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WHY IS THE EUROPEAN UNION BEING DECONSTRUCTED?♦ OR IS THE EU JUST THE FROG IN THE WELL?

Think of tomorrow, the past can't be mended.

Confucius, Analects, 6th Century BCE

The European Union must be strengthened by better involvement of Civil Society.¹ Societal coexistence between the various local cultures in the Union is anchored in three principles that are as simple as they are powerful.

— Primacy of all human life (including equality of genders and equality of minorities);

— Rule of law (including equality of all citizens in- and under the law); and

— Democracy and secular governance (including autonomy of State and Church).

These genetically and racially neutral values have given the Union the means and resilience to guarantee diversity and peace. The 2012 Nobel Peace Prize² is a testimony to the success of the Union to ensuring peace between its Member States.

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♦ The paper draws on the following Global Round Table events:

— “EU Quo Vadis?”, 8–9 May 2014, Budapest, Hungary;

— “Morality in Politics”, 8–9 May 2015, Budapest, Hungary;

— “Brexit”, 16–17 Feb. 2017, Split, Croatia;

— “The Future of European Union: Progress or Breakdown?”, 11–12 May 2017, Bucha-

rest, Romania.

¹ UN definition: “*Civil society is the third sector of society, along with government and business. It comprises civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations.*”

² The Global Round Table was instrumental in this endeavour. Its more than four-year worldwide campaign “NOBEL PEACE PRIZE for the EU” is described on the EU’s website, and has been recognised by H. E. José Manuel Durão Barroso, the then President of the European Commission.

“At a time of uncertainty, this reminds people across Europe and the world of the Union’s fundamental purpose: to further the fraternity between European nations, now and in the future.”³

Now, the Union has to find its way in the 21st Century. Idealistic blindness and political naivety will deconstruct the Union and do as much damage as terrorist attacks.

The Union has let external events take their course. It is forcing to be reactive rather than being able to shape its vision for the future. In view of the hyper-connected World and the digitalized global economy, the authors recommend:

The EU needs to undertake a comprehensive reality check: agree on a realistic moral compass and develop an implementable “Grand Design”. Civil Society MUST be part of this process.

In an attempt to wrestle the discourse away from the opportunists and populists on all sides of the spectrum, this paper analyses the situation and identifies fundamental principles and cornerstones of Europe and the European Union that need to be at the basis of political solutions.

The EU MUST remain a union of shared values.

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CIVILISATIONS RISE AND VANISH — NO CIVILISATION HAS YET OUTLASTED TIME

History has shown that while cultures often spill over from one civilisation to another, neither economic- nor military strength prevent civilisations from vanishing. They rise due to fortuitous circumstance; they generally crumble because they overlook or underestimate warning signals. Europeans might indeed suffer of “*existential civilizational tiredness*” with consequences for long-term survival of European civilization.⁴

The EU is facing clear warning signals — they need to be heeded (more details: see *Attachment A*). For all of the EU’s achievements — which are numerous — the EU has three main shortcomings:

- i) Civil Society does not feel part of the EU project.
- ii) It is missing a unifying vision and ambition for the 21st Century; and
- iii) It is unable to guard in legislation the cornerstones of what defines Europe.

These must be addressed urgently in order to mitigate their negative consequences (independent expert advice: see *Attachment B*).

³ José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the European Commission, “Nobel Lecture”, 10 December 2012, Oslo, Norway.

⁴ E. g., Douglas Murray, “*The Strange Death of Europe*”, 2017, ISBN 978–1.729–4224–1

PEACE IS BETTER

The idea of a peaceful and united Europe was envisioned after two world wars had started in Europe and cost millions of people their lives. The great visionaries of their time (Shuman, Monnet and Adenauer) instinctively understood that lasting peace would require a joint project: and so the European Coal and Steel Community was born and all subsequent incarnations and enlargements.

The current Brexit discussions are highlighting the fundamental misunderstanding that exists about European coexistence and the EU.

The European Union (founded as the European Community) was created to ensure peace AT ANY COST.

Therein lays the challenge and the problem of the Brexit negotiations:

i) The European Single Market is an economic tool — all be it a powerful one — to achieve the political objective of PEACE.

ii) In contrast, the British government has always considered the Union a political tool to achieve the economic goal of the Single Market.

The two sides are hence at a loss to understand each other's position and negotiation goals.

It is important to remember that the Union will continue to ensure its initial primary objective: peace among its Member States — and for 70 years, a feat unequalled in the history of the region. Regretfully, the younger generations hardly understand its true importance.

This exceptional achievement in European history has rightly been recognised by the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize being awarded to the EU.

The genius of European Union has been the vision to create an “institutionalised common enemy” controlled by all Members and seemingly against them: the “Brussels institutions”.

PEACE REQUIRES SOLIDARITY

In the current Migrant Crisis facing Europe the factions who feel that EU is obliged to accept all migrants, regardless of international law argue that the EU needs to show more solidarity and the workforce is necessary to maintain economic growth in Europe.

