



# 89ERS: WRITING THE NEXT CHAPTER

1989  
GENERATION  
INITIATIVE



I don't know whether the 89ers will come together as a defining political generation, how they will act and – as important – how they will react when "stuff happens", as stuff will. But one thing is clear: on them will depend the future of our past.

**Timothy Garton Ash**

Professor of European Studies  
at Oxford University

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### **It started with a call to action...**

On the 7th of December 2014, Oxford Professor Timothy Garton Ash issued a challenge to the next generation of European citizens. In an article written for the Guardian, he called on Europe's '89ers' - the generation born in or around the tumultuous year of 1989 - to take ownership of their and Europe's future, and save it from its current malaise.

He lamented the absence of this group from European affairs predicting a slow, tortuous unravelling of the European Project, should the 89ers not quickly emerge as leaders of a revival.

Responding to the call of Timothy Garton Ash, then-students at the European Institute, LSE, established the 1989 Generation Initiative. Committed to developing - and uniting Europeans behind - a new purpose for the EU, it has since engaged large numbers of 89ers and visionary leaders in politics and civil society, inspired by its cause, to develop policy proposals designed to re-invigorate the European Project.

### **Building a new European mission**

Amidst crisis and internal conflict, the European Project is in urgent need of reform. With the growing threat of terrorism, the prospect of Brexit, the rise of nationalist forces and instability caused by waves of migration from the Southern Neighbourhood, new impetus is necessary. Yet the EU is exhausted and lacks the power to regenerate itself. There is an absence of mission - or clear purpose. A new vision for the EU is needed, one capable of inspiring and uniting Europeans of different culture, language, and faith in a fast-changing world.

The 89ers are those who will shortly assume the mantle of leadership, yet they find themselves dis-unified, disinterested and disaffected. They will need to awaken from this slumber, for without their ideas, actions and ownership, the European Project will decline, then fall. For the Project to realise its potential in the long term, the 89ers will need to play the central role - starting today.

Yet they cannot do it alone: A broader process of intergenerational dialogue, consensus-building, and practical implementation over many years is necessary, where new vision is designed, then put into action. This should go beyond the 89ers and involve a broader coalition of European citizens. Yet, as the generation of Europe's future, it is the 89ers that must lead this universal process of EU reinvigoration. The 1989 Generation Initiative aims to inspire and mobilise 89ers to join it in embracing this responsibility, representing a beacon of hope for the future of Europe.

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## Policies for People

We call on 89ers and European citizens more broadly to coalesce around one single, seemingly simple idea:

That Europe should have as its core aim the improvement of its citizens' lives; that this should be the driving force behind its broad directions and policies; and that the premise must transcend political ideology, party affiliation, national boundaries, professional discipline and age.

We put this premise forward as a fundamental starting point and request broad collaboration to build upon, better define and plan the long-term implementation of a new action plan for Europe, with the notion at its heart.

Through initial discussions, we have identified three broad principles that we feel ought to be plugged into a new mission for Europe, emerging from the idea of 'policies for people'.

## Connectivity between citizens

In this hyper-digitalised world, connections between individuals are easier and more immediate. As a generation, the 89ers must use this to their advantage and create in Europe a great web of interconnections, where material barriers are transcended and interactions in all areas promoted.

In trade, education, politics, and security, connectivity should be fostered between citizens and governments, bringing out the best of our potential. Whilst Europe might design policies that promote this, these cannot be top-down, nor overbearing.

The 1989 Generation Initiative suggests that the EU do only the things that its people cannot themselves achieve. Networks of citizens should be built by citizens; networks of states, by states! It is time to build a continent-wide web, connecting citizens and states in different formats, and for different purposes: Social networks for students or start-up platforms for entrepreneurs; intelligence sharing systems to counter terrorism; or, pan-European political parties extending across borders. Networks build connections and connections foster social and political development. As the world moves from a system of hierarchies to an array of looser collectives, Europe must be best placed to prosper.

To this end, the 1989 Generation Initiative invites 89ers and citizens to join it in envisioning, and building, a Europe of connectivity: The Europe of the network.

## Solidarity with citizens

The Eurozone and migrant crises demonstrate the need for new principles by which we respond to collective adversity.

Member states must embrace their responsibility as part of something bigger, and defend the rights and prosperity not merely of their own citizens, but of Europeans more broadly. Only this will form the basis of true European solidarity.

Such solidarity underpins all efforts to share intelligence, provide safety nets for the most vulnerable and assume global responsibility - necessary if we are to conquer our greatest existential crises. The 1989 Generation Initiative urges the European Union to embrace the principle of solidarity as a means of bettering lives. Only thus will we defeat terror and revitalise our European South.

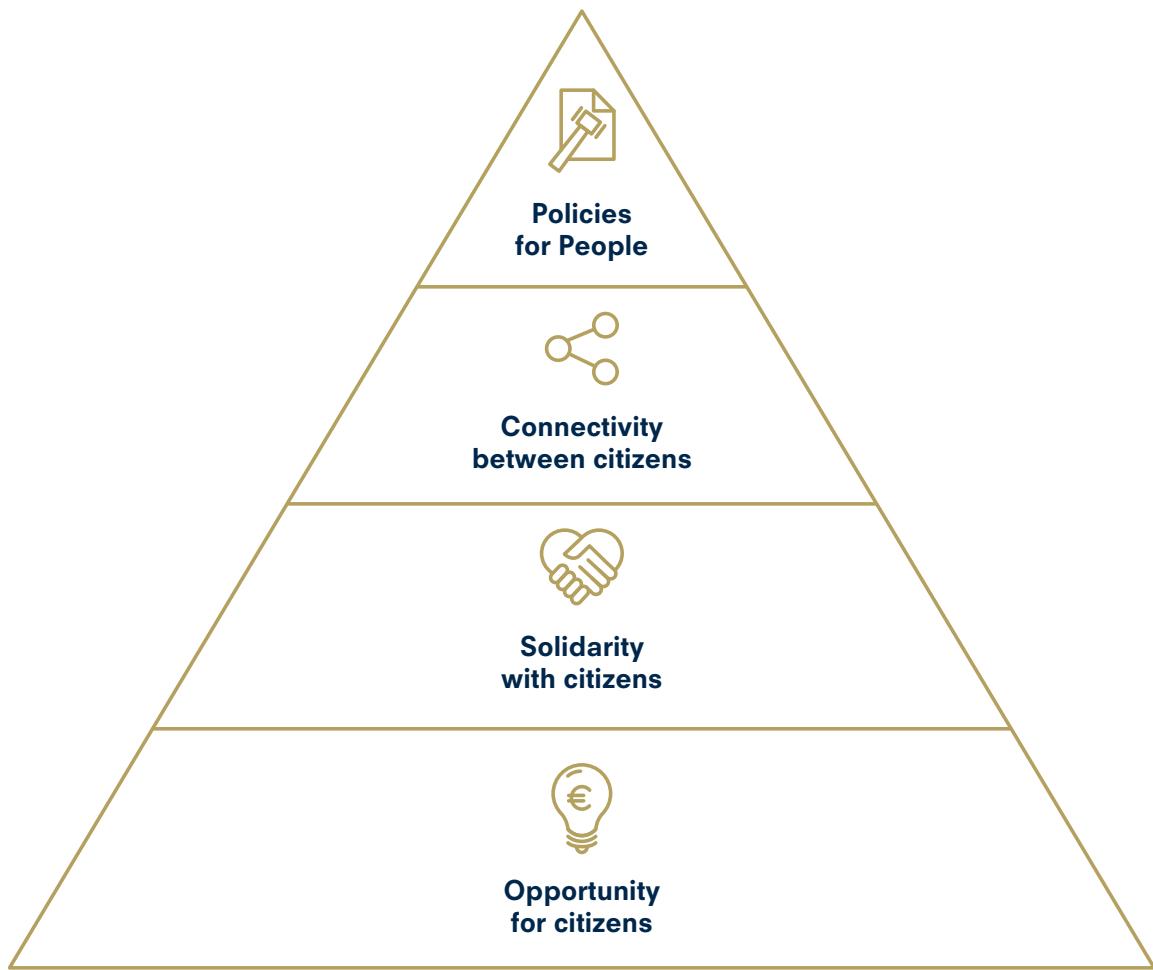
Most importantly, in this way alone will trust between governments and peoples be built, feeding the virtuous circle: As trust increases across politics and society, so will solidarity. The 1989 Generation Initiative calls upon all interested to share ideas for the creation of a Europe where trust, mutual assistance and solidarity foster a safer, more prosperous environment upon which citizens' aspirations may best be realised.

