

**AFTER THE UK'S EU REFERENDUM  
EUROPE SHOULD RESTART FROM ALTIERO SPINELLI'S DREAM.  
IT'S BETTER TO LIGHT A CANDLE THAN TO CURSE THE DARKNESS  
THE VENTOTENE MANIFEST IS OUR CANDLE.**

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A new signal of the EU disintegration has emerged from the UK's referendum that took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June. This disintegration has started almost ten years ago, and it's brought about by the Governments' and the EU institutions' inability to elaborate, adopt, and apply solutions to transnational problems.

Those problems lie:

- in the crisis that affects multicultural societies and inclusion policies,
- in the gap between those who have substantial incomes and revenues and those who undergo the consequences of the high unemployment rate and the devastation of the European social model,
- in the increasingly widespread organised crime,
- in the curse that terrorism represent and that is combined with the lack of the right to security for citizens,
- in the uncertainty of law and of fundamental rights, starting with equality and solidarity,
- in the inability of the Union to exercise a determinant role in the international framework,
- in the European democratic deficit at the supranational level. The deficit lies in the system's inability to guarantee essential commons to its citizens.

The whole Union is affected by the crisis due to the irreversible interdependence of European economies. The peripheral States have undergone both the consequences of the lack of effective social- and territorial-cohesion policies and the consequences of the one-way and non-gradualist austerity. Meanwhile, in central States, growth stopped and productive systems lost competitiveness while social guarantees faded.

The crisis has affected in particular the Countries that have decided to commit to monetary integration without framing it in a real political Union.

In both peripheral and central States, the gap between the leaders and public opinions has become wider. This has created the conditions for the birth of movements grounded in fear (precisely, on the fear of "the other", namely, xenophobia), while political parties do not exercise the role that the Treaty has assigned them: to shape a European political conscience.

In this framework, the fact that the UK collocated itself at the margin of the European integration process (by rejecting the freedom of movement, the Schengen Agreement, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, European citizenship, the single currency and the goal of an ever closer Union) cannot minimize the effects of a decision that risks to destabilize even more the European system.

If common Institutions and Governments will not promptly define and adopt a solution, guaranteeing the achievement of the Union's objectives, instability could paralyze the European system. Furthermore, a dangerous emulative-mechanism could be triggered, as it has become clear following the announcement of the Hungarian referendum on immigration to be held on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October and the declarations made by the Slovakian Prime Minister and current President of the Council of the European Union.

It's the opinion of the European Movement that the crisis does not justify exiting the Union, but instead requires to shift the trajectory toward a more political and democratic Europe.

Euroscepticism was born in the UK – where, between the two World Wars, the federalist culture that has inspired the Ventotene Manifesto developed –, it has crossed the English Channel, and has transformed into euro-hostile movements in almost all Member States. They represent a minority, but the grip that they exercise on public opinions has been supported by the deplorable campaigns that national leaders have promoted against the “arrogant and distant European bureaucracy”.

The growth of these movements it's not the cause but the effect of the EU crisis. The European Movement is fully convinced that the most effective actions to oppose and nullify those effects lie in a prompt common European response to the UK referendum as well as:

- in the realisation, in the short term, of common European immigration policies (in particular, with regard to the European management of external borders, the creation of a European Asylum Agency, the revision of the Dublin-III Regulation, the opening of humanitarian and legal routes together with a real cooperative development policy); of the completion of EMU, with a change in the economic and financial policy, to put an end to unilateral austerity policies and to create a European public debt without supporting national debts; of the revision of the EU budget to guarantee European commons; of investments for the sustainable development; of the full-employment goal; of a deeply European foreign and security policy; of the fight against terrorism and organised crime through the institution of a federal Public Prosecutor's Office and Agency.
- in the relaunch of the “European construction yard” to foster an in-depth and ambitious reform of the European system.

The European Movement shares the opinion expressed by several European leaders: the EU-UK negotiations must begin next autumn in compliance with the European principles and rules. The European Movement believes that the negotiations should be handled by the Commission and that the latter should work together with the European Parliament – that has to approve the final agreement – to ensure a democratic control, the defence of the European interests and the indispensable transparency.

The outcome of the referendum opens unpredictable scenarios. This becomes clear in front of the declarations made by the Prime Minister of Scotland, the conflicts within the Labour and the Conservative parties, the pro-leave leaders' sudden exit from the political picture, and the petition that asks for a new referendum.

In this picture, it is significant that – according to the analysis of the vote – many young British citizens consider their future to be in the European Union. The figures regard not only the UK, but

the whole European Union, and represent a call to the responsibility of the citizens' representatives both in the Member States and in the European institutions.

The figures support and strengthen the decision of the European Movement to direct its action primarily towards schools and Universities, thanks to activities such as the "Trial to Europe".

The "trial" – through education – aims at stimulating and identifying the ideas of the younger generations on a Community based on solidarity and democracy, preventing them from drifting into anti-politics attitudes manifested in the low turnout in the case of the European elections of 2014 and in the even lower turnout in the case of the UK referendum of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June.

