



THE EUROPEAN UNION'S BURDEN

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION
TO A RELUCTANT PEOPLE

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SUMMARY

- EU wants more integration in Europe, despite the fact that Europeans are more hesitant. In order to overcome the contradiction EU annually spends several billion in various information activities. By imposing the citizens of a common identity is believed to be able to win popular support for closer political and economic cooperation.
- With this vision in mind, the EU has created its own television channels, radio networks and training for journalists. EU makes attempts to colonize civil society and each year substantial financial support to think tanks and organizations who share the vision of closer European cooperation. More communication has become the EU leaders' standard when the dream of a more coherent EU encounters opposition. If we only manage to tell people how important the EU is so they will not vote against the continuation of integration, many reasons.
- The total cost to spread the message about the EU's merits and achievements are considerable, but difficult to define tube. Large parts of the effort is funded outside the normal communication budget, for example, by different cultural and media efforts. Based on the report's findings, we know however that the amount far exceeds the **213 million euro** every year to the EU Commission's Unit for communication.
- By the taxpayers' expense actively advocate more European integration prevents the EU on free public debate on the future of Europe and extends at the same time the limits of what we normally regard as communication, and turns into pure propaganda.
- Ultimately undermine the tax-funded advocacy, the legitimacy of the European Union. Sweden, during its Presidency of the EU in autumn 2006 to highlight the issue and take the first step in reversing this trend. Europe deserves a free and thorough debate on the pros and cons of continued integration.

INTRODUCTION

THE EUROPEAN UNION spends each year **hundreds of millions of euros** in the communicative action to strengthen the positive image of EU cooperation. It includes traditional printed information such as books, leaflets and brochures, but also a series of prank that push the limits of what we normally regard as factual information and that turns into pure propaganda. The aim of the EU institutions' communication efforts are clear. The goal is to win people's appreciation and support for the EU, promoting the cooperation's success. The content of the message from the EU Commission and EU Parliament are usually unbalanced and EU cooperation rear never affected.

There are probably several reasons why the EU to produce this kind of propaganda messages. One has to do with the EU cooperation, origin and purpose. The official motto of "ever closer union 'has ever since **the Treaty of Rome** signed in 1957 guiding the EU cooperation and an integral part of all subsequent treaties.¹ From that essentially have been a free-trade cooperation, the EU has in just a few decades changed its shape. Now handled more and more economic and political challenges of Europe at the EU level and EU institutions' competence is growing continuously.

It is important to remember that European integration is not just a concept that summarizes the last half-century economic and political developments in the EU. European integration is also very much a practical political ideal. Rulers dream of a united and strong Europe that can be a counterweight to the powers such as USA and China.

But the dream parts electorate in half. When the citizens of Europe over the last ten years have had the opportunity to comment on further European integration of the referenda outcome has always been the same: no to the introduction of the single currency the euro, Denmark (2000) and Sweden (2003), no to the Nice Treaty on Ireland (2001), no to EU constitution in France and the Netherlands (2005) and now, no to **the Lisbon Treaty** in Ireland (2008).

A survey by the magazine *The Economist* recently had to do in the UK reinforces the image. It turned out that only a fifth of respondents were favorable towards greater European integration. The corresponding figure in 1995 was third. It is likely that the attitude of the development in several other Member States is similar.²

There are short, a deep division between, on the one hand, officials in Brussels and EU politicians and voters, on the other hand, the question of how much power and influence of the Union should have. In a study conducted in 2006, it turned out, for example, that officials at the European Commission and European Parliament to a much greater extent than the population was for a stronger defense cooperation

within the EU.³ The entire 31 percent of the surveyed officials and parliamentarians were very sympathetic to a stronger military cooperation, while only 16 percent of the population were of the same opinion. The differences remained even in the EU would have its own Foreign Minister. 54 percent of officials and parliamentarians were very sympathetic to the idea, while only 21 percent of the population was equally enthusiastic for such a development.⁴

Many politicians are trying to steadily promote European cooperation benefits. But it is clear that a large number of citizens are not going to be convinced. Politicians and voters in the general population is simply not agree on how the future should look like.⁵

When the idea of a more comprehensive EU cooperation encounter strong resistance select politicians and bureaucrats to close your eyes for this. Instead they blame their setbacks, especially a lack of communication. If only we could get people to understand how important the EU is, they would not vote against the continued political and economic integration, many reasons. When a majority of Irish people voted no to Lisbon Treaty summer of 2008, the French Minister of European Affairs, Jean-Pierre Jouyet, once again what the EU leadership seems to agree: "We are all aware that communication is crucial to convince public opinion about the benefits of the EU."⁶ And when the EU parliamentary elections in June 2009 resulted in the lowest turnout ever pan called again, with the words of the Swedish Commissioner Margot Wallström, that "The election result shows that there is a need for more active communication on the EU".⁷ This certainly gives rise to a number of associations and recalls how the old European colonial powers once made an effort to inform other reluctant people.

