

A CITIZENS' COVENANT

for the

RATIFICATION OF A DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL CONSTITUTION FOR THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE



This document is a Covenant, offered by the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) to the Citizens of Europe, to enable them to ratify a democratic Federal Constitution for The Federated States of Europe; a Constitution of, for and by the people, designed by FAEF's Citizens' Convention in 2021-2022.

After the Table of Contents, you will first see a chapter explaining why we are offering this Covenant to the Citizens of Europe. This is followed by a chapter, containing the Covenant itself. In it, we take clear positions. On the one hand about the dysfunction of the European Union based on treaties. On the other hand the reasons for exchanging the undemocratic treaty-based EU system for a federal Europe, based on a democratic Constitution.

At the end of the Covenant, we offer the Citizens of Europe the opportunity to sign it.

After the Covenant follow fundamental building blocks, tools for action and finally some annexes. In doing so, we follow the way legislation is done: first the motive that drives us, then the text of the legislative document in the form of the Ratification Covenant, then all matters to explain the Covenant and get it off the ground by using appropriate tools.

Contents

A CITIZENS' COVENANT	1
THE CONSTITUTION'S RATIONALE: 'ALL SOVEREIGNTY RESTS WITH THE PEOPLE'	3
THE RATIFICATION COVENANT	6
I. CONSIDERING THE CONSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND OF THIS COVENANT	6
II. CONSIDERING THE INCREASING WEAKNESS AND FORESEEABLE COLLAPSE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, ON THE ONE HAND	6
III. CONSIDERING THE STRENGTH OF A FEDERATION, ON THE OTHER HAND	8
IV. CONSIDERING THE REQUISITE STANDARDS OF FEDERAL STATE FORMATION	8
V. CONSIDERING THE BOTTOM-UP COMPOSITION OF COMMON EUROPEAN INTERESTS	9
VI. DO I, CITIZEN OF EUROPE DECIDE	9
VII. SIGNING THE RATIFICATION COVENANT	10
FUNDAMENTALS	11
FUNDAMENTAL 1: FAEF'S BACKGROUND	11
FUNDAMENTAL 2: OUR WAY OF WORKING	13
FUNDAMENTAL 3: APPENDIX III A, PROCEDURE OF COMPOSING A SET OF COMMON EUROPEAN INTERESTS	14
FUNDAMENTAL 4: THE PREAMBLE TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	23
FUNDAMENTAL 5: ENVISIONED INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE	25
FUNDAMENTAL 6: THE CONCEPT OF THE VERTICAL SEPARATION OF POWERS	26
FUNDAMENTAL 7: THE SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND TO THE FORESEEABLE COLLAPSE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION	28
FUNDAMENTAL 8: FORMS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	30
FUNDAMENTAL 9: DEBT-FREE ENTRY INTO THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE	31
FUNDAMENTAL 10: DEFINING THE TERRITORY OF THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE	32
FUNDAMENTAL 11: EXPLANATION OF ARTICLE 20 OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION	33
FUNDAMENTAL 12: LEGISLATION REQUIRED UNDER THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	37
FUNDAMENTAL 13: SUPPORTING THE CONCEPT OF A WORLD FEDERATION	43
FUNDAMENTAL 14: RATIFICATION BY MEANS OF BLOCKCHAIN	44
TOOLS FOR ACTION	45
TOOL 1: COMMUNICATION- AND MARKETING PLAN	45
TOOL 2: FIFTY QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ON FEDERALISM	45
TOOL 3: JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN AND WORLD FEDERATION	45
TOOL 4: E-PORTAL "THE EUROPEAN CITIZEN IN A FEDERAL EUROPE".	45
TOOL 5: ESTABLISHING EUROPEAN FEDERALIST PARTIES	46
TOOL 6: DISTRIBUTING FLYERS	46
TOOL 7: CONDUCTING WEBINARS	47
TOOL 8: APPOINTING FEDERAL AMBASSADORS	47
TOOL 9: MEMBERSHIP OF FAEF	47
TOOL 10: FAEF'S PUBLICATIONS IN EUROPE TODAY MAGAZINE	47
TOOL 11: ESSAYS IN THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE	47
TOOL 12: VIDEOS ABOUT FUNDAMENTALS OF FEDERALISM	48
TOOL 13: CALL FOR ENGAGEMENT AND REGISTRATION OF ENGAGED EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS	48
TOOL 14: REACTIVATING FAEF'S CITIZENS' CONVENTION	48
TOOL 15: STRATEGIC PHASES	48
TOOL 16: SUMMARY OF ACTIONS	49
ANNEXES	50
ANNEX 1: PROVISIONAL LIST OF COMPETENCES AND SUITABILITY FOR THE POLITICAL OFFICE	50
ANNEX 2: FAEF'S WEBINARS	58
ANNEX 3: FAEF'S PUBLICATIONS IN EUROPE TODAY MAGAZINE	60
ANNEX 4: LIST OF ESSAYS IN OUR BOOK THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE	67
ANNEX 5: SIX VIDEOS ON FEDERAL STATE FORMATION	68

The constitution's rationale: 'All sovereignty rests with the People'

In our website www.faef.eu you will find full information about the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF), explaining why we aim at making a fundamental contribution to the pursuit of a federal Europe. The picture and figures below make clear the scale and complexity of the envisioned outcome.



The envisioned Federated States of Europe:

- o **± 746 million inhabitants**
- o **± 9% of the world inhabitants**
- o **± 50 member states,**
- o **complement the 42% population of the current 27 federal states to 50%+ of the world's population**

FAEF's [Citizens' Convention](#) formulated in 2021-2022 a ten-articles [Federal Constitution](#) for Europe. It is the legislative foundation for ensuring interests such as democratic governance, peace and conflict resolution, international collaboration, human rights and social justice, environmental stewardship, economic coordination, scientific and technological advancement, health care and pandemic response, cultural exchange and education, resource allocation. European communality and prosperity, guaranteed by a democratic system within which a federal body looks after a limitative set of Common European Interests.

Well, now we are at the beginning of operationalizing this Federal Constitution. That means we are going to offer it to the people of Europe. To inform about, and engage them in ratifying the Constitution. Making it the Constitution of, for and by the Citizens of Europe.

We use a Ratification Covenant for this purpose. Signing that Covenant implies a social contract between European Citizens who share a common democratic goal: establishing the constitutional basis of a federal Europe to be created.

You may ask the questions: why now, and from what does the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) derive the power to initiate a process, without any

mandate from any government, to offer a Federal Constitution, developed under its own control, for ratification by the people of Europe?

Well, let us answer the second question first. See again the title of this paragraph, the constitution's rationale: *All sovereignty rests with the people*. That adage empowers any people, anywhere in the world, to stand up to advocate an ameliorative renewal of a state system. We do not need prior permission from anyone for the Citizens of Europe to agree to a Federal Constitution for Europe.

Our motive for taking action now is the legitimate fear that the European Union has reached the end of its political life cycle. Due to a large amount of legislative and institutional system errors it is slowly disintegrating, a process that will increase in scale and speed as more countries will join the European Union. And especially if more wars - in our terminology non-system wars as harbingers of a possible overwhelming systemic crisis of the European state system - emerge on the eastern edges of the European Union.

A new adaptation – again - of EU treaties, EU's target, announced in 2022, will not withstand the conflictual pressures eroding the Union from within. And being further crushed from outside by geopolitical shifts, regional conflicts, impending exits and the legitimate fears of global escalation of those forms of violence. Fears that we are not just formulating now but several times in recent years, even before the outbreak of war in Ukraine.

FAEF foresees the EU imploding, after which an administrative vacuum will become the playing field of the ever-present autocrats, kicking Europe back to the status of the always-warring continent of nation-states from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

The European state system of treaties – the third system since the Middle Ages - no longer works. Under evolutionary waves, Europe is on the verge of a fourth system, a federal state: the need to create a federal Europe, number 28 after the 27 already existing federal states, housing over 42% of the world population.

Based on scientific principles we know that for countries that have common interests, but cannot look after them on their own, a federation is the best form of state. Before a foreseeable implosion of the European Union leaves a horrible administrative vacuum, provisions must be made to safeguard common European interests. As political leaders of Europe fail to recognise, let alone acknowledge, the need for a constitutional federation, we, the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) are setting in motion a process to mobilize the Citizens of Europe against the rising decay of political quality to save the continent of Europe from collapse. See Fundamental 7 for this statement on 'collapse'.

History will determine whether we succeed or fail.

As an aside, if you ask where we get the nerve to submit our own constitution for ratification, the answer is: designed in accordance with the ideas of political

philosophers on democracy and those of Johannes Althusius (1600), the founder of federal state formation, it is currently the best Federal Constitution for Europe. That said, we are always open to improve our ten-articles constitution, giving space to the Citizens of Europe for offering amendments before ratification is concluded as such. Our approach is grassroots-driven, as is the case with designing the Constitution.

The Ratification Covenant



I. Considering the constitutional background of this Covenant

Whereas Article X of FAEF's Federal Constitution for The Federated States of Europe reads as follows:

Article X – Ratification of the Constitution

1. The Federal Constitution for the Federation is submitted for ratification to the Citizens of Europe. Those who are eligible to vote may do so. The vote is secret and not susceptible to fraud.
2. If a simple majority of the electorate of all participating states vote to ratify the Constitution, followed by ratification by their national parliaments, it will enter into force and the Federation will be established, subject to relevant provisions in the national Constitutions of the acceding States.
3. If the electorate of nine countries or regions ratify the constitution by a simple majority, the Federation will be established in accordance with Article 20 of the Treaty on the European Union and joins as an enhanced form of cooperation the European Union with the aim, among other things, of encouraging the other Member States of the European Union to join the Federation.