## Opportunity for citizens

The history of Europe is a history of great ideas and innovations. But behind each of these is a great scientist, artist or political thinker.

Consistent with the notion of policies for people, is the premise that systems must be created to allow citizens to best fulfil their potential: A Europe of universal opportunity.

If Europe is to continue to play a prominent role in the progress of human civilisation, its citizens must be inspired to dream, and be empowered to achieve. A Europe of excellence across sectors relies on a Europe in which opportunity exists. The 1989 Generation Initiative contends that every citizen - regardless of nationality, faith or age - should be empowered to achieve their particular aspirations and shape their society. This can happen through private enterprise, scientific research or political activity, in accordance with the simple idea that happiness and personal fulfilment must be open to all.



We call on you to join us, and contribute ideas for the reinvention - perhaps even relaunch - of the European Union, based upon these universal principles.

Our ideas and consensus will create a roadmap; our actions a reality. It is time to unite in vision, to bridge the gap between thinking and doing, and write the next chapter in the history of Europe.

We ask you now to consider our proposals.



# POLITICS & INSTITUTIONS

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**In the eyes of many Europeans, the EU is complex, distant and undemocratic. The 1989 Generation Initiative believes that strengthening its accountability, transparency and representativeness will substantially improve citizens' perceptions of the EU as well as its overall image as a democratic entity. In turn, this would spark increased popular interest and trust in EU institutions, whilst fostering new dynamics in politics at the supranational level.**



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## Better regulation of EU lobbying

The 1989 Generation Initiative calls for a Mandatory Registry of lobbying activity applicable to all EU institutions, bringing greater transparency to dealings between decision makers and outside interests. In order to ensure full transparency, a 'legislative footprint' is essential.

This must involve a detailed public record of all meetings and external factors that influence the shaping of EU legislation. The 1989 Generation Initiative urges the EU to take action to guarantee equality, both of access and opportunity, for all European citizens through the adoption of this mechanism.

### **Reformed selection process of the European Commission President**

The 1989 Generation Initiative calls moreover for the reformed selection of the President of the European Commission, based on the majority parliamentary group in the European Parliament. Particularly, the system of 'lead candidates' should be institutionalised as part of the European Parliament election campaigns. The 1989 Generation Initiative urges the EU to ensure the fair representation of all citizens in its decision-making via the transparent appointment of its executive.

### **Impact**

The two proposals must work in synergy to enhance the accountability, transparency and representativeness of the EU. Together, they will spur civic participation in political decision-making and prevent future generations of Europeans becoming alienated from EU politics.

A stricter framework for the exercise of lobbying activities in the EU, coupled with the reformed selection of the European Commission President, will inject greater political accountability into the EU: Transparency will be restored through the introduction of a comprehensive legislative footprint, tracking the constructive exchange of expertise between decision-makers, businesses and civil society; on the other hand, an institutionalised system of lead candidates for the selection of the EU executive will greatly empower European citizens, and help democratise the European Commission.



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## Proposals in detail



### Proposal 1: Better regulation of EU lobbying

The 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the implementation of a mandatory register, the introduction of an obligatory legislative footprint, as well as the creation of a body for its supervision. The EU Transparency Register was revised on 27 January 2015 to include changes to the declaration on human resources and estimated costs. Also, an 'alerts and complaints' procedure was created to allow for greater scrutiny of allegedly misleading information.

Furthermore, since the 1st of December 2014, the European Commission has published information on meetings of Commissioners, members of their cabinets and Directors-General with lobbyists. This new system aims to improve the quality of data provided by registered organisations. However, it lacks supervision and regulation. In addition, there exists no system of information on legislative input from lobbyists for EU regulations. Whilst some member states already have such a measure in place, the EU lags far behind. The European Parliament has called several times (2008, 2011 and 2014) for the establishment of a mandatory transparency register, to no avail.

#### Opaque and unfair lobbying

The data quality and transparency of the current register is poor. When declared, information is often inaccurate or incomplete when comparing the expenditure of some firms on lobbying activities with the number of meetings.

Thus, the Transparency Register is counter-productive as it paints a false picture of current lobbying activity, whilst the public do not have an accurate measure of EU lobbying activities. Furthermore, although the register allows for more clarity on the 'form' of activities, there is no transparency on the 'content'. The European Commission has recently started the registration of meetings, but this is not extended to everyone involved in the decision making (i.e European Parliament, Council of the EU and European Commission's lower-level management and officials). In addition, there is no information about verbal or written input provided by lobbyists on EU legislation.

The current system allows resourceful multinationals to be in an advantageous position to lobby on EU legislation. 75% of lobby meetings are with corporate and industry representatives. A Transparency International report shows a strong link between lobbying budgets and access to policy-makers in EU institutions. Other actors that have fewer resources, such as NGOs (18% of meetings), think tanks (4%), municipal (2%) and grassroots organisations have their interests represented to a far lesser extent. Moreover, the distribution of meetings across portfolios shows a deep imbalance between certain sectors. The four most lobbied portfolios are Energy, Growth, Digital Economy and Financial Markets; and the least are Regional Policy, Home Affairs, Humanitarian Aid and Neighbourhood. Such imbalances must urgently be addressed.



## Policy Recommendations

The 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the Transparency Register to be made mandatory so that no one can access EU policy-makers without being registered. This will make policy-makers responsible for adopting this code of conduct, holding meetings only with registered lobbyists.

If a breach occurs, they will be subject to sanctions. Lobbyists will, in turn, have the responsibility to provide accurate and regularly updated information on the Register.

In order to bring transparency to the content of lobbying, there is an urgent need for the creation of a 'legislative footprint' where records of meetings and written input from lobbyists will be systematically documented.

The legislative footprint should be mandatory for the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Council of the EU. This would allow citizens to become aware of external actors involved indirectly in the making of EU policy.

A supervisory body will ensure the registration of lobbyists in the Transparency Register and the completion of the legislative footprint by policy-makers. The Transparency Register Secretariat to some extent, already fulfills this task of oversight.

