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# DEEPENING THE EUROZONE, STRENGTHENING THE UNION: WHAT ARE THE NEXT STEPS?

Berlin | 6 – 8 February 2015

Joint meeting of the UEF Political Commission on Future of Europe & Federalist  
Strategy and the JEF Political Commission on Institutions & Governance



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## PROGRAMME

*Europäische Akademie Berlin  
Bismarckallee 46/48, D-14193 Berlin-Grunewald*

### **FRIDAY 6 FEBRUARY**

18.00 Session I – Public debate

#### **DEEPENING THE EUROZONE AND REFORMING THE UNION: CHANCES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW TERM OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

Speakers:

- **Rainer WIELAND**, Vice President of the European Parliament, President of Europa Union Deutschland
- **Sylvia-Yvonne KAUFMANN**, Member of the European Parliament, President of Europa Union Berlin
- **David SCHROCK**, President of JEF Germany

Conclusions:

- **Andrew DUFF**, former Member of the European Parliament, Honorary President of the Union of European Federalists

20.00 UEF – JEF “Get together”

### **SATURDAY 7 FEBRUARY**

8.00 Arrival and registration of participants

9.00 Opening and presentation of the seminar

09.15 Session II

#### **STATE OF PLAY & OPTIONS AHEAD IN PROGRESSING THE EUROZONE INTEGRATION AND THE REFORM OF THE UNION**

Introduction by:

- **Paolo VACCA**, Secretary-General of the Union of European Federalists
- **Jakob VON WEIZSÄCKER**, Member of the European Parliament, Member of the Glienicker Gruppe

**Moderation: Domènec RUIZ DEVESA**, Federal Committee of the Union of European Federalists

10.45 Coffee Break



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11.00

Session III

### DEEPENING THE EUROZONE TOWARDS A FISCAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UNION

Speakers:

- **Domenico MORO**, Member of the Board of UEF-Italy  
*Proposals for a Eurozone budget and fiscal capacity*
- **Manuel MUELLER**, Member of JEF Germany, Europa-blogger  
*Proposals for Euro-area welfare mechanisms as automatic stabilizers*
- **David GARCIA**, Policy and Advocacy Officer of the Union of European Federalists  
*Possibilities & Constraints in deepening the Eurozone within the existing Treaties*

**Moderation: Otto SCHMUCK**, Board of the Union of European Federalists

13.00

Lunch Break

14.00

Session IV

### CHANCES AND RISKS OF MORE DIFFERENTIATED INTEGRATION IN EUROPE – INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

Speakers:

- **Giulia ROSSOLILLO**, Professor of European Law at the University of Pavia and Editor of The Federalist
- **Christian DEUBNER**, Consultant, Foundation for European Progressive Studies

**Moderation: Carlo Maria PALERMO**, JEF Italy, Co-Chair of JEF Political Commission on Institutions & Governance

16.00

Coffee Break

16.30

Session V

### POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS FOR FURTHER INTEGRATION WITHOUT CHANGES TO THE TREATIES

Speakers:

- **Andrew DUFF**, former Member of the European Parliament, Honorary President of the Union of European Federalists
- **Otto SCHMUCK**, Member of the Board of UEF and UEF Germany
- **Sergio PISTONE**, Member of the Board of UEF Italy

**Moderation: Urs POETZSCH**, JEF Germany, Co-Chair of JEF Political Commission on Institutions & Governance

18.30

End of sessions

19.00

Dinner



## **SUNDAY 8 FEBRUARY**

9.00

Session VI

### **PARALLEL WORKING GROUPS WITH THE TASKS TO SUMMARISE KEY RESULTS OF EACH SESSION IN PROPOSED POLICY POINTS FOR THE UEF AND JEF PC's**

#### **WORKING GROUP I – Economic Issues**

Facilitated by:

- **Christian BECK**, JEF Germany
- **Domènec RUIZ DEVESA**, Federal Committee of the Union of European Federalists

#### **WORKING GROUP II - Institutional Issues**

Facilitated by:

- **Carlo Maria PALERMO**, JEF Italy, Co-Chair of JEF Political Commission on Institutions & Governance
- **Luisa TRUMELLINI**, Board of the Union of European Federalists

#### **WORKING GROUP III – Possibilities within the Treaties**

Facilitated by:

- **Urs POETZSCH**, JEF Germany, Co-Chair of JEF Political Commission on Institutions & Governance
- **Otto SCHMUCK**, Board of the Union of European Federalists

10.30

Coffee Break

10.45

Presentations of the Working Groups' results to the plenary

11.45

Session VII

### **WHAT NEXT STEPS IN THE UEF AND JEF CAMPAIGN? HOW TO SPREAD THE AIMS OF THE EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS**

Speakers:

- **Franco SPOLTORE**, Secretary-General UEF Italy, Chair UEF Political Commission on Future of Europe & Federalist Strategy
- **Pauline GESSANT**, President of JEF Europe
- **Christian MOOS**, Secretary-General of Europa Union Deutschland
- **Rainer GIESEL**, Europa Union Deutschland

13.00

Closing

## READING MATERIAL

The aim of this UEF/JEF joint meeting is to debate how to successfully combine the two parallel processes of (1) further deepening the Eurozone towards a genuine economic and fiscal union (and thus a political union) and (2) further strengthening the European Union as a whole.