Two issues must be considered here:

i) Regarding asylum seekers, the authors wish to stress the EU's moral- and political responsibilities to assist these unfortunate people to return to their place of origin to rebuild it once normality has been re-established.

ii) Regarding economic migrants, one must first recognise the more than 20 million unemployed EU citizens that make up the “6th largest EU Member State” (see *Figure 1*). Does the EU have the legal and moral right to ignore its own citizens in favour of cheap labour imports?

So Solidarity by all means — but not misguided solidarity dictated by idealistic blindness and political naivety.

THE EUROPEAN UNION URGENTLY NEEDS A STRONG HISTORICAL NARRATIVE AND NEW UNIFYING AMBITION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

As genetics and science can attest, Europe has always been an open society due to its geographic location and history. The sense of European identity is rooted in ideals that Europeans share rather than physical or other traits. Being “European” means accepting certain unambiguous principles and being ready to defend these.

While the original aim of peace and prosperity among its Members has been achieved as well as a solid basis for further European integration, the EU still has to find its way in the 21st Century.

The EU has let external events take their course and is now forced to be reactive rather than being able to shape its vision for the future.

In view of the hyper-connected World and the digitalized global economy, the EU urgently needs a comprehensive reality check: agree on a realistic moral compass and develop an implementable “Grand Design” to secure the EU’s continued existence and prosperity.

a) Make Civil Society part of the European project.

Civil Society (see footnote 5) has a multitude of legitimate roles in a democratic society. While being a potential up- and down-stream communicators and multipliers from the perspective of citizens, it checks, monitors and restrains the political leaders’ power according to law. (During the early phase of recent mass migration to Europe, Civil Society was silent and just observed when senior political leaders violated international- and EU law.)

Civil Society must become an essential positive stakeholder in public policy making.

The European Union and its institutions are often accused of being “ivory towers” lacking transparency, removed from the citizen and civil society.

There is some truth to this allegation in so far as that the EU civil-service is no different from any national ministry in their accessibility. They are represented by the appropriate Commissioners (the equivalent of the national ministers). And just like national ministers, the Commissioners are appointed not elected.

In Europe political leaders have inherent operational restrictions: all issues must be addressed within the framework of Western democracy. Individuals alone are rarely qualified to decide as they are unaware of catastrophic consequences that would ensue if their demands were to be met. The problem “*is encapsulated by the simple fact that this painful passage through the ‘valley of tears’ lasts longer than the average period between elections, so that the temptation is great to postpone the difficult changes for the short-term electoral gains*”⁵

There is no democratic deficit there.

Indeed, the EU has ensured that EU citizens enjoy world-leading consumer protection, workers’ rights, and legal due-process, as well as peaceful co-existence.

⁵ Lord Rolf Dahrendorf (former European Commissioner), *The Guardian*, 19 June 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jun/19/ralf-dahrendorf-obituary-lords-lse>.

Every Member State in the EU is better off today than they were before they joined the Union.

The EU needs to look back at successful examples of co-operation the EU institutions developed with citizens and further promote trust between Civil Society and the EU institutions.

b) Develop a unifying vision for the 21st Century.

The EU is experiencing extensive challenges that were taken far too lightly by Europe's political leaders until these were knocking at the door. The EU is now being far too reactive and struggling to keep up with developments. Its initiatives are time and again in response to external developments — currently in particular:

i) Uncontrolled migration from the Middle-East and Africa into the EU territory that is stretching political cooperation and public opinion to the breaking point;

ii) Contraction of the Union. For the first time in its history a Member State is withdrawing from the EU. The outcome of the process and the future direction of EU-UK relations are uncertain; and

iii) Ambiguous US foreign policy (“America First”) with the resulting global implications. The EU must reconsider its role in the World.

The EU is inadequately equipped to recognise and adequately respond to unforeseen developments in a timely manner. The “Balkan Conflict”, “Financial Crisis”, “Arab Spring”, “Ukrainian Crisis”, “Islamic State”, etc. seem to have taken European political leaders completely by surprise and the EU response until now has been confused at best. The massive influx of people into Europe from other culture regions is a striking example. While the US-CIA⁶ did foresee this development several years earlier than it actually happened (as illustrated in *Figure 2*), the EU leaders were still “slipping”.

One has to acknowledge that much of what has transpired recently in the EU's approach to migration crises finds its origins in the historical guilt complex of many West-European countries as former colonial powers. Indeed, exploitation of colonies' human- and natural resources contributed to their wealth in Europe. *Figure 3* illustrates that almost the entire Africa was under administration (and exploitation!) of West-European countries. These countries' apparent guilt complex explains their seeming idealistic blindness and political simplicity in dealing with illegal migration to Europe.

This situation is crying out for a realistic and ambitious vision for the future of the EU in the 21st Century implemented by determined, visionary and strategic political leadership.

Yet there is hope: this challenging situation may provide the opportunity for an unanticipated Member State or group of Member States to rise like a phoenix and give the EU a new moral compass.

⁶ https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-/Demo_Trends_For_Web.pdf.