However, the Secretariat needs increased resources to allow for better supervision, the activation of a sanctioning mechanism, and to address imbalances in representation. The supervisory body should monitor both the accuracy of information provided in the Transparency register and compliance to the legislative footprint.

Accordingly, it should report on fraud and impose sanction mechanisms - such as a temporary withdrawal of access for lobbyists and appropriate punishment for policy-makers - should rules be breached. The supervisory body should also place a strong emphasis on encouraging the greater participation of less represented interests such as NGOs, think tanks, municipal and grassroots organisations.

This could be achieved through active and regular communication, as well as through more intensive EU engagement with these organisations.

The aforementioned changes will bring fairer and more diverse representation of interests to the political process and increased transparency of EU lobbying activities. As a result, the public will be reassured about the integrity of EU policy-making whilst the accountability of its policymakers will be restored.

This will grant them, in turn, greater legitimacy. These improvements are expected to spur civic participation in the medium-term.

The implementation challenges to consider are related to a budget increase for the creation, or empowerment, of a supervisory body. In addition, there is a risk that over-formalisation of the lobbying activities could deter some and push others to seek new, informal channels of influence.

## Let's restore EU integrity!

The proposed reforms are a minor challenge when considering the potential benefits that will result from such changes: The image of EU lobbying will be improved only through restored transparency; through this, EU policy-makers will gain accountability and integrity. Perhaps most importantly, the EU will become a much more legitimate entity in the eyes of the European public, with representation of diverse interests, as well as engagement with a wider civil society, now ensured.



## Proposal 2: Reformed selection process of the European Commission President

The EU faces a political crisis: with anti-European movements gaining momentum across the continent, never before have EU institutions been as mis-trusted and maligned. That the EU's executive body, the European Commission, is appointed, not elected, contributes to perceptions of the EU as elitist, impenetrable, and undemocratic. Voters' opinions are not represented in the process. Strengthening and institutionalising the 'lead candidate' procedure for European Parliament elections should increase the legitimacy of the EU as a whole, addressing questions of democratic deficit and lack of transparency, whilst enabling citizens to better understand and engage with EU politics.

### A challenged democratic exercise

The European Commission exercises great influence in EU decision making, yet European citizens have no say in determining its direction. This alienates those whom it is meant to serve and exacerbates perceptions of the EU's democratic deficit. Furthermore, the European Parliament - as citizen assembly and supposed bastion of European democracy - sustains little influence over the European Commission and interferes only infrequently in its affairs - the 1999 corruption scandal a rare exception.

The lead candidates procedure was introduced in 2014 as an attempt to institutionalise the selection process of the European Commission President, based on the majority parliamentary group. By doing so, it sought to address questions of representation and democratic deficit. However, the procedure was poorly designed, with the majority of voters unaware of its workings: Few national political parties conveyed this information to the public during the campaign; whilst following the election, several member states were reluctant to endorse the lead candidate of the majority European party. As such, the democratic nature of the process should be brought into serious question.

What is more, the voter turnout in EU elections has consistently been decreasing, to a low of 42.62% in 2014. Meanwhile, extreme anti-system opposition parties have doubled their representation in European Parliament since the last elections. In view of decreasing public interest in European politics and growing Euroscepticism, the EU should place high on its agenda the regaining of its citizens' trust.



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## Policy Recommendations

The 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the strengthening and institutionalisation of the lead candidates procedure.

The Lisbon Treaty (TFEU Article 223.1) grants the European Parliament the right to propose EU electoral reform requiring unanimous approval by the Council of the EU and the Member States. The European Parliament must boldly exercise this right, whilst abandoning the condition on member state ratification.

Prior to elections, all relevant information about lead candidates should be made publicly available at least 12 weeks before the election day to ensure public awareness. It is of utmost importance that the European Parliament ensure that European citizens are fully informed, and thus best able to exercise their democratic rights at the ballots. Moreover, national parties should be strongly encouraged to spread information about their affiliation to a European political party, as well as the candidate they support for the European Commission presidency. To this end, the 1989 Generation initiative proposes the inclusion both of the national party and lead candidates in ballot papers to ensure citizens are fully aware of the consequences of their choice. This measure will help ensure that results are not challenged by some Heads of State, as has previously been the case. Finally, member states should not sustain the right to challenge the result of the European elections: Following elections, the candidate of the majority parliamentary group should be appointed President of the European Commission, without further consultation.

The strengthening of the lead candidates procedure will enable voters to hold both the European Parliament and the President of the European Commission to account, rewarding their successes and sanctioning their mistakes every four years. The measure will enable European citizens - collectively - to decide the direction of the EU, generating broad sentiments of popular empowerment and ownership at the European level; that their vote counts.

That selection of the European Commission President is directly determined by voters should increase the legitimacy of both the European Commission and the EU. At the same time, institutionalising the lead candidates procedure will improve the transparency of EU decision-making. Furthermore, increased legitimacy, transparency and accountability will foster a new sense of European citizenship – enabling citizens to better understand and participate in the functioning of the EU. In the medium- to long-term, the benefits will be reflected in higher voter turnouts at EU elections. Citizens will be better equipped to make informed decisions and to analyse the discourse of candidates, in addition to understanding EU mechanisms and more able to identify populist rhetoric.

One main challenge of implementation is the need to establish an adequate mechanism - enshrined in law - to prevent Member States from interfering with the selection procedure. Another challenge would be to ensure efficient communication to citizens about the effects of their vote and the creation of public awareness before and throughout the election period.

The European institutions need to be at the heart of this effort, given its crucial importance to the success of the measure.

## Electoral reform for a democratic EU!

These challenges are minor when compared to the potentially great benefits of the policy. Through reformed selection of the European Commission President, a direct line will be drawn between citizens and EU institutions, whose greater legitimacy and accountability will allow for the exercise of stronger EU leadership, at a time when this is crucial. Citizens will at last possess the opportunity to shape and influence the EU - something that a true European democracy should provide. With Europe's future in the hands of its informed citizens, democratic deficit will be addressed, and the emergence of a European civic identity assured. Through this, the EU will over time emerge as an exemplar of positive public engagement and a beacon of democratic legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens.





# ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

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Since the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, European economies have witnessed uneven recovery, with sluggish growth in some areas and recession in others. Economic and social hardship has sparked a loss of legitimacy at both supranational and national levels, leading to the emergence of parties that threaten the development - perhaps even survival - of the EU.

Every political crisis has an economic back story, and this one is no different. As such, resolution of EU's political crisis requires addressing key structural flaws in the EU's economic governance. To this end, the 1989 Generation Initiative envisions a Europe of greater solidarity in times of economic hardship, and one that goes further in providing leadership on global environmental challenges through the utilisation of idle resources.

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## **Common European Unemployment Insurance Scheme**

A large proportion of EU citizens still bear the socio-economic impact of the 2008 financial crisis. In light of this, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the establishment of a ‘Common European Unemployment Insurance Scheme’. Europe urgently needs a mechanism to protect its citizens from shocks that contribute not only to unemployment, but also to related social and political pressures.