To facilitate the discussion in Berlin, for the topic of each of the five sessions (6 & 7 February) this document highlights:

- **UEF/JEF Policy, Official documents:** the latest UEF or JEF official documents and some from national sections.
- **Where we stand:** the main positions of current UEF and JEF policies based on the official documents proposed.
- **Reading list** with key articles and essays from general and federalist literature.

## SESSION I & SESSION II: DEEPENING THE EUROZONE AND REFORMING THE UNION, CHANCES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW TERM OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND EUROPEAN COMMISSION & STATE OF PLAY

### UEF/JEF Policy

#### Official documents:

- [Towards Federal Europe](#), Manifesto, UEF Federal Committee, December 2014
- [Promoting Sustainable Growth in Europe, New Solutions for Finding the EU's Way out of the Crisis](#), Resolution, JEF Federal Committee, Bologna, November 2014
- [Towards Banking Union](#), Resolution, JEF Federal Committee, Cambridge, March 2014
- [We call for an end to the politically prolonged debt crisis!](#), Resolution, JEF Federal Committee, Athens, April 2013
- [What kind of "common policies" is needed in an Economic and Monetary Union of the European Union? A check list for European decision makers](#), Michael Cwik, PC1 Policy Paper, 2 November 2011
- [Resolution of the Central Committee of 20 November 2010](#), Resolution, UEF Italy, November 2010
- [Resolution on the Current Financial and Economic Crisis and the need for a Common Economic Policy](#), Resolution, Federal Committee, April 2009
- [For a European Government over Economic Processes \(PC3\)](#), Resolution, Congress, October 2008

### Where we stand (summary of current UEF and JEF policies):

- Europe needs to complete the four unions: Economic, Monetary, Fiscal and Political Union (JEF FC resolution, March 2014 and Nov 2014) (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Transfer to the European Commission most of the residual executive powers now held by the Council, at least in the economic and fiscal field, turning the Commission into a recognisable and accountable government (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Completing the adoption and implementation of a banking union relying on three pillars: first, the EC as a single supervisory authority in the Eurozone for banks reaching a certain size; second, a common resolution fund and harmonised resolution mechanisms; and third, a common deposit insurance scheme (JEF FC resolution, March 2014 and Nov 2014)
- Implementing a European economic government (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014)
- Setting a minimum unemployment insurance scheme (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014)
- Tackling tax evasion through fiscal coordination (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014)
- Increasing own resources to the EU annual budget with a Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) and EU carbon tax (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014) (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Reaching a truly European-wide political economy funded by own European resources (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014) (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Completing the integration of financial markets, especially by harmonising regulation and preventing international banks from arbitrating between different legislations (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014)
- Interconnecting sectors like energy, renewable resources, transport and telecommunications (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014)
- Completing the European Digital Single Market (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014)

### Reading List

#### Introduction:

- [Economic and Monetary Union Explained](#), European Commission, 2014
- [Economic and monetary union and the euro](#), European Union Explained, European Commission, 2012
- [Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union](#), President of the European Council, President of the European Commission, President of the Eurogroup and President of the ECB, 5 December 2012
- [Blueprint for a Genuine and Deep Economic and Monetary Union](#), Launching a European Debate (COM(2012) 777 final/2), 30 November 2012

General views:

- [Strengthening the euro area](#), Daniela Schwarzer (Director of the Europe Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States), ECP, 1 October 2014
- [Policy recommendations for the new European Commission: priorities for stabilising EMU](#), Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Jan David Schneider and Fabian Zuleeg, ECP, 30 September 2014
- [How to Fix the Euro: Strengthening Economic Governance in Europe](#), Stephan Pickford, Federico Steingerg and Miguel Otero-Iglesias, A Joint Chatham House, Elcano and AREL Report, March 2014
- [For a Euro Community](#), Eiffel Group, February 2014
- [Towards a Euro Union](#), Glienicker Gruppe, October 2013
- [Strategic Options for Europe's Future](#), New Pact for Europe, December 2013
- [The Difficult Role of Parliaments in the Reformed Governance of the European Economic and Monetary Union](#), Dr. Christian Deubner, FEPS, August 2013

