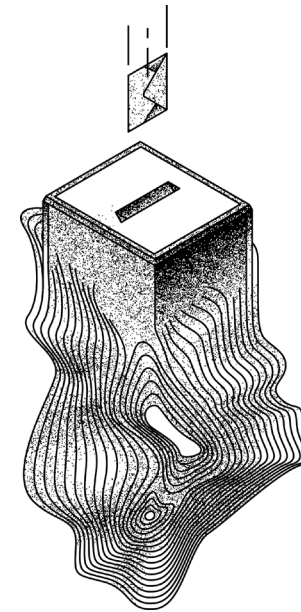


# **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS :**

*Let's dare the territories!*

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ELECTIONS :**

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2022: presidential and legislative elections in France; French presidency of the European Union; thirtieth anniversary of the Rio Earth Summit. France, Europe, the world. Three important deadlines. Are the prospects for the French people today up to the task? Sadly, no.

However, by leaving the major challenges of our time unanswered, for lack of the imagination, courage and determination necessary to conceive and lead the transition towards socially and ecologically sustainable societies, our political leaders are making society, and in particular young people, doubt their ability to do so! Even more seriously, they are casting doubt on the capacity of democracies to meet these challenges

To ward off these risks, the signatories of the "Dare to be Territorial" appeal, diverse in their opinions and political commitments, taking the three deadlines of 2022 seriously, wanted to make their contribution and open up new avenues.

They are convinced that the territories, living areas, places where society is concretely en- roped in, spaces of cooperation between its different actors, are called upon to play a major role in the conduct of the transition. We must think the world from the territories, to act both locally and globally.

Albert Einstein observed that we cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them. We share this dia- gnosis. It is the entire system of thought on the economy, governance, law and relations between societies that needs to be transformed, by breaking with the logic of domination that structures our social relations and our relationship with nature; it is the entire system of actors inherited from the previous century, starting with the functioning of the State, that needs to be rethought. These changes are profound. They require lucidity and political courage, long-term perspectives and first steps. They are within our reach.

Our proposals have three components:

- a compass capable of mobilising energies and the various generations around a long-term unifying project;

and, to give concrete expression to this vision over a five-year period :

- the conditions to be met to make the territories pivotal players in the transition
- the reform of French and European policies for the common good.

# A Compass: Rebuilding the relationship

## A1A compass for a long-term strategy.

We need a long-term strategy that is in line with the long history of humanity. This is lacking in the current political debate. Neither the headlong rush into technological innovation, nor the illusion of an all-powerful state, nor the retreat behind borders, nor the addition of rights, nor degrowth can give meaning to collective action.

## A2A common thread: the crises of the modern world are crises relationships.

We are the heirs of the modernity born in Europe. It has based its operational efficiency on the art of separation and on mechanisms of domination rather than cooperation. Relations between humanity and the rest of the living world, governance, the economy, science and technology, education, the exclusive place of the assertion of rights: in all these areas this is reflected today in a crisis of relations.

## **A3A compass: creating, recreating or repairing the relationship.**

The actors to be promoted are those who are best able to think and build relationships. Cooperation between actors and a systemic approach must be promoted in governance. Education must be reformed and its primary role is to develop a global understanding of the world and awareness of the responsibility of each individual. The means of social cohesion must be redefined. The relationship between humankind and the biosphere must be rebalanced. Relations between societies can no longer be embodied exclusively by those between sovereign states.

## **B The conditions to be met to make territories as pivotal actors in the transition**

## **B0 Territories and industries, the two key players in the twenty-first century.**

They are the two actors best placed to manage relationships. The territories, life basins, had lost their central role over the last few centuries, to the benefit of the States. They must regain the legal, fiscal and human means to play a central role in the design and management of the transition. The same applies to global production subsidiaries, which are at the heart of the economy today but are not considered as a major and responsible collective player.

## **B1 Empowering the territories to fulfil their role pilot of the transition.**

Create a territorial economic agency in each territory, co-financed by the local authorities and the State, on the model of what the urban planning agencies were in the past, to provide the territories with the necessary expertise to lead the transition.

## **B2 Redistribute powers and give territories a real financial autonomy.**

Only this capacity for action will enable us to get out of the normative and sectoral logics currently imposed by the State. And it is at the level of the country's four hundred or so living areas that the tax base must be decentralised

### **B3Promote multi-level governance.**

Contrary to the founding assumptions of decentralisation in France, no real challenge to society can be met at a single level of governance. On the contrary, it is cooperation between the different levels that must be organised by implementing in France, as is already recommended in the development of European policies, a multi-level governance based on the principle of active subsidiarity.

implementation of these long-term strategies that the State must be

### **B4Reinventing the dialogue between the State and the territories.**

After decentralisation, the State claims to continue to govern the territories, but from a distance, from the regional prefectures or the central administration. In order to assume its new role in the framework of multi-level governance and to ensure that the State is the partner and no longer the guardian of the territories, the State services will have to learn their new trade.

### **B5Insert the State's action in a long-term partnership with territories, accompanying strategies that have been developed over a long period of time at local level.**

Leading the transition from the territories presupposes that all the public and private players are put into motion and that a long-term strategy is matured. It is the development and

capable of accompanying instead of the stumbling blocks of the recovery plans and the piling up of procedures.

## **B6Rooting education in territorial realities and issues of sustainable development.**

Education is decisive in preparing the new generations to lead the responsible transition towards sustainable societies, which is not possible with a disciplinary education that is cut off from the land, nor with a discourse on responsibility that is not accompanied by projects designed and implemented by the students. This presupposes that education is anchored in the territories.

## **B7Empowering territories to change systems agri-food industry.**

Agriculture and food have a considerable impact on the ecological footprint of the French. It is from the territories that we can learn to measure this footprint and reduce it in many ways involving the education system, mass distribution, town-country relations, agricultural models, land management, etc. The increased room for manoeuvre given at national level by the new Common Agricultural Policy must be used to stimulate a global agri-food approach at territorial level.

## **B8 Making territories the space par excellence for collective Initiative and social cohesion.**

The current French model of combating social exclusion, based on multiple national schemes, each with a sectoral target, has reached its limits and its effectiveness is low in comparison to the financial resources committed. It is at the territorial level that these financial transfers can be transformed into a real policy of inclusion for all. Many examples show this. We need to move from experimental schemes to new general principles.

## **C Create at national, European and international level and global conditions for transition**

## **C0 Without structural reforms of the economy, governance and law at national, European and global levels, the territories' action comes up against a glass ceiling.**

Territories alone cannot revolutionise the world. They allow us to think locally in order to act globally. It is necessary to identify the structural reforms to be undertaken and to cross-reference them with the different levels of governance. The European Union is the scale to be favoured in order to have a grip on the transformations of the world

## **C1 Transform the economic and monetary system.**

### **C1.1 Open a broad national debate on the transition from economy to oeconomy.**

For the past thirty years there has been a consensus that the current economic model has reached an impasse, but efforts to invent a new one have been timid. It is time to recognize that ensuring the well-being of all while respecting the limits of the planet's resources was the major concern of societies before the industrial revolution. This was called oeconomy. Let us use this term to create a collective debate on what the oeconomy of the 21st century should be: its principles, its actors, its governance.

## **C.1.2 Climate: implement the system of individual tradable quotas.**

For the past thirty years, the policies implemented to combat global warming have been ineffective and have created the conditions for irresponsibility on the part of all actors. Assuming our commitments to the climate and to future generations requires us to impose an obligation of result: the reduction of our total ecological footprint by 6% per year between now and 2050. Only one policy satisfies the criteria of efficiency, social justice and the involvement of all actors: the setting of annual quotas allocated to each person and freely negotiable to allow those who make a particular effort to be frugal to benefit from it.

## **C1.3 Design governance regimes appropriate to the real nature of the goods and services.**

The distinction between public and private goods is the basis of classical economy, but in reality there are four categories of goods, not two. The new economy must define the governance regimes that correspond to each of them and thus put the market back in its proper place.

## **C1.4 Recognise the plurality of currencies.**

Today, paying with the same currency for what needs to be developed - human labour, which is a guarantee of social cohesion - and what needs to be saved - natural resources and fossil fuels - is like driving a car with only one pedal for the accelerator and the brake. A cultural revolution, moreover

made technically possible by the development of digital currencies, is essential to combine the role of the euro with currencies that make it possible, for example, to manage greenhouse gas emissions or to revive local exchanges.