## **European Green Innovation Fund**

In order to address issues of growth, investment and climate change simultaneously, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes the creation of a ‘Green Innovation Fund’. By taking up a ‘first-mover’ role, the EU will be able to set the green economic agenda through the channelling of idle capital into the productive economy. In this way, millions of ‘green collar jobs’ will be created, placing Europe on a sustainable path to recovery.

## **Impact**

Employment is at the centre of both proposals. The first proposes a pan-European ‘top-up’ of existing unemployment benefits, accrued during ‘good times’ and utilised during ‘bad times’. The second not only paves the way for the creation of multiple well-paid jobs, but also tackles the truly existential problem of climate change.

The direction set out is one of a joint economic future, and a recognition of the contribution of all European citizens and member states. Common unemployment insurance will allow resources to be distributed across Europe to where they are most needed, whilst the Green Innovation Fund sets a clear direction for future growth and investment priorities across the continent.



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## Proposals in detail



### Proposal 1: Common European unemployment insurance scheme

To tackle structural unemployment and address asymmetric shocks occurring across the EU, the 1989 Generation Initiative suggests the establishment of a 'Common European Unemployment Insurance Scheme'.

#### The EU lacks a human face

Short-term unemployment is a key contributor to the fall in aggregate demand, spurring vicious recessionary trends. When economic crisis strikes, it is imperative to use the correct tools to stop and reverse this self-fulfilling, downward spiral. However, countries of the Eurozone find themselves in an economic straight-jacket: Whilst sharing a common currency, there exists no common EU budget from which resources can be transferred to the most vulnerable.

As such, when countries are hit by an asymmetric shock, the EU's present economic governance system is simply unable to cope. During the recent financial crisis, certain countries suffered disproportionately from unemployment - such as Spain - which has experienced youth unemployment rates of over 50%. With labour markets increasingly interconnected, shocks occurring in one country may have spillover effects into others.



#### Policy recommendations

We propose an 'Common Unemployment Insurance Scheme' which would create a stockpile of resources, used to address future shocks. These resources would be built up during economic booms - with contributions of both the private and public sector - and would provide a safety net, helping to tackle unemployment during busts. Implementation of the scheme would take place over time, fostering mobility and helping to create a single EU labour market. As this fund will focus on cyclical unemployment, insurance payments will be limited in time and size, topping up national benefits where required. Moreover, it should include an appropriate incentive structure in order to limit moral hazard and avoid permanent transfers from some countries to others. Given the structure of the Eurozone, this scheme must apply to the entirety of the currency union. However, in the spirit of solidarity, other EU countries should have the

opportunity to join.

The unemployment insurance scheme will help absorb shocks to the European economy. Moreover, it will allow for more dynamic labour markets with access to a wider array of jobs facilitated, and individuals enjoying greater financial security. As the fund will prevent cyclical unemployment from turning into structural unemployment, economies will return more quickly to normal output levels, something which will, in turn, stimulate job demand. Furthermore, even countries experiencing an economic boom would benefit from the scheme, as this would increase the economic stability of trading partners, whilst different member states could benefit from the scheme at different points of their economic cycles.

The unemployment insurance scheme will further enhance the social dimension of the EU, by specifically targeting the unemployed and those hit hardest by the economic downturn.

Of course, integration fatigue may create resistance amongst member states towards the idea of fiscal transfers. Let it be emphasised, however, that through the scheme, fiscal transfers between countries would be limited. Rather, surplus resources from booms would be made available for use during busts. To reinforce this, a mechanism should be built-in to determine member state contributions according to their size and economic strength, reducing the potential for moral hazard.

#### Let employment be the driver in solving recessions!

The current economic malaise shows the importance of employment as one of the main engines of the economy. Unemployment places the burden of recession upon people who do not necessarily bear responsibility for the crisis. Moreover, preventing cyclical unemployment from turning into structural employment can significantly shorten economic recessions. The common fund would help strengthen economic cohesion and reduce disparities in levels of development across the EU. Its importance is great and its implementation necessary. In this spirit, the 1989 Generation Initiative urges the EU to act fast, before crisis strikes again.



## Proposal 2: European Green Innovation Fund

The 1989 Generation Initiative proposes the establishment of a Green Innovation Fund, allowing the EU to drive the pace of change and lead the shift towards a green economy, creating jobs for its citizens in the short-term, and a more sustainable environment in the long term.

### A stalled economic engine and environmental opportunities

Since the recession, markets have remained nervous about the EU's economic prospects. Despite the European Central Bank's effort to allay their fears, this has not provided the necessary kick-start. Growth and - more importantly - investment, continues to be at an historic low. Reticence on the part of investors constrains cash flows and, ultimately, economic growth.

The equally pressing issue of climate change continues to pose major challenges to decision-makers across Europe. Whilst political commitments have been made, movement in our real economies towards a green, sustainable model of economic growth has lagged far behind. A few EU member states have embarked upon the journey towards a greener economy, through investments in renewable energy and energy efficiency. However, these efforts lack the scale and necessary cooperation across sectors and state borders for their success.

A coordinated European approach would serve not only to unlock and attract idle capital, but would combat directly the EU's economic stagnation, and propel it forward as a leader in green innovation. As the first to take such a step, the EU would contribute to the creation of a virtuous global cycle, offering it the opportunity to secure its - and the world's - journey toward a growth, powered by green innovation.



### Policy recommendations

The Green Innovation Fund aims to go beyond the current EU Investment Plan. Particularly it hopes to deepen and broaden its mandate, whilst maintaining the following three-part structure: The European Fund for Strategic Investments (EFSI) as the core element; the European Investment Project Portal (EIPP); and European Investment Advisory Hub (EIAH). Funding must be made more selective - targeting ventures in the green economy only - and also more comprehensive. Projects will have to contribute to sustainable economic growth, whilst preference must be granted those projects best able to demonstrate their reinforcing effect on other undertakings in the value chain.

The size of the fund must be as ambitious as its goals, if it is to deliver. Whilst current green investment of the European Investment Bank is around €20 billion, the 1989 Generation Initiative envisages a much higher milestone - an initial €200 billion.

