



**PROGRESSIVE
YEARBOOK 2020**





PREDICTIONS 2020

No time for sleepwalking

Georgi Pirinski

The year 2020 is promising to further exacerbate the overlapping imbalances and contradictions after 30 years of transformative disruptions from the collapse of state socialism, plus the dissolution, after 75 years, of the Yalta post-war order, topped by the climate crisis in the context of rising fears of a new recession. The cleavages have grown ever more drastic – between the several mega rich versus the overwhelming majority in growing precariousness, oligarchy versus citizens, urban concentration versus rural decline, humanity in existential conflict with nature.

These precipitous developments evoke two very different responses. One is of denial, of seeking the reassuring comfort of continuing as usual.

The American colour company Pantone has chosen Classic Blue as colour of the year for 2020 (something between Navy Blue and Royal Blue, though with an “undertone of red”), arguing that people are seeking a “reassuring presence instilling calm, confidence and connection, a sense of safety and protection, of evening, rest and tranquillity” versus the chaotic tensions of a crazed and speeding world – all this admittedly carrying “very real political implications”. This sort of preference can be expected to persist, motivating people to revert to the conservative, the traditional and seemingly stabilising choices, thus perpetuating the status quo to the interests of those profiting from it.

But it is precisely the opposite awareness, one for radical and urgent change that will be vital for successfully rising to the unprecedented challenges of the multiple crises that unavoidably will be deepening. Hence in 2020 progressives must engage in launching broad new approaches, building awareness for action to reject the diktat of markets over peoples’ lives in favour of rebalancing societies and the biosphere. The 2018 Club of Rome report entitled “Come On! Capitalism, Short-termism, Population and the Destruction of the Planet” can serve as a useful reference point, putting things into perspective by documenting the suicidal features of modern capitalism and making the case for a new kind of Enlightenment.

As to the immediate policy responses for Europe, the ones I feel most relevant are those outlined in the “Rewriting the Rules of the European Economy” 2019 FEPS report by Joseph Stiglitz and others. Pointing to the sad truth that Europe has not been performing well in this century, it argues that the real problem is not with inadequate enforcement of Europe’s rules, but with the rules, institutions, and structural reforms themselves, based on the belief

that markets, on their own, would lead to economic efficiency, stemming from the moment of capitalist triumphalism after the fall of the Berlin wall. Hence the need to clearly reject the nine doctrines of austerity, debt, price stability, markets-know-best, privatisation, shareholder capitalism, banks-know-best, markets-will-provide and free trade.

Members of the European Parliament of the Progressive Caucus, fostering increased exchanges, links and actions between progressive allies in the European Parliament and across Europe, have called for a radical policy paradigm shift, changing the current economic rules by adopting a new Sustainability Pact to replace the Stability and Growth Pact. May their call inspire resolute action now!

What to expect for Europe in 2020?

Five predictions

Alberto Alemanno

The new political leadership seems to have overpromised, by generating outsized expectations that might prove too difficult to manage, notably in relation to the EU commitment to:

1. Defend the EU's interests against the United States, China and Russia
2. Take the lead on climate change
3. Tackle rebellious EU illiberal democracies
4. Tame big tech
5. Overcome the trauma of Brexit.

Let's briefly analyse why the EU might have over-pledged on the above commitments.

1. The assassination of Iranian commander Qassem Soleimani has already put the self-proclaimed first 'geopolitical' European Commission to the test, offering a flavour of what to expect from the new EU foreign policy. In a matter of hours, the von der Leyen Commission lost the major EU foreign policy legacy left by the Juncker Commission and its high representative Federica Mogherini: the Iran nuclear deal (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, JCPOA). The EU is set to remain a bystander of the unfolding situation in Iran, as well as of the situation in Libya, the next big civil war at the EU's borders after Syria – with important unintended consequences.

2. By pressing on with a major economic plan to confront the climate emergency, despite Poland's opt-out from a net-zero emissions target by 2050, the EU might have oversold its Green Deal. Although its legislative adoption will not require unanimity, its political acceptance by Poland and other green discontents may come at a high price. In addition to making demands on the €100 billion Just Transition Fund to help European economies make the green transition by moving away from fossil fuels, these countries are set to formulate many requests on other contentious policy areas such as the seven-year budget, as well as on redline issues such as respect of the rule of law. As the EU takes the green road, the East-West divide will deepen further.