## **C2 Reinventing governance, democracy and the social contract.**

### **C2.1 Reinventing governance: a European Federation 2.0.**

Faced with China, the USA and India, the European Union must strengthen itself. The new German coalition is making a gesture in this direction by talking about a federal Europe again. The outstretched hand must be seized, but the federal model of the 19th century does not correspond to the idea that Europe "must be big in the big things and small in the little things". It is a new federal model that France must propose, based on multi-level governance and active subsidiarity.

### **C2.2 Putting territorial transition factories at the heart of regional policy European.**

The European structural funds have enabled some regions to catch up. The priority of regional policies today must be to help territories to design and lead the transition towards sustainable societies.

## **C2.3 Overcoming the crisis of representative democracy by promoting democracy deliberative and contributory at all levels.**

The conference on the future of Europe emphasises the involvement of citizens in the design of future European policies. The crisis of representative democracy is felt at all levels. The European Union must promote deliberative democracy at all levels, allowing citizens to explore the possibilities and invent the conditions for a fairer world.

## **C2.4 Adopt a European Charter of Human Responsibilities and renew the contract European Social Fund.**

Historically, European society has valued the idea of a social contract between actors, balancing the rights and responsibilities of each. European law was essentially built on the European Convention on Human Rights. This approach must now be complemented by the adoption of a European Charter of Human Responsibilities, from which the new social contract between the various actors will be derived.

## **C2.5 Creating a European people's consciousness through a citizen-based process.**

The single market, common institutions and currency, and the status of European citizen are not enough to create an awareness of a community of destiny, to bring about the emergence of a "European people". The Conference on the Future of Europe will not fulfil this function. We need to design and implement a genuine institutional process, drawing on the achievements of deliberative democracy, starting from the local level and working up to the European level.

## **C3Basing international relations on new bases.**

### **C3.1 Renegotiate bilateral and multilateral trade agreements by focusing them on the promotion of sustainable value chains.**

The current trade agreements are all based on the belief in market efficiency. They are outdated. New agreements must aim first and foremost to promote ecologically and socially sustainable global production chains.

## **C3.2 Contribute to building a global community of destiny and a global law to manage the commons.**

The interdependence between the peoples of the earth and the need to manage global commons together should make the human family a true community, which is not the case today, due to the lack of adherence to common values and the lack of responsibilities assumed by each member of the community towards the other members. France must promote a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities and the development of a global constitution, in particular a global law applied to all actors.

*Proposal booklet*

# **A A COMPASS: REBUILDING THE RELATIONSHIP**

# A1 A compass for a long-term strategy.

In a world of interdependence and uncertainty, it would be presumptuous to try to plan for the long term at the level of a single country. Resigning oneself, because of the uncertainties, to acting in the short term and letting oneself be tossed about by events would be even more dangerous. For, as the Latin philosopher Seneca said, there is no fair wind for the sailor who does not know where he is going. What we need is a long-term strategy; a compass that places our action in the context of a long history, in order to draw up new perspectives for humanity, and then to translate this strategy into five-year action programmes, taking into account the evolution of events and the appearance of obstacles or opportunities over which we have no control.

This compass is missing in the current political debate. Nevertheless, five competing compasses can be deduced from the speeches and programmes put forward by the various presidential candidates:

- the 'technological' compass. It postulates, in line with the 1992<sup>1</sup> Heidelberg Appeal, that all the problems resulting from the development of science and technology, the driving force behind the current industrial and productivist model, will be solved by even more science and technology. There is no need to change our way of life or radically rethink our economic models, only the capacity for technological innovation;
- the statist compass. It entrusts the state with the task of protecting and transforming society and emphasises the virtues of authority without recognising that states are no longer the right scale to deal with most of the issues on which our future depends and without taking into account the vitality of society and the aspiration of many young people to engage, but outside traditional party structures;
- the compass of identity and sovereignty. It takes note of the anxiety in part of society caused by the shift in the balance of power in the world and the resulting decline of the 'blue collar' workers and part of the middle class; it maintains the illusion that withdrawal into the national territory, a fantasised identity and national egoism raised to the level of a virtue will be enough to halt this decline and will provide effective protection against the strong winds of economic globalisation;
- the human rights compass. It sees the recognition, proliferation and respect of economic, social, environmental, cultural and gender rights as a necessary and sufficient condition for societal cohesion and as the driving force behind the development of a sustainable society.

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<sup>1</sup> Heidelberg Appeal: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appel\\_de\\_Heidelberg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appel_de_Heidelberg) This is an appeal launched by numerous scientists manipulated underhand by multinational firms to create a counter-fire to the concerns expressed in the run-up to the Earth Summit regarding damage to the biosphere. This underground work by certain companies to minimise or deny the current risks has been masterfully described by Naomi Oreskes and Erik Conway in their book "Les marchands de doute" (Le Pommier, 2012). This is the attitude found in Donald Trump's climate denial

This is the only way to ensure that the balance between rights and responsibilities is the cement of any community. Each person ends up seeing only the rights that are denied to him or her and poses as a victim of this denial without recognising that a society cannot be built on competition between contradictory rights;

- the compass of degrowth. It acknowledges the impasse of the productivist model and the risk of the planet's ecological collapse, and stresses the need to change our lifestyles, but fails to conceive of the conditions to be met so that the decrease in withdrawals and discharges into the biosphere is accompanied by an increase in well-being for all.

None of these compasses will suffice to guide us and to solve the challenges of the twenty-first century, which are mostly global. In the absence of a real compass, the candidates' programmes put together national measures, listed to give the illusion of concreteness, which experience in recent decades has shown to be often unrealistic and difficult to finance or implement. Neither the headlong rush into technological innovation, nor the illusion of an all-powerful state, nor the withdrawal behind borders, nor the addition of rights, nor degrowth can give meaning to collective action.

According to surveys, a significant proportion of young people are already resigned to a great collapse, convinced that society will not be able to prevent it. Responding to this despair means affirming that, despite the complexity of the present world, it is possible, at the cost of a collective effort to renew our thinking, to change tack, to propose a mobilising "grand narrative" of the twenty-first century in which everyone can find their place. This narrative is part of the long history of our societies and of humanity as a whole.

Inventing the Future Together starts from the observation that the conceptual and institutional framework inherited from the past and in which we are locked, whether it be the State, democracy

The development of our representative systems, our legal systems, our economic models, our actors has been a response to the challenges of the societies of their time. Most of these are the fruits of Western modernity and the so-called Enlightenment. It is up to us to take the new challenges we face as our starting point and to use the same creativity to bring about a new Enlightenment. Sometimes we can draw inspiration from old responses, as in the case of economy, where, faced with the scarcity of the biosphere's resources and the need to preserve its integrity, we return to the sources of what was once called oeconomy: the art of ensuring the well-being of all within the limits of the biosphere. And sometimes we are faced with completely new realities, such as the irreversible nature of interdependencies between societies at the global level, and we must then boldly innovate.

## A2 A guiding thread

:

# The world's crises are crises of the relationship.

This guideline will surprise some people because it does not conform to the ideologies that have structured political debate for decades: capitalism and communism, Jacobins and

decentralists, sovereignists and internationalists, supporters of state interventionism and supporters of laissez-faire, etc.

It does not claim to explain everything or to replace these classic debates, many of which still have their *raison d'être*, but to propose a different reading.

Western modernity, of which the French Enlightenment was the symbol, has profoundly structured our sensibilities, our methods and our institutions. Associating the current crisis in relations with this modernity does not mean inventing a mythical past, a pre-modern, pre-industrial golden age where everything was harmony. Since the Second World War, and despite the current pandemic, we have been protected from the three great scourges of humanity, war, famine and the great epidemics. We can only say that we have inherited this modernity, that it reveals its limits, which we must now overcome, and that a good way of describing these limits is to identify a multiform crisis of relations. We must therefore identify its manifestations and understand its logic.

The crisis of relationships manifests itself in different ways. First, it is a crisis in the relationship between humanity and the biosphere, of which climate change is one expression. Secondly, it is a crisis in relations between people, with the loss of social cohesion, mutual trust and solidarity, which is now coupled with a crisis of trust between people and institutions, a crisis that the system of public redistribution set up over the decades to replace private charity is proving unable to compensate for. Thirdly, it is a crisis of relations between societies, with the power of sovereign states, conceptualised in the seventeenth century and supposedly accountable only to their citizens, to manage the global commons. Finally, it is a crisis of relationships that runs through each of us with the difficulty of reconciling our values, our convictions and our actions; the growing feeling that the jobs on offer do not satisfy the quest for meaning is an expression of this.

A crisis in relationships does not mean, of course, that relationships do not exist, but that they are not satisfactory or appropriate to the nature of our challenges, that they are often dis-symmetrical, that there is no real social contract between the parties, that there is a lack of trust, and that there is a lack

of transparency.