EU to confuse information with marketing, to not say pure propaganda, is deeply problematic. From a democratic perspective, the taxpayer-funded opinion forming unacceptable. The money each year flows into the EU institutions to be used to create, manage and follow up legislation in areas where cross-border cooperation in Europe is necessary. The money should not be used to allow the EU institutions campaign for closer EU cooperation. Responsibility for the operation of public opinion and win public support for the extent to which EU cooperation should be based rather heavily on the elected politicians' shoulders.

European institutions tend to take on the role of opinion leaders is associated with several risks. To begin with, such a development of the free society which is the basis for a democratic society is distorted. EU institutions entry into the traditional political domains charged additional EU's democratic legitimacy and strengthens the civil servants of power and influence at the expense of elected representatives. In the long term, there is a significant danger that this reduces the credibility of the European institutions and undermines the fundamental popular support for a European Union.

Timbro in several reports and articles in recent years highlighted and criticized the government advocacy, which Swedish authorities and state-owned company engaged. Now, when Sweden launches its presidency of the EU, we spotlight on the

EU institutions opinion-forming activities. We provide clear examples of how the EU institutions in significant quantities using taxpayers' money to move forward their own positions.

We have chosen to focus on the years 2004-2009, a period that coincides with the last term of office of the EU Parliament and EU Commission. The basis of the report is as solid as it is amazing. Create their own TV channels, set up competitions for journalists who report on the EU, initiates legislation which aims to improve the EU's reputation and distribute substantial sums to think tanks and civil society organizations that support the idea of more integration. Any criticism of the EU does not appear in information. It is difficult to find organizations that have been granted financial support by the EU, whose activities do not include efforts to support a growing European cooperation.

The Swedish government has indicated that it will limit the state advocacy in Sweden, so it would be klädsamt if you had the same ambition on the EU level. The Prime Minister has said that Sweden should not use the presidency to run their own affairs, but the EU institutions tax-financed advocacy is a concern throughout Europe. With democracy and decency, it should Sweden now take the initiative to roll back the EU's propaganda machine.

EU COMMUNICATION TAKES SHAPE

IN THE SUMMER of 2001 a majority of the Irish voters reject the Nice Treaty, the set of changes to the current EU regulatory framework that would simplify the EU's continued enlargement eastwards.⁸ The results surprised many, not least because Ireland is widely regarded as one of the countries that drew most benefit from EU membership. Ireland, with support from EU structural funds, in just a few decades gone from being Europe's poorest corner to become the EU member state which had the strongest growth - a tiger economy. Some analysts went so far as to describe the result as an impertinence, and in the subsequent debate were given the impression that Ireland had almost an obligation to at all costs to endorse further European integration.

From the political side, attempts were made early to understand why the Irish had voted no. A 'no' vote was hard and it was not long before we could agree on an explanation. The Irish, it was argued, had not fully understood how important the EU was.

The solution to this was - of course - more and better information. But the conclusion that the EU had failed in their communication, and that the Irish, therefore, had chosen to decline the further political and economic integration, would prove to be crucial for the EU's view of what the information means. EU's first comprehensive communication strategy was presented just a few months after the Irish referendum, and in the following years would be the means to win public support for closer EU cooperation continuously developed and refined.

The European Commission's white paper on EU communication policy from 2005, the example that the device for communication, **DG Communication** (Directorate-General for Communication), would seek the cooperation of television media: "[DG Communication] will explore with broadcasters and production companies genuine formed to promote the idea, values and benefits of Europe."⁹ **The European Economic and Social Committee**, an advisory body with representatives from, inter alia, **trade unions and employer associations**, went further and suggested that TV channels in the future would have to describe and report on Europe.¹⁰

But this first effort would soon prove to be inadequate. When France and the Netherlands in 2005 voted against the proposal on **a new EU constitution** was interpreted as a cry for even more information. Now cement was also the confusion between information and propaganda. In **the Action Plan of July 2005** the Commission stressed that information on the EU still have to be to its advantage: "Communication is more than information [...] It is not a neutral exercise devoid of value, it is an essential part of the political process."¹¹

COMMUNICATIONS FOR BILLION

THE MAIN **communications production** is always the European Commission unit for communications, DG Communication. As chief of the EU's external communication activities assigned to the unit each year significant resources. Only in 2009 have been granted over **213 million euro**.¹² Swedish kronor equivalent to around 2.3 billion. Some of these funds are passed on to the national representation, which in turn benefits the money as they see fit. In 2007 the 21 regions, municipalities and authorities in Sweden share of just over **500 000 euros** to inform about the EU and its activities.¹³

The total cost of the EU's communication efforts, however, is much larger than that. Each DG has earmarked part of its budget for advocacy efforts. DG Economy, to take a good example, devotes only in 2009 the entire **7.5 million euro** to, inter alia, information on the single currency euro.¹⁴ In addition to several long-term program with clear communicative purposes funded by the European Commission's budget for culture and the media.