3. On rule of law, the von der Leyen Commission is 'politically captured' by the very same political leaders it should be holding accountable. The ruling parties of both Hungary and Poland were instrumental in the confirmation of Ursula von der Leyen. Her new commissioners, from

Didier Reynders to Věra Jourová, appear too shy and cautious in exercising their oversight prerogatives on the respect of the rule of law. This will be another major battle line of 2020, set to further accelerate as soon as Victor Orban's Fidesz party leaves the European People's Party to join the European Conservative and Reformists Group (ECR), the EU political group of Kaczynski's Law and Justice Party (PiS).

4. On big tech, the EU is set to confine itself to playing its global regulator's role, thus letting China and the US strengthen their market dominance on Artificial Intelligence. Despite all the talk about the Digital Services Act, it will not be yet another regulatory regime to give the EU the 'digital sovereignty' it aspires to and eventually change GAFAs' underlying business model.

5. 2020 will see an acceleration of the Brexit process through a difficult and contested implementation of the unprecedented withdrawal agreement in parallel with a rocky renegotiation of future UK-EU relations. As novel and untested trade arrangements are put on the negotiation table, we might expect the EU27 no longer to speak with one voice and to be more exposed than ever to UK demands.

The imminent Conference on the Future of Europe will further raise expectations, in particular from EU citizens, but prove incapable – by design – of delivering. The template put forward by the European Parliament suggests there is a considerable risk that it might soon transform into a top-down experiment masked as bottom-up, a participatory moment aligned to *Zeitgeist*.

In other words, will the EU Citizens' agoras be useful sounding boards for the main Conference, or an unescapable add-on imposed by the growing participatory *Zeitgeist*? Watch out!

To sum up, the Europeanisation of our societies and economies will persist in 2020, while our domestic political systems will continue to pretend to be in the driving-seat of our shared future. Yet as these systems' inherent inadequacy to take up actual challenges will reveal, 2020 will be the year in which more people realise – and call for – Europe to require its own genuine political system.

1 Ed: The Big Four tech companies: Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon.

2020 for more growth and investment in Europe

Paolo Guerrieri

In 2020 deep change will continue to define the global trading and investment system. From a multilateral regime based on a set of rules and institutions, we are moving towards a system mostly characterised by bilateral relations where managed trade and economic tools are increasingly used by countries to achieve strategic political goals.

This new global context is dominated by the US-China trade war. This is not only a trade dispute, but a geopolitical conflict as well. The two sides have recently announced a truce, but this mini-deal is not going to resolve the biggest problems facing US-China relations – from emerging technology to intellectual property protection. The risk of relations deteriorating therefore remains high. A dense fog of uncertainty will continue to cloud the world economy and trade flows in 2020 and beyond.

How the European Union should respond is a matter of increasing urgency. As the largest and most open trade bloc in the world, the EU cannot simply wait and see the outcome of the current US-China confrontation. If it did this, the EU would risk both diminished influence and huge commercial damage.

There is need for a European strategic response on two main fronts. In terms of macroeconomic policy, the EU will no longer be able to follow its traditional 'export-led growth model'. The euro area as a whole has a current surplus of around 3% of GDP but huge external surpluses are no longer sustainable in a world dominated by the US-China trade war. European dependency on exports to the rest of the world must be reduced by promoting domestic growth and investment in Europe. A new growth strategy should predominantly be based on strengthening European domestic growth by increasing investment at the EU level and completing the European internal market.

An opportunity to move in this direction in the next few months is provided by the Green Deal that was presented by the European Commission as 'Europe's new growth strategy'. The Commission claims that its plan will stimulate €260 billion in additional investment annually. If implemented effectively, this investment has the capacity to increase Europe's domestic growth in the near future and reduce its dependence on exports.

The EU should also push for a more ambitious European foreign trade and investment policy. Europe's response to the Trump tariff war has been quite effective so far. But it is still too

piecemeal and defensive. A more encompassing overall strategy is needed at different levels: first to address the EU-US bilateral relationship, second to respond to China's challenge, and third to maintain its commitment to an open, rules-based global trading system.

Additionally, the EU needs to continue establishing deeper economic relations with the rest of its international partners. Bilateral agreements cover more than two-thirds of the EU's trade relations today and could be used as a sort of Plan B in case the multilateral system breaks up.