Whereas this Article X of our own Federal Constitution obliges us to initiate a process of ratification of the Constitution,

II. Considering the increasing weakness and foreseeable collapse of the European Union, on the one hand

Whereas the French statesman Robert Schuman, in his 1950 Schuman Declaration, addressed to the leaders of Europe, explicitly called for the creation of a federal Europe to rule out once and for all the possibility of another World War, made the unforgivable mistake of instructing those leaders to use the tools of treaties to create that European federation,

Whereas the EU treaties grew to an accumulation of national interests of Member States instead of serving as the basis for promoting Common European Interests, treaties are ignored or opposed by Member States when they do not serve their national interests,

Whereas since 1951, the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, regular amendments and consolidations to the treaties have created an unenforceable legislative monster in the form of the Lisbon Treaty (see Chapter 2 of the Constitutional and Institutional Toolkit for Establishing the Federal United States of Europe - <https://www.faef.eu/wp-content/uploads/Constitutional-Toolkit.pdf>),

Whereas in formulating a multitude of exceptions (opt-outs) to generally binding rules, the Lisbon Treaty violates one of the most important standards of correct legislation,

Whereas treaties are by their nature favorite instruments of administrators, with neglect of true democratic control on administrative decisions,

Whereas the European Union is weakening not only by increasing internal conflicts, but also under the external pressure of geopolitical shifts, tensions and armed conflicts,

Whereas in times of geopolitical tensions and conflicts, the European Union, by always following the US-policies, has no strategic geopolitical-proof autonomy and instruments of its own,

Whereas the wars in Ukraine and Israel - so-called non-system wars - are likely to be the prelude to more non-system wars elsewhere, which may then combine within an all-encompassing systemic crisis of the global system of states, causing a new World War,

Whereas enlargement of the European Union - however desirable and obvious - further depletes the dysfunctional treaty-law system of the European Union to the point where that burden can no longer be borne

Whereas over time the European Union's treaty system has acquired so many systemic flaws that it consumes more energy than it stores in order to persist and renew itself in such a way that it will be able to overcome all these shortcomings,

Whereas for this reason the European Union is in an identity crisis and has reached the end of its political life cycle, the last stage of existence before it collapses,

Whereas, when the European Union collapses, an administrative vacuum will be created in Europe, providing an opening for autocrats to return to the status of the warring nation-states of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries

Whereas the sum of these fundamental deficiencies of the EU's legislative and institutional structure prove time and again that treaties are not an adequate instrument to govern a group of countries as a state,

Whereas the dysfunctional nature of the treaty-based system of the European Union is due for abolition to make way for a new European state system in the form of a federal state

III. Considering the strength of a federation, on the other hand

Whereas a constitutional federal form of state is - from a democratic and functional point of view - the only appropriate form of state when countries understand that they have common interests that cannot, or can no longer, be looked after by any one country on its own,

Whereas countries can, while retaining their autonomy and sovereignty, establish a constitutional federal body to care for the common interests of Member States,

Whereas this concerns only a limitative and exhaustive set of common interests such as, for example, democratic governance, peace and conflict resolution, international collaboration, human rights and social justice, environmental stewardship, economic coordination, scientific and technological advancement, health care and pandemic response, cultural exchange and education, resource allocation,

Whereas the Member States of a federation do not thereby transfer sovereignty in the sense of losing sovereignty, but rather make some of their powers dormant so that the federal body can look after their common interests,

Whereas in this way the so-called shared sovereignty of member states and federal body arises,

IV. Considering the requisite standards of federal state formation

Whereas a federal body can be created in two ways:

- o centripetal, i.e. the creation - from the bottom up - of a not yet existing body by countries that wish to form the federation together and are happy to entrust their common interests to that federal body;
- o centrifugal, that is, the creation of not yet existing member states from above by an already existing central body,

Whereas a centripetally created federation is stronger than a centrifugally created federation for the reason that a centripetally created federation arises from the will and determination of the grassroots of the society, while a centrifugally created federation usually takes place as a last resort to create peace in an ethnically or religiously divided country but still reserves top-down guiding powers for itself leaving the created Member States with insufficient tools to put and keep their own affairs in order,

Whereas in the case of a federal Europe, the centripetal modus operandi is the obvious one,

Whereas the strength of that European federation depends on the quality of the standards applied in its creation,

V. Considering the bottom-up composition of Common European Interests

Whereas FAEF - in view of the constitution's rationale *All Sovereignty Rests With The People* and its grassroot-root approach derived from it - designed a procedure to enable, from the bottom up from society, countries that sign this Covenant together with their Citizens to jointly define Common European Interests,

Whereas this procedure as an elaboration of Article III of FAEF's Federal Constitution is contained in Appendix III A, housed in the Explanatory Memorandum to the Constitution,

VI. Do I, Citizen of Europe decide

- o to sign this Ratification Covenant, thereby endorsing the need that *The Federated States of Europe* should become the new European state system as soon as possible to replace the undemocratic and ineffective legislative and institutional structure of the treaties of the European Union,
- o after careful consideration of this Ratification Covenant, as well as the chapters Fundamentals, Tools for Action and Annexes,
- o fully aware of the importance of safeguarding Common European Interests by entrusting them to a Federal Europe,
- o understanding that by signing this Ratification Covenant, I am entering into a social contract with all co-signatories,
- o accepting that in the context of this Citizens' Initiative my name is registered by FAEF as a signatory to this Ratification Covenant through blockchain technology,

VII. Signing the Ratification Covenant

Prenome :

Surname :

Address

- o Street and number :
- o Country :
- o Province, Region :
- o E-mail :

Signature:

Please scan sections VI and VII, including your signature, and return it by email to administration@faef.eu.

Fundamentals

The Federal Constitution and its Explanatory Memorandum are based on fundamental viewpoints.

Fundamental 1: FAEF's background

Federalists from various countries (Italy, Spain, Netherlands etc.) founded - under the slogan *Federating the Federalists* - a new organisation in Milan 2018, called the *Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF)*. It is a non-political association with the organisational structure of a federation, with the aim of acting as an umbrella for any organisation pursuing a democratic federal Europe.

After two hundred years of vain pursuit of a federal Europe, the continent of Europe deserves the status of a federal state ensuring well-being, security, prosperity and commonality. Free of wars, resilient to the ever-threatening danger of conflict and the associated penchant for autocratization, with a strong position in the geopolitical arena and, through its federal structure, a guarantee of preserving the sovereignty of member states, while a federal body takes care of a limited set of transnational, Common European Interests.

The core vision and mission of the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) are as follows.

After centuries of wars and conflictual cooperation on the European continent, the evolution of successive European state systems is approaching a new phase, that of a federal state system. Treaty-based, intergovernmental cooperation, started in 1951 with the best of intentions, has reached the end of its political life cycle and is increasingly showing signs of an identity crisis. Minor and major crises, symptoms of the typical characteristic of multilateral treaties that, instead of creating close commonality among European Union, Member States, are instead the source of pursuit of member states' own national interests. Ownership's concern for Common European Interests is increasingly pushed into the background because Member States only cherish their national ownership when 'push comes to shove'.

Every organic system has some degree of decay internally. This is entropy, a concept from thermodynamics. For an organic system to withstand the ageless urge to decay, and thus survive and periodically renew, it must store more energy than it consumes. Within the EU this is no longer feasible. Under the constant pressure of internal conflicts, a meaningless geopolitical position and no less than two wars on and near the eastern border, the EU is running out of energy. Superficial repairs of conflicts only create new problems.

The European Union is therefore in an identity crisis, the last phase of an organisation before it collapses. Once that takes place the EU finds itself in a governance vacuum. The favorite playground of autocrats. They will eagerly take advantage of this.

The Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) deploys its knowledge of federal state-building to initiate the process of federal state-building in time. Anticipating the calamity that could again make Europe the scene of wars and conflicts for a long time.

Do you think this is excessive? Think back again to the German Weimar Republic after WW I: too weak to withstand rising fascism. In 2023, it will be a hundred years since Hitler carried out his first - albeit unsuccessful - putsch. To gain absolute power ten years later in 1933. Who knows of facts and arguments strong enough to assume that this cannot happen again?

At the heart of the values of the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) is ensuring peace, security and prosperity, guaranteed by a democratic system within which a federal body looks after the values in the Preamble of our Federal Constitution and its Common European Interests.

We emphasize one value in particular: with the utmost vigor, the use of treaties should be ruled out. Treaties are an excellent instrument when two states want to pursue a common interest together. For example, the construction and maintenance of a bridge over a border river. But as an instrument of top-down rule over a group of states, treaties are undemocratic and counterproductive in practice. They are the worst conceivable instrument for joint ownership of Common European Interests. Thus, they have no place in our vision of a Federal Europe.

The time has come for European leaders to realise that their toys threaten to destroy Europe. However, what to say, for example, of a statement, made in 2011, by the Prime Minister of Luxembourg Jean-Claude Juncker – also Chairman of the Euro Group, a team of experts advising the EU Council of Ministers for economic and financial policy (Ecofin). In reaction to harsh societal criticism with regard to an indecisive Europe, unable to jointly take solid measures to base the Economic Union on a Political Union, he stated: *"We politicians know exactly what we should do, but if we would actually do this, we would lose the next elections."* A statement which is symptomatic of the European politicians' reluctance to openly advocate federalization – at the same time an indication of the inevitable: the federalization of Europe.

Fundamental 2: Our way of working

Working from the bottom up, from the grassroots of society, is the main feature of our work. This is at odds with the way the European Union works: top-down decision-making by unelected bodies such as the European Commission and the European Council, without full democratic control by a normal European parliament, rather than controlled by the interests of national member states.



The choice of a grassroots approach does not make our work easy. How can we effectively approach more than 700 million people with non-simple information

about a state structure, a federation, that best serves the people's interests? How can we explain to them that the treaty-based, intergovernmental system of the EU is – due to its system errors - in an identity crisis, an indication of an impending implosion and the threatening arrival of an administrative vacuum that the ever-present autocrats will fill eagerly? How can we empower the people to resist the pressure of politicians who know that they will lose their power if the undemocratic and counterproductive system of EU treaties is replaced by a democratic and effective Federal Constitution?

The answer to those very difficult questions is contained in one sentence: having knowledge obliges us to act. We demonstrate this by offering the Ratification Covenant to the Citizens of Europe.

Fundamental 3: Appendix III A, procedure of composing a set of Common European Interests

Appendix III A of the Explanatory Memorandum of FAEF's Federal Constitution, explains the procedure for composing the Common European Interests by the vertical separation of powers, creating shared sovereignty between the Member States and the Federal Body.

See for the [Explanatory Memorandum](#) of FAEF's Federal Constitution.

