



Union of European Federalists  
Union Europäischer Föderalisten  
Union des Fédéralistes Européens



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The Federalist



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**International Seminar**

## **FEDERALISM: NATIONAL, EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES**

**Winning the challenge of identity, democratic governance and interdependence**

**Milano, 9-11 March 2018**

The international seminar *“Federalism: national, European and global perspectives - Winning the challenge of identity, democratic governance and interdependence”* is the 2018 edition of the yearly training event organised in cooperation between JEF and UEF; this year it will focus on federalism, in its national, European and global dimensions, exploring the challenges facing and the opportunities offered by modern federalism at all level of government in contemporary societies.

The seminar will gather ca 70 international participants and ca 30 participants from Italy. Participants will come from different countries and different ages and background, mainly people interested in European affairs and the perspective of federalism at all levels of governance.

Through a combination of conferences, moderated panel debates and interactive working groups, the seminar will cover a wide range of aspects of federalism, from its theoretical foundations to its actual application in response to the most pressing issues in our societies at the national, European and global levels. Speakers will come from the world of academia, civil society, administration and politics from different countries.

## READING LIST

### SESSION I – INTRODUCTIONS TO FEDERALISM

#### Federalist Papers:

- ✓ Alexander Hamilton, [Federalist No. 30. Concerning the General Power of Taxation](#), New York, 28 December 1787
- ✓ Alexander Hamilton, [Federalist No. 24. The powers necessary of the common defense further considered](#) and [Federalist No. 25. The same subject continued: the powers necessary of the common defense further considered](#), New York, December 1787

#### Analysis and academia:

- ✓ Michael Burgess, [Federalism, the state and the European idea](#), in *Federalism and Europe Union: the building of Europe*, Routledge London and New York
- ✓ Brun-Otto Bryde, [Le peuple européen and the European people](#), in *Le référendum européen*, Andréas Aueret Jean-François Flauss eds., Bruxelles, Bruylant, 1997
- ✓ Jha Prakash Chandra, [Theory of Fiscal Federalism: an analysis](#), MPRA Paper No. 41769, Amity University, 2012
- ✓ Lucio Levi, Guido Montani and Francesco Rossolillo, [Three introductions to federalism](#), The Altiero Spinelli Institute for Federalist Studies, 1989
- ✓ A. Gamper, [A “Global Theory of Federalism”: The Nature and Challenges of a Federal State](#), *German Law Journal*, Vol 6, No 10, pp. 1297-1318, 2009
- ✓ Sergio Pistone, [Raison d’Etat, peace and the federalist strategy](#), *The Federalist*, Year XLVIII, 2001, Number 1, p. 10
- ✓ Fritz W. Scharpf, [Reflections on Multilevel Legitimacy](#), Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung, Working Paper 07/3, Cologne, July 2007

#### History of the Union of European Federalists:

- ✓ Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, [The Ventotene Manifesto](#), Rome, 1944
- ✓ Union of European Federalists, [70 years of campaigns for a united and federal Europe](#), 2016

### SESSION II – FEDERALISM AT NATIONAL LEVEL

#### Institutional resources:

- ✓ Committee of the Regions, [Charter for Multi-Level Governance \(MLG\) in Europe](#), 20 February 2014

#### Analysis and academia:

- ✓ Keith G. Banting, [The three federalisms: social policy and intergovernmental decision-making](#), in Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad eds., *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy*, 2009
- ✓ Hansjörg Blöchliger and Junghun Kim eds., [Fiscal Federalism 2016. Making decentralisation work](#), OECD Publishing, 20 June 2016
- ✓ Michael Burgess, [Comparative federalism. Theory and Practice](#), ed. Routledge, 2006

- ✓ Michael Keating, [Europe as a multilevel federation](#), in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 24:4, pp. 615-632, 8 March 2017

## SESSION III – FEDERALISM AT EUROPEAN LEVEL

### The institutions

#### Institutional resources:

- ✓ Alexander Hamilton, [Federalist No. 15. The insufficiency of the present confederation to preserve the union](#), New York, 28 December 1787
- ✓ Joschka Fischer, [“From confederacy to Federation – Thoughts on the finality of European integration”](#), speech at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 12 May 2000