They include the political renaissance highlighted by the new French President⁷ and the expressed political ambition which seems to be reinvigorating the EU. The phoenix might even be one of the newer Member States who have deep historic experience with various belligerents and are free from the historical burden of colonial legacy. If willing, they do seem a most suitable candidate within today's EU-structure to occupy this challenging role.

The current flood of refugees and economic migrants coming to Europe further highlight Europe's perceived benefits. Being whimsical, the EU might consider that those wishing to come to Europe should produce the European narrative to appeal to the populous as they seem to be willing to face peril to become part of Europe. Seriously though, if one honestly analyses and distils the distinctive features of Europe one will reach certain inevitable conclusions AND one surprising conclusion:

The historical strength of Europe is based in its variety and multitude — as is its future.

If one looks at the geographical territory of Europe through history, it becomes clear that Europe has been settled-, invaded-, and overrun- by a myriad of peoples, cultures and races. It renders any reasoning to curb migration based around genetics moot.

There is no escaping the fact that — contrary to other cultural regions — the EU is an open, multi-ethnic society (a significant part of people live outside their home country, see *Figure 4*) where the multi-faceted cultural identity has led to a set of core values and legal traditions adhered to in Europe. However, one must immediately ward-off the right-populist narrative and look dispassionately at the issue.

An individual is not responsible for their gender, height, skin-, hair- or eye colour, etc. and should not be judged or discriminated against based upon these. Depending on one's worldview, these traits are the result of divine providence, fate, chance, environment and evolution, or karma.

And this brings us onto the issue of what a person can and should be judged upon: their actions and words. For they express the conscious choices that an individual has made — or to say it bluntly: their values. And that is what the EU is: a union of shared values.

So what are these elusive European values and can they be expressed clearly and be enshrined in law? European cultural- and legal traditions find their origins in ancient Greece and were further developed by the Romans. Later, Celtic and Slavic cultures and, subsequently, Arab influences played a significant role (even if Europe has never been a continent of Islam). Christianity and Judaism contributed basic moral principles that have been renewed and rationalised by the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment.

The above contribute to the fact that Europeans live in one of the most privileged parts of the world.

⁷ *French President Macron presents vision of post-Brexit Europe*, France 24, 26 Sept. 2017. <http://www.france24.com/en/20170926-live-french-president-macron-presents-vision-post-brexit-europe-eu-germany-election>

To help EU citizens better understand the value and importance of the EU for their daily life, the authors suggest that the EU urgently needs a strong historical narrative and new unifying ambition that EU citizens can empathise with.

c) Guard in legislation the cornerstones of what defines Europe.

“Give people bread and they will work for you — give them a story they can empathise with and they will fight for you”.⁸

Europe must tell its story so that people will want to stand-up for a united and peaceful Europe.

Therein lays the current dilemma of the European Union: while it has given people “bread” (security and prosperity) the EU been unable to advertise its achievements adequately. In fact, that has always been a difficulty of the European Union project. It has never been able to sell its “story” adequately.

It is ironic to observe that the EU’s benefits seem to be more apparent and attractive to those outside the European Union. The fact that so many countries have joined and more countries still wish to join EU is a further testament of the EU’s appeal.

Even Brexit is not dampening the European project. In fact, it may inadvertently have reinvigorated it.

One of the necessary preconditions for such a positive development would be that the EU defends the fundamental European values. So far, this is not being the case in connection with the current uncontrolled migration to the EU from other culture regions.

INDIVIDUALS WHO WISH TO COME TO THE EU, MUST ACCEPT FUNDAMENTAL EUROPEAN VALUES

As outlined afore European fundamental values are the result of a long and transformative development. The ensuing Europe is the current plethora of local cultures that nevertheless share certain essential genetically and racially neutral values:

- i) Primacy of all human life (including equality of genders and equality of minorities);
- ii) Rule of law (including equality of all citizens in- and under the law); and
- iii) Democracy and secular governance (including autonomy of State and Church).

All other matters can be discussed and compromises can and will be found with newcomers. The current liberal discourse is far too focussed upon details and neglects these essential elements. Europe must remain a tolerant and open society with an overriding sense of equity. However, the elements that make Europe so desirable must be defended. Idealistic blindness and political simplicity will deconstruct the Union and do as much damage as terrorist attacks.

⁸ Old Balkan proverb paraphrased origin unknown.

In this context the authors suggest taking inspiration from the example of modern German in its “Wehrhafte Demokratie”.⁹ The term translates inadequately as “Democracy willing to defend itself”. It expresses the ability and duty of the government, the parliament and the judiciary to defend the Fundamental- or Basic Law (Germany has no Constitution) and democratic liberal society against those who oppose or wish to undermine it. To this end the three Government branches were given and wield extensive powers and duties in Germany.¹⁰

Although these powers were originally laid down to protect against the rise of totalitarian- or autocratic regimes from the right and left, their usefulness must be employed in full in the current situation where the danger is not always readily visible but equally threatening.

So in the view of the authors there is a need to update and adapt European legislation to ensure that the three essential principles be enshrined and protected actively. For newcomers, one might envisage a form of “Oath of Allegiance to Europe” as a litmus test rather than the various “test of knowledge” that migrants may currently face in Europe?

