politics as an enterprise against domination does not originate with Michel Foucault. There is no criticism of an omnipresent “biopower” in Shapiro but a reminder that democracy, short of having an ultimate goal, is above all a permanent enterprise that seeks to avoid functional obedience to authority degenerating into subjugation.

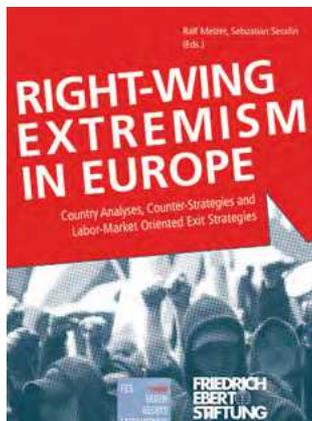
It is entirely possible, at the risk of being reductive, to describe the

first part of the book as exposing the fundamentals of the American progressive conception of democracy, inspired by the “*Federalist Papers*”. Shapiro’s effort to apply this to current world issues echoes the work of Robert Reich published last year under the title “*Saving Capitalism*”.

Without a doubt the more original aspect of the book is the section on international relations in which Shapiro defends two arguments.

First, and in perfect coherence with his pluralist leanings, he criticises efforts towards establishing a world government. For Shapiro, international relations should be based on a federation of free states as Kant described.

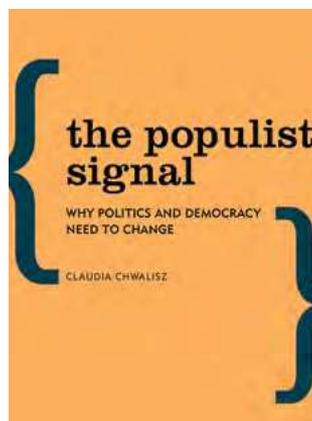
Second, Shapiro reactivates George Kennan’s containment doctrine. The point here isn’t to pursue a hostile policy towards Russia but to reproduce a wait-and-see approach betting on the collapse of the enemy, particularly with the Islamic State. The strategy is to block their extension, rather than overthrowing them. This pragmatic option constitutes a third way between neo-conservatism and naive pacifism.



## RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN EUROPE

Author: Friedrich Ebert Foundation  
Editor: Ralf Melzer, Sebastian Serafin

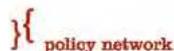
Right-wing extremism is a problem with pan-European dimensions. In 2011, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation) released a study that compared group-focused enmities in eight European countries. The study revealed that approximately half of all respondents thought that their countries had too many immigrants. About a third believed in the existence of a natural hierarchy among differing ethnic groups. In the sample from Poland, statements conveying secondary anti-Semitism met with almost 70% approval. How widespread and deeply - imbedded are far-right ideologies and organizations in Europe? How have right-wing extremist and populist parties and movements fared? What are their historical roots, and what is the basis of their continuing attraction?



## THE POPULIST SIGNAL WHY POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY NEED TO CHANGE

Author: Claudia Chwalisz  
Editor: Policy Network & Barrow Cadbury Trust

This publication is about the turbulent political scene unfolding in Britain and across western Europe. About the rise of populists as a product of disillusionment with political parties and elections, of people feeling like they do not have a voice in the decisions being taken by those who are meant to represent them. It focuses not on the economic and cultural determinants of populism, but on why large swathes of voters feel that politics does not work and how this fuels support for insurgent parties and actors.



Read and download the publications online on [progressivepost.eu/populismtracker](http://progressivepost.eu/populismtracker)



## A STRONG SAFETY NET CREATES FLEXIBILITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Author: Per Kongshøj Madsen,  
Professor of Economics & chairman of the ECLM & Erik Bjørsted,  
Chief economist of the ECLM

In Denmark, the flexibility level on the labour market is one of the highest in the world. Hiring and firing practices can be carried out from one day to another providing the Danish economy with high adaptability during periods of economic crisis and growth – and ensuring a minimum of marginalisation. What is sometimes forgotten is that the high flexibility level did not come for free. It is fostered by a solid social safety accompanied by active labour market policies. In fact, the safety net and the active policies are fundamental preconditions for the high flexibility level.



## FOR FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND SOLIDARITY: HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN CZECH LANDS

Editors: Patrik Eichler,  
Radka Šustrová

The publication is a catalogue of the exhibition to the 135<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Social Democracy in the Czech lands. It introduces the history of the Czech Social Democratic Party from its foundation until its formation of the Government in 2013. The important topics of the Social Democracy can be found there: for example the fight for the universal suffrage, the resistance to the Nazis, the communist dissent or the renaissance during the Velvet Revolution. The publication contains a lot of illustrations and accompanying texts in three languages (Czech, English and German).

Read and download the publication online on [progressivepost.eu/inspirations](http://progressivepost.eu/inspirations)

## TO COOK

# EU Country Culinary Profile: SWEDEN

Ring in the fall with these simple and iconic recipes from the country that joined the European Union in 1995.

## SALLAD PÅ ROSTADE GRÖNSAKER



Grilled Vegetable Salad  
Smoky grilled salad with beets  
Asparagus  
Eggplant  
Cauliflower  
Fennel

## HETA NÖTTER



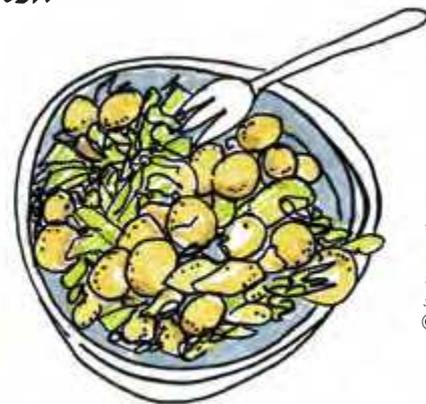
Balsamic-Spiced  
Nuts and Seeds

Swedish snack of warm toasted cashews, almonds, pumpkin and sunflower seeds, dressed in balsamic.

## POTATISSALLAD MED KÅLRABBI OCH DILL

Kohlrabi Potato Salad  
Iconic Swedish food:

sautéed kohlrabi, fresh dill, and boiled potatoes warmed in melted butter



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