By ratifying the Constitution, the Citizens adopt the concept of a limitative and exhaustive list of the Common European Interests. The question, however, is: how can one properly determine which powers are necessarily needed to enable the Federal Body to do its job of taking care of those Common European Interests?

For that, a procedure is needed. A procedure of debate, deliberation, and negotiation within which the Citizens (direct democracy) and the States play a prominent role. For this purpose, Clause 3 of Article III of the Constitution refers to Appendix III A which is an integral and therefore mandatory part of the Constitution, but for any future adjustment it is not subject to the amendment rules of the Constitution. This means that the Appendix III A procedure can be adjusted according to circumstances.

If the Constitution is ratified by enough Citizens to establish the Federation the limitative and exhaustive list of the Common European Interests must be defined. The meaning of this is:

- o the Citizens have decided that there must be a Federal Europe;
- o however, the Common European Interests have not yet been determined;
- o so, they should still be fixed;
- o and this is done through a process in which a set of Common European Interests is determined from the bottom up by Citizens and their States - through consultation, debate and negotiation;
- o in that process, the Citizens and their States determine what powers they entrust to the Federal Body to be created;
- o leading to a vertical division of powers between the States and the Federal Body, creating the political concept of shared sovereignty;

For an understanding of the *vertical separation of powers* and *shared sovereignty*, see Fundamental 6 in this chapter.

Let us repeat once again that the Member States retain their sovereignty in the sense that they do not transfer or confer parts of their sovereignty to the Federal Body and would thus lose those sovereignty. What they are doing is entrusting some of their powers to the Federal Body because that authority can look after Common European Interests better than the Member States themselves. Thus, the Member States make some of their relevant powers dormant. The effect is shared sovereignty.

The vertical separation of powers will always be a matter of debate and will sometimes require adjustment. That is why the outcome of the debate and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers will – eventually - be another Appendix to the Constitution: Appendix III B. The Appendix III A on the procedure of the process of the vertical separation of powers and the future Appendix III B, containing the result of that procedure, are integral parts of the Constitution but might be adjusted during the years without being subjected to the constitutional amendment procedure. This is to prevent that any necessary adjustments of the vertical separation will force to amend the Constitution itself.

Again, see Fundamental 6 for explanation of the vertical separation of powers.

On the basis of three principles, FAEF's Citizens' Convention, the founding fathers of this Constitution, lay down the following procedure for determining the vertical separation of powers.

Principle 1 – from bottom to top

It would be a severe system error to arrange the allocation of powers from top to bottom by ourselves. Wherever possible in the construction of a federal state, one should always work from the bottom up. That is a 'commandment' of the centripetal way on which this Federal Constitution is based. This requires asking the Member States which parts of their complex of competences they wish to make dormant, so that the Federal Body can dispose of them to take care of the Common European Interests.

One must be careful not to think in terms of decentralization or devolution. Decentralization/devolution is 'moving from top to bottom': the center shares parts of its powers with lower authorities. This does happen in federal states that are centrifugally built: an already existing centre creates not yet existing parts or expands already existing parts. But the effect of such a course of action is that there will always remain unitary/centralist aspects on the top. First of all, the central state may, at any time, without consulting its Citizens, decide to get back all of its powers, because there is not a Federal Constitution that states otherwise. If countries such as Spain and the United Kingdom were to decide to further decentralize their already existing devolved autonomous regions into Member States of a federal state, they would run the risk of creating a relatively imperfect federal state as well.

Principle 2 – debate and negotiation on Common European Interests

If the electorates of European states ratify the Constitution by a majority, and if their parliaments follow the will of their people, the debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the powers that the Member States entrust to the Federation starts. This process is as follows:

a) Internal deliberation by individual Member States

Each Member State has two months to prepare a document in which it puts forward proposals on the powers it wishes to entrust to the Federal Body. In total, they draft one document for each Common European Interest. In doing so, they give an insight into the way in which they think the Federal body should be vested with

substantive powers and material resources. A Protocol establishes the requirements that the documents must meet to be considered, among which the organization of the way Citizens participate in that process (direct democracy). The central requirement is that they must deal with the representation of Common European Interests that a Member State cannot (or can no longer) represent in an optimal manner itself.

b) Aggregation of the documents

Under the leadership of FAEF, a Transition Committee is created beforehand to regulate the transition from the treaty-based to the federal system. This is where the Citizens come in as well: process-steering democracy. Led by FAEF, that Committee consists of (a) non- political Experts on the Common European Interests and (b) non-political Citizens. Point (a) is required for expertise. Point (b) is required to prevent the deliberation and decision- making on the vertical separation of powers from degenerating – as has been the case in the treaty-based intergovernmental EU-system since 1951 – into nation-state advocacy. The Transition Committee aggregates the documents of the Member States into a total sum of powers to be vertically separated, and the substantive and material consequences. Two months are available for this.

c) Final decision-making

The aggregated document is the agenda for a one-week deliberation on each Common European Interest. Under the leadership of the Transition Committee, final decisions are taken on the best-balanced allocation of powers from the Member States to the Federal body. This final document will be an integral Appendix III B of the constitution. After its implementation in the federal system practice will show when, why and how Appendix III A on the procedure of the vertical separation of powers needs improvements, so that the Appendix III B on the result of that procedure must undergo improvements as well.

d) The start of the construction of the Federal Europe

The result of c) marks the beginning of the building of the Federal Europe. Guided by a Transition Committee of Citizens, the Member States determine concretely how the Federal Body with a limited number of entrusted powers of the Member States should represent a limited amount of Common European Interests. It marks a barrier between the tasks of the Federation and the fields in which the Member States remain fully autonomous and the Federation cannot become a superstate.

Principle 3 – *Debatable and negotiable subjects*

Taking from the limitative and exhaustive list of Common European Interests of the above mentioned Section 2, Principle 3 contains non-exhaustive examples of topics on which the debate, deliberation and negotiations may take place. The formula is as follows: the European Congress is responsible for taking care of all necessary regulations with respect to the territory or other possessions belonging to the Federation, related to the following Common European Interests.

1. The livability of the Federation, by regulating policies against existential threats to the safety of the Federation, its States and Territories and its Citizens, be they

natural, technological, economic or of another nature, or concerning the social peace.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on all natural resources and all lifeforms, on climate control, on the implementation of climate agreements, on protecting the natural environment, on ensuring the quality of the water, soil, air, and on protecting the outer space;
- (b) to regulate policies on preventing and fighting pandemics
- (c) to regulate the policy on the safety and availability of food and drinking water;
- (d) to regulate the policy on preventing scarcity of natural resources and dysfunctional supply chains;
- (e) to regulate the policy on social security, consumer protection and childcare;
- (f) to regulate the policy on employment and pensions;
- (g) to regulate the policy on health throughout the Federation, including prevention, furthering and protection of public health, professional illnesses, and labor accidents;
- (h) to regulate the policy on justice and on establishing federal courts, subordinated to the European Federal Supreme Court of Justice.

2.The financial stability of the Federation, by regulating policies to secure and safe the financial system of the Federation.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on federal tax, imposts, and excises, uniformly in all territories of the Federation, on the debts of the Federation, on the expenses to fulfill the duties imposed by this and on borrowing money on the credit of the Federation;
- (b) to regulate the policy on installing a Fiscal Union;
- (c) to regulate the policy on supervising the system of banking and financial entities;
- (d) to regulate the policy on coining the federal currency, its value, the standard of weights and measures, the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and the currency of the Federation.

3.The internal and external security of the Federation, by regulating policies on defence, intelligence and policing of the Federation.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on raising support on security capabilities, among which the policy on one common defence force (army, navy, air force, space force) of the Federation, on compulsory military service or community service, and on a national guard;
- (b) to regulate policies in the context of external conflicts, policies on sending armed forces outside the territory of the Federation, on military bases of a

foreign country on the territory of the Federation, on the production of defensive weapons, on the production of weapons for mass destruction, on the import, circulation, advertising, sale, and possession of weapons, on the possibility of bearing arms by civilians;

- (c) to regulate the policy on declaring war, on captures on land, water, air, or outer space, on suppressing insurrections and terrorism, on repelling invaders, and on fighting autonomous weapons;
- (d) to regulate the policy on fighting cybercrimes and crimes in outer space;
- (e) to regulate the policy on one federal police force;
- (f) to regulate the policy on one federal intelligence service;
- (g) to regulate fighting and punishing piracy, crimes against international law and human rights.

4. The economy of the Federation, by regulating policies on the welfare and prosperity of the Federation.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on the internal market;
- (b) to regulate the policy on transnational production sectors like industry, agriculture, livestock, forestry, horticulture, fisheries, IT, pure scientific research, inventions, industrial product standards.
- (c) to regulate the policy on transnational transport: road, water (inland and sea), rail, air, and outer space; including the transnational infrastructure, postal facilities, telecommunications as well as electronic traffic between public administrations and between public administrations and Citizens, including all necessary rules to fight fraud, forgery, theft, damage and destruction of postal and electronic information and their information carriers;
- (d) to regulate the policy on the commerce among the Member States of the Federation and with foreign nations;
- (e) to regulate the policy on banking and bankruptcy throughout the Federation;
- (f) to regulate the policy on the production and distribution of energy supply;
- (g) to regulate the policy on consumer protection.

5. The science and education of the Federation, by regulating policies on the improving the level of wisdom and knowledge within the Federation.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on scientific centers of excellence;
- (b) to regulate the policy on transnational alignment of pioneering research and related education;
- (c) to regulate the policy on the exclusive rights for authors, inventors, and designers of their creations;
- (d) to regulate the policy on progress of scientific findings and economic innovations.
- (e) to regulate the policy on artificial intelligence.

6. The social and cultural ties of the Federation, by regulating policies on preserving established social and cultural foundations of Europe.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on strengthening unity in diversity: “Acquiring the new while cherishing the old”;
- (b) to regulate the policy on arts and sports with a federal basis.

7. The immigration in, including refugees, and the emigration out of the Federation, by regulating immigration policies on access, safety, housing, work and social security, and emigration policies on leaving the Federation.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate policies on access – or denial of access – to the Federation, on security measures against terrorism and cybercrime related immigration, on mode of housing, employment, social security;
- (b) to regulate policies on leaving the Federation.