Bilateral trade agreements could also be used to advance EU social and environmental standards. It is therefore crucial for Europe's defence of the world trading system and the global environment, including the fight against climate change, to go hand in hand. The stakes are high and there many good reasons for the EU and its member states to move in this direction.

Turning green policy into social policy

Tomáš Petříček

What is the main challenge we are collectively facing today? When asked this question, the majority of political leaders as well as a large proportion of citizens answer without long hesitation that it is climate change. In Europe, we are rather surprisingly united that we need to do more to prevent global warming and to remain leader in this field. In December 2019 we committed ourselves to reaching carbon neutrality. A very ambitious green agenda will therefore significantly define the EU's new institutional cycle. While finally agreeing on the goals and principles that will make our global leadership credible in this area, we, social democrats, need to make sure that we keep hold of the steering wheel when it comes to the measures and policies that will lead us to meeting our climate goals. While doing so, we need to ensure that transition to carbon neutrality will not negatively impact those parts of our society that cannot afford to bear the costs of this enormous transformation. We need to come up with policies that will make this environmental transition first and foremost fair and socially just. These policies need to strengthen social cohesion in Europe instead of undermining it, they need to prevent any increase in social inequality in the Union. Instead, they need to provide new opportunities for all while making our economy really sustainable and competitive.

At the same time, we need to work on a new, clear and believable narrative that will alleviate the growing unease in large parts of our society, especially among workers, that is provoked by these necessary changes ahead of us. While we cannot compromise on reaching climate sustainability as soon as possible, we have to give Europeans credible guarantees that we will not embark on a journey towards a jobless and less prosperous future when adopting our ambitious green policies over the next three decades. In a way, this task will be even more challenging than finding the measures for achieving carbon neutrality. When thinking about this new social democratic narrative, we should probably bring this big issue closer to citizens. First, everyone is embedded not only in a social environment, but also in the natural/physical environment. And we are ever more concerned about this physical environment.

We are already witnessing the direct impact that climate change has on our planet – we are facing regular droughts and problems with water supply, crops are being devastated by extreme weather conditions which causes a rise in the prices of certain produce, and our forests are increasingly under stress because of rising average temperatures. When we speak about climate change policy, we first need to focus more attention on these issues,

which Europeans are already experiencing. Second, we need to give green/climate policy a dominant social policy dimension. We need to emphasise that our social democratic path is to create new and better jobs, to have healthier cities and to care in a comprehensive way about citizens' health and quality of life. Moreover, we need to emphasise that our action aims at the empowerment of every European, enabling him or her to exploit future opportunities effectively, keeping the way of life we are used to and at the same time allowing the changes that are needed to make our way of life more sustainable. While this might seem for some like squaring the circle, I firmly believe it is possible. I consider this dual task – of defining credible policies and a believable political narrative on this environmental and climate transformation – to be the main duty of our movement in 2020.

Three issues on the EU 2020 agenda to bring us closer together

Vladimír Špidla

Debate in society as a whole must be comprehensive. It needs to be about goals rather than measures. Only rarely should we arrive at specific technical steps. However, due to the widespread accessibility of information, public debates are today getting bogged down in technical steps or details. This is because almost anyone can understand them. Many of today's political philosophers say it is no longer possible to tell grand narratives.

But without grand narratives, we are unable to find our bearings in politics. The experience is that individuals lack something on which to reflect and into which to fit. The constant effort to tell a social democratic grand narrative is therefore a major point on the political agenda that needs to be addressed pragmatically alongside daily political operations. The instruments are a political essay as well as a good metaphor.

I shall briefly mention three practical points on European agendas for 2020. In view of the unpredictable actions of the US administration, the question of the common European army and foreign policy will come to the fore. If at least one step towards a common army can be taken, it will bring us closer to the federalisation of Europe, which we need.

The European Labour Authority will truly start to work at European level. It is important for social democracy that social issues (wage convergence on the one hand and suppression of precarious employment on the other) are at the centre of European public debate. It is good that the European Labour Authority is based in Slovakia given the importance of the topic for the new EU member states.

And finally, without a debate about social security and without guaranteeing our citizens that their state takes care of their social future, we will not manage to transform our countries' economies from 'grey to green' – as Croatia's Social Democrat Zoran Milanović aptly put it in his successful presidential campaign – and to smart.