It is also true that our modern world has based its operational efficiency on the art of separating rather than uniting and on mechanisms of domination rather than cooperation. Our modern world has based its operational efficiency on the art of separating rather than uniting and on mechanisms of domination rather than cooperation.

Separation between humanity and the rest of the living world. From time immemorial, the relationship between humans and the rest of the living world has been situated between two poles: humanity is an integral part of the living world and has no special status within it; humans have the intellectual capacity to exploit the resources of the living world for their own benefit, but within a form of social contract that can be seen, for example, in traditional<sup>2</sup> animal husbandry. The characteristic of modernity is that it has tilted towards one of the poles, reducing the rest of the biosphere to the status of resources to be exploited, of which man is 'master and possessor'.

In the field of governance, operational efficiency is expected from the segmentation of institutions and public policies. This efficiency is real in the short term, but today its perverse effects are particularly visible. It is significant, for example, that at the Citizens' Climate Convention, the experts rejected a key citizens' proposal: to demand coherence in public policies. Each sectoral policy ends up satisfying a particular clientele while losing sight of the general interest. And the proliferation of laws, each of which targets a particular problem, is moving in the same direction. The decentralisation that came about as a result of the 1982-1983 laws only increased segmentation: the thesis that prevailed at the time was that each level of authority should be given exclusive powers, to the detriment of the necessary cooperation between levels of governance.

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2 "Compagnons du soleil", a collective work coordinated by Joseph Ki Zerbo and presenting the great founding texts on the relationship between humanity and biosphere in different civilizations; La Découverte 1992

In the economic sphere, we have based economic efficiency on competition, on an illusory invisible hand of the market by which magically the common good would arise from each person's pursuit of his or her personal interest. This specialisation of each type of actor is coupled with the illusion that economic activity can be isolated from the rest of society's functioning, with its own efficiency criteria such as GDP. And in the financial field, where it was the relationship of trust between players that guaranteed compliance with contracts, we have based security on the fluidity of transactions, on our ability to withdraw from the relationship at any time.

Science and technology have progressed by gradually separating themselves from theology, developing their own validation methods and subdividing themselves into disciplines. It is difficult to deny the operational effectiveness of this approach, but it must be said that scientific research has in many ways become autonomous from society, that the social contract linking the scientific community to the rest of society has been eroded<sup>3</sup>, and that people are gradually being dispossessed of their own destiny, including their own death, in favour of institutions.

Education reflects this segmentation of science and technology and the partitioning of ethics and technology, contributing to the growing individualism of societies by almost exclusively favouring, at least in France, knowledge over commitment, competition over cooperation.

In terms of values and law, we have seen, particularly since the Second World War, a primacy or even exclusivity of rights, which alone isolate, to the detriment of the responsibilities that unite.

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<sup>3</sup> "Chartes des responsabilités sociétales de la recherche scientifique et de l'enseignement supérieur" in "Métamorphoses de la responsabilité et contrat social". P Calame. ECLM 2020

## A3 A compass: creating, recreating or repairing the relationship.

The compass stems from the diagnosis of the crisis in relations. It must guide the values, the law, the economy and the role of the various actors.

### 1

#### **The actors to be promoted are those who are best able to think and build relationships.**

The 'pivotal' actors of the twentieth century, those who organised the economic, social and political system around them, the State and large companies, are the embodiment of an operational efficiency obtained at the price of sacrificing the relationship. The pivotal actors of the twenty-first century are those who are able to organise relationships. These are : territories", on the one hand, which are able to link the economy, society and the environment, to facilitate relations between people and social groups, to organise cooperation between different types of actors around a common project; which play a decisive role in organising relations between people and between different types of economic and social political actors; 'international production chains', also known as supply chains or value chains, which organise relations between the myriad economic actors involved in production in a globalised world. Unlike the previous actors, territories and value chains are not

are not 'institutions' in the classical sense of the term but rather collective actors who organise relations within<sup>4</sup> them. The territories, major actors in social and political life until the eighteenth century, saw their role decline over the following two centuries to the benefit of the state. We can speak of the 'revenge of the territories'.

## 2 **Cooperation between actors and a systemic approach should be promoted in governance.**

This is manifested in three areas:

- the philosophy and methods of multi-level governance. No societal problem can be addressed at a single scale of governance. It is the principles of cooperation between the different scales, from global to local, that determine the effectiveness of governance, not the watertight division of competences between each level<sup>5</sup>;
- the development of systemic approaches in public institutions to move away from 'silo' policies;
- the generalisation of deliberative democracy, to recreate a culture of peaceful dialogue and the search for consensus between informed citizens, which has been undermined by the theatrical exaggeration of partisan opposition and more recently by social networks.

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4 "The Two Pivotal Actors of Oeconomy" in "A Brief Treatise on Oeconomy". P Calame. ECLM 2018

5 "The principles of subsidiarity and proportionality: strengthening their role in EU policy-making. Communication from the European Commission. October 2018

## 3

## **Education must be reformed and its primary role must be to develop a global understanding of the world and awareness of individual responsibility.**

It is no longer enough to juxtapose lessons by discipline, they must be linked together, learning must be rooted in the realities of a territory, and the joy of being an actor in one's own life and in society must be discovered by taking on responsibilities. The transition towards socially and ecologically sustainable societies is not a discipline added to the others but a common thread running through them all. This holistic understanding cannot be understood within a framework of individual learning aimed at reproducing fixed knowledge, but with the aim of emancipation and collective work.

## 4

## **The means of social cohesion must be redefined.**

- the social contract, the recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the different actors, is the foundation of society. Such a contract, implicit or explicit, has existed for all major public and private institutions, but it is often outdated and needs to be reinvented;
- Social utility is the basis of the relationship of each of us to society as a whole. In the name of the right to dignity, and with the negative memory of the "poor working" in the nineteenth century, we see projects for unconditional living wages flourishing. These are laudable intentions, but they relegate people to the status of pure consumers, whereas it is human relationships that are needed.

must be promoted. It is at the territorial level that we can offer everyone a place in society, organise cooperation between actors so that no one is left behind: local pacts to combat exclusion, zero unemployment territories, ecological transition income;

- people, including the very old, must reclaim their bodies and their destiny, which they are progressively dispossessed of by medical institutions that are themselves divided into disciplines that struggle to deal with the human being as a whole.

## 5 **The relationship between humanity and the biosphere must be rebalanced.**

- It is inescapable that the preservation of living conditions on earth, and therefore respect for the limits of the biosphere, should become a categorical imperative for all public policies. The responsibility of all public and private actors is involved, leading, for example, in the area of climate change, to the establishment of an annual obligation to reduce the ecological footprint of companies;
- The economy must once again become oeconomy, the art of creating well-being for all while respecting the limits of our environment;
- happy sobriety is inseparable from the search for the development of each individual. It is the very notions of goodness and development, and the imagination of our societies, that must be changed so that the link prevails over the good;
- Agroecology must become the reference for agriculture. So-called modern agriculture, based on chemistry and inspired by the industrial economy, depletes the soil, uses massive amounts of fossil fuels, and ignores environmental conditions. Under the guise of technicality, it is an agriculture of ignorance of ecosystems. Today, it is a symbol

On the contrary, within the oeconomy, agriculture must become the symbol of a new capacity to manage and enrich relationships, a model for managing complexity;

- rationing of scarce goods must become the norm. Twentieth century economics ignores the notion of scarcity and in France, because of the humiliations of the last war, rationing is cast into obscurity, is deemed 'inventive' to public opinion. Yet the management of scarcity through prices is the best way to reserve the enjoyment of scarce resources for the richest. Where the biosphere is limited, rationing, i.e. the search for equity in the distribution of a scarce resource, must become the rule.

## 6 **Relationships between societies can no longer be embodied by those between sovereign states.**

There is an urgent need for the emergence of a global awareness of a community of destiny, and this can only come about through dialogue between peoples and societies on the responses to common challenges, of which the climate and biodiversity are examples.

**B THE CONDITIONS  
TO BE MET TO  
MAKE THE  
TERRITORIES  
PIVOTAL PLAYERS  
IN THE TRANSITION**

# B0 The territories and the sectors, the two key players in the twenty-first century.

In the French context, where the tax resource goes essentially to the State and where a long tradition of centralisation has made local authorities actors with very limited autonomy and means, largely dependent on the State and subordinate to State logic, recognising the pivotal role of the territories in the twenty-first century is not self-evident, including at the level of local authorities themselves. It is necessary not only to provide the territories with the necessary skills and human resources to enable them to assume this new role, but also to undertake a profound cultural reform of the State, so that it becomes a partner and not a guardian of the territories, and to make up for France's lag with respect to the European Union by adopting the principles and methods of multi-level governance, making cooperation between the different levels of governance the basis of public action.