Elections to the EU Parliament is alleged instances where major economic resources devoted to communication. In an attempt to increase turnout in European parliamentary elections earlier this year earmarked 18 million euros from the European Parliament's budget for 2008 and 2009 to the ads on radio, television, the Internet and through social media such as Facebook inform European citizens about the importance to go out and vote.¹⁵

Anniversaries and festivals are other times when the EU chooses to spend extra resources to recall the EU's excellence. In conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome in 2007 created an Internet portal to highlight the achievements under the slogan "**Together since 1957**". A colorful site gave visitors access to reports, movie clips, links and other material that had to do with the EU in general and Rome in particular. Several of the reports available to download the titles that makes you *pause*. "**50 ways forward - Europe's best successes**" is one of those. It depicted 50 stories on how the EU is alleged to have been particularly successful. The description of the booklet reads: "This booklet aims to show you - in an attractive and entertaining way - how people in Europe, and beyond, have benefited, and will continue Thursday benefit, from European cooperation."¹⁶

Another interesting publication is "**Investing in our common future – the budget of the European Union**". It describes how much the EU effort to monitor the common resources used.¹⁷ As no mention is that **the European Court of Auditors**, whose task is to examine how EU funds are spent, several years in a row has drawn sharp criticism against how EU money is handled. As late as 2008 the Court has found that

11 percent of the 42 billion euro in 2007 was approved under the [EU's cohesion policy](#) should never have been paid.¹⁸

A third example is "[Europe in twelve lessons](#)" where you ask the question "Why Europe?" And count up to ten historical events that characterize the EU's history and underlines the importance of close European cooperation.¹⁹

But in addition to individual anniversaries, the EU initiative for large investments projects with a view to strengthening the positive image of EU cooperation. The EU Commission is funding the program for example, audio-visual media (over 103 million)²⁰, [Youth in Action \(124 million\)](#)²¹ and [a program for fostering a European citizenship \(34 million\)](#)²². All of these long-term projects aimed at ways to improve the EU's reputation and create a greater sense of belonging among the citizens of member countries.

The overall trend is clear. The whole of the EU communicates with a desire to constantly emphasize cooperation alleged positive aspects. You get almost the feeling that the EU is more about advocating a particular political message than to simplify cross-border cooperation.

The total cost of the EU's communication efforts is difficult to put on engross. A large number of the amount of communication projects, such as spending on culture and media, is outside the framework of the traditional information budget. The cultural "Youth in Action", to promote young people's sense of belonging and help in efforts to lay the foundations for a common European identity, has a total budget of [885 million euro](#) in the period [2007-2013](#).²³ It makes it tricky to establish a final note for the EU's annual communications work. It is clear anyway that the total amount far exceeds the [213 million euro](#) annually goes to the device for communication. We take it again: significantly exceed the [213 mbillion euro](#).

PURCHASED AND OWN CHANNELS

EU institutions are keen to involve external stakeholders in efforts to talk about the EU's benefits. EU Commission created in 1989, therefore, a network called [Team Europe](#), composed of independent Endesa speakers from a range of professional industries that would go out to clubs and workplaces to provide information on the EU and its development. The Swedish business started back in 1992. In February 2005, the EU Commission to Team Europe had 689 speakers from 23 countries. Treaty providers should not have received any financial compensation for their commitment. However, Europe has set up various support services, including education, information and networking, both in Brussels and with the help of representations in the Member States. What these support and education services, more concrete, however, is rather unclear. In 2004 was awarded to Team Europe a total of 436 595 euros.²⁴ Mats Hallgren, reporter at Svenska Dagbladet, was one of the Swedes was a member of the network in the early 1990s.²⁵ Among the Swedes since been involved in Team Europe reflected, among other Hadar Cars, former MEP for the Liberal Party.²⁶ (Since 2005-2006, a settlement in favor of other communication channels opened.²⁷)

The EU informed about its activities are well basically welcomed, and it can certainly be good reasons why other people than the EU officials involved in the process of communicating knowledge about the EU. But how fair is the information that Team Europe passed through the years really been? Has it convinced federalist Hadar Cars able to also talk about the EU's less flattering sides, alternative European vision and the problems that arise when EU cooperation adopt all intimate forms?