Federalist views:

- [Reforming the European Decision-Making Process: Legitimacy, Effectiveness and Clarity](#) by Thierry Chopin, Jean-François Jamet, François Xavier Priollaud, The Federalist, 2013
- [A Pre-Constitutional Pact for Federal Political Union of the Eurozone](#), Luisa Trumellini, The Federalist, 2013

## SESSION III: DEEPENING THE EUROZONE TOWARDS A FISCAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UNION

1. Proposals for a eurozone budget and fiscal capacity. 2. Proposals for a euro-area wide welfare mechanisms as automatic stabilizers. 3. Possibilities and constraints in deepening the eurozone within the existing Treaties.

### UEF/JEF Policy

#### Official documents:

- [Towards Federal Europe](#), Manifesto, UEF Federal Committee, December 2014
- [Promoting Sustainable Growth in Europe, New Solutions for Finding the EU's Way out of the Crisis](#) pg 2, Resolution, JEF Federal Committee, Bologna, November 2014
- [Joint UEF-JEF statement](#), Statement, Joint UEF-JEF Federal Committee, Leuven, Belgium, 23 April, 2012
- [Trasparente EU-Finanzierung](#), Resolution, Europa-Union Deutschland, 2011



- [The Future of European Fiscal Policy](#), Resolution, UEF Federal Committee, 31 October 2010
- [The European Union needs a Federal Budget and a Federal Government to face the Financial Crisis](#), Resolution, UEF Federal Committee, 19 April 2009
- [Resolution on the Financing of the European Project](#), Resolution, UEF Congress, 30 June to 2 July 2006

**Where we stand (summary of current UEF and JEF policies):**

- At national level, fiscal discipline must be accompanied by economic reforms (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- At both European and national levels a better balance must be struck between fiscal consolidation and investment in growth and jobs (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- A fiscal union is not viable without social justice; tackling youth unemployment must be the priority (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Necessity of adequate forms of European taxation and new forms of European debt instruments for a proactive European social and economic policy (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Installation of a federal government, with a powerful Treasury Secretary, for the fiscal and economic union (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Increasing own resources to the EU annual budget with a Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) and EU carbon tax. By moving away from the current system of direct national contributions, this will allow the federal core to escape from the paralysis of *juste retour*. (JEF FC resolution, Nov 2014) (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- A new treaty must permit the progressive mutualisation at least of a portion of sovereign debt within the eurozone, subject to strict conditionality and should lift the prohibition on deficit financing while ensuring that the federal debt is subject to limits comparable to those imposed on the states (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- The current unanimity rules for the decisions on own resources and the multi-annual financial framework must be modified (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Replacing ad hoc policy conditionality with democratically legitimated policies and measures, including automatic stabilisers, which enhance solidarity and growth for a European social market economy if the conditions and rules of fiscal stability and structural changes are met (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)

## Reading list:

### Introduction:

- [Legal Options for an EMU fiscal capacity](#), Directorate General for Internal Policies, European Parliament, 2013
- [Six-pack? Two-pack? Fiscal Compact? A Shot Guide to the new EU Fiscal Governance](#), European Commission, 2012
- [Q&A: EU Fiscal Treaty to Control Eurozone Budgets](#), BBC, March 2012
- [The European Social Fund 2014-2020](#), European Commission, 2014

### General views:

- [Financing the EU Budget: Moving forward or backwards?](#), Gabriele Cipriani, CEPS, 18 November 2014
- [Enhancing the Legitimacy of EMU Governance](#), Cinzia Alcidi, Alessandro Giovannini, Sonia Piedrafita, CEPS Special Reports, 18 December 2014
- [An Unemployment Insurance Scheme for the Euro Area: A simulation exercise of two options](#), Miroslav Beblavý, Ilaria Maselli, CEPS Special Reports, 9 December 2014
- [European Social Union: a Political Necessity and an Urgent Research Programme](#), Progressive Economy, 2014
- [The Case for a European Social Union](#), Frank Vandenbroucke, KU Leuven, Euroforum, 2014
- [A Common Unemployment Insurance System for the Euro Area](#), Sebastian Dullien and Ferdinand Fichtner, DIW Economic Bulletin, 2013
- [Connaitre et comprendre le pacte budgétaire](#), Robert Schuman Foundation, October 2012
- [The Reform of Economic Governance in the Euro Area – Essential Elements](#), ECB Monthly Bulletin, March 2011, pg 99-119