A parallel effort must be made at the level of global production sectors, which structure the major branches of activity, textiles, automobiles, construction and public works, electronics, agri-food, media, metallurgy, etc., and are the very expression of a globalised economy. In most sectors, a limited number of very large companies are linked by relationships of allegiance with myriads of partners of varying status, subsidiaries, subcontractors, suppliers, etc.

between which there are commercial contracts often involving dissymmetrical relations. The reality and role of supply chains, the obligation to take into account allegiance<sup>6</sup> relationships, the French law on duty of care<sup>2</sup>, soon to be extended to Germany and other EU countries, which requires ordering companies to take responsibility for their influence on their commercial partners, all these developments make supply chains an increasingly tangible reality. The fair distribution of the value created between all the players, the traceability of greenhouse gas emissions throughout the production process, product life-cycle management, standards of compatibility between the components, and respect for human rights by each of them together constitute the conditions for ecologically and socially sustainable supply chains.

It is from the intersection of socially and ecologically sustainable territories with equally socially and ecologically sustainable industries that the societal transition we need will result.

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<sup>6</sup> Introduction by Alain Supiot to the book "prendre la responsabilité au sérieux", edited by Alain Supiot and Mireille Delmas Marty; PUF 2015

# B1 To equip the territories to enable them to take on this role of leading the transition.

"Know thyself": this precept of Greek philosophy applies perfectly to territories. In a monetarised and globalised economy, a large modern city knows itself infinitely less well than the last Chinese village of two thousand years ago, whose survival depended on the proper management of energy flows, soil fertility and social cohesion. A modern city does not spontaneously have the means to know the flows of all kinds that enter, leave and circulate within it and what, in the incoming financial flows, invigorates the local economy or emerges instantaneously as external purchases of goods and services.

There are now sustainable development initiatives in all territories: community energy audits, positive energy neighbourhoods, promotion of soft mobility, housing energy rehabilitation policy, development of renewable energy, circular economy, etc. On the other hand, very few territories have a global and multi-actor transition strategy. Most of the time, sustainable development policy is added to other sectoral policies without irrigating all local policies. The State's approach, which favours a project-based approach, provides sectoral technical support or piles up procedures, does not contribute to this either.

City networks have multiplied. Meetings between

Municipal teams are often involved, including at the international level. This is an opportunity for municipal teams to highlight their initiatives and exchange experiences, but as a rule, local authorities do not have the tradition and human capacity to mobilise the best of national and international experience when they undertake a policy.

Without teams of experts with a solid status within local authorities and adequate means of investigation, proposal and evaluation, placed directly at the side of the executive, and without a network of these teams to confront and develop experiences over time, the current gap between the potential of the territories and the reality of their functioning will remain wide open. The technical and sectoral engineering of the State Agencies will not make up for this. Each living area should have a territorial oeconomy agency<sup>6</sup>, co-financed by the local authorities and the state, which would document the metabolism of the territories, measure the ecological footprint of society, and organise the management of common goods such as water, air, and land, to build and develop the intangible capital of territories, which is the fruit of long learning and the art of taking up common challenges together and getting actors united by a common project to cooperate, to promote the economy of functionality, the circular economy, or industrial and territorial ecology.

## B2 Redistribute powers and provide territories of real financial autonomy.

The share of direct taxation by local authorities in the total tax bill is singularly low and has further deteriorated with the abolition of the *taxe d'habitation*. The 2015 regional reform claimed to strengthen the regions by reducing their number. This was a mockery. France's largest region has far fewer competences and fiscal resources than the last of the Swiss cantons and has a budget fifty times smaller than its German, Italian or Spanish counterparts. The resources of local authorities make them financially and therefore strategically dependent on the State; they subordinate their capacity for action to the race for national or European subsidies, both of which are organised around 'projects' and procedures that are so many obstacles to the emergence of real long-term territorial strategies.

The State's desire to support strategies for systemic change at the local level is constantly coming up against its own functioning, which multiplies the 'agencies' that are supposed to drive change 'from the top down' and sees only its own experimentation-modelling-generalisation model as a means of disseminating innovation. The latest example is the Contracts for Recovery and Eco-Logical Transition. The stated intentions are perfect, but the proposed procedure, the deadlines set and the requirement to comply with

A nationally defined recovery plan contradicts and negates these good intentions<sup>7</sup>.

The administrative and political *mille-feuille* that has been created to correct the major errors of the first laws of decentralisation<sup>8</sup> can only be temporary because it only results in losers, starting with democracy itself, and delays a real reform of scales and means. As early as 1982, in its opinion on decentralisation, the Urban Planning Directorate recommended a "twenty times twenty" rule: twenty regions and twenty living areas per region. This was only an order of magnitude, but it is striking to see forty years later that the order of magnitude of the number of living areas is four hundred. The ratio of one to twenty from one level of government to the next is the ratio at which we can have a personalised relationship with each entity. And the catchment area, if it does not define rigid intangible borders and if multiple overlaps appear between the catchment areas themselves, does define the scale of interdependencies between actors and possible fiscal solidarity. It is also not far removed from the idea of bio-regions that focus on the relationship between society and ecosystems. It is also a scale where local authorities are large enough to provide themselves with the intellectual and human resources that are so often lacking. It is at this scale that the tax base should be decentralised, as in neighbouring countries, with the State concentrating on its role of coordination and redistribution between rich and poor basins and regions.

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<sup>7</sup> The circular instituting the CRTE is very revealing of this state of mind: it wants to promote a long-term partnership between living areas and the State, based on a transition strategy defined collectively by all the players, but sets deadlines that are incompatible with the development of such a strategy and asks that the territories' proposals be included in the recovery plan already defined at national level

<sup>8</sup> See sheet B3 below

## B3 Promoting multi-stakeholder governance levels.

French-style' decentralisation suffers, in addition to the weakness of the fiscal base of local authorities, from three major defects: the 'blocks of competence' which enshrine the absence of cooperation between levels of governance; the priority given to the old political structures inherited from rural and Napoleonic France, the commune and the department; the absence of authority of one authority over another, reflecting the atavistic distrust of the political body with regard to the presumed 'clientelism' of local elected representatives (as if this clientelism did not exist at other levels!) and the dream of an abstract equality that is translated into uniformity in all areas. After so many successive laws that have only contributed to making the administrative and political "mille-feuille" more complex and illegible, the question must be taken up again from a radically new angle in order to make up for the lag of "France of the prefects", who govern relations between the levels of governance in the name of the State, in relation to the European Union, where multi-level governance (and the principle of active subsidiarity that is its corollary) have become the reference.

The idea of multi-level governance gradually took hold at the end of the twentieth century. While the debate between 'jacobins', advocates of a strong, unified and centralised state, and 'giron- dins', advocates of more decentralised structures and a federation or even a confederation, is as old as the French Revolution, what both had in common was the idea that each level of governance had exclusive competences, so that it was a question of sharing power rather than exercising shared

In the early days of the federal system, the principle of subsidiarity was emphasised: society should be managed as closely as possible to the grassroots communities and power should only be delegated to higher entities when the grassroots communities are unable to do so. But it has gradually become clear that in modern societies, with their multiple interdependencies, no real problem in society can be solved at a single level. From then on, it was no longer the question of the sharing of competences between levels that was essential, but the question of cooperation between levels, which had to be organised.

According to what principle should this be done? A principle of legitimacy: governance is legitimate in particular if it knows how to best combine the overall coherence of the community and the autonomy of each of its parts, unity and diversity<sup>9</sup>. This is the major question of European construction. The answer is the principle of active<sup>10</sup> subsidiarity: the autonomy of initiative of each level of governance is exercised while respecting common guiding principles, which guarantee overall coherence. These principles themselves do not fall from the sky, they are the result of the exchange of experiences, which puts the idea of a learning community at the heart of governance.

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9 "The legitimacy of governance" in "La démocratie en miettes". P. Calame. 2003. Descartes et compagnie

10 "Multi-level governance". P Calame. 2013. Note from the Jean Jaurès Foundation

## B4 Reinventing the dialogue between the State and territories.

Decentralisation has led to a withdrawal of the State from the territories and an asymmetry of dialogue: the State has concentrated on regalian missions carried out by decentralised services centred on the prefectures, on project-based financing or thematic actions led by its agencies (ANCT, ADEME, CEREMA, etc.). All of this does not favour the establishment of a balanced dialogue and a well understood multi-level governance of territories.