The EU has also taken the step out into the ether. Since February 2008 the EU Commission is funding the radio network [Euranet](#).²⁸ All the radio stations that want to be involved in the network, provided that they meet the requirements that have been previously raised. Total participating radio stations from 13 member countries, including Deutsche Welle, Radio France Internationale and Radio Netherlands. Cooperation, which is primarily a requirement for the parties to produce various broadcasts, provides good opportunities to coordinate advertising strategies, internet presence and use of spectrum space.²⁹ The purpose of the co-producing transmissions, usually 30-60 minutes each day, stated to be to stimulate a European public call: "The aim of the co-operation is to improve the quality of reporting Wednesday and from Europe, and to stimulate discussion about togetherness in Europe in order to promote a general European public sphere."³⁰ Euranet may be 5.8 million by European Commission for five years.³¹

With a view to reaching the public through new media, the EU has in March 2006 its own channel on YouTube, [EUtube](#).³² Examples of content are interviews, recruitment

videos and information videos on how it is to study in Europe. A series entitled "Europe and you" show up to ten examples of how the EU has evolved in the positive development during the past year, including that in 2007 created 3.5 million new jobs in the EU and the nationals of the countries which became members in 2004 can now travel freely without passports across most of Europe.³³

EU Parliament recently launched webtv channel [EuroparlTV](#), is meant to show studio interviews, interviews with parliamentarians and others.³⁴ When the channel was launched received a chilly welcome of journalists based in Brussels. They concern, inter alia, that balance in the editorial content and suggested that the limit of political interference in the activities were not sufficiently clear. There was also criticism that the production company responsible for the content, Mostra, the same company that is behind the EU Commission's interactive marketing.³⁵ EuroparlTV has a budget of [9 million euro in 2009.](#)³⁶

In an attempt to address what it describes as a growing sensationalism of today's news was created in 1993 a new television channel, [Euronews](#). EuroNews is owned by about 20 European television companies, including Swedish TV4.³⁷ At home you get to know that ambition is to depict events in the world from a European perspective. What distinguishes the typical European perspective may not know. The website can also read the TV channel to be both impartial and balanced in its news reporting. What no mention is that the Euro is financed by the EU and that the channel only [in 2009 was awarded 10.8 million euro.](#)³⁸ *Fair and balanced*, yes.

CREATION OF A EUROPEAN IDENTITY

BESIDE lack of communication are identified, often the lack of a pan-European political debate as a contributing factor to that of politicians EU visions encounter on patrol. Citizens of member countries are mainly interested in domestic affairs and the news media is still primarily focused on the development of their own nations. This became particularly evident in the Irish Parliament in November 2008, presented an evaluation of why the Irish people had voted against the Lisbon Treaty. A contributing factor to the election results were said to be inadequate media coverage of what happens in the EU: "Strong and prominent coverage by Irish media organization of the institution of the European Union is vital to promote public understanding of the work of the institution. The government should consider measures to promote such coverage."³⁹

The media's lack of interest in Europe is held up as an obstacle in the creation of a common European identity. [The European Commission's white paper on EU communication policy from 2006](#) identified the need for [a European dimension \(creation of a "European Sphere"\)](#) into the political conversation.⁴⁰ As the policy document was updated a year later clarified the purpose. Now communications work helping to develop a European public talks with the ultimate aim to promote active European citizenship and a common identity. EU institutions and member countries would be more coordinated in their communication to the citizens. The program, which is entitled "['Communicating Europe in Partnership', was awarded 88 million euros in 2008.](#) Between 2009 and 2013 have further [470 million euro](#) earmarked for the program.⁴¹

Thoughts about various forms of social contract has been ever since the Renaissance has been popular with the thinkers and philosophers who seek the foundations for a strong society.⁴² A common citizenship is therefore an attractive idea for those who want a stronger Europe. Citizenship brings people together and have been the case with the nation-state helped to strengthen the feeling of togetherness and thus made it easier to maintain legal, economic and social systems over large geographic areas.

When the EU's internal market is now approaching its perfection (in the context of the prevailing vision) is also growing interest in extending cooperation policy dimensions. The European saved author Nicolas Moussis sure what needed to the EU also decided to be a political union. In the book [Open the door to Europe](#) (Publica, 1992) he writes that "it is necessary for solidarity between member countries. A major step is to promote the idea of European citizenship."⁴³ noises are often the same in the EU Parliament's debates.

An important step in promoting the emergence of a common European identity has been to seek closer cooperation with news media. Margot Wallström called in

response to the Irish no to Lisbon Treaty in 2008 further covenant with radio and TV channels. "The creation of media networks"⁴⁴ were high on her agenda.