Newcomers do not need to know detailed European history, but they must want to adhere to European laws and the essential values.

THE EU NEEDS A REALISTIC AND IMPLEMENTABLE “GRAND DESIGN” TO SECURE ITS CONTINUED EXISTENCE AND PROSPERITY

Europe needs to recall that their socio-political models are founded upon the principle of “social equity” and “legal equality”. In Europe it is well established that people by nature have varying strengths and weaknesses. True social equality is an illusion.

Individuals have the right to be offered fairness in opportunities and that is why perceived “equity” drives European societal models and politics, including the notion that social status and personal wealth should not determine due-process by the law.

The EU must have a vision of its future and there are three essential elements to be considered:

i) Should it remain intact with the possibility to develop into a ‘*Multi-Ethnic Grandeur*’ based on the European way of life? Or

ii) Should it lose its cohesive force and collapse into a ‘*Multi-Cultural Colossus*’ with parallel, fragmented and competing sub-societies with core values that may be at odds with each other? Or

iii) Should it take a “*Laisser-Faire Approach*” and leave things to run their own course without interfering and remain trapped in “reactive politics”?

⁹ <http://www.kas.de/wf/de/71.6249/>

¹⁰ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Streitbare_Demokratie

The “Grand Design” must provide guidance for the role of the EU structure versus the Member States. The EU can only be successful and strong when it is based on successful and strong Member States.

Therefore, political leaders at national- as well as EU levels need reliable advice in a timely manner.

But, as a matter of fact, most of the current EU advisory structures encompass disturbing shortcomings; above all, insufficient interface to- and representation of Civil Society, poor gender balance, and limited, if at all, participation of youth. Due to these shortcomings, there is a realistic risk that these bodies are easily becoming too close to Party-politics, or self-entertaining ‘academic discussion clubs’ of older people, or both.

The authors’ advice is that any sound and forward-looking political choice for the EU’s future direction that serves current- as well as future generation NECES-SITATES optimal involvement of European Civil Society.

OTHER KEY ISSUES

The authors suggest further that there are other critically important issues that must be taken into account when formulating the “Grand Design” for the EU:

1. *Real politics* — EU’s relation to other cultural regions:
 - i) Does the EU have moral- and/or legal right to impose the “Western democracy” on countries with different cultural traditions?
 - ii) How could the EU best build alliances with countries with different cultural traditions for mutual benefit — including culture, economy and security?
 - iii) How could the EU more efficiently assist the economic development of Middle-East and North- Africa without interfering in their social structures?

2. *Ticking bomb* — uncontrolled migration into the EU:
 - i) How could the EU better balance its legal- and moral obligations to help asylum seekers¹¹ with its own internal security interest, in particular anti-terrorism?
 - ii) How could it be ensured that asylum seekers (men and women) respect the European values and understand the European way of life, and comprehend that adhering to these is a minimum pre-condition for enjoying asylum in the EU?
 - iii) How could the EU efficiently assist asylum seekers to return to their place of origin to rebuild it (once normality has been re-established) in the context of its own long-term interest regarding addition to its fading workforce?

¹¹ There is a serious dilemma: when the EU bails-out boat people from the Mediterranean Sea, the help is directly supporting the criminal people-traffickers’ business model.

3. *Unresolved legacy* — historic minorities in the EU, above all the *indigenous communities*¹² and the *Roma (Gypsy) population*:¹³

i) Should the politically highly sensitive issue of the indigenous communities be addressed at the EU level?

ii) Should the EU more actively support the Roma population beyond producing (half-hearted) documents as so far?

iii) Or, should the book of History simply be closed and things left to run their own course?

PROGRESS OR BREAKDOWN

The EU leaders must remain faithful and steadfast to European Civil Society. Leaders must recognise that solutions to the monumental challenges will never be found in naïve humanitarianism nor political correctness or selfish economics.

The following warnings must be paid more attention to:

i) The EU must be ready to defend the European way of life and the European values; the latter have shaped Europe during hundreds of years;

ii) The EU needs a far-sighted immigration policy that serves its own interests and is not only dictated by external events; and

iii) The migrants into the EU must be made to understand that coming to Europe isn't just a translocation of the world they have left behind.

The EU must continue to be strong and determined in order to remain prosperous on the basis of the European way of life and Core Values. The EU must avoid an identity crisis through letting 'war of civilisations' sneak-in little-by-little from another dominant culture.¹⁴

We must face the reality:¹⁵

"...Multiculturalism does not mean that cultures blend. Mistrust prevails, communitarianism is rampant — parallel societies are forming that continuously distance themselves from each other."

¹² Millions of people in Central-East and South-East Europe that, following various rounds of international highest-level bargaining during the 20th Century, have found themselves in new countries purely as a consequence of the movement of national borders on maps. They have remained geographically stationary; indeed, their ancestors and families have lived at the same place for centuries. Many of them have unwittingly and/or unwillingly changed their nationality several times. At a recent lecture in Brussels a member of the Ukrainian Parliament told that members of his family have unwillingly changed their country-belonging eight times during three generations while living at the same place.