Indeed, even if we were on the best path to manage this technically, the general public would oppose such a policy, despite the fact that no one encouraged them to. It is not better engine-tuning that brings success to big changes, but the idea that I can rely on people around me and that a change for the better is possible even for me individually.

2020 must be the year of tech for good

Ivana Bartoletti

Over the past year, we have seen the best of tech: Artificial Intelligence is progressing at rocket speed, with great benefits to health, social care and security alike. But we have also seen the worst of tech, as our digital ecosystem is posing threats to democracy, freedom and personal autonomy. Technology is never neutral. Rather, technology is about power: the power to re-shape labour and work, enhance inequality, threaten privacy and code stereotypes into the products we create.

It doesn't have to be like this. 2020 needs to be the year where we define what tech for good is, and establish regulation so that we can hold organisations accountable.

Technology is shaping our life, and most of it is great. But it has to work for everyone and, to make it do so, we need to leverage our European values of dignity, freedom and privacy. The optimistic headlines of the PR departments of the major tech companies need to be balanced with an inclusive, equal and equitable vision of tech. If unfettered and uncontrolled, the Fourth Revolution will not bring its promises to create a better society.

Collaboration is the key word here.

First, there is no tech revolution without workers. Our digital revolution will take us far if we make employees central to it – not an afterthought.

Second, as we have done with privacy, where our rules have become a beacon for data protection and human rights across the world, we now have to do the same with AI, robotics and the digital ecosystem. True ethics is not a buzzword. It is a choice to be practised all day every day, and it can drive how we see technological development and its governance. Tech must be person-centred, dignified and an enabler of growth for individuals and the economy alike.

Regulating the impact of AI properly oxygenates, rather than stifles, the European economy, raises the bar at a global level and drives competition and innovation.

Third, the fight for clean air and a carbon-free economy has to go hand in hand with a clean, safe and empowering digital space. Progressive thinking means that we value the environment around us – be it the digital environment or our physical one. As citizens navigate through both spaces almost seamlessly, we need to rethink how we fight exclusion and maintain participation and quality of life.

Artificial Intelligence can be a force for good, but it could also wreck our society and harm democracies if the unchecked global swarming of tech continues. 2020 will need to be the year where we set our path – before it is too late.

Will 2020 see real leadership for the climate emergency?

Stephen Minas

2019 ended with a reality check for everyone who wants to see an effective global response to the climate emergency. At the COP25 UN climate conference in Madrid, the heroic efforts of the Spanish hosts, the ambitious and constructive positions of the EU and many others, and the passionate advocacy of youth and civil society, could not prevent some disappointing outcomes. After a year in which devastating fires erupted from the Amazon Rainforest to the Arctic Circle to Australia, the world is nowhere near an adequate collective response to climate change. A step change is needed.

In 2020 the EU is attempting to provide real leadership for the climate emergency, both domestically and externally. Within Europe, the new Commission is working to make the proposed European Green Deal a reality, in response to citizens who overwhelmingly supported parties promising more ambitious climate action in the 2019 European elections.

The Commission will propose an EU climate law, writing the 2050 climate neutrality target into legislation, and will present plans to strengthen the 2030 emission reduction target from at least 40% to at least 50%, compared to 1990. These proposals respond to the need for the EU to update its Paris Agreement Nationally Determined Contribution and submit its long-term strategy prior to November's COP26 UN climate conference in Glasgow.

Among the important elements of the Green Deal work programme, including sustainable finance standards and a 'climate pact' to engage citizens, there is the proposed Just Transition Mechanism to assist carbon-intensive regions and sectors. Its design and implementation are critically important, both to achieve a viable and inclusive transition within the EU and to demonstrate globally that it is possible to have robust measures that leave no one behind. Delivering the European Green Deal will require sustained cooperation between the pro-European political forces, but also healthy competition to be the most ambitious, progressive and innovative.

My prediction is that the EU will take to November's Glasgow conference the most ambitious and credible climate policy of any major economy. But with 9% of global emissions, the EU cannot solve this problem alone. Our success will be defined by the partners we succeed in bringing with us. This is why the Green Deal is inseparable from its external dimensions.