In 2005 years, decided the European Commission to expand the exchange and make room for journalism students in their practical training program.⁴⁵ There are obviously great advantages that more journalists have knowledge and understanding of the EU system. But in view of the EU Commission's approach to its communication activities in general, it is doubtful whether the training journalists receive is truly balanced and impartial.

EU offers since many years also tailor-made training for journalists. European Journalism Center (EJC), which accounts for the practical training in several cases, stating for example that the journalists during the studies will have to learn more about the European integration process, the importance and challenges.⁴⁶ journalists will not learn methods to critically examine European institutions tax-funded identity projects. As soon as the training element seems to be about to learn that journalists in the best possible way depict an obvious European citizenship. In 2008, the budget line for this activity to just over 1 million euro.⁴⁷

EU - THE GOOD SAMARITAN

A large part of the money that member countries pay into the EU each year will be back in the form of support to different sectors. Not least, the agricultural subsidies and regional aid is usually noted in the Swedish debate. The contributions to various projects and investments are conditional and the recipient is obliged to inform you that the money has been granted by the EU. This means that on the posters, information boards, letterheads, posters and other forms of communications ought to be made clear, both with text and with the EU flag, the EU is funding the activity.⁴⁸ (same, if not more stringent, guidelines for overseas projects receive EU funding.⁴⁹) A good example is the EU's school milk aid.

Since 1995, the EU provides financial support to the schools in the member countries that choose to offer selected varieties of milk to their students. Subsidies for different dairy products varies depending on whether they are cooked or chilled, containing fruit, if they are lactose-free and so on.⁵⁰ The idea of the support is obviously to encourage children to consume more milk. EU say they work hard for the future generation of health and milk subsidies are a means by which the EU can help.⁵¹

For access to the school milk aid, however, schools must meet certain requirements. Most remarkable is that at the entrance to the school canteen has to be a poster in A3 format, which clearly, in text and with the EU flag, shows that the milk is subsidized by money from the European Union. During the school year 2009, the total aid for school milk to 69 million euro.⁵² It corresponds to 305 000 tonnes of milk. Altogether, 22 of the 27 member states have chosen to take part of the aid.

EU has also made another attempt to be loved by children and their parents. At the end of 2008 auction Monday through a program of fruit to school children aged 6-10 years. The overall financial framework for EU school fruit scheme is 90 million.⁵³ Contributions will be paid from the school year 2009/ 2010. Interesting to note from the debate that preceded the vote in the European Parliament was the requirement of the budget should have been significantly higher. Some MPs found that 500 million euro instead of 90 million euro would be preferable.⁵⁴

Regular advertising campaigns in order to embellish the image of EU institutions and activities has also been launched. In December 2006 the European Union rolled out a campaign throughout the Union, from Stockholm in the north to Crete in the south, with the message 'Whatever you do, we work for you!'. In connection with the campaign, the EU also bought ad space in several aviation magazines.⁵⁵

The EU institutions are also keen to get a good position among the young. In early July 2009 was arranged, therefore, European Urban Music Days at Kulturhuset in Stockholm. The event was described as a "meeting place for European urban music".

⁵⁶ Organizer of this was **the European Music Office, EMO**, which is one of the members of **the European Music Platform**", an organization receiving financial support by the EU. At EMO's website states the organization's primary task is to lay the foundations for a specific EU approach to music. ⁵⁷ European Music Office received in **2008 a total of 400 000 euro.**⁵⁸

Through the campaign "***Help - for a life without tobacco***" EU wants to take on the role of good example and encourage young people to stop smoking. The campaign, which includes advertisements in television and the Internet, promotional events and a Web page, run over four years. Only in 2007 was the cost of the campaign to **14 564 000 euro.**⁵⁹

The European Commission decided in the late 1990s to find out what the Europeans actually had opinions about the EU. In order to supplement the traditional opinion polls company received the Corporate Vision Strategists in 1997 with the task of creating an animated cartoon. The idea seems to have been to the cartoon character with different specific characteristics and strengths. Based on the reception of citizens, it would then be possible to assess people's attitudes to the EU co-operation as such. The result was Captain Euro and in a series of adventure series, which spread through the Internet and television, had to follow the hero Captain Euro and his sidekick in the fight against the evil Doctor D. Videre (divider = split loader or splitter) and his lackeys. 60 Corporate Vision Strategists were also back in 1993 with the task of reviewing the image. Cooperation between the EU and Corporate Vision Strategists have continued and in 2009, a vision project for future identity will be launched.

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CIVIL SOCIETY COLONIZE

EU granted each year financial assistance to a wide range of civil society organizations. The aim is said to be encouraging a debate on the future and engage people to discuss issues in one way or another has to do with the EU. A close examination of which groups qualify for aid, however, gives us reason to doubt. It turns out that many of the organizations that receive money from the EU support and in many cases actively forming opinion for a more comprehensive EU cooperation. Few, if any, advocates the opposite, ie a European collaboration on fewer areas.

NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs) that take part of the state aid or in secret and even run by the states have in recent years been termed GONGOs (Government Organized Non Governmental Organizations). Several of them have suffered severe criticism and their independence has been questioned. Similarly, it is reasonable to be critical of the think tanks and organizations that claim to be independent but that each year the financial support of the EU.

Roland Vaubel, Professor of Economics at the University of Mannheim in Germany, has previously worked at the European Commission. He notes that during the period 2005-2007 distributed more than 50 million for a large number of non-governmental organizations, including the European Trade Union Confederation (**4.8 million euro**) and the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, ILGA (**1.5 million euro**).⁶² If, and if so to what extent, these organizations will actually have the EU legislation and EU-cooperation approach is difficult to say. What is clear is that both organizations and the EU have mutual benefit of each other's activities. One possible reason why the EU chose to provide financial assistance to organizations that advocates further economic and political integration in Europe is the EU Commission can point to a real demand for 'more Europe' in civil society.

European Movement is a pro-European influence group dating back to 1948. On the organization's website to get to know that continued political and economic integration in the EU is the basis for the European Movement's activities. The activities reported to be "**to contribute to the establishment of a united, federal Europe."**"⁶³ Years 2005-2007 was the organization a single contribution of **2.5 million euro** by the EU Commission.⁶⁴ In 2008 the European Movement was at least **430 000 euros** by the EU.⁶⁵ Also, the organization one of the few beneficiaries under the EU program "**Europe for Citizens**", which aims to bring European citizens closer together.⁶⁶ In 2007 was awarded the European Movement **395 000 euros** from this program.⁶⁷ This substantial support despite mentioned on the website, nothing about how the funding goes to. In Sweden is the European Movement under the name of the European Movement. Johnny Bronda, Moderate politicians from Västra Götaland, is chairman of the Swedish association.⁶⁸

At the end of June 2009 launched the campaign organization **Ireland for Europe**.⁶⁹ Organization, who will try to get the Irish to vote yes to the Lisbon Treaty in referendum October 2 this year, reported to be independent and not party political link. Manager of the organization, however, marked Pat Cox, former President of the European Parliament and the temporary leave of absence from his seat as chairman of the European Movement.⁷⁰ Chairman Brígida Laffan she has also an interesting background as the holder of the Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Dublin⁷¹. An institution which in 2008 was awarded **140 000 euros** by the EU.⁷² Despite questions to Caroline Erskine, the organization's communications director, have failed to ascertain whether Ireland for Europe receives financial support from the EU or the European Movement.

Union of European federalist (UEF) is a lobbying organization that advocates a federal EU cooperation. UEF was one of four main players in the program "Speak up Europe!" Which was intended to stimulate a debate on the EU and future cooperation. 2008 was awarded the Union of European Federalist **110 000 euro**.⁷³ In Sweden, represented UEF Association of European federalists.⁷⁴

Think tank **Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS)**, based in Brussels is, in itself an independent research institution focusing on the development of the EU. A look at the list of the projects launched and led indicates that think tank is a strong advocate of further

integration in a range of political and economic areas, for example, for security and tax systems harmonization.⁷⁵ Despite their claimed independence received CEPS in 2007 the entire **6.1 million euro** in support from governments and EU institutions. European Commission accounted for just over 1.5 million while the European Parliament, the more than **300 000 euro**.⁷⁶ In 2008, CEPS was at least **120 000 euros** by the EU program "Europe for Citizens".⁷⁷

Friends of Europe is an association who wish to promote further European integration. The Board are several known politicians and EU profiles, including viscount Etienne Davignon, former Vice-President of the European Commission, Pat Cox, Jean-Luc Dehaene, MEP and Pascal Lamy, former EU commissioner and now head of the World Trade Organization, WTO.⁷⁸ In 2008 the organization was awarded nearly **175 000 euros** by the EU.⁷⁹

The Brussels-based organization **European Youth Forum**, which has a stated ambition to promote further political integration in the EU, stated on the website to be independent.⁸⁰ Yet the majority of EU funding, via the program "**Youth in Action**". Total was awarded the organization nearly **2.9 million euro** years 2007-2008.⁸¹

Solidar is a network of NGOs actively working for a "social Europe". It is completely open with the desire to try to influence policy development in the EU.⁸² Network Swedish member is Palm Center.⁸³ Solidar received in 2007 over **142 000 euros** by the EU, but anecdotal evidence in the Irish news media claims that the total regular contribution from the EU is significantly higher.