Finding or rediscovering the conditions for this dialogue requires a real cultural revolution in State services, and no doubt also in some local authority services, in the same way that public services have learned and continue to learn to collaborate with companies and to overcome mutual mistrust.

The first step in this revolution is training. Taking account of the ecological transition, which is gradually (and probably too slowly) permeating the various training courses in the civil service, will clearly not be complete without a much more thorough integration of territorial views: internships, or even first positions in the territory (within or outside local authorities) for future State civil servants, internships in State services for territorial civil servants are a necessary component of this training. Similarly, career paths must encourage, or even make compulsory, the mixing of professions, which is currently subject to numerous institutional, administrative and cultural barriers.

In this institutional and cultural revolution, the building and maintenance of public expertise at the service of the territories remains an essential issue. This expertise is currently fragmented between agencies and certain State services, the services of large local authorities, but also the laboratories of research organisations, schools (the engineering schools of the technical ministries, the institutes of political studies, etc.) and certain universities, and is partly impoverished by the renewal of generations and the reduction in public resources.

The role of research is crucial in the initial constitution of the expertise of the younger generations: training through research for civil servants, the establishment of structured relations between school or university laboratories and public services, again on the model of what exists today between laboratories and companies, all of this needs to be revitalised but will remain sterile if the expertise is not maintained and developed by the richness of career paths alternating between operational missions, government functions and transversal missions. This is how everything hangs together between support for research, attention to training and the fluidity of career paths.

At a time when the President of the Republic has reshuffled the cards with the disappearance of the ENA (whose creation had coincided with the golden age of the State), this cultural revolution becomes possible. The opportunity cannot be missed.

## **B5 Include state action in a long-term partnership with the territories, accompanying strategies that have been developed over a long period of time locally.**

Nothing better illustrates the contradictions in which the State is struggling in its relations with the territories than the Contracts for Recovery and Ecological Transition (CRTE) launched by the pre-sent government. The intention is commendable: the State wants to make changes, to stop the little game of sectoral procedures that accumulate without any future (we will not list the acronyms here), and to reunite its partnership with the territories by favouring the scale of life basins and by including its action in locally defined strategies. Well done. But the same circular that announces these fine intentions immediately contradicts them by setting absurdly short deadlines for the development of strategies and specifying that only actions predefined by a strictly sectoral national recovery plan will be financed. The State must commit itself to overcoming these contradictions, to defining,

in accordance with the principle of active<sup>9</sup> subsidiarity, the guidelines of its recovery plan, supplemented by its share of the European recovery plan, by making the whole of this plan subject to

A transition strategy should be developed and local and regional authorities should be allowed to define, according to their own context, the best way to implement these guidelines.

The confusion between equality and uniformity must end. Education offers a striking example: France is the country where formal equality of opportunity is most asserted and where the reality of inequalities in the face of school is most glaring, as shown by the PISA comparative surveys: it is in France that the differences in the scores of pupils linked to their social origin is most significant.

State action must focus on the maintenance of collective expertise in the field of transition, all institutional insertions taken together<sup>11</sup>, and on the concerted development of guiding principles for territorial policies by animating learning communities to compare experiences, according to a temporal cycle of revision of these principles according to the experience acquired<sup>12</sup>.

On this basis, the State and the regions will be able to build a long-term, personalised partnership with each of the catchment areas on the basis of strategies that have been developed over a long period of time, in particular by relying on the territorial<sup>13</sup> economic agencies.

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11 See sheet B3

12 "The policy-making and evaluation cycle" in "The State at the heart; the mecano of governance". André Talmant Pierre Calame. Desclée de Brouwer. 1997

13 See B1

## B6 Grounding education in realities and the challenges of sustainable development.

The division of educational tasks in France is highly significant: local authorities are responsible for the premises and their maintenance, the state for the content of teaching. And this content is itself disconnected from any local roots, leaving only extracurricular activities to local authorities. Yet the complexity and challenges of sustainable development are learned with the feet rather than the head, by discovering concrete realities and by engaging in active teaching. This is the first reason for rooting the content of teaching in the territories, which are par excellence the spaces of perception and management of relations. Field surveys on air quality, on the ecological footprint of a school, on food waste recycling and collective catering are all opportunities to put into practice disciplinary knowledge acquired in mathematics, physics, chemistry, earth sciences and economics.

The second reason is the link between knowledge and commitment. As Edgar Morin points out in his preface to the Manifesto for a Global Education, "Education must contribute not only to an awareness of our homeland Earth, but also allow this awareness to grow.

The "sustainable development" training courses talk about the responsibility of humanity, but in a form that is ultimately guilt-ridden for young people because it cannot be translated into commitment. The "sustainable development" training courses speak of the responsibility of humanity, but in a form that ultimately makes young people feel guilty because it cannot be translated into commitment. Responsibility, that is to say joyful responsibility (that which makes people the subjects of their own destiny, not the guilt-inducing responsibility that consists of explaining to children who have nothing to do with it that everything is going from bad to worse) is learned at a very young age by undertaking concrete actions together. There are many examples in Europe and throughout the world of the effectiveness of such an approach. In France, it should therefore consist of reanchoring education in the territories, defining at national level, according to the principles of active subsidiarity, the broad outlines of apprenticeship, and then entering into agreements with the territories so that approaches which are still the exception today become the rule<sup>15</sup>.

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14 Edgar Morin preface to the Manifesto for a Global Education. Collective. 2015

15 Concrete illustrations can be found in the dossier produced by Monde Pluriel

and published by Citego, "Schools as a field of experimentation for the involvement of young people in sustainable development experiments at the local level":  
[http://www.citego.org/bdf\\_dossier-123\\_fr.html](http://www.citego.org/bdf_dossier-123_fr.html)

# B7 Giving territories the means to change agri-food systems.

The agri-food sectors are global. Their weight is decisive, both for the ecological footprint of societies and for biodiversity and health. Territories are a privileged space for changing agricultural models, the services provided by the agricultural world, land management, urban-rural relations, education, the development of urban agriculture, food models, the supply of large-scale distribution, short circuits between producers and consumers, the new "commons" associated with the production and distribution of food, and social integration.

Agroecology, a model of a systemic approach to relationships<sup>16</sup>, is also a driving force for redefining the relationships between societies and their environment. However, this is not an approach by plot or by farm but an approach by terroir, by bio-region and, as such, it should be a territorial policy.

The new Common Agricultural Policy gives states room for manoeuvre. If it is only a question of 'renationalising' agricultural policy, the lobbies of industrial and production-oriented agriculture will take the lead and block the changes that the public overwhelmingly wants. If

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<sup>16</sup> See sheet A3, §5

If we want to move towards global agri-food policies, i.e. taking into account their many cultural, economic, social and ecological dimensions, we must give the regions and territories the means to define this policy at their level, in order to offer healthy food for all based on ecologically and socially profitable production methods.

This is the sector of activity where it is also the easiest and most educational to add a "carboscure", measuring the total ecological footprint of the goods produced and consumed (it is estimated that with the current model it is necessary to spend 7.3 calories to produce one calorie of food!), to the nutriscore which measures its value for health. Part of the mass retail sector itself, attentive to the evolution of consumers, may be an ally in this evolution. New forms of cooperation between a wide range of actors are already being formed in some areas around agri-food models and their evolution, and this movement can easily be generalised to make the issue a model for multi-level governance.

## B8 Making territories the space for initiative and social cohesion.

If the massive redistribution of resources between social categories and between territories is more than ever indispensable to fight against the growth of inequalities and can only be the responsibility of the State, its modalities must be completely reviewed. It is at the territorial level that we can take into account the different dimensions of poverty and exclusion, and mobilise all the private and public players in the service of social cohesion. It is at this level that financial transfers can be transformed into a real policy of inclusion for all.

The essence of national policies to combat exclusion is to define a series of sectoral social handicaps which create as many categories of people entitled to public aid... even if it means discovering later that poverty and exclusion are It is a "multi-factorial" approach that combines and reinforces each other's disadvantages. In this approach, which is contradictory to any development approach that starts from the assets of each person in order to enhance them, we start from what people do not have. Since the 1980s, this contradiction has been pointed<sup>17</sup> out. Hence the success of micro-credit schemes, which are based on the idea of supporting the capacity for initiative of those who do not have access to traditional credit. Nevertheless, these individual approaches remain insufficient.