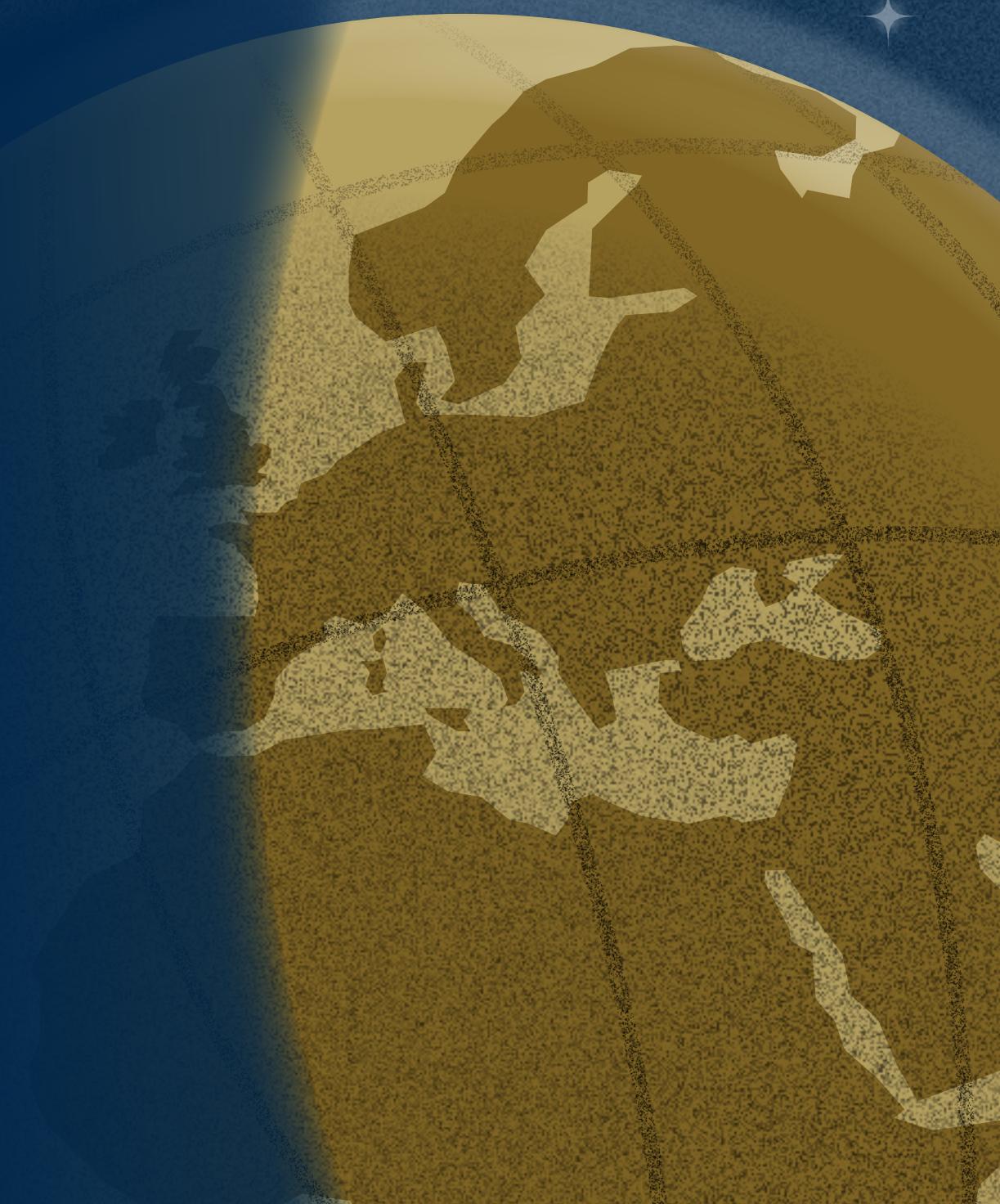
### Sources and priorities of funding and strategic impetuses in the Union

To reach this new financing threshold, funding sources must be diversified. Where it is today only possible to invest in the EFSI portfolio as a member state or an institutional investor, it should be possible to do so as any investor group (i.e. non institutional investors) and further, as any individual - facilitated by local banks and digital platforms. Priority investment should be in the areas of infrastructure and agriculture, providing the basic layer for all economic endeavours. Member states must commit to creating a favourable ecosystem for this type of change to occur. The EU Investment Plan regulation already lays down the commitment of member states towards a Digital Single Market, Energy Union and Capital Markets Union. The Green Investment Fund should play a key role in shaping each of these projects, and taking them even further.

### Impact for a generation

By widening and deepening the EFSI through allowing private investment, the Green Innovation Fund will channel capital into projects, research and other investment opportunities that directly contribute to the development of a sound green economy. Increased employment, coupled with sustainable production, will lead to higher demand for green solutions across sectors and complete the shift from a vicious to a virtuous cycle. The resultant surge in investment will kick-start growth in the European economy.



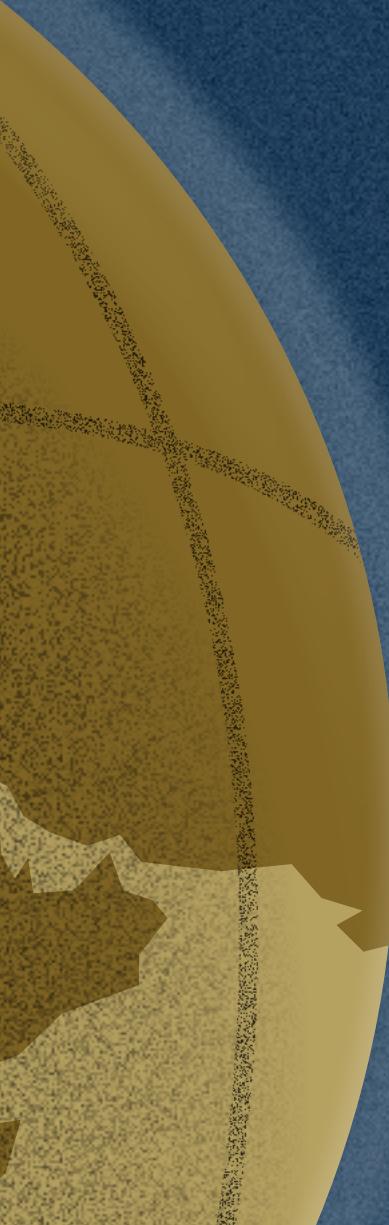


# EU AS GLOBAL ACTOR

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**In the past twenty years, the world in which the EU operates has changed almost beyond recognition: It is faster, more dynamic, full of rapidly emerging challenges and unique opportunities. In order to strengthen the EU as a global actor, and sustain it on the path to global leadership, the 1989 Generation Initiative submits two specific policy proposals.**

**These focus on creating valuable and well-functioning relations with EU's neighbours on one hand, and improving EU-wide intelligence sharing on the other.**



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## **From the ENP towards a Regional Partnership of Equals**

The 1989 Generation Initiative believes that relations with its neighbours are crucial to defining the EU's role on the world stage. In view of a seemingly contested neighbourhood policy, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the abandonment of the outdated ENP in favour of a more tailor-made and inclusive new policy. Fostering an environment of solidarity and cohesion within the EU neighbourhood is an important priority, but it is important also to recognise the value of stronger bilateral relations between individual partners. Crucial too is the idea that relations with neighbours should be informed by geographical and geopolitical contexts particular to each. As such, the 1989 Generation Initiative suggests that engagement with the EU's Eastern neighbours should explicitly take into account their potential membership, whilst MENA partners should be allowed to pursue different levels of EU association, without the prospect of membership. Complementing this approach, the EU must work together with all its neighbouring countries as well as other regional players. To this end, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes an ambitious 'Regional Partnership of Equals', tackling issues of collective interest and common existential threats. In this way, the EU would be developing valuable relationships with its neighbouring regions on the path to more stability and prosperity for all.

## **European Security and Intelligence System**

Next, the 1989 Generation Initiative identifies the threat of radicalisation and terrorism as the primary security challenge facing the EU today. Following the recent terror attacks in Paris and Brussels, it is clear that more EU-level cooperation in matters of security and intelligence sharing is necessary to dismantle EU-wide terrorist and criminal networks. In this spirit, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes the immediate establishment and effective operationalisation of an all-inclusive security database - a so-called 'European Security and Intelligence System' - under the supervision of Europol and with the obligatory participation of all EU member states, EU institutions and agencies. In view of the ever increasing link between the EU's internal and external security, the 1989 Generation Initiative specifically calls for the more effective exchange and sharing of internal and external intelligence. The proposed database should serve as the first step towards an overarching European intelligence database encompassing a wide range of crime-related information.

