

**PROPOSALS OF THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN ITALY
ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN UNION
A PROJECT, A METHOD, AN AGENDA
FOR A FEDERAL COMMUNITY**

FOREWORD

The European construction site could start once again, sooner than what emerged from the proposals of European Institutions, such as “The Five Presidents’ Report” of June 22, 2015 that pushed the completion of EMU back to 2025 or the leanings of national governments, many of them excluding a possible revision of the Treaties.

The European construction site appeared sealed reading the European Commission’s “White Paper on the Future of Europe”, of March 1, 2017. The White Paper presents five scenarios for this “Europe at 27” by 2025, without making the Commission’s choice clear. The same appeared true for subsequent EC communications, except for the EMU’s one.

However, on March 25, 2017, with the “*Rome Declaration*” and the mobilization of thousands of European’s citizens, some political opportunities came into existence. These need to be seized quickly, and require political classes, social partners, and civil society’s organizations to take their full responsibility.

Opening once again the European construction site appears more and more necessary because of Brexit and its consequences, because of the negotiations regarding the possible integration of the Fiscal Compact – that must be radically modified anyway – within the Treaties, because of the Eurozone’s governance reform, and because of the update of the financial system of the Union, regarding both revenues and expenditures, starting from Monti’s Group’s suggestions.

Opening once again the European construction site appears even more necessary since the ongoing economic crisis that has struck the Union made necessary a reform of the entire European system, which had been defined more than sixty years ago, with goals that had never been fully reached, and new challenges that member States are unable to face alone.

In order to overcome the sovereign and neo-nationalists’ threats that besiege Europe, it is therefore necessary to reform European’s Institutions, to strengthen federal enlightenment, and democratic legitimation.

Now that anti-European forces have lost their momentum, as the last electoral results in the Netherlands, in France and even in the UK have shown, there is an opportunity for a strong, innovative and ambitious European project to get started.

But this opportunity must be seized immediately, to show European citizens that a united, cohesive Europe can be the answer to their identity, economic, and social concerns.

A twenty-years long cycle came to an end, marked by globalization ruled by liberal policies that had no rules, and the longest and deepest economic crisis the world has ever known.

The crisis created both vertical and horizontal inequalities: horizontal among social classes, because wealth has been redistributed at the detriment of jobs, of the middle class, and of young people; vertical among nations, where the same mechanism allowed stronger economies to create further depletion.

That's a structural, long-term issue that must be solved.

The entire Planet is subject to changes that are more and more intertwined and rapid. These changes jeopardize its geo-political balance and increase social inequalities.

This is true for finance and monetary policies and their impact on the economy and on the social fabric, for the world's population growth and the desperate migration of its most vulnerable groups, for the excessive consumption of non-renewable sources and environmental threats, for the accumulation of wealth of a small percentage of the world's population and the increasing poverty, hunger and spread of disease that affects another, larger percentage of the population.

These intertwined processes must be governed by supranational authorities, to avoid the destruction of institutional frameworks, even those of the world's most advanced democracies.

European countries delude themselves, believing they won't be touched by the worldwide changes that we are witnessing today, withdrawing themselves in a nationalistic dimension that belongs to the eighteenth century.

This illusion will be wiped out, not only by African and Asian migration, but also by the progress of continental States. Special attention must be paid to China, whose expansionistic policy has been implemented for decades in Africa, and now applies to other areas of the Planet, particularly in Europe.

Since the President of the USA declared the need for greater financial contributions to NATO from European countries, the question of Europe's defense appears under a completely different light than it did during the long years of the Cold War; this is true also in relation to the impact of the armaments industry on the single States and on international trade.

Population in Mediterranean Africa and in the Middle East – especially younger people, who make up most of the population – had expressed their resolve to free themselves from the totalitarian regimes of their countries and promote human rights, but the international community, the European Union and National States haven't been able to provide the necessary support.

Today's migration processes are a testament of Europe's (but not only Europe's) political unsuitability to improve the situation of critical areas.

The suspension of the Schengen agreement has challenged some of the achievements reached with the Treaties of Rome of 1957 and with the Single European act of 1986, but it didn't alleviate migration's pressure.

Therefore, national governments and European institutions must elaborate and implement policies to improve the situation in critical areas, through some sort of

European *investment plan*, in order to limit neocolonialist policies (China's neocolonialist policies in the first place) in those areas, and to manage migration fluxes.