8. The foreign affairs of the Federation, by regulating policies on strengthening the Common European Interests in the interest of global peace, social equality, economic prosperity, and public health.

Potential topics for debate, deliberation, and negotiation on the vertical separation of powers:

- (a) to regulate the policy on external cooperation to strengthen the policies on the foregoing Common European Interests.
- (b) to define the means by which this common interest is promoted, e.g. through cooperation by States, especially concerning international trade (what is trade, with whom, under what conditions), developmental projects (what projects, with what partners, under what conditions), disaster relieve, projects to mitigate (the consequences of) climate change/global warming. (c) to regulate policies to promote global federation.

To sum it up, correct federalizing is as follows

1. The Common European Interests are the same as a Kompetenz Catalogue. It is a limitative and exhaustive list of concrete interests of a common European nature. They must be formulated in an abstract, generic way. In other words: the common interests must have a name. For example, 'The financial stability of the Federation'.
2. Although the list of Common European Interests is exhaustive, the Constitution must provide for the possibility of adapting that list. The constitutional amendment procedure and that of Appendix III A shall apply.
3. These Common European Interests must be promoted by means of policies. To design and implement policies, the federal body needs powers. This requires a so-called vertical separation of powers: the states entrust a limitative and exhaustive list of powers to the federal entity.

4. Because we are building a classic centripetal federation (i.e., from the bottom up), it is up to the Member States to decide which powers they want to entrust to the federal body. This is the key to limiting a possible Pandora's box of an endless list of policies for free application by the federal body.
5. This methodology is a natural limitation to the bottom-up determination of what Member States want to entrust to the federal body. They might want to limit themselves and in that (defensive) attitude lies the perfect opportunity to clarify together what the real Common European Interests are. The purpose of making a federation is not to enable a federal body to act as a new ruler but to look after essential European interests.
6. When working on the vertical separation of powers three subjects play an important role:
 - (a) Stick to the principle of working from the bottom up. This stems directly from the Political Method of Johannes Althusius who formulated the building blocks of federal statehood around 1600.
 - (b) Require the Member States to write down, each for itself, which powers it wants to entrust to the federal body. A Transition Committee of experts and other Citizens (proces-steering democracy), led by FAEF, aggregates these Member State documents, and decides on it as the final decision on vertical separation. Only with the composition of that document does it become clear which powers, and thus which policies, will be represented by the federal body.
 - (c) Require, in addition to working with a Transition Committee of (expert) Citizens, that the Member States consult Citizens in the process of weighing up the options within their own state. This is another opportunity deliberative democracy.
7. That bottom-up process determines how many specific policies are taken out of the box to take care of the generic common interests. It leads naturally to an agreement between the Member States because they themselves have determined what they want to entrust to the federal body. And the federal body has to accept that. This indicates how much a federation differs from the treaty-based EU.
8. In other words, we should not already in the Constitution, nor in its Explanatory Memorandum, establish the vertical separation of powers or drive it in a certain direction. We must stick to a procedural way of working bottom up.
9. For this reason, the topics are intended only as possible subjects for debate and negotiation in the procedure of vertical separation of powers.
10. This line of thinking leans heavily on standards and principles of classical federal statehood.

Important Note

So much for Appendix III A as the guide to finding the right Common European Interests. Perhaps you are missing a vital part, which is the value of the acceding country's internal rule of law that acceding member states must meet.

It is well known that in the European Union, some member states have been working for some time to water down the standards of rule of law at home. Or even

scrapping them. Such countries are not welcome as members of The Federated States of Europe.

However, it is not right to require countries, whose people and parliament opted for membership of The Federated States of Europe, to first sign a Protocol that they cherish the rule of law in their own country before they would be allowed to participate in the Appendix III A procedure. After all, the required rule of law value is already enshrined in the Preamble and articles of the Federal Constitution. By signing the Ratification Covenant, they indicate their respect for the Preamble and the ten articles.

Fundamental 4: The Preamble to the Federal Constitution

The Preamble to our Federal Constitution is also a fundamental cornerstone. It contains the values we wish to protect through the norms of Articles I to X. It reads as follows:

"We, the Citizens of Europe, moved by the need and the will to form a more perfect and durable union, with the objective and duty of taking care of the common European good, protect and ensure the greatest degree of liberty and well-being for its peoples, establish The Federated States of Europe – hereafter the Federation – by ratifying this Constitution,

I. Laying down the principle that it should support our quest for happiness, based

- (a) on working relentlessly to preserve the diversity of all life forms on Earth and to protect and care for the natural environment for next generations;
- (b) on securing freedom to live one's life without impeding the freedom of others;
- (c) on elimination of all forms of discrimination on the basis of respect for the diversity of cultures, languages, ethnicities, beliefs, and sciences of the Citizens within the Federation, as well as on the protection of their fundamental rights and freedoms;
- (d) on encouraging trust and solidarity among all countries and regions, in Europe as well outside Europe;
- (e) on human compassion, respect and support to achieve happiness for Citizens from outside the Federation who want to live within the Federation in accordance with its laws and the articles of this Constitution;
- (f) on expecting that in carrying it out, it should bear witness to wisdom and knowledge, human dignity and justice, and integrity, in the full awareness that it derives its powers from the people, that all people on Earth are born equal with regard to dignity and rights, and that no one is above the law,

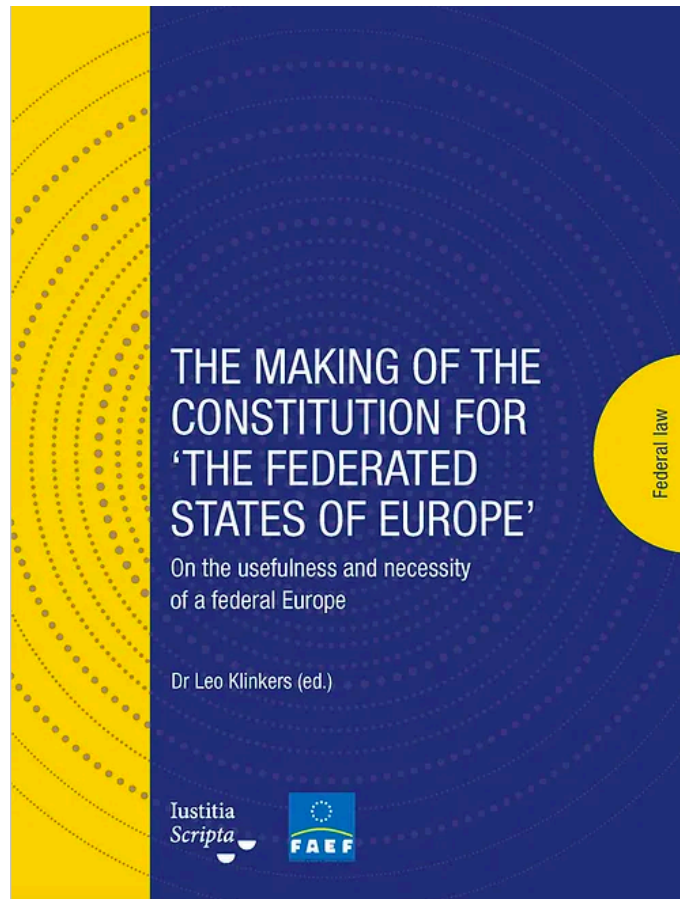
II. Considering further:

- (a) that the Federation is an integral part of a highly interdependent natural and social system. The ability to realize, preserve and promote its values depends on the global condition of international relationships among countries and on the health of the natural environment;
- (b) that the Federation repudiates war and violence as an instrument of offence to the liberty of other peoples and as means of settling international conflicts; the Federation favours transnational cooperation and federal structures to ensure peace, justice and prosperity among nations;
- (c) that this Federal Constitution is based on the cultural, religious, and humanist inheritance of Europe, including the considerations and desires of European philosophers to unite Europe in a federation after centuries of conflicts and wars;
- (d) that the federal system is based on a vertical separation of powers between the Member States and the Federal Authority through which they share sovereignty;
- (e) that the horizontal separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches both at the level of the Federal Authority and at that of the Member States is guaranteed by a solid system of checks and balances.

III. Whereas, all Citizens shall have the right to resist any person, organization, institute or authority seeking to abolish this Constitutional order if no other remedy is available,

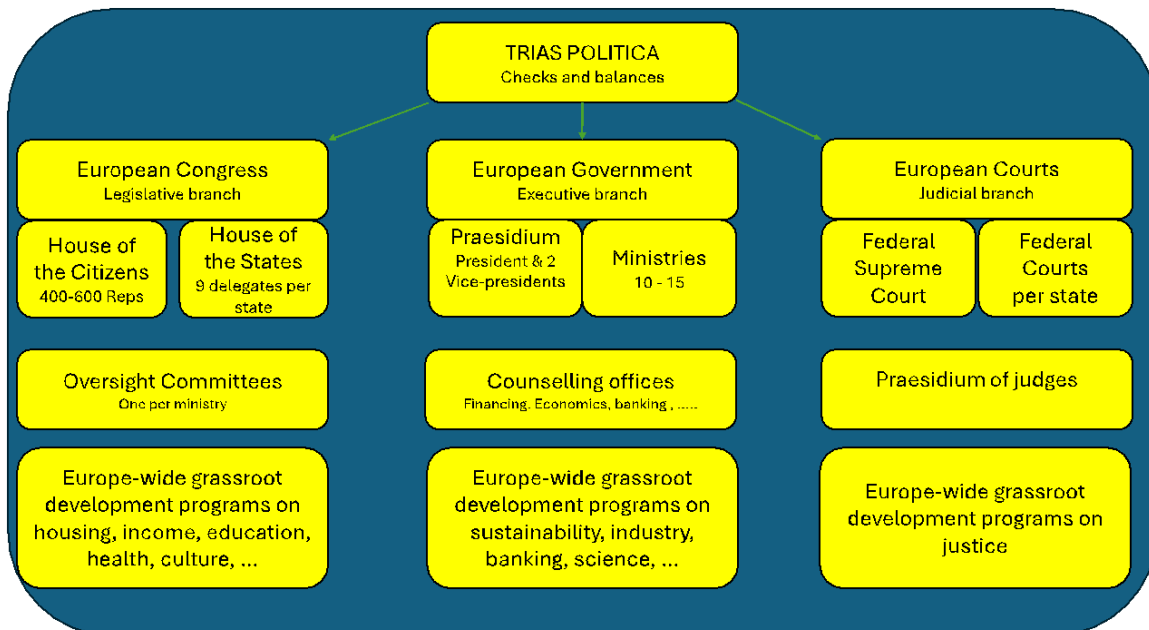
IV. Adopt the following ten articles as the Constitution of the Federation:"
[then the ten articles of the constitution follow].