## **Impact**

The two proposals must work together to strengthen the EU's position on the world stage, since they are interlinked and mutually reinforcing. This is most evident when it comes to the aim of stabilising the neighbourhood and ensuring internal security.

The developments in its neighbourhood, including the civil war in Syria, emergence of ISIS and the resultant migrant crisis, show that the EU is not able to fully ensure security within its borders, unless it deals first with outside issues. It is thus important that the EU engages proactively with its neighbouring countries in areas of mutual interest, and thereby contributes to the stabilisation of its partners and their security environments.

At the same time, in order to act externally, the EU must remain strong internally. Particularly, the EU must overcome existing obstacles to cooperation between its member states and institutions in matters of security. In addition, it must account for the connections between internal and external security and dismantle the remaining barriers between domestic and foreign intelligence sharing.

Both proposals will undoubtedly improve the EU's ability to address key existential challenges and take advantage of the opportunities it is faced with: More dialogue, engagement and collaboration with neighbours on issues of existential importance will create an environment of trust in and support for the EU along its borders; whilst intelligence sharing and increase cooperation between internal and external intelligence would contribute greatly to tackling the increasing threat posed by international terrorism.

## Proposals in detail



### Proposal 1: From the ENP towards a Regional Partnership of Equals

The 1989 Generation Initiative proposes the abandonment of the outdated European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in favour of a tailor-made Regional Partnership of Equals along with a more inclusive role for civil society. ‘From ENP towards a Regional Partnership of Equals’.

#### Euro-centric policy framework

The ENP is increasingly seen by neighbouring countries as an EU-driven endeavour that reduces the scope for partner ownership. The EU can no longer afford to apply a vertical approach in its neighbourhood when some partner countries do not favour the dialogue that the EU engages in. Not only should the EU adapt its policy to countries that do not seek close relations with Brussels; it must also explore political relations with increasingly influential neighbours of neighbours (cf. Iran). A singular neighbourhood policy becomes too restrictive in scope and too wide in scale. What the EU needs is a strategic foreign policy. To this degree, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes a two-strand approach that will fundamentally address the stated shortcomings of EU policy towards its neighbourhood.



#### Policy Recommendations

First element: In light of the great diversity between and within the EU’s two neighbourhood regions (East and South), the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the abandonment of the outdated, inert and inflexible ENP and its replacement with tailor-made partnerships, based on mutual ownership, and reflecting partner aspirations.

Moreover, distinction should be made between partners that seek closer ties with the EU and those that do not. A policy inspired by an enlargement logic applied to the Eastern Partnership should be conducted separately from EU relations with MENA Partners, whilst recognising several different levels of association with the EU.

The incentive to move through these will act as a form of ‘soft conditionality’ to collaborate with the EU on building security and achieving development. Moreover, the 1989 Generation Initiative urges a shift in the conduct of neighbour relations towards a more inclusive approach, where civil society plays a key role both

at the negotiation table and in monitoring effective implementation.

In order to develop a bottom-up approach creating domestic preference for reform, civil society will need to be considerably strengthened across the neighbourhood. For this, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the establishment of a fund from which finances will be pooled into the civil society sector, depending on national context and needs.

Second element: In addition to bilateral relationships it is equally important to develop a greater sense of companionship and cooperation within the neighbourhood region.

This must be achieved through the establishment of a high-level Regional Partnership of Equals (including the EU, MENA countries, Eastern Partnership, EFTA countries, the Balkans and Russia) to address existential issues of shared concern on an ad hoc basis. Such issues would include energy security, terrorism, migration, regional conflicts, state failure, and climate change. Forum meetings will be chaired by the EU’s High Representative and would involve relevant ministers from partner countries as well as EU officials. Taking into account the theme of co-ownership in a partnership of equals, the forum will be hosted by different partner countries on a rotating basis. Moreover, a non-political secretariat will manage the logistical aspects of meeting preparation. Lastly, the decision-making process will seek to build consensus, with no veto powers, although there will be provisions for opt-outs.



**the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the establishment of a fund from which finances will be pooled into the civil society sector, depending on national context and needs.**

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By breaking with the one-size-fits-all approach and putting an emphasis on inclusiveness and regional cooperation, this proposal fills in major gaps in the EU's policy towards its neighbourhood and answers the partners' call for greater ownership of bilateral relations with the EU. In addition, strengthening civil society within challenging national contexts has proven extremely difficult thus far. The 1989 Generation Initiative thus proposes two initiatives to curb this problem: Partnerships between business incubators and universities co-funded by the EU to promote education and innovation; and promoting peace-building and social cohesion through a universal sport – football (namely, through collaboration between UEFA and the EU to set up academies run by major European football clubs). To address challenges of implementation in the wake of Regional Partnership meetings, the 1989 Generation Initiative suggests the establishment of transnational working groups to manage and carry out the delivery of policies.

### **A strategic policy built on co-ownership and focused on individuals!**

In sum, grounded on the assumption that there is an urgent need to change the EU's strategy towards its neighbourhood partners and hit the reset button; and echoing the partners' call for greater ownership, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the replacement of the outdated ENP with a new two-strand approach.

The new policy will focus more on each partner's needs and political objectives of its engagement with the EU, whilst promoting a much-needed bottom-up approach, whereby the EU engages better with partner countries' civil society.

On the other hand, the Regional Partnership of Equals will contribute to fostering a ring of friends through cooperation in addressing common priority issues at a regional level. By this token, the EU's policy towards its neighbourhood will recover its strategic purpose - the promotion of stability, development and regional cooperation - whilst co-ownership of this policy will promote solidarity and stability in the neighbourhood region, improving the lives not only of EU citizens, but also of those in its neighbourhood.



### **Proposal 2: European Security and Intelligence System**

In view of the security challenges that the EU faces in the area of counter-terrorism, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the establishment - with immediate effect - and effective operationalisation of a European Security and Intelligence System, where participation of all EU member states and institutions is obligatory.

#### **Member states remain uncommitted to sharing information**

In light of changing global threats and recent terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels, Europol established the European Counter Terrorism Centre (ECTC). As part of this project, a virtual network for information sharing will be in place from July 1, 2016. Critically, this platform will exclude radicalised Europeans or individuals living in the EU who are travelling abroad to join the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

Whilst there already exist numerous mechanisms for information sharing – such as the Schengen Information System (SIS II), European Criminal Records Information System (ECRIS), or the EU Intelligence and Situation Centre (EU INTCEN) – practice shows that they are either inefficiently used or left entirely neglected. The main problem is the irregular updating of the systems by the member states, whether on the grounds of insufficient staff or simply the decision to retain sensitive information. This issue was highlighted by the terrorist attacks in Paris last November, when Belgian intelligence authorities did not update the Europol database, meaning that French officials had insufficient information to prevent the attacks.



### **Policy Recommendations**

To complement the opening of the new ECTC in January 2016, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the creation of the European Security and Intelligence System - an all-inclusive database that will contain detailed intelligence on all individuals across the EU that are suspected or known for having a connection to radical or terrorist movements. Furthermore, individuals based outside its territory and thought to threaten EU security should also be included in the database.