¹³ Of the 10–12 millions of Roma in Europe, some half of them live in the EU — many of those are victims of prejudice and social exclusion.

¹⁴ 9 May 2013 — <http://www.orthodoxytoday.org/view/either-europe-will-become-christian-again-or-it-will-become-muslim>.

¹⁵ Jean Birnbaum, "*Alain Finkielkraut joue avec le feu*", LE MONDE DES LIVRES, 23. 10. 2013.

The authors wish to close with a quote by Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of Germany:¹⁶

“It isn’t written in any bible that the Union in its current form will experience the end of the 21st Century. The /EU/ Heads of Governments are unaware of the situations seriousness.”

And a caution:¹⁷

“Thirty years ago, many Europeans saw multiculturalism — the embrace of an inclusive, diverse society — as an answer to Europe’s social problems. Today, a growing number consider it to be a cause of them. That perception has led some mainstream politicians, including British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, to publicly denounce multiculturalism and speak out against its dangers. It has fuelled the success of far-right parties and populist politicians across Europe, from the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands to the National Front in France. And in the most extreme cases, it has inspired obscene acts of violence, such as Anders Behring Breivik’s homicidal rampage on the Norwegian island of Utoya in July 2011.”

YET, AN ESSENTIAL QUESTION REMAINS...

Does the EU need low-skilled economic migrants when it has still been unable to create jobs for its more than 20 million unemployed people, many of whom are well educated youth.

And this unacceptable high figure will probably rise further following Brexit.

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Our main messages are:

1. The underlying philosophy of the old EU model is redundant; the steadily evolving global situation necessitates that the EU re-invent itself.

2. The EU needs to undertake a comprehensive reality check: agree on a realistic moral compass and develop a corresponding “Grand Design”. Civil Society MUST be part of this process.

3. The EU can only be successful and strong when it is based on successful and strong Member States.

¹⁶ Helmut Schmidt, “*Mein Europa*”, 3rd Edition, 2014, ISBN 978-3-455-50315-9.

¹⁷ Marts / April 2015 — <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/failure-multiculturalism>.

Attachment A

SITUATION MID-2017

The EU is witnessing an unimaginable human drama and facing a — in modern time — not- experienced monumental challenge of uncontrolled human migration from another cultural region. Political leaders' responses are temporary fixes — another example of their short-sightedness.

Every country has the moral and legal obligation to help each and every refugee to the best of their ability. But without conducting real politics and longer-term strategic thinking — including how to return refugees to their place of origin when normalities have been re-established there — the EU's future remains unclear and dim, and will continue to slip-slide into new crises.

Bill Gates in a recent interview expressed the view that Europe was committing suicide with its lax migration policy, while it is robbing Africa of its most talented.¹⁸

More than ever before, political wisdom and leadership are needed to agree on what future direction the EU should take and how a long-term immigration policy will fit into it.

In the current situation, while providing immediate humanitarian aid to refugees, migrants and asylum seekers, the EU must above all consider its own long-term interests and must have the strength and ability to continue its historic journey as a prosperous and peaceful entity based on the genetically and racially neutral Core Values adhered to in Europe.

It bears notice that not every migrant is a refugee. Wanting a better life and prospects is a legitimate desire, but not a legitimate right.

In the context of the migrant crisis facing Europe, some European political leaders have chosen what was thought to be the path of populist desire and least resistance. These politicians have reinterpreted international agreements, UN treaties, EU charter accords, and even changed language to follow perceived momentary public opinion.

On the question of Migrants and Refugees the EU is governed by the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention,¹⁹ and by the EU Dublin Regulation.²⁰

The UN Convention lays down the obligations of signatory Countries AND of those individuals who wish to be considered refugees and are seeking asylum.

According to the Convention when an individual reaches the first secure territory from the region the individual is supposedly fleeing, the person must present themselves to the authorities and express their desire to seek asylum. The authorities must with due diligence assess the asylum-seekers claim and identity. If and when this process is completed and the response is affirmative the individual becomes a legal refugee with a number of rights, including housing, clothing and food.

¹⁸ 5 July 2017 — news. com. au

¹⁹ <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>.

²⁰ EU Regulation No. 604/2013

What can be observed in the EU is that certain Member States (Germany first and foremost) consider every new arrival “a refugee” until the opposite is proven. Even when the opposite is true and they should legally return to their country of origin then the individuals receive papers that tolerate them to remain in Germany nearly indefinitely.

What is even more remarkable is that Germany only has internal EU borders and the EU has no external borders towards territories engaged in war. Furthermore Germany has proven its unwillingness and inability to ascertain and verify the identity of those arriving. Naturally, it has been abused by terrorists who have been using the migrant flows to move around Europe on the one hand, and to a blanket-persecution of legitimate refugees and migrants. Every European citizen is legally obliged to be able to prove their identity and this must also be the rule for new-arrivals.

Populist opinion making — including the media — on both sides of the spectrum are unhelpful and further aggravate an already explosive situation. Europe is- and must remain above all a society governed by Laws.

The danger formed by succumbing to short-lived popular opinion should be apparent to all who remember history — Germany first and foremost.