European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is the trade union organization. EFS is one of the European Commission's three so-called **social partners**. This means that the organization has a permanent role as partner in the law in matters of employment, social security and trade union activities.⁸⁴ EFS may also be a part of its funding from the EU.⁸⁵ In the period 2005-2007 was awarded to the trade unions' association **4.8 million euro** by the EU.⁸⁶

The European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) is an organization whose role is to provide and assist organizations throughout Europe with research, information and education. The organization is linked to the European Trade Union Confederation, ETUC.⁸⁷ ETUI also helps other organizations in efforts to seek financial support for projects with union-related.⁸⁸ In 2009 was awarded the ETUI over **10 million euro in EU aid**.⁸⁹ The Swedish trade unions are regularly supported by the EU. LO-TCO Aid board in 2007 was just over **120 000 euros** by the EU Commission.⁹⁰

Network **the European Theater Convention**, formed in 1988, supports and advocates the creation of plays and play at the European level. According to the organization is the European Parliament and European Commission, the Network's main objectives for advocacy, while the EU is also the network's financier.⁹¹

Notre Europe think tank founded in 1996 by the former president of the EU Commission, Jacques Delors. The current chairman, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, has previously been a board member of the European Central Bank, ECB. Notre Europe is working on further

European integration and the motto is "thinking a united Europe". Think tank may, among other financial support by the EU Commission and the French State. 92 In 2005 was awarded to Notre Europe 267 000 euro 93. A year later, in 2006, received the Notre Europe totaling over 630 000 euros by the EU Commission. 2007 amounted to almost 1.4 million euro. 94 Notre Europe has also received money for individual projects. Within the framework of **Plan D (Democracy, Dialogue and Debate)**, the major effort to strengthen dialogue with the citizens, organized by Notre Europe in 2006 "Tomorrow's Europe", a three day meeting on the future with 362 participants from all 27 member countries. Overall the project was awarded 849 000 euros. 95

The French Foundation, the Robert Schuman Foundation, founded in 1991. With the motto "Constructing Europe" working on to keep up the vision of a federal Europe that France's former Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, 96, formulated in the so-called Schuman Declaration May 9, 1950. 97 The Foundation awarded 128 000 euros under the EU program "Europe for Citizens" in 2007. 98 In 2009, the Foundation has received a total of 60 000 euros in support of the EU. 99

Our list of think tanks, organizations and projects that regularly receives financial support from the EU is still far from being comprehensive. Actually, we only managed to scratch the surface. Examples from the EU's attempts to colonize civil society are likely many more, and should give pause for thought, especially since civil society organizations to act as a counterweight to the policy.

Several of the organizations, the EU has as its single largest financier. For the organization, this is both a joy and a burden. Operations are guaranteed, but security comes at the price of the organization's credibility. In our work we have found no trace of a critical discussion on this, whether within the EU institutions or organizations. What is striking is instead of saying what these EU-funded organizations claim their independence and present themselves as representatives of civil society.

CONCLUSION

THE AUTHOR NICOLAS Moussis wrote in the early 1990s that "when citizens better understand the importance of the construction of Europe for his own safety, welfare and freedom, he will be more than a passive spectator - he will become a champion of the European Union." 100 Moussis considered not that it necessarily was the politicians who would win their support. Instead he called for the EU institutions should take more responsibility to explain the merits: "In the future this information must be conveyed through campaigns implemented in audiovisual media and comprehensible external signs shall display the existence of the EU, which will also contribute to a sense of belonging."¹⁰¹

Nearly two decades later, we note that Moussis ideas has turned into an ideological framework for the EU's communication efforts. Information has been turned into political propaganda. To communicate political messages to citizens deemed to be the solution as the EU's ambitions to grow encounter resistance.

EU institutions have recently become increasingly clear in the goal of shaping a common European identity to citizens, a development which in turn will create conditions for continued European integration, when people not from the beginning is getting it. As we have seen, seen communication and identity in the growing extent, therefore, as two sides of same coin. European citizenship, in addition to the national, will also become a reality if and when the Lisbon Treaty has been adopted by all member countries. 102

If the French education thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau would have lived today, he had belonged to the critics of this strategy with the top people impose an identity. In the book Where the Treaty of society or state law grounds, published in the mid-1700s, he stated that "the community spirit that should be a work of society's creation must precede the actual creation, and even before the laws should people be what they should be with their help."103

Advertising campaigns, legislation, and various attempts to colonize civil society organizations and associations is, if you believe Rousseau, therefore doomed to failure. But others were, and are not as convinced.