### Federalist views:

- [A Budget for the Euro Area: Objectives, Procedures and Institutions](#), Domenico Moro, The Federalist, 2013
- [Solidarity with Stability: An Additional Budget for the Eurozone](#), Domenico Moro, The Federalists, 2013
- [A Budget for the Euro Area: the Road leading to the Decisive Federal Leap](#), Giulia Rossolillo, The Federalist, 2013
- [Reforming the European Decision-Making Process: Legitimacy, Effectiveness and Clarity](#) by Thierry Chopin, Jean-François Jamet, François Xavier Priollaud, The Federalist, 2013

## SESSION IV: CHANCES AND RISKS OF MORE DIFFERENTIATED INTEGRATION IN EUROPE – INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

### UEF/JEF Policy

#### Official documents:

- [Towards Federal Europe](#), Manifesto, UEF Federal Committee, December 2014
- [From Differentiated to Deeper Integration](#), Resolution, JEF Federal Committee, November 2014

#### Where we stand (summary of current UEF and JEF policies):

- Developing the four unions (banking, economic, fiscal and political union) and strengthening cohesion within the EU (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- Encouraging the Member States not in the eurozone to meet the Maastricht criteria (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- Strengthening the internal market and enabling all citizens to benefit from the four freedoms, namely the freedom of movement (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- Introducing the Euro as the single currency for all Member States (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- Council of Ministers' meetings on the eurozone like the corresponding European Council meetings have to involve all Council members from all Member States. Council members representing Member States whose currency is not the Euro must have the right to participate in the debate. (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- European Council and the Council of Ministers meetings on the eurozone have to be enshrined in the official institutional system of the Lisbon Treaty (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- Differentiated integration is considered only a temporary state (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- The European Parliament should take the lead on the debate and on the formulation of concrete proposals to ensure democratic legitimacy to all further steps to deepen integration (namely the fiscal union and the establishment of a eurozone budget) (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- The European Parliament has to ensure that EU measures particularly on the eurozone do not affect the cohesion among all EU Member States (JEF, Resolution, 2014)
- EU states cannot be forced against their will to take the federal steps we here propose. At the same time, such states cannot be allowed an open-ended possibility to pick and choose what they want from the EU and discard the rest. Yet more à la carte opt-outs and derogations risk fracturing the cohesion of the *acquis communautaire*. Free-riding means disintegration. (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)
- Creating a new category of membership available to states which choose not to join the federal union: institutional participation would be limited, continued allegiance to the Union's values should be required, but political engagement in the Union's objectives and policies would be



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reduced. This new form of associate membership would also be an improvement on the present European Economic Area, and would be open to all other European countries. (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)

#### Reading list:

##### Introduction:

- [The multi-speed Europe: the EU's future or doom?](#), Submitted by Claire Bravard, February 2013
- [Would EU-Member States Benefit from a Two-Speed Europe?](#), Mateusz Krupczynski, One Europe, May 2013
- [Merkel insists on two-speed Europe](#), Gerrit Wiesmann, Financial Times, June 2012
- [Europe's New Treaty: Towards a multi-speed Union](#), EurActiv, December 2011 (updated in 2013)
- [Two-speed Europe, or two Europes?](#), Charlemagne, The Economist, 2011
- [Une Europe à deux vitesses?](#), Le Monde (Idées), 2011
- [Arguments for and against a two-speed Europe](#), Debating Europe

##### General views:

- [The acceleration of differentiated integration and enhanced cooperation](#), Jean-Claude Piris, Robert Schuman Foundation, October 2014
- [What Political and Institutional Evolutions for the EU and the EMU?](#), Martina Menghi, Notre Europe Jacques Delors Institute, October 2014
- [20 Years "Core Europe": Where do We Stand and Where are We Heading?](#), Nicole Koenig, Notre Europe Jacques Delors Institute, September 2014
- [Differentiated Integration in the EU – From the inside looking out](#), Steven Blockmans, CEPS, January 2014
- [Pioniere in der Verantwortung für Europa müssen vorangehen](#), Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble, Bundesministerium der Finanzen, September 2014
- [Multi-speed Europe? Differentiated integration in the external relations of the European Union](#), The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, January 2014
- [Two-Speed, Multi-Speed and Europe's Future: A Review of Jean-Claude Piris on the Future of Europe](#), Paul P. Craig, European Law Review, December 2012

##### Federalist views:

- [The Fiscal Compact, The European Stability Mechanism And a Two-Speed Europe: Institutional Proposals for a Government of the Eurozone](#), Giulia Rossolillo, The Federalist, 2012



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- [A “Federal Core” in a Wider European Union. How Should the Core be Founded? How should its institutions be structured? What should be the Nature of its Relations with the Institutions of the Wider Union?](#), The Federalist, 2009