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The European Security and Intelligence System should be an EU initiative in which all member states have an obligation to share intelligence. Access to the database would be granted to every national intelligence authority. In this regard, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls upon EU member states to provide all operational information at their disposal.

Sharing this information with others would allow for authorities to possess up-to-date information on the individuals who have joined terrorist networks and facilitate tracking systems if they move across countries.

Another idea behind this all-inclusive database is to strengthen the collaboration between the Europol and EEAS. This relationship could enrich available information by combining internal and external intelligence. In the long run, it might evolve into even closer partnership that would give birth to other initiatives bringing information sharing to a new level. Meanwhile, Europol should oversee the counter-terrorism database, which in the long-run could develop and incorporate a wide range of intelligence concerning criminal activities. Whilst its primary focus should be counter-terrorism, the proposed system should eventually develop into an all-encompassing database including intelligence from all sectors of crime.

When it comes to investigation of terrorism and crime, the 1989 Generation Initiative endorses the existing 'Joint Investigation Teams' and suggests that Europol be given the right to initiate these teams. To this end, member states should increase funding for Europol. Where countries refuse to share intelligence, the threat of cross-border terrorist activity becomes more acute. The only means of combating small, partially independent and widely dispersed terrorist groups is through international cooperation. The European Security and Intelligence System would allow EU bodies to obtain data on individuals operating inside and outside EU borders, and thus effectively tackle a threat that grows more complex and sinister with each passing month.

One issue which impedes cooperation is the lack of direct experience in combating terrorism exhibited by many EU member states. As such, individual member states evaluate and prioritise threats differently. Moreover, the obligation to share intelligence in the terrorist database might be controversial since states regard certain information to be sensitive. Nonetheless, Europol has already expressed an interest to work more closely with EEAS. Even though this process is very slow, the 1989 Generation Initiative would like to see further developments and strengthened relations. Finally, whilst increased funding for Europol in light of public spending cuts is a challenge, this could limit even greater spending in the long run.

### **Building trust**

The proposal and its implementation should be seen as the first step on the path to far deeper intelligence sharing, not only within counter-terrorism efforts, but also other areas of crime. To this end, the 1989 Generation Initiative stresses that information sharing among the member states and EU institutions be made obligatory. Whilst there might be difficulties related to the implementation of the proposal, these are predominantly based on national reluctancies and inter-institutional rivalries that can easily be overcome, where there is sufficient political will. If implemented, the European Security and Intelligence System has the potential to save countless lives, without compromising the liberties that are valued by our societies. Thus, in view of the recent attacks that have deeply touched the whole of Europe, the 1989 Generation Initiative urges immediate action from all parties involved to ensure the safety and security of all European citizens.



# EUROPEAN IDENTITY POLITICS

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**'United in diversity' is the official motto of the EU. Yet the EU has recently been dividing along national lines, threatening the future of the European Project. To rediscover what makes us European, we must recapture the 'Erasmus spirit', and take it to the next level. The 1989 Generation Initiative believes it is time for the EU to put the question of identity at the centre of its agenda, by adopting the following two proposals, thus festering a new, youthful, interconnected future for European civil society.**

**This would in turn foster the image of Europe as a 'common cradle', providing all with the opportunity to broaden personal horizons and possibilities.**

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## **From the ENP towards a Regional Partnership of Equals**

The 1989 Generation Initiative believes that relations with its neighbours are crucial to defining the EU's role on the world stage. In view of a seemingly contested neighbourhood policy, the 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the abandonment of the outdated ENP in favour of a more tailor-made and inclusive new policy. Fostering an environment of solidarity and cohesion within the EU neighbourhood is an important priority, but it is important also to recognise the value of stronger bilateral relations between individual partners.

Crucial too is the idea that relations with neighbours should be informed by geographical and geopolitical contexts particular to each. As such, the 1989 Generation Initiative suggests that engagement with the EU's Eastern neighbours should explicitly take into account their potential membership, whilst MENA partners should be allowed to pursue different levels of EU association, without the prospect of membership. Complementing this approach, the EU must work together with all its neighbouring countries as well as other regional players. To this end, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes an ambitious 'Regional Partnership of Equals', tackling issues of collective interest and common existential threats. In this way, the EU would be develop valuable relationships with its neighbouring regions on the path to more stability and prosperity for all.

## **European Security and Intelligence System**

Next, the 1989 Generation Initiative identifies the threat of radicalisation and terrorism as the primary security challenge facing the EU today. Following the recent terror attacks in Paris, it is clear that more EU-level cooperation in matters of security and intelligence sharing is necessary to dismantle EU-wide terrorist and criminal networks. In this spirit, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes the immediate establishment and effective operationalisation of an all-inclusive security database – a so-called 'European Security and Intelligence System' – under the supervision of Europol and with the obligatory participation of all EU member states, EU institutions and agencies. In view of the ever increasing link between the EU's internal and external security, the 1989 Generation Initiative specifically calls for the more effective exchange and sharing of internal and external intelligence.

The proposed database should serve as the first step towards an overarching European intelligence database encompassing a wide range of crime-related information.

## **Impact**

The two proposals must work together to strengthen the EU's position on the world stage, since they are interlinked and mutually reinforcing. This is most evident when it comes to the aim of stabilising the neighbourhood and ensuring internal security. The developments in its neighbourhood, including the civil war in Syria, emergence of ISIS and the resultant migrant crisis, show that the EU is not able to fully ensure security within its borders, unless it deals first with outside issues. It is thus important that the EU engages proactively with its neighbouring countries in areas of mutual interest, and thereby contributes to the stabilisation of its partners and their security environments.

At the same time, in order to act externally, the EU must remain strong internally. Particularly, the EU must overcome existing obstacles to cooperation between its member states and institutions in matters of security. In addition, it must account for the connections between internal and external security and dismantle the remaining barriers between domestic and foreign intelligence sharing.

Both proposals will undoubtedly improve the EU's ability to address key existential challenges and take advantage of the opportunities it is faced with: More dialogue, engagement and collaboration with neighbours on issues of existential importance will create an environment of trust in and support for the EU along its borders; whilst intelligence sharing and increase cooperation between internal and external intelligence would contribute greatly to tackling the increasing threat posed by international terrorism.



**Following the recent terror attacks in Paris, it is clear that more EU-level cooperation in matters of security and intelligence sharing is necessary to dismantle EU-wide terrorist and criminal networks.**

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## Proposals in detail



### Proposal 1: European accreditation agency for educators

The 1989 Generation Initiative calls for the establishment of a European agency for the accreditation and validation of formal, non-formal and informal education. Through this, it seeks to build a common European educational space giving room to bottom up initiatives, helping ultimately to foster a European identity. Within this, the 1989 Generation Initiative also proposes the establishment of a European Teacher Certificate, facilitating the mobility of professionals at the EU level. Current European educational policies are too narrow.

Presently, the EU lacks a unitary system of accreditation for educators in all areas of education. Whilst the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) continue to work, they are limited to formal education and vocational training respectively.

Fundamental differences between national educational systems continue to impede the development of a more integrated education system across the EU. Most strikingly, there exists no synchronisation of teaching methods or content, nor a full mutual recognition of skills and diplomas at EU-level. These differences hinder the potential of the Single Market by hampering the mobility of its citizens. Ultimately, these differences pull European nations apart. In terms of educational exchange in Europe, the EU relies upon the Erasmus+ programme which offers plenty of opportunities, but within a limited scope. What the EU severely lacks is an instrument capable of providing opportunities within different, or non-traditional forms of education.