These include the mainstreaming of climate in EU international development assistance and private sector financing, the growth of carbon markets and pricing, multilateral and bilateral diplomacy including with key partners like China and India, and the possibility of a carbon border adjustment mechanism to address carbon leakage.

During his 2012 re-election campaign, Barack Obama remarked that “the future never has lobbyists like the status quo does”. That comment, from what now seems a distant past, should inform our approach to climate action. Opponents of necessary measures often claim to be protecting jobs and industries. However, in the long term, the contradiction between prosperity and climate action is an illusion. Our task in 2020 is to work on behalf of future generations while leaving no one behind in the present.

The future of Schengen at stake?

Tanja Fajon

For many European citizens the European Union project embodies prosperity, freedom, democracy, cooperation, conciliation, stability and security. The very symbol and one of the most tangible achievements of European integration is without a doubt the Schengen area, where not just people move freely, but also goods, services and capital.

The area without internal border controls has brought significant benefits to European citizens and the economy, and today stretches across 26 European countries where people can easily travel for pleasure or business, for study or retirement, to exchange cultural and social ties. The once war-torn and divided European continent has again been united in a peaceful, free and borderless area.

However, the Schengen area has never been under greater threat than it is today, as six countries have been illegally prolonging internal border controls for more than four years, despite the two-year legal limit. The reason for this is seemingly not because of migration and security threats, but because of failing common European asylum and migration policies and a complete lack of mutual trust among member states. Reintroduced border controls have put the future of the Union's political integration at risk, as well as our economies. We must therefore act before it is too late, and 2020 will thus be crucial.

Hoping for a way out, and instead of taking member states to the Court of Justice for clear breach of the EU *acquis*, the Commission proposed a reform of the Schengen area in 2017 with which it tried to legalise what is currently an illegal practice. Under my command as rapporteur, we at the European Parliament adopted a progressive and legally-sound text, which would address the key concerns of member states and which would prevent abuse of the rules by providing more legal clarity and transparency. Sadly, due to a complete lack of political will among European governments, the negotiations with the Council left us deadlocked a year ago.

The question now arises as to who most benefits from the *status quo* and what follows. If we have learnt anything these past few years, it is that everything is interlinked. Schengen cannot be restored without a truly reformed and common European migration and asylum policy, but the road there seems extremely difficult. This is not only due to the rise of populists in many EU countries, but also to the undermining of core European values and principles and total rejection of key common policies by the member states, which leaves a grim prospect for the future.

The new European Commission is up against an enormous task and we all anxiously await the new pact on migration. Security and migration policy cannot be solved merely by border controls, but by a European consensus, sound structural policies, better cooperation between member states and addressing the root causes of the migration crisis. The European Parliament has put forward all the solutions. It is now time for EU governments to do the same!

I sincerely hope that we will be able to reach an agreement on the Schengen reform this year. We have to do everything in our power to restore Schengen before it is truly too late. Too much is at stake if we do not. Because if we lose Schengen, we lose the European Union.

Rethinking migration: Europe's indispensable obligation

Anna Diamantopoulou

It is not an exaggeration to claim that the enduring migrant crisis, which began in 2015, was a tipping point as regards the way European people think of their societies and their own position on the global scene. For the last four years, the European public sphere has been captured by images of refugees and migrants crossing borders, escaping detention camps, landing on Greek shores and sometimes drowning in the Aegean Sea. Much of European public opinion does not consider migrants as “part of our social fabric”, or as part of our “very make-up as a human family”, as Ban Ki-moon famously proclaimed some years ago. Nor as a way to deal with the growing demographic and economic imbalances facing our continent. Instead, migration has spread a condition of discomfort and anxiety, triggering persistent security and cultural fears that believe large flows of uninvited foreigners are here to overtake our countries and distort our way of life. This new condition has forced European peoples to re-evaluate their view of the preaching of globalisation for a ‘borderless world’. Indeed, this widespread insecurity has implied a breach of confidence between citizens and their political leaderships, which have seemed to fail to protect them from what it is perceived as a threat. Crises of legitimacy, internal disruption and changes of political agendas are what have followed.

The migration crisis has played a key role in the decline of Europe's traditional political parties, which have failed to rally Europeans behind a convincing new political narrative. Viktor Orbán's fearmongering polemic and Matteo Salvini's anti-immigration crusade have resulted in these leaders' power being solidified, while fears of uncontrolled migration contributed to the electoral gains of far-right parties all across the continent during the last European Parliament elections, even in countries whose political system used to guarantee a high degree of stability, such as Sweden.