Hence the idea set out in the 1997 Manifesto of Local Pacts that the excluded should be involved in strategies to combat exclusion, but within the framework of the mobilisation of all the actors in a given area: "In order to move towards public policies that are more in line with the ills of our time, we advocate the implementation of local pacts that are a place for recognising and supporting local actors and initiatives for the creation of activity and citizenship. They must allow for the sustainable articulation, in a given territory, of the initiatives of all actors, including the State as a partner capable of listening to the point of view of others and keeping its commitments to them; they must not be limited to experimental or derogatory measures, but must be based on a framework of common law that local actors can rely on; they must be based on proximity, because this is the scale at which the dynamics of empowerment and concrete solidarity are created<sup>18</sup>.

Territories with zero long-term unemployment, the introduction of an ecological transition income offering everyone a collective framework for finding their place in the service of the community, and the development of commons creating new methods of definition and citizen management: It is by globalising social trans- ferts and using them to the best advantage for the integration of all into the community, in accordance with guiding principles common to all territories, resulting from the confrontation of experiences and constantly enriched by their lessons, that social cohesion will be recreated.

17 "Do the rich (still) need the poor?" in "Mission Possible". P. Calame. Editions Descartes. 1994

18 "The Manifesto for Social Cohesion and Employment: <https://base.d-p-h.info/en/fiches/dph/fiche-dph-8311.html>

**C CREATE THE  
CONDITIONS FOR  
TRANSITION AT  
NATIONAL,  
EUROPEAN AND  
GLOBAL LEVEL**

# C0 Without structural reforms of In the context of the economic, governance and legal changes taking place at national, European and global levels, the action of the territories comes up against a glass ceiling.

Affirming the major role of the territories does not mean that they can, by their own action, revolutionise the world. We believe that it is necessary to "think locally", that it is from the local level that we can best understand the challenges of the world, but also to "act globally", to transform the framework of our economy, our society, our international relations and our law.

The European Union is the scale on which to address global change

At a time when France is taking over the presidency of the European Council, proposals for the Presidential elections and proposals for Europe are inextricably linked. France is a middle power. It is between the regions of the world that

A strong Europe will be listened to by China and the United States, provided that it does not withdraw frigidly, thinking only of protecting an ageing population. Europe will be great if it provides its people and the world with answers to the challenges of the twenty-first century<sup>11</sup>. It was the place where modernity was invented. It is up to Europe to invent a new Enlightenment, in accordance with its universalist<sup>12</sup> vocation. As the only region in the world where states have been able to peacefully relinquish part of their sovereignty in the name of the common good, it is lighting the way for shared sovereignty and multi-level governance on a global scale. On the other hand, it has three weaknesses today: its development was based on the unification of the market, after the failure of the European Defence Community in 1954, but in sixty years the market has itself become globalised, making the European Union the soft underbelly of this globalisation, and market fundamentalism remains the backbone of European policies; The market, the currency and the Community institutions have not been enough to create a 'European people' aware of sharing a common<sup>3</sup> destiny; the cradle of societies based on the social contract, and therefore on the balance between the rights and responsibilities of each actor, it has today based its common legal system almost exclusively on human rights, which alone are incapable of building cohesion between communities.

Cross-reference the scope of reforms and the scale at which they are undertaken.

The following proposals concern reforms to the economic and monetary system, governance and international relations. They should be considered in relation to the levels at which they are to be implemented, in general the three levels of national, European and global governance.

# C1 Transform the economic and monetary system.

## C1.1 Open a broad national and European debate on the transition from economy to oeconomy.

For years, convoluted formulas have been invented to describe the future economic model: "green growth", "It is as if it were enough to put two contradictory terms together for the contradiction to disappear"<sup>19</sup>. This is the hallmark of magical thinking. Why exhaust ourselves with periphrases when, until the 18th century, we had a concept that covered precisely what we must reinvent today: oeconomy. Formed from the two Greek words "oikos," the home and

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<sup>19</sup> Introduction in "petit traité d'économie". P. Calame. ECLM 2018

By extension the community, and "nomos" the rules, oeconomy was the art of using all our knowledge and experience to ensure the well-being of all members of the community within the limits of the environment. Since the Club of Rome's report on the limits to growth in 1972<sup>20</sup>, it has become clear that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during which the industrialized countries could consider the resources of the entire planet, mobilized for their benefit, to be practically inexhaustible, constituted a parenthesis in human history. What is at stake is a great return to oeconomy, mobilizing all the resources of science, technology, and creativity.

Since the eighteenth century, 'economic science' has claimed to be autonomous from the other social sciences, but it is in fact an ideology; the evidence is that nature has not changed in a few centuries and the natural sciences have undergone several revolutions, while society and production systems have been radically transformed without calling into question the foundations of 'economic science'. As the "doughnut economy"<sup>21</sup> symbolizes, human activity must be situated within a ring bounded by the demands of well-being for all on the one hand and by the limits of the planet on the other: economy, society, and ecology are inseparable, another way of speaking of oeconomy.

What is the basis for designing the oeconomy of the twenty-first century? By recognizing that it is only one particular area of governance, to which common<sup>22</sup> fundamental principles must be applied. This oeconomy will be

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<sup>20</sup> "The Limits of Growth. Meadows Report. 1972 <https://www.clubofrome.org/publication/the-limits-to-growth/>

<sup>21</sup> Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st-Century Economist. Kate Raworth. 2017

<sup>22</sup> A discussion of these common principles can be found in "Democracy in Tatters". P Calame. Descartes et Cie.2003 and their application to the economy in "A short treatise on economics", op cit.

A multi-level economy will emerge from the fundamentalism of the single market to combine local, national, European and global economies. It will be the result of the combination of sustainable territories and sustainable sectors, rather than an illusory "relocation" of our industry. On the basis of the fundamental principles of governance, a national debate involving all the players will make it possible to compare the solutions proposed by all sides. Society will thus reappropriate fundamental questions that have been abandoned today to the "experts" of an economic science incapable of renewing itself in depth.

## C1.2 Climate: implement the system of individual tradable quotas.

The fight against global warming is at the heart of the reinvention of the economy

Our economic model, based on the illusion of infinite resources and trusting in the universal efficiency of the market, is incompatible with the finitude of the biosphere and the preservation of our common goods. Without questioning these foundations, the fight against climate change has been ineffective for more than thirty years by multiplying commitments with a sufficiently distant horizon for no one to be responsible for their timidity or compliance.

Thirty years of proclaiming the urgency of acting to limit global warming while procrastinating, postponing

the radical changes required by the situation. "Tomorrow we act for the climate" has replaced the proverbial

"Tomorrow we will shave our heads for free". And, in a fine display of collective irresponsibility, objectives are set for ten, twenty or thirty years, the failure of which will not be attributed to anyone in the distant future: a fine illustration of societies with unlimited irresponsibility.

Thirty years of sectoral strategies and "obligations of means" which, when effectively implemented, prove incapable of producing the necessary reduction in greenhouse gases. Enough is enough. The national and international commitments must be taken at their word; they imply a reduction of about 6% per year in our total ecological footprint over several decades: an 'obligation of result' of immediate scope, a measurable result, the non-compliance of which could lead to the heavy condemnation of the leaders who, by claiming the supreme magistracy, have assumed responsibility.

The Climate Conferences held between February and April 2002<sup>23</sup> identified four criteria against which to assess the effectiveness of a policy to combat global warming:

- taking into account our total ecological footprint: more than half of the greenhouse gas emissions associated with our way of life are emitted outside France; as for the territories, even the large cities can only act on twenty percent of this footprint;
- the assurance that the result will be achieved, which is tantamount to saying that our emissions are rationed and that their ceiling is lowered by 6% per year, the question being ultimately to distribute this rationing among all the final beneficiaries, i.e. the citizens;

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<sup>23</sup> Climate Conferences: <http://assisesduclimat.fr/>

- social justice, a fair sharing of efforts, a fair reward for those who make a particular effort, otherwise the real sacrifices represented by this annual reduction will be politically unbearable;
- the ability to involve all public and private actors in this effort, and the best way to do this is for private and public actors to charge customers or taxpayers for their own ecological footprint.

It can be shown that only one policy satisfies all four of these criteria: the setting of annual quotas allocated to everyone, which can be partly sold by those who make particular efforts to be frugal or innovative to those who try to maintain an energy-intensive<sup>21</sup> lifestyle.

This quota system, which will be reduced by 6% per year, will accelerate the reorientation of private and public investments. In current policies, this reorientation is achieved through obligations, bans and public incentives which, in practice, are not very effective, as illustrated by the extremely long payback period for investments in housing insulation and the resistance to the installation of wind turbines, which in France, unlike in Germany, are not based on citizen dynamics.