Józef Pilsudski, a leading Polish politicians at the time of the First World War, argued that the state structures in most of Europe's nation states preceded the emergence of nationalism: "It is the state that makes the nation and not the nation the state." 104 More recently, Benedict Anderson, professor of international studies at Cornell University in the USA, followed the same track, suggesting that the emergence of mass media, increased literacy and a common language has been contributing in the creation of common values and consequently facilitated the formation of the nation state. 105

This type of ideas has undoubtedly been very effective in the EU institutions. To be with to build a nation and a society from scratch is a huge and for some, while very attractive idea. For many officials and politicians in the EU, it seems to have been considered fully feasible objectives.

In the book **The Challenge Europe** (Prisma, 2005) writes the British thinker and Europe, my friend Mark Leonard following about why Europe's peoples more referendums in the series have been chosen to vote against the continued integration: **"The problem is that the citizens of Europe have not paid any attention to Europe's democratic revolution."** 106

The quote is horrendous because Leonard obviously turning a blind eye to democratic progress, by definition, must involve the public, and it summarizes very well the kind of ideas that runs through all the EU's communication activities.

But how is it really that the EU - largely without facing criticism - has been able to build up a huge communications device that behaves in a manner that hardly would be accepted in the individual Member States? And by what right the EU considers itself able to seek cooperation

with European news media and ask them to pass on political message? In Sweden, public authorities and state companies for many years been strongly criticized for that by advertising campaigns in TV and newspapers have taken a political stance and sought to justify its own existence. 107

While the European institutions in opinion-forming activities authorized under undisturbed year after year despite the fact that the methods are endless more sophisticated and the reasons may jerrican author than in Sweden.

Part of the explanation has to do with the EU as an institution. The EU is to its form and structure of decision symbols of an organization which in English would be described as "top-down". Efforts to centralize, be it through legislative, regulatory monitoring or supervision, is up to the attachment. It is hardly possible to find any examples of where EU institutions have brought back the powers of the EU once taken over by the individual member countries. EU institutions continue to grow and add more and more policy areas under its competence, even though citizens do not necessarily share this goal.

Roland Vaubel, Professor of Economics at the University of Mannheim in Germany, was recently published book The European Institutions as an Interest Group (IEA, 2009). In it he describes his research and concludes that new organizations, the EU institutions in this case, in the next is to be regarded as automatic pianos: "As soon as a new organization sees the light of the day, it struggle to secure its survival and growth. Political and economic events that previously would have been inconsequential are now ewxploited by the newborn organization to obtain more staff, more funding and more competencies." 108

Knowledge of the public establishments tend to expand, seemingly by itself, is by no means new. Political scientists have long, under what is often referred to as the public choice school, observed and described the bureaucratic unlikely ability to constantly find new information and thereby continuously grow. Gordon Tullock, one of the public choice school principal representative, says in the book, Den politiska marknaden (Timbro, 1982) that "in general bureaucrats will find that his prospects of promotion increases, his power, influence and status improved and that even his office is more attractive if the bureaucracy within which he works is expanding." 109

EU bureaucracy inherent tendency to grow could thus, in addition to the formulations that require an ever closer integration, be an important factor to understand why the EU continues to expand and want to win popular support for this development. This is the first important piece in the understanding of EU institutions advocacy.

Another factor that we should take into account is the political prestige that has been invested in the EU project. In an interview in the News Night of British BBC shortly after the referendum in Ireland in 2008 was Margot Wallström unusually clear. Asked why the process to approve the new treaty went further, despite the fact that all member countries were obliged to say yes to the Treaty could enter into force, said Wallström just the political price that many leaders had had to pay: "The political leaders have invested so much political capital

and time and energy to try to get a new machinery, to make the EU work better. So of course they will not give up easily. "110

They are also several examples of when politicians have been forced to go against public opinion in their own country in order to appease the other leaders of the EU. Germany can serve as a good example. The introduction of the euro in 2002, with increased interest rates, weakened the competitiveness of industry and rising unemployment as a result, considered by many observers to have been a strong contributing factor to Gerhard Schröder and the red-green left coalition government lost power in Germany in 2005.

These diverse loyalties are likely to create a special dynamism and politicians are not necessarily faithful to the voters in the first place, but the colleagues with whom they jointly build EU. If we allow ourselves to see the EU as an elite project also makes it easier to understand some of the statements made over the years.

Finally, we point to a genuine information needs. According to a poll conducted in early 2008, it appeared that a growing proportion of Swedes want to know more about the EU. 111 It is positive and a sign that more and more Swedes recognize that EU cooperation is and will remain a significant part of the political reality.

But to meet people's expectations, it is necessary to understand that information and propaganda is completely different. It does so clearly not in the EU institutions today. Our survey shows that the information the EU and in the production and in many cases as soon as is to be regarded as propaganda, and that citizens who are seeking factual information about the EU co-operation rather than drowned in various forms of promotional material. Which leads us to question whether it would not be honest to the EU's drive for communication was renamed EU marketing.

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