We cannot include in this document the entire text of the Federal Constitution, nor the extensive Explanatory Memorandum. For that, we must refer to our website or the book *The Making of the Constitution for The Federated States of Europe*. This is available as a paperback.



Fundamental 5: Envisioned institutional structure of The Federated States of Europe

This drawing depicts the constituent parts of the institutional structure of The Federated States of Europe.



Brief explanation:

- o Trias Politica means separating the three powers/branches of the federal state: legislative, executive and judicial. A system of checks and balances effectively keeps them separate.
- o Legislative power rests with the European Congress, which consists of two Houses: the House of Citizens and that of States. The size of the House of Citizens fluctuates with the size of the federation's population. The size of the House of States is determined by nine delegates per state.
- o The executive is headed by a Praesidium of three: the President and three Vice-Presidents. They direct 10-15 ministries.
- o Members of the judiciary are appointed by a Praesidium of judges to avoid any political influence. Federal judges have the power to review laws against the constitution.
- o Both Houses of the European Congress have Oversight Committees. One for each ministry. They are authorised to review implementation against laws of those Houses.
- o The executive is supported by institutions: a financial, economic, banking and planning system, et cetera.
- o All that supported by grassroots institutions.

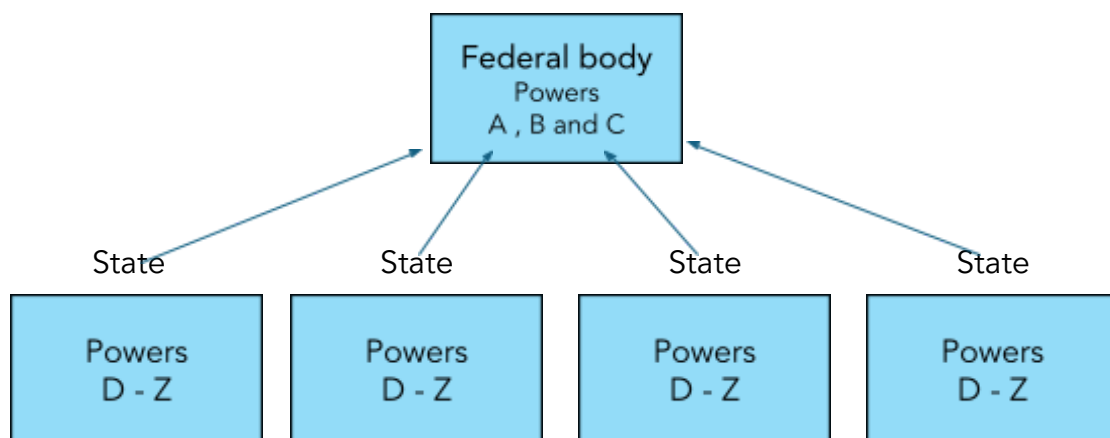
Fundamental 6: The concept of the vertical separation of powers
Below are four individual states. They all have sovereign powers A-Z.



They realize that there are interests that they, as an individual state, cannot, or can no longer, take care of individually.

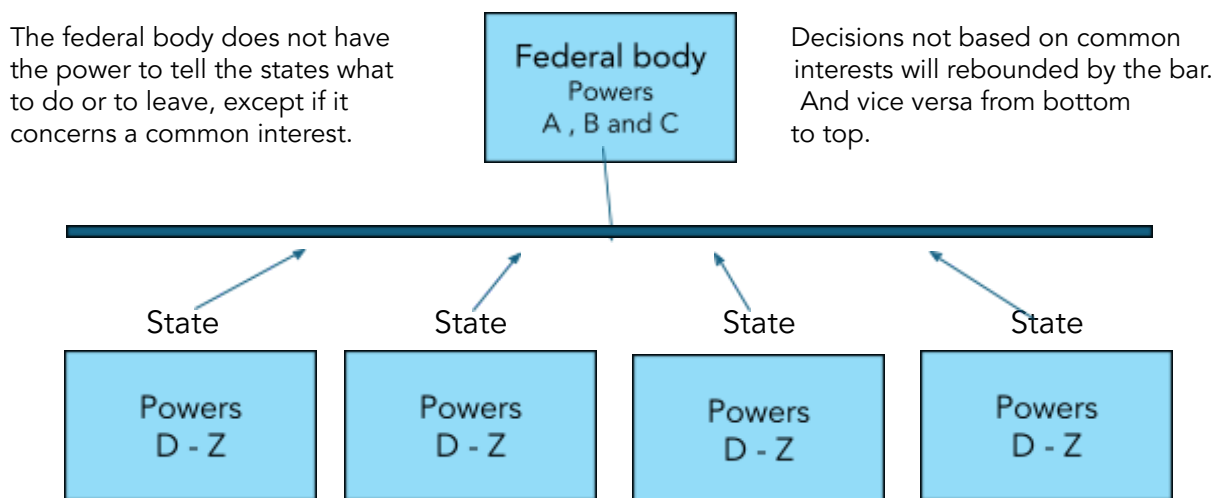
Traditional common interests are: a common defense policy and defense force, a common foreign affairs function. A more recent interest manifesting itself in the European Union as communal interest is in the field of immigration policy. The 2003 Dublin Accord, establishing the principle that immigrants should be received by the country in which they first report, shows that Italy and Greece are collapsing under that burden (shifting the burden to Spain since a new Italian government is closing the borders hermetically), while some Eastern European Countries refuse to cooperate in achieving a proportional distribution of immigrants across all EU countries.

Suppose that these four states no longer want or are able to look after the aforementioned interests themselves but to entrust responsibility for these to a federal body – in that case the drawing looks as follows.

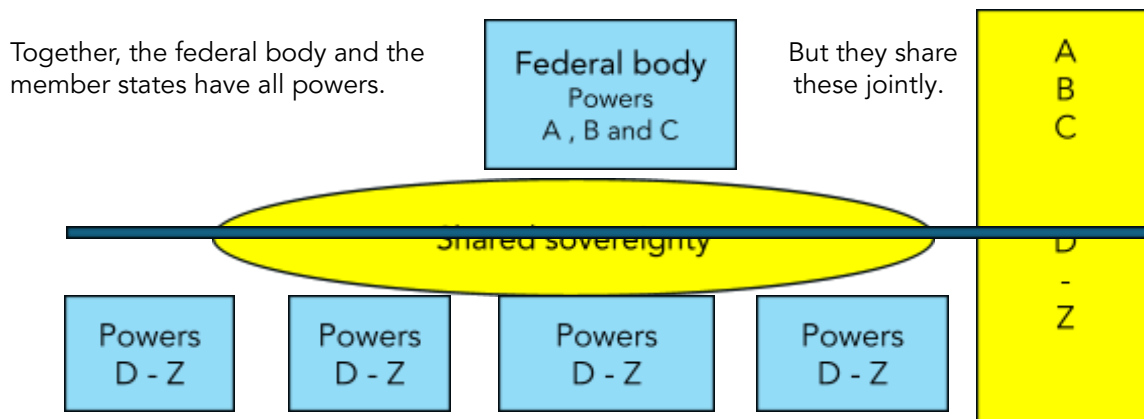


The most important aspect of a federation is the vertical division of powers, as stated before: there will be a bar between the Member States and this Federal Body. This symbolizes that the federal body does not have the power to take any top-down decision that are not included in the limitative list of common interest entrusted to the Federal Body. Any decision that does not fall within a policy area of the limited list of common interests meets this bar and bounces back. The reverse is

also true: states cannot simply demand that the federal body does something that is outside their list of interests. See the bar in the drawing.

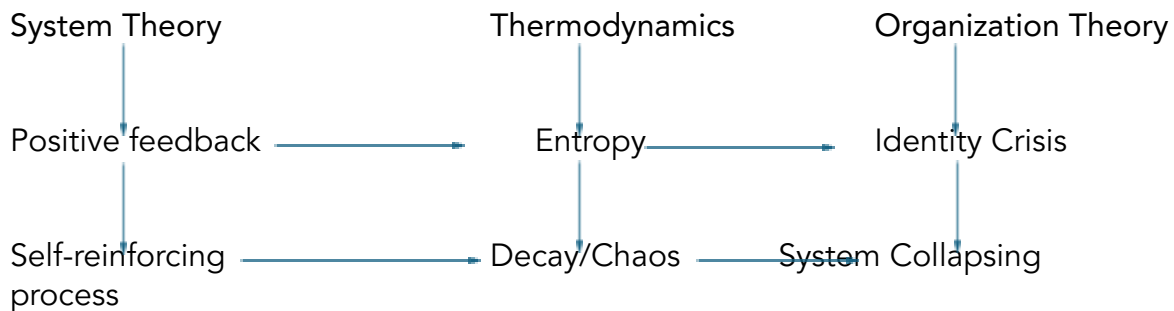


The following drawing shows the result of this vertical division of powers: shared sovereignty.



Fundamental 7: The scientific background to the foreseeable collapse of the European Union

The simple drawing serves as the scientific basis for our view that the EU is about to topple over and requires to be replaced as soon as possible by a federal European state, based on a constitution, thus rejecting the current undemocratic and inefficient basis of treaties.



From Systems Theory we know the working of positive feedback (forward coupling) within an organisation full of systemic failures. They connect and then erode the system, accelerating and widening chaos and eventually forcing an implosion or explosion of the system. Order turns into self-reinforcing disorder.

Thermodynamics shows us the concept of entropy: decay, disorder, chaos. A system that is in order has enough energy to resist disorder. To survive and renew, it must store more energy than it consumes. It must derive that energy from an open and close connection with the diversity of society: from the outside in. Without sufficient and continuous storage of new energy, the decay that is always present to some extent will reinforce internal disorder.