Relationships with countries of Mediterranean Africa and Middle East must be set and developed by the Union based on truly supranational strategies and on a Mediterranean policy to implement Euro-Arabic-African integration, surpassing the colonial vision that characterized said relationships.

Furthermore, there are issues regarding energy and the environment that National States keep on addressing, singularly and in international forums, without many chances of success, lacking decision-makers and policy-makers allowing to face and manage the intertwined processes characteristic of such issues.

Reopening the European construction site appears thus necessary – to address neo-protectionism in the USA, nationalism in Russia, and the transformation of global political power games – to give the Union the powers and the means necessary to play an autonomous role as a global player and contribute to launch a new cycle in the interdependence's governance.

This new cycle must be marked by sustainable and balanced development, détente, and respect of human dignity.

No variation of the institutional construction must be excluded, regarding both the method and the content of the projects.

In this framework, the European Movement believes that the Eurozone's member states and those that will want to join it, could represent the forefront of complete political integration to realize a federal Community.

It is necessary to clearly define the essential elements of the European project, method, and agenda, opening the European construction site to the layman, turning it into a public space made to widen Europe's public knowledge and to complete supranational democracy.

This must be done while reaching the goals set by the Treaties in the field of a true European welfare state, green economy, industrial policy, migration and asylum, internal and external security, but bearing in mind that there is an inadequate assignment of responsibility between the Union and member States withholding the necessary means to act.

The European Movement in Italy shares the views of President Sergio Mattarella, who declared "*reforming the European treaties is, at this point, inevitable*", and that it is necessary to open "*a constituent phase*", knowing that, "*without any prospect of real progress, we risk a fatal paralysis, that would be impossible to sustain*".

This is our six scenario for the future of European Union!

COMPLETING AND CHANGING THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM

Much can be done without changing the existing Treaties. However, we believe that a true, profound reform of the Union's system is by now inevitable, defining the essential elements for a federal Community, the method and the agenda necessary to realize it, starting with the countries and the people willing to share this goal.

The European system, with its mechanisms and its liturgies, shows already several inconsistencies. Many of these derive from its initial imposition, that has never been truly overcome through the many subsequent changes made to the Treaties, and has led Europeans to doubt the real democratic legitimacy of the Union. Yet more inconsistencies have been made clear, in recent years, through the economic, social and political crisis: a devastating sequence of crisis that has struck Europe.

Urged by necessity, in order to face the emergence and solve the crisis, the European Council has progressively empowered itself with most of the decisional power, overstepping the boundaries set for it in the Treaties, without being able to face today's challenges. In this unsatisfying Union, it has thus been established an allocation of responsibilities different from what it is set in the Treaties, yet still inadequate.

The method and the agenda

The usual method, that prioritizes agreements among governments, doesn't seem to be suitable anymore, and it won't be suitable in the future. At the same time, the convention method, doesn't address the need for a transparent and participative reform, since it is convened without a real European debate.

We don't believe it to be sufficient to define the elements to reform the European system. We believe, instead, that it is necessary to act in a democratic and transparent manner, innovating the method, to allow the countries and the people that share democratically parts of their sovereignty to complete their path to a federal system.

To define Europe's future, it will be necessary an articulate debate involving citizens, opinion movements, intermediate bodies at European level, social partners, and political parties; a debate that will stimulate national governments and Parliaments, regional assemblies, and the European Parliament and communicate through parliamentary delegations. An extensive discussion is necessary, without avoiding the confrontation with euro-critics. It is paramount to guarantee the best and most extensive informative action, both on method and content.

We, thus, believe, that the European Parliament must widen, complete and specify the guidelines adopted on the Union's system and on Europe's future, to offer citizens and European political forces a coherent and global vision on the content, method, and agenda of the project, before the European elections in spring 2019.

Downstream, there must be a constitutional change, made with maximal accountability and advertising. In this framework, it will be fundamental the role of European parties that will contribute – as set in the Treaty of Lisbon – *“to the formation of a European political consciousness and to the expression of the political will of the citizens of the Union”*.

We support the idea that in 2019, the 73 seats of MEPs actually elected in UK could constitute transnational lists, presented by the European parties according to a uniform and proportional European procedure, without a preference vote, respecting gender equality and geographic balance. According to article 14 TEU the European Parliament is made of *“representative of European citizens”*, and not by representatives *“of the people of the States”*, as it was set according to article 189 TCE, and its composition is not set by the Treaty, but *“on initiative of the European Parliament”* and unanimous decision of the European Council with prior approval of the EP itself.