Attachment B

INDEPENDENT EXPERT ADVICE

Based on intensive discussions and with a realistic appraisal of the state of the European Union (next page), a group of international experts at the Global Round Table on the 12th of May 2017 in Bucharest formulated the following advice for the attention of political leaders.²¹

In the light of recent dramatic developments a group of concerned experts from all over Europe came together to discuss the future direction of the European Union: “Progress or Breakdown?”

The aim of The Global Round Table meeting was to help citizens regain confidence in the EU, and that the EU reliably serves its citizens. The discussion was motivated by European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker’s public meeting in Bucharest the preceding day, and opened by H. E Teodor Melescanu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

The international experts agreed on the indisputable value added of the European Union, explicitly:

i) Without the Union, Europe would not be the stable and sought-after place it has become;

ii) The history of the EU has time after time shown that its attractiveness and strength comes from common European values, as well as unity, solidarity, cohesion and ambition for the future;

iii) The EU is a European public good in itself and reached its aim for the 20th Century: namely peace among and prosperity for its Members.

The experts also recognised that the Brexit referendum has revealed a need for a profound democratic evaluation and renovation of the EU and its institutions.

The EU’s duty must remain to ensuring democracy, peace and security in Europe, as well as well-being for citizens. Member States need to understand each other’s concerns and refrain from divisive measures.

Therefore, the European Union must:

a) Find a new unifying vision and ambition for the 21st Century built upon distinct and shared European values. Internal- and external security and social cohesion and job creation must remain paramount.

b) Provide in full European public goods such as border-protection, combating terrorism, sharing intelligence, etc. These will give true meaning to the Union in public consciousness ie: give the EU its “story to unite behind”.

c) Reform the Euro area and enhance the involvement of civil society in EU policy making to decrease the possibility for unethical corporate players to undermine trust in the EU;

²¹ Co-organised with The Club of Romania.

The expert advice has been transmitted to Presidents and Ministers in the EU and the Member States and other relevant senior individuals in both Bucharest and Brussels.

d) Give greater importance to public contentment in policy making. The EU's support mechanisms (e. g.: Cohesion Policy and Common Agricultural Policy.) have a clear value-added in enhancing societal growth and narrowing economic disparities in the EU.

Only then will the EU structure be able to equip itself adequately to respond to unforeseen developments.

*No civilisation in history has yet outlasted time.
Europe needs to heed this warning.*

Background of the Expert Advice

The EU has achieved its aim for the 20th Century: Peace and Prosperity among its Members.

But the Brexit vote and similar evolving phenomena in other EU Member States are wake-up calls that signal that the very existence of the EU is now under threat. The rise of anti-EU parties and sentiment, general distrust in the EU and falling electoral turn-out are parallel red-flags — also reflecting political autism of many leaders and elites.

The EU must agree on a shared long-term ambition. Moreover, the EU must renovate its institutions, making them more transparent and useful not only to its own citizens, but also to other European democracies like Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, and prospective new Member States like Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia.

The EU must realise that neither naïve humanity, nor political correctness, nor selfish economics will deliver the right answers to the current complex of challenges, nor can the EU save the rest of the World in all matters — the EU must choose priorities critical to its existence:

— *Reminding* that contemporary European cultural identity was laid-down by the Greek and Roman civilisations. Celtic, Slavic and Arab cultural influence have offered positive contributions. Christianity and Judaism have supplied the basic moral principles that have been renewed and rationalised by the Renaissance, Reformation and the Enlightenment;


— *Reminding* of one of the EU's founding fathers' vision that the cornerstone of the European integration project must be based on Europe's cultural identity. Essential values to Europe explicitly include:

- Primacy of human life (including equality of genders and equality of minorities);
- Equality of all citizens in- and under the law; and
- Autonomy of State and Church;

— *Considering* that EU Member States belong to the same civilisation of European democratic families;

— *Considering* that the EU is the most successful construction in the history of Europe to nurture peace and co-existence while respecting the right to self-determination of nations and peoples;

- *Considering* that the EU has helped free Spain and Portugal from dictatorships and Central and Eastern Europe from the control of the former Soviet Union;
- *Recognising* that the EU is facing new challenges some obvious and predictable; while others have arisen with little- or no forewarning;
- *Insisting* upon the importance of EU's continued leadership in the struggle to combat global climate change and similar challenges;
- *Reaffirming* the legal and moral obligations of all EU Member States to aid and assist legal refugees as defined under United Nations Charter Provisions;
- *Recognising* the evolving global demographic trends, and in particular the scale of uncontrolled migration from the Middle-East and Northern-Africa into the EU territory is stretching political cooperation and public opinion to the breaking point;
- *Recognising* that the perceived global post-Cold-War geo-political stability is under threat;
- *Recognising* that the EU needs to recover the necessary moral strength and political wisdom to meet external- and internal challenges and to continue its historic journey as a democratic, peaceful and prosperous entity;
- *Recognising* that ambitious EU initiatives ("*New Start for Europe*", "*Lisbon Strategy*", "*Europe 20-20- 20*", "*White Paper on the Future of Europe*" etc.) are often not readily understandable nor emotionally accessible to the general EU public.