## SESSION V: POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER INTEGRATION WITHOUT CHANGES IN THE TREATIES

### UEF/JEF Policy

#### Official documents:

- [Towards Federal Europe](#), Manifesto, UEF Federal Committee, December 2014
- [From Differentiated to Deeper Integration](#), Resolution, JEF Federal Committee, November 2014

#### Where we stand (summary of current UEF and JEF policies):

- The Lisbon Treaty provides an opportunity to deepen integration within the EU framework. The instrument of enhanced cooperation (Art. 20 treaty on the EU (TEU), Art. 326 et. Seq. TFEU) allows a group of at least nine Members States to issue common rules in all areas, which do not belong to exclusive EU competencies (JEF, Resolution, Nov 2014)
- Flexible and democratic procedures are needed for future treaty amendments, which should enter into force either once ratified by a qualified majority of the states and of Members of the European Parliament, or if carried in a pan-EU referendum by a majority of the states and citizens (UEF, Manifesto, 2014)

#### Reading list

##### Introduction:

- [Explaining the Treaty of Lisbon](#), European Commission, December 2009

##### General View:

- [The Messy Rebuilding of Europe](#), Jean Pisani-Ferry, André Sapir & Guntram B. Wolff, Bruegel Policy Brief, March 2012
- [Die Europäische Union zwischen Demokratisierung und Regierungszusammenarbeit: Vom Lissabonner Vertrag zum Fiskalpakt der EU-Staats- und Regierungschefs](#), Dr. Otto Schmuck, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Online Akademie, 2012

##### Federalist views:

- [Réformer l'Union européenne: Quelles méthodes? Quels scénarios ?](#), Thierry Chopin, Fondation Robert Schuman, *Question d'Europe* n° 320, 7 July 2014
- [Intervista a Pier Virgilio Dastoli : L'Europa del Futuro](#), Europinione, 2013
- [Reforming the European Decision-Making Process: Legitimacy, Effectiveness and Clarity](#) by Thierry Chopin, Jean-François Jamet, François Xavier Priollaud, The Federalist, 2013

## UEF MANIFESTO

Amended by the UEF Federal Committee, Brussels, 13 December 2014

### UEF MANIFESTO

## *Towards Federal Union*

Europe is passing through a period of turbulence and uncertainty. The long financial crisis, which has led to economic stagnation, unemployment and political fragmentation, has exposed not only the flaws in the design of the Economic and Monetary Union and the weakness of EU institutions, but also a lack of commitment to European integration by EU states. As a result, the European Union has lost the trust of many citizens. The crisis in the regions bordering the European Union, from Ukraine to the Middle-East, is putting increasing pressure on progressing European integration in the foreign, security and defence field.

If the European Union is to survive for years to come, it must pursue the paths of social peace, prosperity and political unity through the business of democratic government. A federal Europe with strong democratic institutions is the only way to meet this challenge. Europe will not be united if it is not democratic. And it will not be democratic if it is not a federation.

The process of building a genuine European federal union can start today with the eurozone and those states genuinely committed to joining the euro. It is the responsibility of our decision makers to take all the necessary steps to solve the problems, put our affairs in order and rebuild confidence.

We therefore urge the political parties, the Members of the European Parliament elected in 2014 and the new European Commission to make the accomplishment of a federal union a central theme of their activity. And we urge the European Parliament to develop its proposals on the structure of federal union alongside representatives of national parliaments.

### *Dealing with the crisis*

Federalists believe that only deeper fiscal integration will lead Europe out of the crisis and fulfil Europe's economic and democratic potential. This new polity has to be formed around the states whose currency is or will soon be the euro.

At national level, fiscal discipline must be accompanied by economic reforms. At both European and national levels a better balance must be struck between fiscal consolidation and investment in growth and jobs: fiscal union is not viable without social justice. Tackling youth unemployment must be the priority.

It has become clear that purely national recovery plans have been largely ineffective. Only by creating the tools and resources for common European economic, industrial and energy policies can we boost trade and competitiveness, stimulate research and education, build trans-European networks and complete the single market in services.

UEF welcomes the legislation already in place which will ensure budgetary responsibility at the national and European level. Now we urge the eurozone to make rapid progress to address the burden of debt which is destroying opportunity for too many European citizens. We need adequate forms of European taxation and new forms of European debt instruments for a proactive European social and economic policy. We need to replace ad hoc policy conditionality with democratically legitimated policies and measures, including automatic stabilisers, which enhance solidarity and growth for a European social market economy if the conditions and rules of fiscal stability and structural changes are met.