In 2020, Europe should largely rethink its migration policy and reform its framework in a way that respects the needs and rights of incomers, while considering the legitimate concerns of European citizens and prioritising the need for a functioning European society, with its solid values and indispensable liberal democratic rules. Indeed, the long-term vision of federal Europe assumes an understanding of the culture and function of nation states. Ursula von der Leyen's New Pact on Migration and Asylum proposal is moving in the right direction.

The relaunch of the reform of the Dublin Regulation and of the Common European Asylum System, and the reinforcement of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, are bold ideas seeking conversion into reality.

To deal with such a complicated phenomenon as migration, the new Commission should, however, put more bold initiatives on the table. Despite the pragmatic 2016 deal with Ankara, people's arrivals from Turkey remain largely uncontrolled. Ankara is undoubtedly capable of controlling irregular departures to Europe, but it does not, thus creating the impression that it is exploiting the issue for its own economic and geopolitical ends. Europe should therefore enter into talks with Turkey and help it in order to ensure that migrants do not attempt this perilous journey across the Aegean.

Additionally, the Commission should introduce a more just and functional distribution scheme, ensuring that member states receive the number of migrants and refugees that reflects their economic capacity (that is, their GDP), so as to guarantee efficient economic integration as well as avoid disparities that trigger feelings of injustice and discomfort in those countries that have been receiving the largest numbers of people. After all, it is not an exaggeration to say that the continuation of such an inefficient migration policy could even threaten Europe's internal peace.

Lastly, the Commission should put forward a plan for comprehensive investment in Africa. African demographic growth is closely linked with Europe's migration challenge. Africa's economic environment is one that does not help working-age populations save and invest or, in some cases, even live decently. This condition provokes working populations and especially young people to move to Europe. Creating a concrete and sustainable framework that brings more private investment to Africa (with the mandatory involvement of all member states according to their capacities), as well as providing support to build a modern and adaptive educational and health system, will therefore improve job opportunities in the African continent and create the conditions for people to remain in their home countries rather than try to migrate to Europe in the years to come.

What could, what should happen in the EU during 2020?

Gesine Schwan

To play an active role in global politics the European Union needs more inner unity. It therefore needs to find solid common ground concerning questions over which it is divided but on which decisions should be made together.

Amongst these questions are the European regulation of the welcome of asylum seekers and refugees, as well as the regulation of migration in general. For years the European Council has tried and failed to find a solution, instead entering into sharp disputes. We should therefore turn this divisive issue into an attractive win-win-situation: no more obligation to welcome migrants but instead positive incentives for those who are willing and interested in doing so. The political actors to organise this are cities and municipalities, as well as rural regions and the places where integration really happens – not national governments which currently have the exclusive right to decide about entry to the European Union.

In line with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Goal 17), European municipalities should set up multi-stakeholder advisory councils with the representation of mayors and administrations, organised civil society and business. These councils should develop strategies for the sustainable development of municipalities. They could start with special questions (such as demography, the labour force, housing, and climate) and would immediately discover their interconnectedness if these questions were considered from the aspect of sustainability.

The European Union should create a 'Fund for Integration and Participatory Municipality Development'. The municipalities could apply to this for the funding of integration. As an incentive for welcoming refugees, the municipalities could additionally be financed for their own development needs, for the same amount as the integration costs. Furthermore, the organisation of the administration of the advisory councils and their yearly transnational European meetings to exchange experience should be paid by the fund, in a similar way to the LEADER programme.

This should be accompanied by a European integrated asylum system with European hotspots following the model of the Dutch asylum system, with lawyers for refugees from their arrival and the presence of organised civil society representatives throughout the process. This would make the process short and credible. The hotspots should not be limited to the Southern European arrival countries.

To start such a European strategy, a coalition of voluntarily cooperating states could invite their municipalities to make proposals for welcoming refugees and for developing their own projects. National states and municipalities could thus experience institutional, financial, structural, cultural and demographic renewal. By strengthening a transnational network of cities and municipalities, a natural integration process of Europe based on subsidiarity could take place, and a revival of citizen participation.

The European Union would become the leader in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 by uniting itself through municipalities and regions, giving them much more room for their democratic and participatory activities.