Country	Flag	Population (2016)
Germany		81,089,331
France		66,352,469
Italy		61,438,480
Spain		46,439,864
Poland		38,005,614
Romania		19,861,408
Netherlands		17,155,169

over 20 million unemployed EU citizens!

Figure 1. Six largest EU Member States
 (<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdec450>)

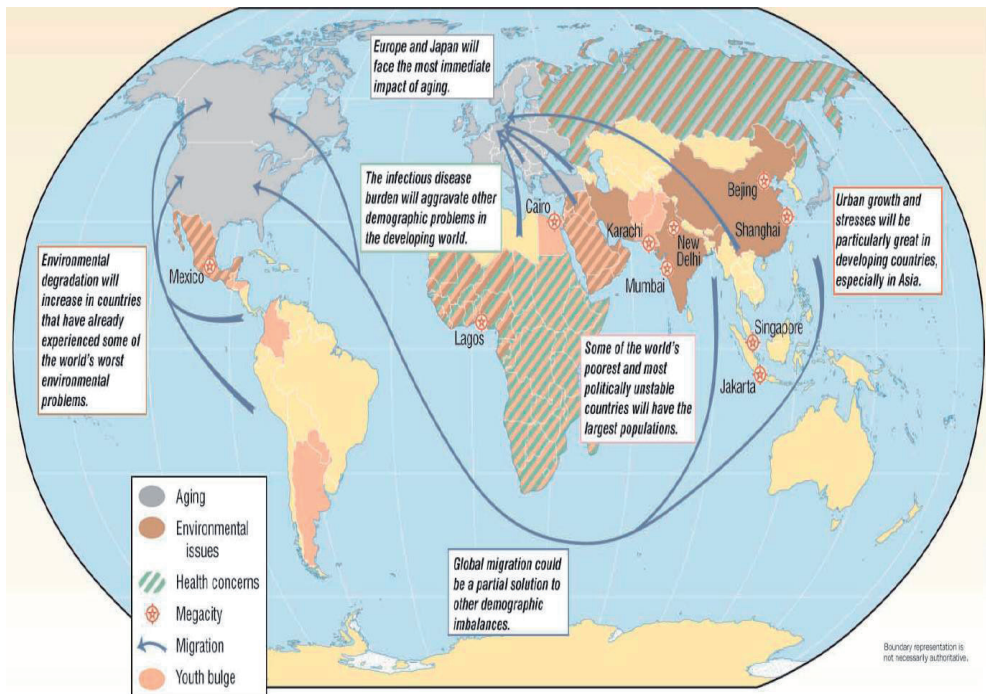


Figure 2. Reshaping the Global Geopolitical Landscape
 Snapshot of Global Demographic Trends At the turn of 20th to 21st Century.
 (<https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-/DemoTrendsForWeb.pdf>.
 (July 2001))