In Organisational Theory the concept of identity plays an important role. The self-reinforcing positive feedback, through which loss of precious energy increases the entropic decay of order and chaos within a system, brings the organisation into an identity crisis. Forcing the system to implode or explode.

Characteristics: once the process is underway, it accelerates, broadens and destroys. Any attempt to stop or fix such a process fails and produces more system failures. And thus more problems. This motivates and legitimizes us to act. We want to enable the people of Europe to put their house of state in order as soon as possible by laying the foundations for a federal Europe before the current European leaders have ruined Europe, opening the door wide to autocrats.

By the way, speaking of European philosophers with their work on democracy and related matters: the 1787 US Federal Constitution of seven articles, good for holding fifty states together, was also based on the ideas of European philosophers. Except for the retarded American electoral system that threatens to damage that country for some time.

For those who would like to know more about the rationale behind our view that the European Union's treaty-system has reached the end of its political life cycle and is - due to an identity crisis – on the brink of collapsing, please refer to Chapter 2 of our Constitutional and Institutional Toolkit for Establishing the Federal United States of Europe: <https://www.faeu.eu/wp-content/uploads/Constitutional-Toolkit.pdf>.

Fundamental 8: Forms of direct democracy in the Federal Constitution

Our Federal Constitution differs from classical constitutions in a number of ways.

First, because a federal state requires only a very limited number of articles; for our envisioned federal Europe that is ten. But also because, in line with the development of insights on constitutional state-making, we have laid down aspects of direct democracy and related forms.

The most important is attaching consequences to the adage *All Sovereignty Rests With The People* by giving the Citizens of Europe the opportunity to ratify the constitution themselves. With this most basic form of direct democracy - complementing classical representative democracy - it is a constitution of, by and for the people of Europe.

We understand direct democracy to mean the power of the people to make their own binding decisions. In addition, the constitution has made room for deliberative democracy. This means that some articles prescribe structural consultation with citizens either periodically or in specific situations. The constitution also has the concept of guiding or steering democracy. In that case, the constitution gives Citizens the position to lead processes.

For a good understanding of this topic, please refer to the [literal text of the constitution](#):

Fundamental 9: Debt-free entry into The Federated States of Europe

As is the case in the US federal constitution, we have a provision in our constitution - Article VII, Section 2, Paragraph 5 - that makes it easy for countries to join The Federated States of Europe debt-free: the federation assumes all their debts. Thanks to brilliant action by Alexander Hamilton, a member of the 1787 Philadelphia Convention and co-author of the Federalist Papers, that provision helped the 13 newly created states (former colonies of England) settle their differences and ratify the federal constitution. The beginning of a process that eventually produced 50 member states.

Our Article VII, Section 2, Clause 5 reads:

“All debts entered, and engagements contracted by States acceding to the Federation at the time of its entry into force will remain valid within the Federation. States acceding to the Federation after the Federation having come into force retain their debts and are bound to the laws of the Federation as of the moment of their accession.”

Debt-free participating therefore applies only to states joining at the start of The Federated States of Europe. Countries that later express that desire retain their debts.

This rule implies that the federation takes over all debts of acceding member states. This is the same procedure by which the United States' federation was created between 1787-1789: the Federation takes over all the debts and commitments of the member states so that they can start with a clean slate. To make this financially possible, the federation can take out a loan at 0% interest, repayable over a period of one hundred years. The Federal European Central Bank could provide that loan. Or else by financial support from all pre-existing 27 federal states to enable the creation of a federal Europe.

Fundamental 10: Defining the territory of the Federated States of Europe

At the time we start the ratification procedure, we do not know how many countries will sign the Ratification Covenant. Only during the procedure of determining the Common European Interests through the Appendix III A guideline will it become clear how many countries will participate and thus how extensive the territory of The Federated States of Europe will be - initially.

For this reason, we outline three options.

Option 1: Given the growth of the federal United States from 13 to 50 Member States, we cannot exclude, as a first option, the participation of all the countries of Europe. Then we are talking about a territory of about 50 countries. This implies that we also offer the Ratification Covenant to countries that are not yet members of the European Union and may never intend to join the EU, but might like to opt for membership of a Federal Europe.

Given Europe's ties with countries on the other side of the Mediterranean - in North Africa and the Middle East - we consider it unwise to exclude them from membership of a federal Europe in advance. So, the Ratification Covenant will also be disseminated in those countries. While we do not get involved in geopolitical issues such as the struggle between Israel and Palestine, we would like to note that only a federal - either of both countries in a two-state solution or of both countries as Member States of a federal Europe - could be a sufficient means to end the ongoing violence in the Middle East.

Option 2: The second option is the territory of European Union's Member States. Then we are talking about the twenty-seven members of the EU.

Option 3: as a third option, we see the territory of at least nine Member States of the European Union under Article 20 of Treaty on the European Union. What that means is in the next Fundamental 11.

There is, of course, a fourth option, but we are not including it for now. That is the possibility that fewer than three EU member states decide to form a federation together. For example, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. If this then offers itself to the European Union, it will find it difficult to refuse membership because it already has three federal countries - Germany, Belgium and Austria - as members.

Fundamental 11: Explanation of Article 20 of the Treaty on European Union

The Lisbon Treaty consists of two sub-treaties: the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. The former treaty has a special provision under Article 20 that a group of at least nine member states may enter into an enhanced form of cooperation.

For the sake of being clear about the functionality of applying Article 20, here is its text:

- “1. Member States which wish to establish enhanced cooperation between themselves within the framework of the Union’s non-exclusive competences may make use of its institutions and exercise those competences by applying the relevant provisions of the Treaties, subject to the limits and in accordance with the detailed arrangements laid down in this Article and in Articles 326 to 334 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
Enhanced cooperation shall aim to further the objectives of the Union, protect its interests and reinforce its integration process. Such cooperation shall be open at any time to all Member States, in accordance with Article 328 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
2. The decision authorising enhanced cooperation shall be adopted by the Council as a last resort, when it has established that the objectives of such cooperation cannot be attained within a reasonable period by the Union as a whole, and provided that at least nine Member States participate in it. The Council shall act in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 329 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
3. All members of the Council may participate in its deliberations, but only members of the Council representing the Member States participating in enhanced cooperation shall take part in the vote. The voting rules are set out in Article 330 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
4. Acts adopted in the framework of enhanced cooperation shall bind only participating Member States. They shall not be regarded as part of the *acquis* which has to be accepted by candidate States for accession to the Union.”

It has not been established what kind of enhanced cooperation is meant here. Nor are there any examples of this. Thus, in FAEF's interpretation, this could also be federal cooperation. If so, such a federation - like those of Belgium, Germany and Austria - could be a Member State of the European Union.

Clearly, this option will meet with even more resistance within the European Union than is the case with the other two options outlined in the previous Fundamental 10.

What is the case?

Application of Article 20 will provoke undoubtedly the most resistance from the European Union because its application would be a *Trojan Horse*: once at least nine countries, united as a federation, are part of the EU system, it acts as a magnet that can draw other member states towards that constitutional based federation, thus eroding the treaty-based European Union from within. Therefore, we think it would be good to take note of an array of obstacles to applying Article 20.

Article 20 has so far never been used for the purpose of federating a group of at least nine Member States within the EU. As was the case with the application of Article 50 - the exit article - by the United Kingdom, it will take place in a conflicting process between supporters and opponents. So, it is a search for a safe route through EU's regulations with the feet in a snake pit and head in a wasp's nest. However, this is no reason not to apply Article 20, or at least consider its application. A crisis is not only there to solve but also to innovate. The following very briefly outlines a number of issues that arise along this route.

As already mentioned, Article 20 of the Treaty on European Union gives at least nine Member States the right to establish enhanced cooperation. However, that right has been enshrined in such a way as to preclude any clear interpretation of its scope. To mention a few obstacles.

Articles 3-6 of the Treaty distinguish between the powers of the Union and those of the Member States. There are Exclusive, Shared and Supporting powers. There are also special powers.

Exclusive means: only the EU as such may decide. This concerns: the customs union, the competition rules, the common fisheries policy, the common commercial policy and the conclusion of international agreements subject to conditions.

Shared competences mean: these are competences on which both the Union and individual member states may take binding decisions. But member states may only exercise these powers if the Union has not exercised, or does not wish to exercise, its competence. We will leave the list of such powers outside the scope of this text. It is clear that there is a source of conflict here: if you give two different bodies - with unequal balance of power - the right to decide on the same matter, there will be unsolvable differences in interpretation as to who is in charge. If, for example, a Member State takes a decision that is unacceptable to the Union, would the Union not have the right to speak if it had previously indicated that it would not take a decision on the matter?

Supporting powers indicate support from the Union to EU countries in a number of areas, but ... under certain circumstances, the Union may nevertheless adopt legally binding acts in those areas. The list of these supporting powers also includes the subject of supporting 'administrative cooperation'. It is not clear whether the 'administrative cooperation' referred to here is synonymous with the concept of 'cooperation' within the meaning of the 'enhanced cooperation' provided for in Article 20. If it can indeed be interpreted as 'the Union shall support decisions of at least nine Member States to establish enhanced cooperation in the form of a federation', then we are ready. But that question can only be answered if at least nine countries take such a decision and, in the event of the Union's opposition, refer to this specific subject of the Supporting Powers.

Special powers thwart all of the above in the sense that the Union has the right to take such measures as it deems necessary to coordinate the economic, social and employment policies of the member states.

The application of European Union's competences must comply with the principles of proportionality and subsidiarity. This means (a) that the content and scope of Union action must be limited to what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaties and (b) that the Union must leave it to the countries to do what those countries can do better, except ... where the Union considers that it can do better itself to achieve the Union's objectives.

In addition to this. It is not clear where in this list of powers the non-exclusive powers under Article 20 stand. Are they the Shared and/or the Special? Furthermore, the final decision to establish enhanced cooperation under Article 20 is in the hands of the European Council of 27 Heads of State or Government. These decisions are taken unanimously. If a Head of Government of a member state is against it, it will not proceed.

