## DiE·M·25

Democracy in Europe·Movement·2025

Mission: TO DEMOCRATISE EUROPE OR ABOLISH THE EU

#### A MANIFESTO FOR DEMOCRATISING EUROPE

A spectre is haunting the Powers of Europe. A force they have always feared and sought to evade, co-opt, corrupt, mystify, usurp, manipulate and, ultimately, suppress – the vision of democracy.

Rule by Europe's peoples, government by the *demos*, is the shared nightmare of:

- The entire Brussels bureaucracy (and its 6,000 lobbyists)
- Its hit-squad inspectorates and the Troika they formed together with unelected 'technocrats' from other international and European institutions
- The powerful Eurogroup that has no standing in law or treaty
- Bankers (often bankrupt), fund managers and resurgent oligarchies
- Political parties appealing to liberalism, democracy, freedom and solidarity to deny their substance when in government
- Governments that fuel cruel inequality by imposing self-defeating austerity
- Media moguls who have turned fear-mongering into an art form, and a magnificent source of power and profit
- Corporations in cahoots with secretive public agencies investing in the same fear to promote secrecy and a culture of surveillance that bend public opinion to their will.

The European Union was an exceptional achievement, bringing together in peace European peoples speaking different languages, submersed in different cultures, proving that we could create a shared framework of human rights across a continent that was, not long ago, home to murderous chauvinism, racism and barbarity. The European Union could have been the proverbial Beacon on the Hill, showing the world how peace and solidarity may be snatched from the jaws of conflict and bigotry.

Alas, today, a common bureaucracy and a common currency divide Europe. A confederacy of economically naïve officials and financially incompetent 'experts' is putting Europe into disrepute and is stirring up a dangerous anti-European backlash. Proud nations are being turned against each other. Nationalism, extremism and racism are being re-awakened.

Eurozone economies are sequentially marched off the cliff of competitive austerity. The result is grinding recession in the weaker countries, low investment in the core countries, untold inequality and declining hope everywhere. Meanwhile, EU member-states outside the Eurozone are alienated, looking elsewhere for partners and inspiration.

An inefficient, authoritarian, illegitimate 'Europe' is fragmenting. Europeans are torn between two false choices: Retreat into the cocoon of their nation-state. Or surrender to the Brussels democracy-free zone. The consequences of either going back to the nation-state or sticking to the existing EU will be terrible for Europe, Europeans, and Europeanists alike. There must be another

course. And there is! It is the one official 'Europe' resists with every sinew of its cartel mentality and procedures. The antidote to the authoritarianism that corrupts the European Union and its institutions is a SURGE OF DEMOCRACY.

Our movement, DiEM·25, seeks to call forth just such a surge. The democratisation of the EU must start immediately in order to chisel away at the institutionalised resistance that must be overcome before Europe goes past the point of no return.

We give it a decade, by 2025.

If we fail, the EU will crumble under its hubris, it will fragment, and its fall will cause untold hardship everywhere – not just in Europe. And if Brussels succeeds in preventing its democratisation, then it needs to be abolished as an enemy of human dignity, Europe's future, shared prosperity and political freedom.

#### Why is Europe losing its integrity and its soul?

In the post-war decades during which the EU was initially constructed, national cultures were revitalised in a spirit of internationalism, disappearing borders, shared prosperity and raised standards that brought Europeans together. But, the serpent's egg was at the heart of the integration process.

From an economic viewpoint, the EU began life as a cartel of heavy industry (later co-opting farm owners) determined to fix prices and to re-distribute oligopoly profits through its Brussels bureaucracy. This cartel, and its Brussels-based administrators, feared the demos and despised the idea of government-by-the-people.

Patiently and methodically, a process of de-politicising decision-making was put in place, the result being a draining but relentless drive toward taking-the-demos-out-of-democracy and cloaking all policy-making in a pervasive pseudo-technocratic fatalism. National politicians were rewarded handsomely for their acquiescence to turning the Commission, the Council, Ecofin, the Eurogroup and the ECB, into politics-free zones. Anyone opposing this process of de-politicisation was labelled 'un-European' and treated as a jarring dissonance.