These steps require the transformation of the eurozone into a true political union. And those states which have yet to join the euro, and are intent on doing so, must be connected as closely as possible to this process of deeper integration.

### ***Treaty change***

The Treaty of Lisbon is being stretched to breaking point under the pressure of crisis management. Its revision is unavoidable if the Union is to overcome its present difficulties.

We therefore call for a constitutional Convention to begin as soon as possible. The Convention will be composed of MEPs, national MPs, the Commission and the state governments. But it must reach out to the media, political parties, civil society and public opinion in direct and effective ways. Its mandate must include the task of explaining and justifying the decisions it takes.

The agenda of the Convention must be open, but shaped by a coherent political strategy based on the re-foundation and renewal of the European Union around a federal vanguard. Its task will be to draft a new fundamental law which provides a durable settlement of the system of governance of the Union, along with a clearer sense of things to come.

The new treaty must further enhance the capacity of the Union to act at home and abroad. It must be a strong constitutional framework in which its governors and law makers are empowered to make coherent and efficient choices about the direction of policy. Member states must respect the values and principles of their Union, and the EU needs to be alert and to react effectively when changes to national constitutions depart from them.

A genuine common immigration and asylum policy is needed to make a reality of the EU area of freedom, security and justice. Responsibilities for the control of the external frontiers of the Union must be decently shared, and the human rights of migrants fully respected. Consular rights of EU citizenship should be strengthened, and EU consular posts promoted. EU citizens living in other EU states should be allowed to vote in all elections at their place of residence. The scope of the European Citizens' Initiative should be widened and its application made more accessible.

The European Union will not be the global actor it aspires to be unless its states make a more serious political commitment to developing common foreign, security and defence policies. At the moment, Europe is not only failing to defend its own values and interests but also to fulfil its potential to be a source of good in world affairs. EU citizens have a strong commitment for peace.

In order to achieve these objectives the treaty revision must not fail to adjust competences and increase the powers of the European institutions where necessary.

### ***Federal government***

The main new feature of the fundamental law will be the installation of a federal government, with a powerful Treasury Secretary, for the fiscal and economic union. The eurozone must have its own fiscal capacity, capable of contributing to macro-economic stabilisation. The EU budget should be financed by genuinely autonomous own resources - such as taxes on carbon emissions or financial transactions - which, by moving away from the current system of direct national contributions, will allow the federal core to escape from the paralysis of *juste retour*.

The new treaty must permit the progressive mutualisation at least of a portion of sovereign debt within the eurozone, subject to strict conditionality. It should lift the prohibition on deficit financing while ensuring that the federal debt is subject to limits comparable to those imposed on the states. In addition, the current unanimity rules for the decisions on own resources and the multi-annual financial framework must be modified.



### ***A better democracy***

UEF believes that the EU will only survive and prosper by enhancing European democracy: we act to strengthen the European public space, with citizens fully engaged at every stage of the constitutional process.

We should transfer to the European Commission most of the residual executive powers now held by the Council, at least in the economic and fiscal field, turning the Commission into a recognisable and accountable government. The size of the Commission should be reduced, with its members nominated by the President-elect and elected by the European Parliament. The new structure of the Commission proposed by Mr Juncker, with the appointment of seven Vice Presidents, and the creation of project teams, are a good step in this direction.

The two legislative chambers of the European Parliament and the Council should be put on an equal footing. The composition of the Parliament should be determined by logical, transparent and understandable rules on the basis of the population of the states, respecting the principle of degressive proportionality. In order to build up real European political parties and to heighten the EU dimension of politics, a certain number of MEPs should be elected in a pan-European constituency from transnational lists. Parliament must gain the right of consent to treaty changes and to the accession of new states.

Restrictions on the scope of the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice should be lifted, and access to the Court eased for individuals.

### ***A deeper legitimacy***

Flexible and democratic procedures are needed for future treaty amendments, which should enter into force either once ratified by a qualified majority of the states and of Members of the European Parliament, or if carried in a pan-EU referendum by a majority of the states and citizens. Such changes will bring the EU into line with all other federal or international organisations.

EU states cannot be forced against their will to take the federal steps we here propose. At the same time, such states cannot be allowed an open-ended possibility to pick and choose what they want from the EU and discard the rest. Yet more *à la carte* opt-outs and derogations risk fracturing the cohesion of the *acquis communautaire*. Free-riding means disintegration.

We therefore propose to create a new category of membership available to states which choose not to join the federal union. Institutional participation would necessarily be limited. Continued allegiance to the Union's values should be required, but political engagement in the Union's objectives and policies would be reduced. This new form of associate membership would also be an improvement on the present European Economic Area, and would be open to all other European countries.