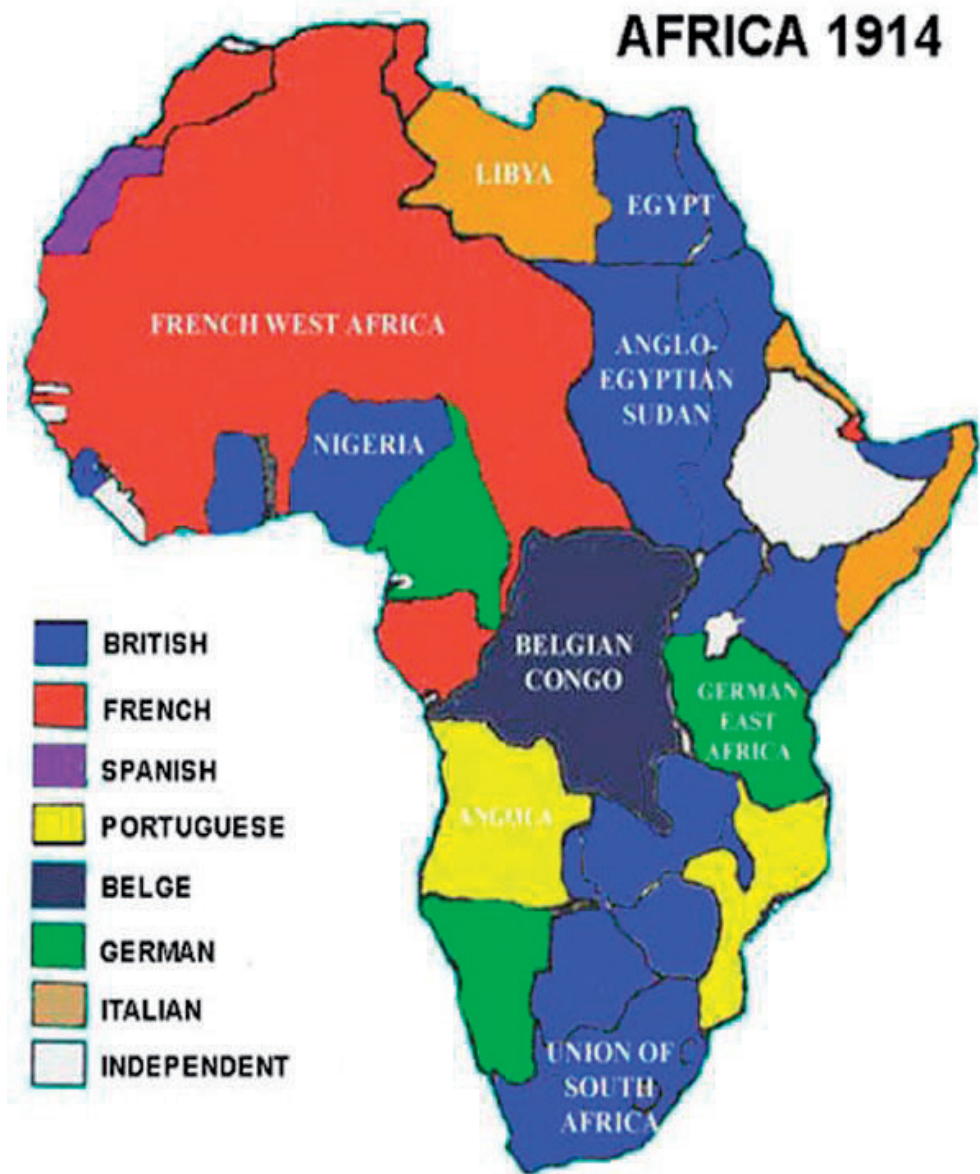


Figure 3. European Colonial Powers in Africa 1914
(<https://peterrock12.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/0090.jpg>)

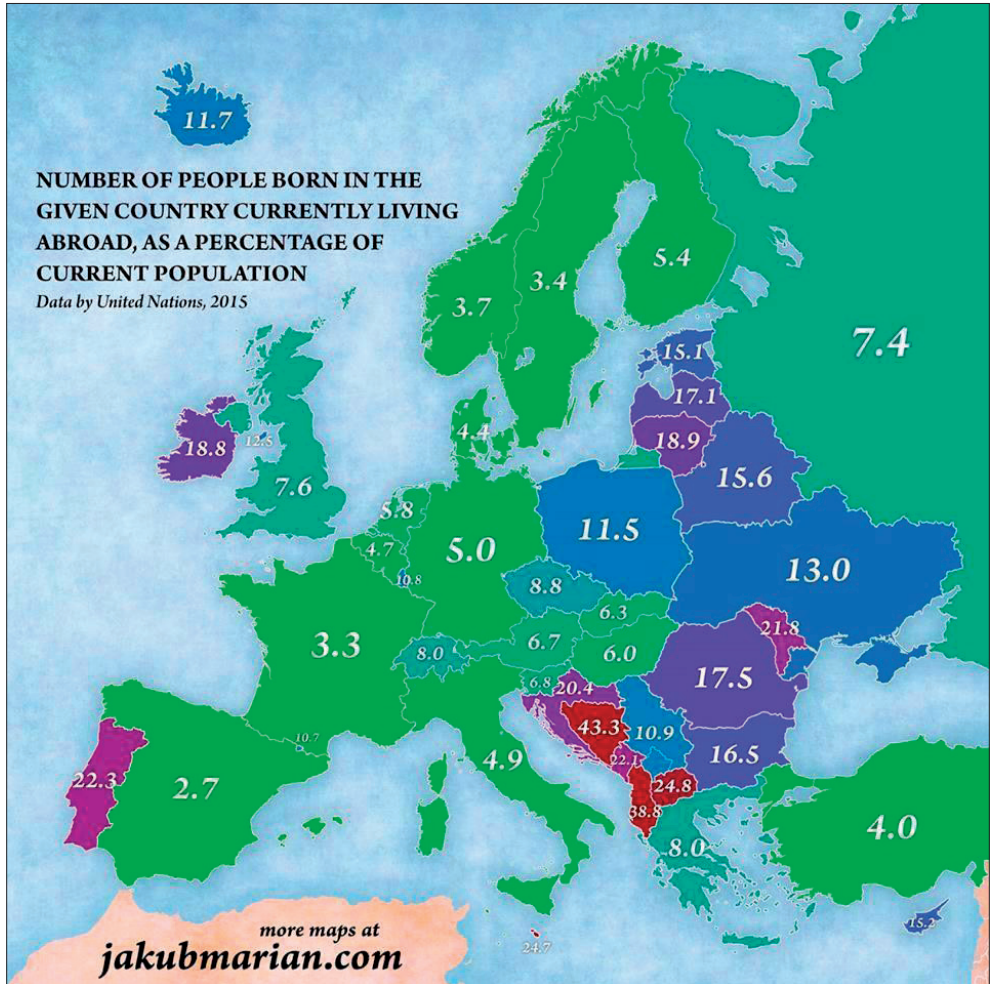


Figure 4. Number of People Born in a Given Country Living Abroad As a Percentage of Population, 2015 UN Data. (https://www.reddit.com/r/europe/comments/636uu9/number_of_people_born_in_the_given_country/)