At what scale should this policy of individual quotas be implemented?

The territory is a privileged space for the whole of society to reflect on how to achieve this result of reducing the footprint by 6% per year, because it is on this scale that we can rethink lifestyles and production methods together and even organise the first level of the quota market. But introducing such a policy on a territorial scale, which requires the traceability of greenhouse gas emissions throughout the supply chain, makes no sense, nor do purely local experiments: they can only have pedagogical value by familiarising everyone with a 'carboscore' measuring the ecological footprint of goods and services.

The introduction of individual quotas is conceivable at the French level, but the most natural level would be the European level. The European Union wants to be a world leader in the fight against global warming; it has adopted a Green Pact. Its objectives are ambitious, but unfortunately the means of implementation will not allow these objectives<sup>22</sup> to be achieved. The French Presidency of the European Union is a unique opportunity to propose to the other Member States the four criteria of relevance for policies to combat global warming and the quotas that are the logical conclusion.

## **C1.3 Design governance regimes appropriate to the real nature of the goods and services.**

Conventional economics conceives of only two types of goods and services: those that are market-based and those that are publicly managed. This is a narrow vision, which does not reflect the real diversity of goods and their management methods. This is why 'commons' have recently been developed, or rather redeveloped, particularly at the territorial level, with collective governance without being managed by a public authority.

One of the main principles of governance is to find a governance regime for each good and service that is

appropriate to its

nature. This principle is not respected by the classical economy, which forces each good or service to fit into the "market good" or "public good" box. This can be seen in the case of energy.

This is the case with the fossil fuel industry: pretending to manage a rationing problem, which stems from capping emissions through taxation, can only lead to the ruin of the weakest and to social revolt. We have seen this with the yellow waistcoats.

Constructing oeconomy thus requires the recognition of the diversity of goods and services and a typology that makes it possible to define families of governance regimes corresponding to each type of good and service<sup>24</sup>.

The 'sharing test' (what happens when we want to share a good?) reveals four categories of goods<sup>23</sup>: those that are destroyed by sharing; those that are divided by sharing but are in finite quantity; those that are divided and whose quantity depends on human labour and ingenuity; and those that multiply by sharing.

Political leaders have a responsibility to propose and publicly debate governance regimes corresponding to each of these categories, so as to stop trying to hammer in nails with screwdrivers or screws with hammers, as is the case today. Biodiversity, soil, water, knowledge and know-how, software, sharing of experiences, knowledge and the fruits of scientific discoveries, landscapes: these are all areas where we can open up the 'common goods' and see the role of territories and the wealth of multi-level governance.

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<sup>24</sup> "The different categories of goods and services and the regimes of governance corresponding to each of them" in "Essai sur l'oeconomie". P Calame. ECLM 2009

## C1.4 Recognise the plurality of currencies.

Crypto-currencies are breaking up the dual monopoly of states and banks on money creation. But the issue is much broader. Again, the case of the cli- mat illustrates this. By not recognising that fossil energy is a currency in its own right, we want to use the same currency, the euro, to pay for what needs to be reduced, fossil energy, and what needs to be developed, human labour. This would be like a vehicle with a single pedal for the brake and the accelerator.

On the contrary, the State and Europe must welcome a plurality of currencies, each one corresponding to a particular goal: the carbon currency constituted by quotas to save the cli- mat; local currencies to relaunch local exchanges, etc. <sup>25</sup>The euro will lose nothing in this process and will, on the contrary, emerge stronger because it will be used where it is indispensable.

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<sup>25</sup> "Money and Finance" in "A Brief Treatise on Oeconomy", op cit.

## **C2 Reinventing governance, the democracy and the social contract.**

### **C2.1 Reinventing European governance: a Federation 2.0.**

No problem in society can be dealt with by one level alone. Collaboration between levels of governance must therefore become the rule and exclusive treatment by one level the exception. We have already seen that the introduction of multi-level governance in France is the necessary condition for the territories to play their role fully. But this introduction is also necessary at the European level to get the European Union out of the dilemma in which it has been struggling for several decades.

One of the unforeseen consequences of a Europe built on the single market is the development in Europe of the practice of 'directives' (there are said to be forty thousand of them!) which define in great detail the characteristics of products placed on the market to ensure competition

fairness between companies. But this European 'software', by extending to areas other than competition, loses all legitimacy and makes Europe suspect of interfering in the domestic affairs of each Member State, in turn arousing distrust of any extension of Europe's competences.

But these competences must be expanded if the Union is to play its role on a global scale. Jean Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission from 2014 to 2019, was right when he said that Europe should be big in the big things and small in the small. Under his leadership, the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality have returned to the forefront, a new philosophy for European policy-making has been set out, and the ideas of multi-level governance and active subsidiarity have taken hold<sup>26</sup>. This is the path that needs to be pursued. It will make it possible to gradually replace the reflex of the uni- formative directive by the statement, in each field, of guiding principles which will then be applied by Member States, regions and territories according to their context, reconciling in a new way unity and diversity, the two foundations of Europe.

The proponents of a federal Europe have never made any headway in public opinion because the traditional federal model, no more than the French Jacobin model, was adept at multi-level government. In the eyes of public opinion, talking about a federation for Europe means transferring to the European level what has until now been the responsibility of the states, without gaining new areas of freedom in return. In most federal states, there are constant trench wars between the federal state and the regions in order to gain or keep powers.

It is now a Federation 2.0 that we need to promote for the European Union, based on the principles of multi-level governance: each level, up to and including that of the European Union, has a role to play.

26 European Commission Communication of October 2018. cit

The right to diversity will be recognised in the respect of common guiding principles.

## C2.2

# Putting the territorial factories of transition at the heart of European regional policy.

The European structural funds were originally intended to help certain regions catch up. Today, priorities have changed. A new generation of regional policy is needed, focused on supporting territorial transition.

The new orientations of European regional policy<sup>27</sup> give the impression at first sight that urban policy and the management of transition at territorial level are becoming priorities, but an analysis of the financial envelopes devoted to the various policies shows that this is not the case and that the regional policy of catching up with the European regions lagging behind, through investments in infrastructure, remains the real priority.

Exchange of experience is the basis of subsidiarity

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<sup>27</sup> See: "an overview on cohesion policy; opportunities for your cities". URBACT3. September 2021

It is an active process, which is essential for the development of common guiding principles. However, it is not widely practised. It is true that the URBACT programme is dedicated to this, but in the form of small thematic groups of cities and without a massive policy of disseminating the results. The European<sup>28</sup> Covenant of Mayors, which was born of the initiative of cities that wanted to go beyond the European ambitions in terms of reducing their carbon footprint, was a tremendous success with more than 10,000 signatory local authorities representing a total of more than 300 million Europeans, but the means of founding learning communities around global transition strategies on this vast network have not been found. Hence two proposals:

- A European network for the exchange of experiences and a common training programme for political and administrative executives of regional and local authorities. The new role of territories in the design and management of transition is valid for the EU as well as for France, but the political and administrative frameworks are little or poorly prepared and public policies often remain sectoral. Hence the idea of setting up a genuine European Factory for Territorial Transitions, creating the conditions for a permanent exchange of experiences between territorial authorities and a common training framework for their political and administrative executives. Three concrete actions to start with: the setting up of a European bank of experiences on territories in transition; an "Erasmus for local authorities" leading their political and administrative staff to work in a local authority of another member state; a major three-year joint distance training programme for their staff.
- Support, within the framework of cohesion policy, for the establishment of territorial economic agencies in all European territories, on the same model as in France<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> European Covenant of Mayors: <https://www.covenantofmayors.eu>

<sup>29</sup> See sheet B1

## C2.3

# **Overcoming the crisis of representative democracy by promoting deliberative democracy in all levels and democracy contributory at the local level.**

Twenty-first century democracy will not be built on the same basis as in the eighteenth century, when the slowness of communications, the low rate of literacy and the scarcity of information sources could only lead to representative<sup>26</sup> democracy. At the territorial level, we can see the value of involving citizens in the ongoing development of public policies, the richness of deliberative processes, including on subjects of national or global interest, as long as citizens have at their disposal the best of knowledge, pluralist information and the incomparable time for reflection and debate. France used to look upon these processes with disdain. Things have changed. For the first time, with the Citizens' Climate Convention in 2019-2020, deliberative democracy has been taken seriously, given resources and time. The mandate was

The debates locked the citizens into the limits of the mandate and the opportunity was missed but a precedent was set<sup>27</sup>.