#### Policy recommendations

The 1989 Generation Initiative wants to go a step further and envisions the institution of EU-wide quality recognition and the harmonisation of different types of education. It thus proposes a solution that would more effectively combine crucial elements of education and mobility to help foster greater connectivity between Europeans. The proposed accreditation agency will certify the learning outcomes of a wide range of educational platforms without distinctions between different types of education or trainings offered by universities, schools, NGOs or training providers. Practically, any educational institution interested in receiving accreditation would submit their application to the agency for assessment. The agency would then evaluate the courses offered according to their compatibility and conformity with its overall goals and assurances over the quality of learning outcomes. Through the agency, the 1989 Generation Initiative hopes to foster high quality education without borders. The agency would represent a unique opportunity to foster dialogue between countries, whilst helping to promote different kinds of education and civil society. It will bring educational institutions closer and spread digitalised and multilingual education at all levels for the benefit of European students or trainees. The agency would therefore ease access to high-quality education whilst also bridging the gaps between countries. It will also ensure that institutions which offer training courses or other kinds of education are able to certify their quality whilst at the same time achieving greater visibility.

Alongside various other certifications, the accreditation agency would issue a 'European Teacher Certificate'. Partnerships would be established with universities and other institutions, capable of meeting certain standards in education, who would be able to issue the certificate. The courses would be focused on three main areas: Language, teaching methods, and relevant subjects. A final exam assessing the competencies developed in all these branches would take place at the end of the course.

On successful completion of the programme, the candidate would become an accredited 'European teacher', able immediately to work anywhere in EU, without further qualifications.

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Effectively, the European Teacher Certificate would permit teachers from all over Europe to join a broader network, providing each with opportunities to gain experience working abroad. By promoting mobility and interaction, the initiative would promote greater flexibility for teachers in their careers, stimulating their personal interests, and providing them with the chance to develop their professional skills and abilities. This would only enhance the positive impact that they can have on younger generations. A truly European teaching body would make a difference in the way we teach 'Europe' to the next generations of citizens, undoubtedly triggering a new wave of exchanges and the maximisation of currently available resources for education.

In practical terms, one of the main challenges would be to define the criteria for assessing the learning outcomes of non-formal and informal education, or for teachings that do not follow the formal career path for educators. In this context, everything should be done to avoid class or wage based discrimination. When it comes to the European Teacher Certificate, there should be well-defined criteria followed by all teacher trainers. Questions remain regarding funding, logistics and institutional setup of the initiative, on which we request your input.

### **Learning without borders**

These proposals are more than feasible, rely as they do upon the deepening of existing schemes. Through its system of accreditation, the Initiative attempts simply to improve them. Moreover, benefits would be universal: A wide-range of new professional opportunities would exist for teachers; new perspectives would become available for students or trainees; and educational institutions would become more competitive. Lastly, a EU-wide accreditation would compel nation states to ensure the quality of their systems in order to meet pan-European standards.



### **Proposal 2: European Media Incubator**

In order to facilitate the development of a common European public sphere, the 1989 Generation Initiative proposes the establishment of an ambitious 'European Media Incubator', providing a unique platform for projects in the media and communications sector.

#### **The lack of a real European public sphere**

Few are the pan-European media projects capable of reaching broad publics across different European countries, despite the often acknowledged importance of developing a European public sphere.

The reasons for this are various:

First, is the a limited record of success amongst existing pan-European media projects. European media outlets are perceived as elitist, top-down and failing usually to touch upon issues of high interest for a wider public. What is currently lacking are new formats centered on the concepts of direct participation, and content of universal appeal. Another problem lies in the relative lack of funding. The existing EU financial channels for information projects, such as the MEDIA programme, are limited taking the shape of highly competitive calls for proposals. Since European issues are not considered as relevant as domestic ones, pan-European media outlets encounter separate material obstacles.

The EU should provide more funds and support in order to foster new spaces for public debate. These must be open to the whole European civil society. In addition to funding issues, there are also legal, administrative and linguistic barriers. Most importantly, pan-European media projects are structurally hindered by the absence of a common European language. A new approach should make an effort to go beyond mere translations of material and broadcast, or publishing content in multiple languages.



**The EU should provide more funds and support in order to foster new spaces for public debate. These must be open to the whole European civil society.**



## Policy recommendations

Taking into account this set of problems, the proposal of a 'European Media Incubator' aims at turning the risks of a project into opportunities, facilitating the launch of pan-European media initiatives. This platform would combine aspects of funding, services, mentorship, logistical support, know-how as well as training for journalists and non-professionals. Thus, it is supposed to help startups, but also established media organisations find the perfect conditions to promote their initiatives on the European level.

This bottom-up approach is meant to support all stakeholders. The services offered would be tailored to the specific needs of the ventures whilst the call would be open to broad actors bringing together investors and media across different member states. Public funds may trigger private investments showing that there is a public in Europe interested in European news, leading major stakeholders in launching joint ventures. The funding scheme might have the same structure as 'Erasmus+', being based on three or more key actions such as capacity building, strategic partnership and mobility. Furthermore, the training might be managed by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA).

As the Media Incubator relies on a bottom-up approach, European citizens would gain more transparency, self-determination and a free, democratic pan-European media sphere. The grassroots character of the incubator would generate media that cover a wide range of themes of an everyday concern.

New, small European newspapers and other projects would have it far easier to launch their initiatives and expand their networks. Established media, on the other hand, would benefit from the increase of expansion opportunities. Journalists and non-professionals would have their professional perspectives fluid and broadened as they gain networking opportunities beyond national borders.

What is more, provided that the proposal is successfully implemented, it would also have an indirect bearing on the development of an European political sub-consciousness. The funded media projects would naturally adopt a European perspective on reporting, which would transcend viewpoints following strictly national contexts. European politics would also benefit from the media umbrella, as EU-wide debates within the European Parliament (for instance), would attract more media attention. The same is true when it comes to public debate during European election campaigns.

An enhanced awareness of the European public sphere would on one hand allow politicians running for posts in EU institutions to more easily bring their agendas to the electorate, whilst on the other enabling citizens to more effectively scrutinise these programmes.

In practical terms, the first question that must be raised is whether partially EU-funded media initiatives allow independent press and critique towards the EU and national governments. In order to prevent the influence of political and private stakeholders, a system of strict criteria and checks-and-balances is required.

Moreover, it might be the case that established news channels would consider the new European media as competition. Finally, questions remain over funding and the extent to which the pooling of private and public funding might be legally viable.

Triggering a wave of new European media Getting around the legal complexity of funding is one of the core challenges of policy making in general. Nevertheless, there is huge potential in this solution. The design of the Incubator funding scheme is the key to its success, protecting it from corruption and propaganda. In addition, existing pan-European projects like Erasmus+ provide useful models that may be adopted in this case. Resistance may exist, but overall the obvious benefits should allow any dissent to be overcome. The scheme would have a dramatic impact both on the European media scene, whilst kick-starting the development of a European public sphere. As such, the 1989 Generation Initiative looks forward to its implementation.

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