This small case alone shows why the two-treaties based Lisbon Treaty is the worst legislative document ever written in the history of Europe. At the heart of it is the capital error of allowing generally binding rules to be thwarted by an inextricable network of exceptions to those generally binding rules. Enforced by seeing the EU as a sum of national interests rather than an alliance based on Common European Interests. With the grand finale that the Union - read the European Council - may in any case always take any decision that the Council deems to be in the interest of the Union's goals. This is what the Lisbon Treaty is: a monstrosity.

We're not going to waste time on an exegesis of the relevant treaty rules. It's a 'Gordian Knot'. There's only one measure that fits: cut through and move on. Nobody can stop a number of Member States from forming a federation together. They have the choice of either leaving the European Union, like the United Kingdom, or offering the federation as a member to the EU. Just as federal Germany, Austria and Belgium are members of the EU. In the end, it is not a question of whether or not a Federation of Member States can join the Union, but whether enough member states would like to establish such a Federation.

Tackling this complexity like a 'Gordian Knot' also solves a particular legislative aspect. Suppose that an Article 20 Federation is prepared to include countries that are currently in the 'waiting room' of the EU: the so-called candidate countries. And suppose the Federation wants to become a member of the EU. Then these 'waiting room countries' would enter the EU through the back door. The arguments used by the EU not to allow these candidate countries to join the EU for the time being are mainly related to their weak financial, economic, judicial status and their equally weak fight against fraud and corruption. However, these problems are then primarily a matter and task for the Article 20 Federation and not for the EU.

Fundamental 12: Legislation required under the Federal Constitution

Introduction

The Federal Constitution requires some laws to be made. You can see in our Federal Constitution which laws are prescribed by the Constitution. One of those laws we would like to explicitly detail here because, to our knowledge, it does not appear in any other constitution.

It is the mandate in Article II Section 2, Clause 3 and Section 3, Clause 2 to make a law determining what requirements of competence and suitability members of the House of Citizens and of the House of States must meet to be worthy of membership of those Houses. The text for candidates of the House of Citizens reads:

“Eligible to the House of Citizens are those who have reached the age of eighteen years on June 1st of the election year and are registered as Citizen of one or more States of the Federation during at least seven years. On behalf of the Citizens of the Federation, the House of the Citizens establishes laws on requirements of competence and suitability for the office of delegate. The law regulating the requirements of competence and suitability also regulates the responsibility of transnational political parties in applying and acquiring the requirements by prospective delegates, as well as the role of Citizens in that process.”

The text for candidates of the House of States reads:

“Eligible to the House of the States are those who reached the age of twenty-five years in the year of taking office and who have been registered for a period of at least seven years as a Citizen of a Member State of the Federation. On behalf of the States of the Federation, the House of the States establishes laws on requirements of competence and suitability for the office of delegate.”

Our argument for prescribing in the Constitution that political office holders of both Houses should be subject to very strong requirements of competence and suitability is as follows.

The political office is the most important office in the world. Where political office is absent, societies fall apart. However, ‘the political office’ is not the same as ‘politics’. ‘Politics’ is the way in which that political office is exercised on a daily basis. Often not on the basis of a deep understanding of the requirements needed to fulfil the political office. ‘Politics’ is therefore an important, if not the most important, cause of many social problems. Not the solution.

This is especially the case when politicians are allowed to steer a society hierarchically with treaties, as is the case with the intergovernmental EU system. Those politicians don't know the difference between an undemocratic Intergovernmental Treaty and a democratic Federal Constitution. This lack of knowledge is amoral, the result is immoral.

In order not to create misunderstandings about the importance of setting requirements for the competence and suitability of European political office holders, we have formulated a number of requirements for both categories in Annex 2.

A closer look at the foundations of the political office

Every profession requires relevant competence (knowledge and experience) and suitability (mentality and morality). These two criteria determine whether one is qualified to exercise a given profession. This should apply unreservedly and compelling to persons holding a political office, being the most important office in the world.

This seems to run counter to the constitutional provision - probably applicable in every Member State - that every resident has an equal right to become a member of a generally representative body by means of elections. However, qualification requirements do not deprive anyone of the right to prove that they have been met; no one is excluded beforehand. Moreover, political parties now also apply selection mechanisms when deciding whether or not to put someone on a list of candidates. The problem, however, is that selection criteria are insufficiently tailored to the notions of competence and suitability for the political office or that political parties interpret them incorrectly.

Annex 2 contains a preliminary overview of the requirements to be imposed in terms of competence, and in terms of suitability. It is up to the federal constitutional legislature to provide such a law.

The responsibility of transnational political parties

Transnational political parties are responsible for the quality of the politicians who take office in the federal House of the Citizens. They have to select the best people for the most important political office in Europe. And not only select, but also take responsibility for their competence and suitability.

We are encountering a curious phenomenon here. There is a gap in the system of checks and balances. Traditionally, the door to membership of a Parliament is wide open. People who aspire to become representatives of the people register with a political party; the party selects, on the basis of internal procedures and preferences, whom to put on their party's electoral list, and if that candidate is then elected by the people, membership of the national assembly is a fact. In the procedure preceding the election, the people play no role, while they have every interest in being represented by the best. The people want good governance. Political parties want power. If transnational political parties promote the wrong candidates to the representation of the people, the people are powerless.

Therefore, it is appropriate to supplement the system of checks and balances with an extra element: giving the Citizens a role in the educating and selecting of candidates for representation of the people and also a role during the performance of candidates in the representation of the people. In the US federal system, Ministers are tested in two ways. After a nomination by the President, they are first evaluated by the Senate on their capacities for holding the office of the President's

Cabinet. If they pass that test but are involved in matters that Congress wants to investigate further during their tenure, all the Standing Committees of Congress have the power to subpoena and question them.

A similar formula should apply to the education, recruitment, selection and functioning of European candidates for membership of the House of the Citizens. In other words, organise the influence of the people before a representative of the people steps through the door of the European Congress, but also during his/her functioning once he/she is inside. This formula could look like this:

- (a) The transnational political parties jointly establish a non-partisan Training Institute that provides a curriculum as referred to the aforementioned requirements of competence and suitability for holding the most important political office in society. It is an offer to the people of Europe. However, attending such training is not compulsory. Potential candidates can also acquire that high level of ability and suitability to hold political office by other means. Nor is any prior academic training required. One can learn Aristotle's virtue ethics even without a university degree. The training shall be organised according to the structure of open universities and offered primarily online.
- (b) The non-partisan Board of that Institute shall establish a Committee of non-partisan Citizens in each Member State one year before the election of a new House of the Citizens (direct democracy). With a Committee in each Member State, it is relatively easy to investigate the candidacy of the delegates for the representation of the people. Such a Committee consists of fifteen people, plus a chairperson. The composition is as follows: as many women as men; five of the fifteen members are scientists in the field of political philosophy, constitutional law, behavioural sciences, systems theory, and organisational science; five members come from the world of the arts; the other five are Citizens with a considerable life experience, wise people so to speak. Together they represent the 'Wisdom of Crowds'¹. By choosing scientists (check on competence), artists (check on suitability) and wise persons (additional check on suitability), we are following the quote by John Quincy Adams mentioned above. The non-partisan Board of that Institute will compose the Committee on its own authority.
- (c) The committees examine the credentials of candidates from all parties in that Member State and hear them personally. They do not pass judgment on the political values of candidates. They only check whether candidates can be considered sufficiently competent and suitable as members of the House of the Citizens. Those who pass the examination receive the 'nihil obstat', the sign of 'no objection', from the Committee. This is a public document. Given the ever-present danger of creeping autocratization, an examination of the mental capacities of the candidates is an obligatory part of the credentials. If a candidate does not obtain a 'nihil obstat', it is up to the political parties to decide whether

¹ James Surowiecki, *The Wisdom of Crowds*, 2004.

to honour a Committee's 'nihil obstat' and withdraw the candidate, or still keep him/her on the electoral list. If the party retains the candidate, it is up to the voter to give his/her vote or not to that candidate.

- (d) After the elections, the non-partisan Citizens' Committees continue to exist until the next elections. During the parliamentary term of five years, they monitor the behaviour - inside and outside Congress - of the people's representatives. If Committees identify behaviour that raises questions in the context of the competence and suitability requirements, they can subpoena the person concerned and hear him or her under oath. If an investigation shows that the conduct is indeed in breach of the competence and suitability requirements, the Committee can state this and make it public. The Committee does not have the power to remove the member of the House of the Citizens concerned from political office. After all, he or she is elected by the people. However, this representative of the people will have to appear before the Committee again at the next elections - at least if the party puts him/her on the list again - and give account; there is a good chance that a new 'nihil obstat' will not be issued. And, of course, that is also a strong signal to the people not to give preference to that candidate any longer.

Special note

The same procedure applies to candidates for the office of delegate of the House of the States. They will be appointed by the legislatures of the Member States, but it is the political parties in the parliament of each Member State that put forward candidates. What is written as the procedure for carrying out a check on the competence and suitability of a candidate for the House of the Citizens applies *mutatis mutandis* to a check on the competence and suitability of candidates for the office of the House of the States to be carried out by the parliaments of Member States.

This subject is a radical - but extremely necessary - addition to the system of Checks and Balances which should guarantee a separation of the three powers of the state. Europe is facing the biggest task in its history. After the expected systemic crisis - because of the implosion of the European Union due to its many systemic failures - Europe must build a federal state that may no longer show any traces of intergovernmental treaty-based DNA. Moreover, it is a matter of utmost importance to provide the Federal Constitutional and Institutional system with optimal defence mechanisms against undemocratic rule. Throwing away what is structurally wrong with the claimed democracy and bringing in what is structurally right for true democracy you can only be done once, in the beginning. In the terminology of the digital age: the representation of the people of a federal Europe is not an update of the existing system that has no gatekeeping to block stupid and immoral candidates for the two Houses of the European Congress, but an upgrade, a total, breathtaking renewal.

Do we want Common European Interests to be represented at an excellent level of parliamentarians? Do we want the House of the Citizens to be committed to helping European Citizens to be happy, to care about the planet, peace, climate, health,

employment, immigration, the economy, security, connection, and solidarity? If so, then no one in Europe has the right to shrug his shoulders at the obvious demand that Europe's parliamentary representatives should consist of people who have been trained at the highest level for Europe's political office. Do you see it differently? Go flying in a three hundred persons aero plane with pilots who have only been trained to bake bread.