The transnational lists could create the best conditions for the European political parties to select in a transparent and democratic way their candidates to the presidency of the European Commission and to put them as leader of the transnational list.

Coherently with our federalist ideals, based on the Ventotene Manifesto, and that strengthened by the experience of European integration, we want to open a debate on the method, so that economic and monetary unification (including social and security aspects) may evolve, within a clear period of time, into a Federal Community.

It is basically impossible to reach this goal amending the existing Treaties, because that would require a unanimous agreement of all the governments of the member States of the European Union, and the ratification of the amendments – parliamentary or through referendum – in all the States. Furthermore, this process would involve States that haven't made the choice to make interdependent their economies, unify the monetary policy and accept common rules, denying their consensus to essential principles regarding citizenship, rights, mobility and solidarity.

For these very reasons, we believe that the best path to follow will recognize the authority and the legitimacy of the institutions representative of the popular will of the member States of the Eurozone. The authority and legitimacy to decide for the election, by the citizens of the Eurozone, and the citizens that will decide to participate to the Eurozone - in the context of the renewal of the Parliament of the European Union, in the spring of 2019, by universal direct suffrage – of an assembly or Congress with the mandate, limited in time, to draft the Constitution of the Future Federal Community. This assembly/Congress should be integrated by a delegation of MEPs (*“Assemblée ad hoc”*)

Ultimately, it's up to the governments of the Eurozone (and up to those who will decide to take part into the Eurozone), to decide together on the convocation of this assembly, adopting a declaration that could have the same historic value of the one made in Messina in June 1955, although based on the vital need to lay the groundwork for a democratic community with a democratic method. This decision should follow a political act by the Parliaments of the area reunited in “assizes”, such as it happened in Rome in 1990, and could assume the juridical form of the Act of September 20, 1976, that opened the way to direct universal suffrage for the election of the European Parliament.

The assizes and the decision of the governments should be prepared – in a European public space – by thematic conventions of the European citizens, as it had been proposed during Emmanuel Macron's presidential campaign.

The process of developing a constitution will be followed by a deliberative phase, that, we believe, will call for a popular response downstream, and not upstream of the constitutive procedure, through a European confirmatory referendum. Moreover, a referendum is already compulsory in many member States and it's politically essential in many others, fragmenting the ratification procedures giving greater importance to national choices and debates, and putting European choices and debates in the background.

With this referendum European citizens will express themselves on the new European federal framework, on the constitutive and founding rules, and on the overcoming of the National States' dimension. If the preparatory phase will be effective, the electoral body that will be called to vote will be more conscious of its European dimension.

The project

The aim, the explicit goal of the next reform, can't be anything other than a European federation. Not a super-state, but a federal Community. A new Treaty must be prepared, assigning to the new Community exclusive responsibilities, in all those sectors where the action of single States is inadequate, defining a constitutional system, to act effectively and with democracy.

The Federal Community could have the following structure:

- A federal level, with all the necessary, exclusive competences, in all those sectors where the action of single States is inadequate; with shared competences in all the social dimension and in the economic, research, innovation policies; the transition from a “supporting competences” to shared responsibilities within the healthcare system, the industry, education and training, civil defense, foreign policy-making, common safety, and defense, in a true foreign policy of the Union, as it has been for freedom, security, and justice.
- A Parliamentary Assembly with full legislative powers (including the right of initiative), to exert together with a “Chamber of States”.
- A European democracy being a model of active citizenship, multilevel decision-making and open society
- A true European government, with limited but actual powers to exert both in domestic and in foreign policy bound by democratic and fiduciary ties to the Assembly, including the figure of a Secretary of the Treasury of the Eurozone, responsible for the budget of the Euro's area, and president of the Eurogroup.
- The Council of Heads of State and Government, bound to its role of eminent body, discussing and defining strategic guidelines, forum of bi-annual discussions on major political priorities.
- Appropriate ways to include the National Parliaments and regional assemblies of the different federal States.
- A federal budget coherent with common goals, revenues based on European taxations and policies aimed to guarantee European commons.
- The Court of Justice that will answer to specific actions regarding fundamental rights, and initiate the finding proceedings to evaluate the risks of possible violation, by one of the member States, of the values of the EU, or to evaluate the actual existence of said violations.
- A true European federal citizenship, released from national citizenships, with its own, autonomous core of individual and collective rights.

Rome, July, 2017