Should it prove impossible for all current member states to agree to revise the European Union along these lines, we urge the creation of a constituent assembly, gathering members of the national parliaments and the European Parliament to establish a constitution along these lines. Every parliament would be invited to participate in a fresh start for Europe but the assembly should be able to start its work even if not all have resolved to join such a project.

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To the achievement of these objectives, UEF welcomes a broad public debate on 'A Fundamental Law of the European Union' as elaborated by the Spinelli Group of MEPs.

We commit ourselves to advancing the cause of European federal union in the interests of a more peaceful and prosperous world.

The Union of European Federalists commends this manifesto to the political parties, the Members of the European Parliament and the new European Commission.



## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

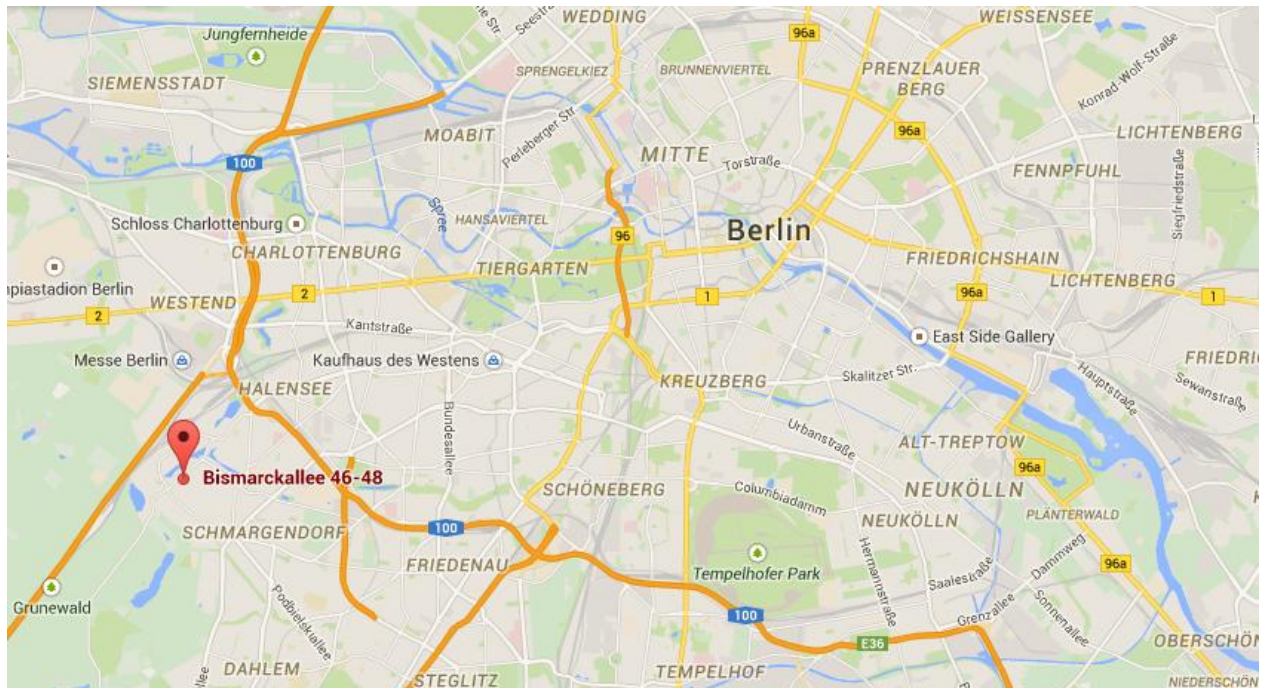
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69	ZAPFE	Wolfgang	UEF Germany
70	ZURL	Matthias	UEF Germany