This action is aligned with the other activities that will take place in Italy on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 2017, for the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaties of Rome signature. The European Movement will participate organising a series of activities in cooperation with several organisations that belong to the civil society.

Those activities will be planned with the awareness that the anniversary must not be confined to represent a solemn celebration, but should foster a widespread debate on the value of the European project, on the costs of non-Europe, and on the reasons that push towards the relaunch of a specific goal: the creation of a federal and democratic Community based on solidarity.

The European Movement firmly believes that – in the aftermath of the UK referendum held on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June – three actions should be simultaneously implemented.

The first action regards Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty.

The European Union should act in compliance with its values (human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law, human rights including minorities' rights) as prescribed by Article 2 of the Lisbon Treaty. It should also act in compliance with its objectives, particularly with regard to the freedom of movement, full employment, social progress and social dialogue, the fight against social exclusion and discrimination, the role of the European Court of Justice in the protection of the fundamental rights affirmed in the EU Charter.

European institutions should take the necessary means, departing from the awareness that Member States – such as the UK – that have been part of the Community and of the Union for more than forty years cannot be considered as "third Countries". The rights already acquired by the citizens of those States and by the European citizens that live there should be guaranteed. One Member State's right to leave the Union raises once again questions with regard to the governance of the European differentiate integration between the States that accept all the consequences of share-sovereignty – including the goal of ever closer the Union – and the States that declared their unwillingness or impossibility to accept those consequences and goals.

The European Movement believes that while reforming the Treaties to create a federal Community – irreversible in nature – Article 50 should be eliminated.

The second action, indispensable and urgent to answer to the questions raised by the citizens and that cannot be answered by Member States, regards what can and must be done in the short-term.

The European Movement believes that the EU budget should contribute to guarantee full employment, social and territorial cohesion, and sustainable development.

Using the financial tools available to the European Union – including loans and new own resources that can rely on the wide margins of tax avoidance that exist in Europe – the EP-Council negotiations on the mid-term review for 2017-2020 can be concluded adopting decision to allow:

- a full employment and investment policy that goes beyond the limits of the “Juncker Plan”. It should favour renewable and alternative energies, new technologies, social long-term investments, strengthening the European Research Area and launching projects to requalify the labour force through continue professional education and development programmes in connection with the effects of the Digital Agenda and industry 4.0.
- common policies to control the external borders, asylum policies, and the management of migratory flows. Those policies should foster reception and inclusion together with an investment plan for Africa in the framework of the cooperation with developing Countries, in order to fully implement the sustainable development goals endorsed by the EU Member States and the UN on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 2015.
- An industrial policy coherent with the commitment expressed at the conclusion of the COP 21 with regard to the fight against climate change in the framework of the public/private partnership.
- the funding of the security and defence policy at the European level. The policy would represent a tool of peace keeping and peace building that – when financed at the European level – could benefit from economies of scale and an enhanced efficiency rate.
- the activation of an European mechanism to fight unemployment – especially youth unemployment – and poverty, even through European elements of a basic income, to fight the severe deprivation that affects more than sixty million Europeans.

The European Movement believes that the dialogue between the European Parliament and the national Parliaments on the multiannual financial perspectives – that will take place in Brussels in September – represents an important chance to develop European democracy in accordance with the double-sided principle “no taxation without representation” and “no representation without taxation”.

This entails that the European Parliament and the Commission should agree on a budget proposal that guarantees the three objectives that are essential to complete the EMU: stabilization, redistribution, and allocation.

It follows that the High-level group presided by Professor Mario Monti should presents its recommendations on new own resources as an essential element for the mid-term review, and not at the conclusion of the negotiations.

The outcome of the British referendum held on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June strengthens the necessity and urgency of a reform of the European Union. The third action regards this reform, and the deep crisis that affects the European system makes it indispensable and urgent. The reform is necessary to ensure that the European system will be up to the challenges of the World, to fill the democratic

deficit, and to govern – in the general interest of its citizens – a Community composed by the States and the citizens that will subscribe to it and increasingly integrate according to the federal model.

The reform of the Union is the only possibility to prevent or govern the potential willingness to leave the Union that will deepen the fragmentation of the Union and within the Union.

After the British vote of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, the bell rings for a Union that is incapable of answering to the citizens' need and neglects the values of the rule of law. The bell tolls for the arrogance and ineffectiveness of the intergovernmental method as well as for the defects of the Community method.

Once again the reform path is the one showed by Altiero Spinelli: a Community of values based on a democratic, federal model and on solidarity. The path must be walked choosing contents, method, and agenda to realize the project. Once again, as in 1980 with the Crocodile Club, the initiative belongs to the European Parliament. The EP must have the ambition to elaborate and vote a project for a new Community.