Deceit lies at the centre of the EU bureaucracy's highly political attempt to kill off democracy by pretending that top-down decision-making is... apolitical. The treatment of political decisions as technical problems masks the prioritisation of 'rules' whose real purpose is to keep the majority of Europeans away from real power over money and finance. But these rules, and the lack of democratic accountability of those who concoct and impose them, engender economic crisis.

It should surprise no one that Europe's political and economic institutions have led to abysmal economic data and avoidable hardship.

- Rules should exist to serve Europeans, not the other way round
- Currencies should be instruments, not ends-in-themselves
- A single market is consistent with democracy only if it features common defences of the weaker Europeans, and of the environment, that are democratically chosen and built
- Democracy is essential for keeping capitalism's rampant, self-destructive drives in check

In response to the inevitable crisis of Europe's cartelised social economy, the EU's institutions that caused the crisis have been resorting to escalating authoritarianism. The more they asphyxiate democracy the less legitimate their political authority becomes and the greater their need for further authoritarianism. Thus the enemies of democracy gather renewed power while losing legitimacy and confining hope and prosperity to the very few (who may only enjoy it behind the gates and the fences needed to shield them from the rest of society).

This is the unseen process by which Europe's crisis is turning our nations inwards, against each other, amplifying pre-existing jingoism, xenophobia. The privatisation of anxiety, the fear of the 'other', the nationalisation of ambition, and the re-nationalisation of policy threaten a toxic disintegration of common interests from which Europe can only suffer. Europe's pitiful reaction to the Greek humanitarian crisis, to Syrian refugees and to the Paris terrorist attacks are examples of what happens when solidarity loses its meaning.

- The crushing of the Athens Spring, and the imposition upon the democratically elected
  Greek government of an economic 'reform' program that was designed to fail, wounded
  Europe as a whole. No European Union member-state can be democratic and free as long
  as even one of its members is forced to agree in advance with everything unelected
  bureaucrats decide.
- The scandalous 'not in our backyard' attitude of most EU member states to the refugees landing on our shores is a mere reflection of the manner in which a broken European governance model yields ethical decline and political paralysis.
- The ease with which European governments decided after the awful Paris attacks that the solution lies in re-erecting borders, when most of the attackers were EU citizens, is yet another sign of the moral panic caused by a European Union unable to unite Europeans to forge common responses to common problems.

#### What should be done? Our horizon

Democracy across Europe is a prerequisite for a functioning, prosperous European Union. We believe that the EU is running out of time, quickly. Change must begin immediately and the new democratic union must come into being by 2025. The EU bureaucracy, which today harbours a deep contempt for democracy, must be democratised. Or it will – and should – disintegrate.

One simple, radical idea is the motivating force behind DiEM·25:

Democratise Europe! Democracy is not (and cannot be) a luxury afforded to creditors while declined to debtors

Realism demands of us to work toward reaching milestones within a manageable timeframe. This is why  $DiEM\cdot25$  will aim at four breakthroughs: immediately, within six months, within two years and, finally, aim to bring about a fully democratic, functional Europe by 2025.

Now, today, Europeans are rising up against all this everywhere. From Helsinki to Lisbon, from Dublin to Crete, from Leipzig to Belfast. We are uniting to re-write rules that jeopardise democracy and render impossible a shared pan-European prosperity. Democratising Europe's power structures is the only way to avoid the European Union's self-destruction.

Asked what we want in practice, and when we want it, our answer is:

#### **In the very short term:** Full transparency in decision-making.

- EU Council, Ecofin, FTT and Eurogroup Meetings to be live-streamed
- Minutes of European Central Bank governing council meetings to be published a few weeks after the meetings have taken place
- All documents pertinent to TTIP trade negotiations, that affect every facet of European citizens' future, to be uploaded on the web

# **In the short term (within twelve months):** Address the on-going economic crisis utilising existing institutions and within existing EU Treaties

Europe's immediate crisis unfolds in four realms simultaneously: Public debt, Banking, Inadequate Investment, and Rising Poverty. All four realms are currently left in the hands of national governments powerless to act upon them. DiEM·25 will present detailed policy proposals to Europeanise all four while returning power to national Parliaments, to regional councils, to city halls and to communities.