At the European level, it was realised that top-down communication, to explain to the good people how beneficial the European Union was to them, no longer worked. At the Conference on the Future of Europe, new emphasis is being placed on proposals from civil society, on citizens' panels in two stages, first regional, then European. The duration of the panels is far too short and will give a caricatured image of deliberative democracy, at the risk of discrediting it. Let us hope that these are only the first steps.

Renewed democracy requires the development of these citizens' panels in two stages, the first being organised at the territorial level, the first local stage, to "think locally with a view to acting globally", and then to agglomerate at other levels. The need to provide citizens with a very solid information base also contributes to this renewal of democracy by restoring the nobility of the diversity of substantiated points of view, placing experts at the service of citizens and not above society. Experiences of deliberative democracy are sufficiently numerous and diverse in Europe to be able to identify common guiding principles that each of us will translate into our own context.

This deliberative democracy must not be limited to soliciting the reasoned opinion of citizens on issues defined a priori by local, national or European political power. On the contrary, it is the means to give democracy its full strength by inviting citizens to explore the possibilities, to invent together the possibilities and the conditions for a fairer world.

## C2.4 Adopt a European Charter human responsibilities and renew the social contract.

Human rights are now the backbone of European law. Climate inaction lawsuits against states or large corporations have not been able to point to the impact of this inaction on societies as a whole and on the climate; they have had to point to the impact on the human rights of national communities. And rivers are given a legal personality in order to be able to confer 'rights' on them.

The pre-eminence of human rights is unique to the West. In a world still dominated by the West, they were affirmed in 1948 as a universal value, but there is no equivalent in other civilisations and their exclusionary nature has upset the balance between rights and responsibilities. The only truly universal value is responsibility because it underpins the very idea of a community, often composed of humans and non-humans, where each member is accountable for the impact of his or her actions on the community as a whole.

We must get away from the illusion that a community can be built only on the addition of rights; any community is based on a balance between rights to be respected and responsibilities to be assumed towards society, the planet and future generations. Responsibility will be the backbone of ethics and law in the 21st century. Today,

the addition of the limited responsibilities of the different actors in society leads to... societies with unlimited irresponsibility. We need a metamorphosis of responsibility to re-found national, European and global law.

This will require the adoption of a Universal Declaration of Human<sup>30</sup> Responsibilities, the counterpart to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The EU can take the initiative, provided that it adopts a European Charter of Human Responsibilities and extends the competence of the European Court of Human Rights to include accountability.

The principle of balance between rights and responsibilities, which applies to individuals, applies a fortiori to large social bodies, where it becomes a balance between freedom to undertake, to research, to teach, to invest and duties towards society.

Jérôme Vignon, who headed the European Forward Studies Unit created by Jacques Delors, was once asked whether there was a 'European social model', despite the great differences between the models of the various member countries. He replied that there was: Europe, in his view, differs from most other regions of the world in the importance it attaches to the social contract, implicit or explicit, that binds the major players<sup>28</sup>. Such contracts have in the past been very real in defining the rights but also the responsibilities of the major economic, social and political actors towards society. Most of them are now outdated and call for a profound renewal based on the adoption of a European Charter of Human<sup>31</sup> Responsibilities.

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30 "The Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities

31 "Les charters sociétales des acteurs" in "Métamorphoses de la responsabilité et contrat social". op cit

## **C2.5 Bring out the awareness of a European people through a citizen-based process.**

European construction was based on market unification, a solution of recourse after the rejection in 1954 of the European Defence Community. This strategy has been effective, but as world trade has itself become unified, the Union has become the soft underbelly of economic globalisation and a political dwarf. The difficulty of strengthening the Union has a deep-rooted cause: the single market, the common currency and the European citizen's statute are not enough to give rise to an awareness of a community of destiny, to the emergence of a common European identity and to the creation of a European identity.

"To do this, European citizens need to talk to each other about their values, their world view, their priorities, their fears and their hopes. For this to happen, European citizens must explain to each other their values, their vision of the world, their priorities, their fears and their hopes.

Governance, as we practice it every day, concerns the management of communities that are already 'instituted', even when this institution was made in the past by force rather than by the spontaneous adhesion of citizens. But the primary challenge of governance, as we can see today both for the management of global commons and for countries where the state remains stuck on society and is conceived on a model that is foreign to them, is to institute the community, to conceive and carry out an instituting process for the EU, such a citizen instituting process is the condition for a new

Each European institution insisted on the involvement of citizens in the conduct of the Conference and on the need to break with communication practices step towards a more integrated Europe.

It was hoped that the ongoing Conference on the Future of Europe would give rise to such a process

The conference, however, was plagued by the Covid. But the way the conference was run, and the Covid was a major obstacle, dampened this hope. By imposing on citizens the framework of the EU's current political priorities and by reducing citizen participation to a website and citizens' panels that are too brief to produce a new vision and an awareness that "what unites us is greater than what divides us", the Conference risks giving birth to a mouse as far as citizen participation is concerned. In any case, it is a long way from a genuine citizens' process that would require resources and a much stronger political commitment to build a long-term dialogue.

The citizen instituting process remains more necessary than ever. Nourished by the achievements of deliberative democracy, it should be organised in two stages: at the level of cities and regions; then at the European level.

At the level of cities and regions, to break with the idea of "These citizens' panels should work for six months around two key questions: what are the common challenges of the world in the 21st century? These citizens' panels should work for six months on two key questions: what are the common challenges facing the world in the 21st century? and what response is Europe capable of providing? Then, in a second step, a European Citizens' Assembly of 1000 citizens delegated by the local panels will pool their thoughts and proposals.

## **C3 Base international relations on new foundations.**

### **C3.1 Renegotiate bilateral and multilateral trade agreements with a focus on the promotion of sustainable value chains.**

The spirit of trade agreements dates back to another century, when it was thought that by exploiting the comparative advantages of each party, the maximum common good would be created for the benefit of all. When the question of safeguarding the biosphere did not arise. When these comparative advantages were the non-respect of human rights or the destruction of the environment. When the fragility of societies dependent on a production monopoly at the other end of the world was underestimated.

There will only be a sustainable society if we combine sustainable territories and sustainable production chains. In the energy sector, we cannot escape the need to trace greenhouse gas emissions throughout the supply chain, otherwise we are buying a cat in a bag. In 2017, France showed the way for a duty of vigilance on the part of large companies with regard to suppliers and subcontractors who are dependent on them; it is now setting an example at European level. Financial institutions, which are far from being romantic environmentalists, are being called upon to assess the 'climate risk' of their portfolios, and thus to push for more sustainable production channels; and companies themselves, sensing the tide turning, understand the reputational risk they run if they are caught in the act of promoting unsustainable production channels. But international trade agreements are lagging behind, more concerned with protecting the interests of investors than promoting sustainable production chains. Recognition of the obligation to achieve results in the fight against climate change and the resulting rationing of emissions will change the situation by placing the sector at the centre of concerns; France must take advantage of this to take the initiative in a major renegotiation of trade agreements, this time basing them on the promotion of sustainable sectors.

## C3.2 Contribute

### **to build a A global community of destiny and a global law to manage the common good.**

Global interdependencies call for a planetary community of destiny.

The UN and the international institutions that emerged after the Second World War were founded on the absolute sovereignty of states as the sole representatives of their people. Managing global interdependencies on this basis, with each state accountable only to its own citizens, is as difficult as cutting a knife handle with its own blade. Faced with the urgency of managing the global commons and the ever-increasing risks of a general collapse, we must be bold and invent ways of inventing and expressing a community of planetary destiny.

International networks of local authorities are among the only ones, in the distant extension of the "people's diplomacy" dear to the founder of the "twin cities", to build a global dialogue on common challenges and to go beyond the confrontations between states that distance us from the management of interdependencies and common goods. The current situation is that of a de facto community of destiny, as illustrated by the increasing number of climate disasters,

erosion of biodiversity, the acidification of the oceans, a possible reversal of the Gulf Stream tomorrow... But it is a community that does not see itself as a community, because it is not a community that can be ignored.

Three major ingredients are missing: the conviction that destinies are irrevocably linked; adherence to common values; and the responsibility of each member of the community towards the other members. This is illustrated by the absence of a global law of responsibility; there is only international law governing relations between states to a greater or lesser extent. Unsurprisingly, there is no law governing the global commons and applying to all public and private actors.

France, in the past, has been recognised as one of the nations bearing a universal ideal. It must revive this glorious past by showing itself capable of proposing both a Universal Declaration of Human<sup>29</sup> Responsibilities, an indispensable corollary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a process of drawing up a world constitution on the scale of interdependence<sup>30</sup>.