This project – as result of a democratic compromise – should be proposed for approval to the Convention provided by Article 48 of the Lisbon Treaty. Within the Convention, each component (European Parliament, national Parliaments and Governments) will have to reach a qualified majority; eventually, European citizens – and not an intergovernmental Conference or a series of national referendum – should vote over the proposal through a pan-European referendum joint with the European election of 2019.

The European Movement finds itself in disagreement with the campaign launched by the Spinelli Group and Democracy International that calls for a new Convention renouncing to address the European Parliament, the only institution that represents the European citizens as a whole.

The European Movement believes that the Italian Government, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 2017, should propose to the other European Governments a joint declaration to assign the European Parliament the task of writing the project for the reform of the Union.

The European Movement invites the EP Committee on Constitutional Affairs to expedite the debate over and the adoption of single report on the future of Europe, including in it its inputs on the treaties' potentialities.

If the European Parliament will lack ambition, it will become necessary to work on the idea of a constituent process in connection with the European election of May 2019.

In order to distance the public debate over the role of the European Union and its institutions from the exclusive domain of national political forces, and in order to foster the creation of a European public space, a reform of the election method of the European Parliament is an overriding priority. A uniform electoral procedure should be implemented, allowing for a minimal number of members to be elected on the basis of a second ballot paper, identical in all Member States, to call European citizens to vote for European parties instead of political forces within their own State but.

By the end of 2020 the Fundamental Law of a new Community – federal, democratic, and based on solidarity – should be written using the democratic method. The citizens' final approval should result from a pan-European referendum.

The European Movement is ready to draft proposals with regard to the content of the reform, the method, and the agenda to achieve it. The proposals will be combined with a bottom-up action to strengthen the citizens' approval towards the European integration project.

The first chance to demonstrate the support to the project of a federal and democratic Community based on solidarity it's going to be in Rome, on the 25th of March 2017. The support will be expressed together with pro-European organisations, organisations that belong to the civil society, youth movements, local powers, Trade Unions as in the case of the European Council meeting in Milan in June 1985.

In drafting its proposals, the European Movement will take into high consideration the inputs and ideas developed in the aftermath of the UK referendum of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June and that aims at a much needed and urgent change of course of the European integration process. However, the European Movement emphasizes that most of these inputs and ideas do not take into due consideration the necessity to identify not only the content of the reform, but also the method and the agenda that are necessary to achieve it.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the major initiatives emerged on the future of Europe are:

- "After the UK vote, a renewed commitment to a political unity" (<http://www.federalists.eu/uef/news/after-the-uk-vote-a-renewed-commitment-to-political-unity/>)
- "Resolution of EP on the consequences from the result of the UK referendum to leave EU" (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=20160628&secondRef=TOC&language=en>)
- "After Brexit, the EU needs to organise a democratic Convention to become a real political union" (<http://www.spinelligroup.eu/article/time-prepare-convention-reform-eu-true-political-union>)
- "EU wide referendum" Conference to Sciences Po Paris, Emmanuel Macron (<https://www.euractiv.fr/section/politique/news/macron-preconise-un-referendum-sur-leurope-au-niveau-europeen/>)
- Petizione "Ora gli Stati Uniti d'Europa", Nicola Zingaretti ([https://www.change.org/p/ora-gli-stati-uniti-d-europa?recruiter=563449331&utm\\_source=share\\_petition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=share\\_email\\_responsive](https://www.change.org/p/ora-gli-stati-uniti-d-europa?recruiter=563449331&utm_source=share_petition&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=share_email_responsive))
- "European Movement International: Statement on the UK Referendum outcome" (<http://europeanmovement.eu/news/european-movement-international-statement-on-the-uk-referendum-outcome/>)
- "I am very sad to tell you this" (<http://euromove.org.uk/i-sad-tell-this/>)
- "Dopo Brexit: Manifesto per una nuova Europa", Alumni Collegio d'Europa (<http://www.rivistaeuropae.eu/politica/17817/>)
- "A strong Europe in a world of uncertainties", Jean-Marc Ayrault e Frank-Walter Steinmeier (<http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/DokumentUE-2.pdf>)
- "Brexit: what happens next", Bruegel (<http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/DokumentUE-2.pdf>)
- "Brexit: Winter is coming...", Sauvons l'Europe (<http://sauvonsleurope.eu/brexit-winter-is-coming/>)
- "A Shared European Policy Strategy for Growth, Jobs, and Stability" ([http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/ASharedPolicyStrategy\\_20160222.pdf](http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/ASharedPolicyStrategy_20160222.pdf))
- "Migration Compact - Contribution to an EU strategy for external action on migration" ([http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/immigrazione\\_0.pdf](http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/immigrazione_0.pdf))
- Petition to the European Parliament "A New Deal for Europe" (<http://www.newdeal4europe.eu/en/petition>)
- Appeal "Without a humane migration policy and a federal Europe there is no future" (<http://europainmovimento.eu/mobilitazioni/appeal-without-a-humane-migration-policy-and-a-federal-europe-there-is-no-future.html>)
- Report of the European Economic and Social Committee on 'Completing EMU' (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52013IE7057&from=IT>)