#### In the medium term (within two years): Constitutional Assembly

The people of Europe have a right and a duty to consider the union's future. To do this, an Assembly of their representatives must be convened. DiEM·25 will promote a Constitutional Assembly comprising of representatives elected on trans-national tickets. Today, when universities apply to Brussels for research funding, they must form alliances across nations. Similarly, election to the Constitutional Assembly will require tickets featuring candidates from at least fifteen European countries. The resulting Constitutional Assembly will be empowered to decide on a future democratic constitution that will replace all existing European Treaties.

#### In the long term (by 2025): Enactment of the decisions of the Constitutional Assembly

#### Who will bring change?

We, the peoples of Europe, have decided to regain control over our Europe from unaccountable 'technocrats'.

We are forming DiEM·25 intent on moving from a Europe of 'We the Governments', and 'We the Technocrats', to a Europe of 'We, the peoples of Europe'.

#### Four are our principles:

- No European nation can be free as long as another's democracy is violated
- No European nation can live in dignity as long as another is denied it
- No European nation can hope for prosperity if another is pushed into permanent insolvency and depression
- Prosperity requires growth consistent with human development and ecological balance

We join in a magnificent tradition of fellow Europeans who have struggled for centuries against the 'wisdom' that democracy is a luxury and that the weak must suffer what they must.

With our hearts and minds full of these commitments, and determined to make a difference, we declare that:

#### Our pledge

We, the undersigned, call on our fellow Europeans to join us forthwith to create the European movement which we call  $DiEM\cdot25$ 

- To democratise the European Union
- To end the reduction of all political relations into relations of power masquerading as merely technical decisions
- To subject the Brussels' bureaucracy to the will of sovereign European peoples
- To re-politicise the rules that govern our single market
- To restore sovereignty to town halls and Parliaments

We consider the model of national parties which form flimsy alliances at the level of the European Parliament to be obsolete. European democrats must come together first, forge a common agenda, and then find ways of connecting it with local communities and at the national level.

We come from every part of the continent and are *united* by *different* cultures, languages, accents, political party affiliations, ideologies, skin colours, faiths and conceptions of the good society.

Our overarching aim to democratise the European Union is intertwined with an ambition to promote self-government (economic, political and social) at the local, municipal, regional and national levels; to throw open the corridors of power to the public; to embrace social and civic movements; and to emancipate all levels of government from bureaucratic and corporate power.<sup>1</sup>

We are inspired by a Europe of Reason, Liberty, Tolerance and Imagination made possible by comprehensive Transparency, real Solidarity and authentic Democracy. We aspire to:

- A Democratic Europe in which political authority stems from sovereign European peoples
- A *United Europe* whose citizens have as much in common across nations as within them
- A Decentralised Europe that uses central power to maximise democracy in workplaces, towns, cities, regions and states
- A *Social Europe* that recognises that liberty necessitates not only freedom from interference but also the basic goods that render one free from need and exploitation
- A Pluralist Europe of regions, ethnicities, faiths, nations, languages and cultures
- A Transparent Europe in which all decision-making takes place under the citizens' gaze
- A *Cultured Europe* that harnesses cultural diversity and celebrates not only its invaluable heritage but also the work of Europe's dissident artists, musicians, writers and poets
- A Realistic Europe that makes the best use of available means
- A Productive Europe that directs investment into a shared, green prosperity
- A Technological Europe pressing new technologies in the service of solidarity
- A Historically-minded Europe that seeks a bright future without hiding from its past
- A Creative Europe that releases the innovative powers of its citizens' imagination

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g. the struggle of the people of Barcelona against predatory tourism, the campaigns to stop evictions in Madrid, the Irish movement to prevent the commodification of water, the crusade to provide higher education options to Portuguese students, the mobilisation of citizens in Calais and Hungary against xenophobia.

• A *Liberated Europe* in which Europeans are born into fewer stereotypical roles, get even chances to develop their potential, and are free to choose more of their partners in life, work and society.