## PRACTICAL INFORMATION

### MAP & VENUE

#### Europäische Akademie Berlin Bismarckallee 46/48 (D-14193 Berlin-Grunewald)



#### By plane

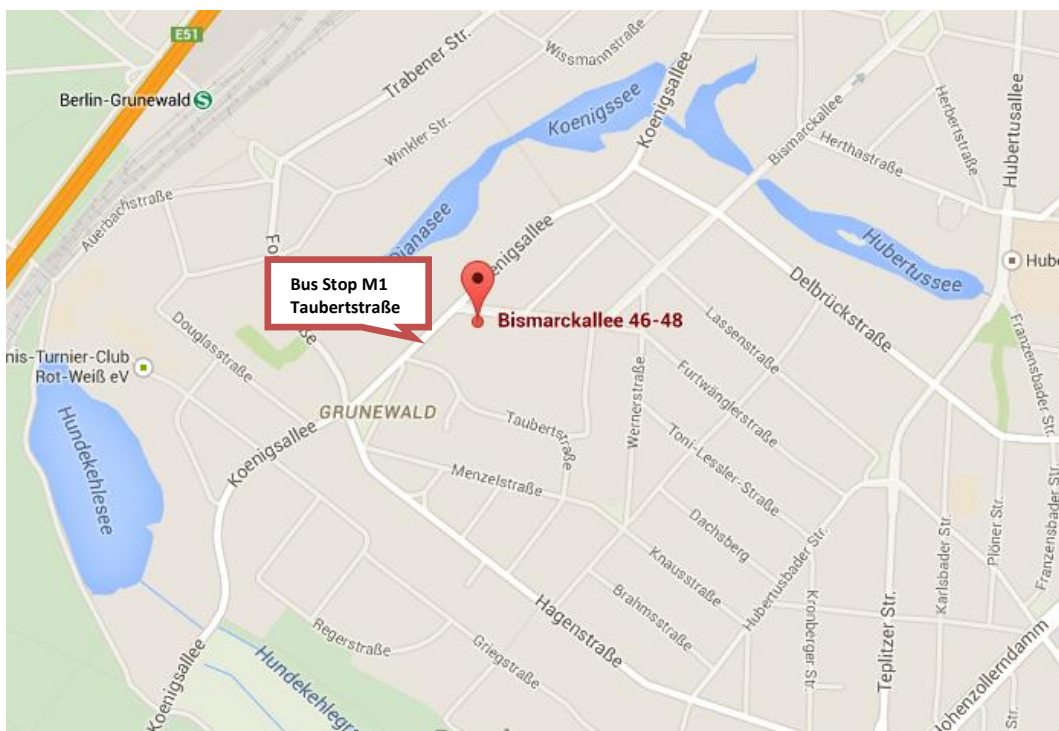
- From **Tegel (TXL)** airport:
  - Take **Bus 109** to Adenauerplatz/Kurfürstendamm. Change there to **bus/Metroline M19** (leaving from the opposite side of the street). Take **bus** marked '**S-Bhf Grunewald**' or '**Hagenplatz**' and get off at '**Hagenplatz/Taubertstraße**'. There turn left, the second street on the right will be 'Bismarckallee'.
- From **Schönefeld (SXF)** airport:
  - *Either* take express **bus SXF1** <[www.sxf1.de](http://www.sxf1.de)> to S 'Südkreuz' (20 min.). Change to fast **train S41 (Ring-Line)** to 'S Halensee' (11 min.) and change to **bus M19** (direction 'S Grunewald/Hagenplatz') to '**Taubertstraße**' (7 min.)
  - *Or* take fast **train S9** (direction 'S Spandau DB') to 'Westkreuz'; change to fast **train S7** (direction 'Wannsee') to 'S Grunewald' and continue with **bus M19** (direction U Mehringdamm) to '**Taubertstraße**' (75min.)
  - *Or* take **train S9** (direction Spandau DB) to 'S'Treptower Park' or 'Ostkreuz', change to **train S41 or S42** (Ring-Line) direction 'S+U Gesundbrunnen' to 'S Halensee' and follow the directions as above.

## By train (from West)

- From Central Station 'Hauptbahnhof - Lehrter Bahnhof':
  - take fast **train S7** (direction 'Wannsee-Bhf' or 'Potsdam-Hbf') to S 'Grünwald' and continue with **bus M19** (direction U Mehringdamm) to '**Taubertstraße**' (25 min.)
- From '**Zoologischer Garten**' railway station:
  - *either* take **S-Bahn (line S7)** direction 'Wannsee DB' or 'Potsdam-Hbf' and get off at 'Grünwald' station, there change to **bus M19** and get off at bus station '**Hagenplatz/ Taubertstraße**'
  - *or* walk to Kurfürstendamm (about 400m) and take **bus M19** at the street corner of Kurfürstendamm and Joachimstaler Straße. Get off at bus station '**Hagenplatz/ Taubertstraße**'

## By train (from East)

- From '**Lichtenberg**' railway station
  - take the **S-Bahn (line S7)** in the direction of 'Wannsee Bhf.' or 'Potsdam-Hbf'. Get off at 'Grünwald' station. There change to **bus M19** and get off at bus station 'Hagenplatz/ Taubertstraße'.
- From '**Wannsee**' S-Bahn station
  - take **S-Bahn (line S7)** in the direction of 'Ahrensfelde Bhf', get off at 'Grünwald' station. There change to **bus M19** and get off at bus station 'Hagenplatz/ Taubertstraße'.



## UEF STAFF CONTACT

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