#### UEF Resolutions

- ✓ [UEF Federalist Manifesto](#), Brussels, 13 December 2014

#### JEF Resolutions

- ✓ [Calling for a European Constituent Assembly](#), Malta, November 2017

#### Analysis and academia:

- ✓ David Garcia and Paolo Vacca, [Improving the efficiency, democracy and legitimacy of the EU institutions within the current Treaties: possibilities and limits \(20 proposals\)](#), Policy Brief No. 2, Union of European Federalists, 2016
- ✓ Sergio Fabbrini, [Which Democracy for a Union of States? A comparative perspective of the European Union](#), *Global Policy*, Volume 8, Supplement 6, October 2017
- ✓ Jean Marc Ferry, [La Communauté européenne, entre Etat fédéral et Fédération d’Etats](#), *Swiss political science review* 4(4): 11-31, 1998
- ✓ Nicolas Levrat, [L’Union européenne: une fédération internationale](#), in *The states and moods of federalism: governance, identity and methodology*, Montréal, 2005
- ✓ Giuseppe Martinico, [The Federal Language and the European Integration Process: The European Communities viewed from the US](#), *Politique européenne* 2016/3 (N° 53), p. 38-59.
- ✓ Andrew Moravcsik, [In defence of the “Democratic Deficit: Reassessing legitimacy in the European union](#), in *JCMS* 2002, Vol. 40, No 4, pp. 603-624
- ✓ Yves Mény, [De la démocratie en Europe: Old concepts and new challenges](#), in *JCMS* 2002 Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 1-13
- ✓ Federico Ottavio Reho, [For a new Europeanism](#), Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, June 2017
- ✓ Federico Ottavio Reho and Dalibor Rohac, [The Case for a Federal Europe](#), American Enterprise Institute, May 2017
- ✓ Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, [Who is Afraid of a European Federation? How to Constitutionalise a Multi-Level Governance System](#), ed. The Jean Monnet Centre for International and Regional Economic Law and Justice, 2000

## Economic and social policies

### Institutional resources:

- ✓ European Commission, [Communication on Further Steps towards Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union: A Roadmap COM\(2017\) 821 final](#), Brussels, 6 December 2017
- ✓ European Commission, [Communication on A European Minister of Economy and Finance](#), Brussels, 6 December 2017
- ✓ European Commission, [Proposal for a Council Regulation on the establishment of the European Monetary Fund](#), Brussels, 6 December 2017, and [Annex](#)

### Analysis and academia:

- ✓ David Garcia and Paolo Vacca, [A budgetary capacity for the Eurozone: a federalist view](#), Policy Brief No. 3, Union of European Federalists, 2016
- ✓ Federico Ottavio Reho, [The past and future of European federalism: Spinelli vs. Hayek](#), European Policy Information Center, April 2017
- ✓ Domenico Moro, [For a federal European unemployed insurance scheme](#), Reflection paper, Union of European Federalists, March 2016
- ✓ Vivien A. Schmidt, [Re-Envisioning the European Union: identity, democracy, economy](#) JCMS 2009, vol. 47, annual review pp. 17-42
- ✓ Luisa Trumellini, "[A pre-constitutional pact for federal political union of the Eurozone](#)", in The Federalist, Year LV, 2013, Single Issue, p. 136

### UEF Resolutions

- ✓ [Resolution regarding democratic legitimacy in EMU governance](#), Madrid, 18 June 2017
- ✓ [Resolution on Fiscal Union](#), Madrid, 18 June 2017
- ✓ [Resolution on a Genuine Monetary Union in a Reformed EU](#), Venice, 29 November 2015

### JEF Resolutions

- ✓ [Resolution on the institutional design and governance of the Eurozone](#), Malta, 5 December 2017

## SESSION IV – FEDERALISM AT GLOBAL LEVEL

### Analysis and academia:

- ✓ Susanna Cafaro, [Blogging about Supranational Democracy](#), Susanna Cafaro, 2017
- ✓ Claudia Kissling, [A United Nations Parliamentary Assembly: basic ideas & current points of discussion](#), in Minerva No. 34, pp. 31-33, May 2009
- ✓ Myron W. Kronisch, [Reform of the United Nations Security Council & General Assembly – A step to federation](#), in Minerva No. 39, pp. 17-18, November 2011
- ✓ Guido Montani and Daniele Archibugi, [European Democracy and Cosmopolitan Democracy](#), The Altiero Spinelli Institute, 2011

### UEF Resolutions

- ✓ [Resolution on a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly \(UNPA\)](#), Cologne, 5 November 2016

### World Federalist Movement Resolutions

- ✓ [Resolution on global democracy and United Nations reform, federalism at different levels](#), XXVI congress, November 2012