This addition to the system of Checks and Balances comes as close as possible to Aristotle's concept of democracy. Not in the sense of all Citizens making all decisions together in the square, but in the sense of the structural involvement of Citizens before and during sessions of the House of the Citizens; as a watchdog against deviant behaviour by those who represent them.

Following Jean-Jacques Rousseau we must accept that this representation of the European people is also an 'elective aristocracy'. Not the former aristocracy of noblemen or of wealthy people who paid taxes and could thus acquire political office. What is meant here is an 'aristocracy' of elected people who, according to the political parties to which they belong, may justifiably represent the people. Of course, we do not close our eyes to the warning that the exercise of political office is always under pressure from oligarchization. And thus, to the formation of political monopolies. These always lead to corruption. We trust that this addition to the Checks and Balances of our Federal Constitution is strong enough to limit that inevitable urge to oligarchize to the utmost.

Fundamental 13: Supporting the concept of a World Federation

Currently, the world has twenty-seven federal states. If Europe federalizes, preferably with ± 50 member states, just over 50 per cent of the world's population will live in federal states.

Ever since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, federalists around the world have been pushing for the creation of a World Federation under an Earth Constitution. For more information on the Earth Constitution and the Provisional World Parliament, see the Earth Constitution Institute:
<https://earthconstitution.world>.

The Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) supports that process towards a World Federation and attests to it in Article I, paragraph 7 of the Federal Constitution for The Federated States of Europe. That paragraph 7 reads:

"The Federation will promote a higher degree of World transnational cooperation and may, on conditions of equality with other countries and regions and on the basis of the values expressed in the Preamble to this Constitution, accede and adhere to a World Federation, based on a democratic Earth Constitution."

Furthermore, FAEF supports this push for a World Federation through publications on the subject.

As an aside, we note that the Earth Constitution (see <https://earthconstitution.world/>) is a draft that can be amended in a process of perfection. The same applies to our federal constitution for Europe. We reiterate (see p. 5) that during the process towards its actual ratification, amendments can be tabled which we will then test against the principles of our work.

Fundamental 14: Ratification by means of blockchain

Using blockchain technology for elections is often seen as an opportunity to increase transparency, security and trust in the election process. Reasons why it is wise to consider blockchain technology for elections are:

Transparency

Blockchain is a distributed ledger system that stores every transaction or event and makes the data publicly available. This increases the transparency of the election process as anyone can view and verify the data.

Security

Blockchain uses advanced cryptography to secure the data. It is difficult to falsify or modify data without network consensus. This reduces the risk of manipulation of election results.

Verifiability

Blockchain technology allows voters to track their votes and verify that their vote was correctly recorded and counted. This increases trust in the election process.

Elimination of middlemen

Blockchain eliminates the need for intermediaries such as election officials or central authorities to manage the election process. This reduces the risk of human error and corruption.

Faster results

Counting votes on a blockchain can be faster and more efficient, resulting in faster announcement of election results

But using blockchain technology for elections is not without its issues. There are still some technical, legal and privacy issues to be resolved before blockchain can be widely used in elections. Moreover, it is necessary to ensure that the technology is inclusive and guarantees access to voting for everyone, including those who do not have access to the internet or knowledge of blockchain technology.

We assume that such issues will be resolved in the coming time to the extent that - with careful planning and evaluation - we can safely use blockchain to ratify our Federal Constitution.

Tools for action

Tool 1: Communication- and Marketing plan

We are working on a low-threshold Communication and Marketing Plan,

- o that will make the propagation of federal thought visible, audible and tangible in an ever-increasing context;
- o through which member organisations can be recruited under FAEF's 'umbrella';
- o who, as bearers of the federal political philosophy, are able to convey that philosophy;
- o in such an efficient and effective manner that, after an orderly, investment period, the income exceeds the expenses so that the growth of FAEF and its influence can be facilitated from the cash flow.

Tool 2: Fifty Questions & Answers on federalism

We have a [questionnaire of fifty questions](#) and answers on federalism and related topics. They are an excellent basis for acquiring basic knowledge on federal state formation.

Tool 3: Journal of European and World Federation

The principal aim of the journal is the construction and strengthening of the Federated States of Europe, and the creation and integration of other non-European federations within a World Federation. The journal, that will start publication on 2024, will publish theoretical and empirical innovation and original research analysis related to federal principles and values in Europe and the rest of the world. While it will not be aligned to any particular methodology, the journal will also publish discussion pieces and review articles that will bring together academics, policymakers, and citizens. The journal will be published every two months and the information must be presented in an understandable format to reach a broader audience, so that non-specialists can learn about the topic and appreciate its potential impact. The journal will be committed to maintaining the highest integrity using a rigorous peer review and editing process to evaluate manuscripts for accuracy, novelty, and relevance.

Tool 4: e-Portal "The European Citizen in a Federal Europe".

The portal aims to inform citizens on the policies discussed and approved in the European institutions allowing the incorporation of commentaries and critics on how the reported procedures might be carried out in a Federated States of Europe. The outline of the reported information is addressed to all European citizens in a clear and concise manner.

Tool 5: Establishing European Federalist Parties

We started to establish a European Federalist Party (EFP) in as many countries of Europe as possible. So, not just in European Union member states. While the Federal Alliance of European Federalists (FAEF) is a non-political federal organisation, that does not prevent us from actively establishing political organisations like European Federalist Parties. In addition to the in previous years already established European Federalist Parties in France and Switzerland, one was also established in Spain in September 2023. More EFP's will be added during 2023-2024.

These European Federal Parties differ completely from every other political party, competing for seats in the European Parliament, in that they do not campaign on issues of policy - such as climate, immigration, health and other policy content - but have only one item on the agenda: establishing a federal Europe. All other political parties compete with each other on policy themes. For that reason, they do not distinguish themselves. But if you want to vigorously promote policy themes of common European interests, you have to use the best instrument to do so. And that is, without any doubt, the creation of a federal state of Europe. That is the reason why the European Federalist Parties we are establishing should not lose energy by fighting on the same issues as all the other parties, but by distinguishing themselves from those other parties in a unique sense for the voter by putting all energy on the most important issue to get a policy-perfect new Europe: the creation of *The Federated States of Europe*.

With seats in the European Parliament after the June 2024 elections, they will then form a cluster of EFP-representatives in that parliament to bring strength from within to the push for a federal Europe.

For more information about establishing European Federalist Parties in European states please contact FAEF's board member Javier Giner, info@ejhm.eu.

Tool 6: Distributing Flyers

Members of FAEF's board and sympathizers distribute flyers at strategic points - for example at the European Parliament in Brussels, but also at parliaments of member states - to inform parliamentarians and passers-by about our constitution and the impending ratification process. This is the link to our [Flyer](#). If you would also like to distribute that Flyer yourself, please contact FAEF's board member Leo Klinkers, leoklinkers@me.com.

Tool 7: Conducting Webinars

We organise webinars on the usefulness and necessity of federal statehood of Europe, on the democratic content of federations and on the concept of Common European Interests best served in a federal state form, while preserving the sovereignty of member states. See Annex 3 for the provisional programme of - a total of eight webinars - in 2023 and 2024.

If you want more information about these webinars, and perhaps want to participate in them yourself, please contact FAEF's President, Manuel Galiñanes, manuel.galinanes@gmail.com.

Tool 8: Appointing Federal Ambassadors

FAEF appoints a Federal Ambassador (FA) in as many as possible European states. Their tasks are:

- o making contacts with federal movements, pro-Europe groups, thinktanks and social groups that are positive towards a federal Europe;
- o organising workshops for interested citizens;
- o disseminating publications on federalism.
- o making contacts with political parties willing to support this initiative;
- o preparation of the process of ratification of the draft Federal Constitution by the people.

Tool 9: Membership of FAEF

FAEF's Statutes contain rules for membership of the federal FAEF. Membership is open to legal persons who subscribe to our goal - the pursuit of a federal Europe. However, there are also individuals and groups of people, non-legal persons, who want to be involved in FAEF's work.

Tool 10: FAEF's publications in Europe Today Magazine

On a regular basis, FAEF Board members publish articles in Europe Today Magazine. See Annex 4 for a list of publications already posted.

Tool 11: Essays in The Making of the Constitution for The Federated States of Europe

Our book on federalising Europe contains not only the Federal Constitution and its Explanatory Memorandum, but also 14 essays by members of FAEF's Citizens' Convention. With those essays, they reinforce the Explanatory Memorandum. See Annex 5.

Tool 12: Videos about fundamentals of federalism

We have some videos in which Leo Klinkers answers key questions on federal state formation, recorded for a group of students in Milan in 2018. See Annex 6.

Tool 13: Call for engagement and registration of engaged European federalists

If you understand and feel the usefulness and need for establishing a democratic federal Europe and want to participate in making it happen, please fill in the registration form below: Registration Engaged European Federalists.

If you subscribe to the usefulness and necessity of a federal Europe, please complete this form, copy it and send it to Mauro Casarotto, Secretary General FAEF, administration@faef.eu.

Prenome	
Surname	

Function	
Address	
Email address	
Telephone (optional)	
Field(s) of interest*	
Already engaged in another organisation?	

*Pick one or more fields of interest, derived from the wide range of activities mentioned before.

If at least 100 people register as European Federalists, we will set up an association for that group: Friends of Federalism (FoF). Being a legal entity this association becomes a member of the federation Federal Alliance of European Federalists and can then co-decide at the annual General Assembly. The association-members are committed to carrying out activities as mentioned before.

Tool 14: Reactivating FAEF's Citizens' Convention

Upon completion of this Ratification Covenant it will be submitted to the members of FAEF's Citizens' Convention 2021-2022. Mandate: see if you can improve this Covenant and assess whether, and if so in what respect, the Citizens' Convention has, or should have, a role in the process of pursuing this Covenant.

Tool 15: Strategic phases

At the moment, this aspect is empty. It requires the commitment of the entire FAEF board to jointly identify the strategic phases between October 2023 and the EP elections of June 2024, and then a number of phases up to the time of actual ratification.

Identifying strategic phases requires answering questions such as:

- (a) What needs to be realised in which period?
- (b) Who will take on the task?
- (c) Do we have sufficient financial resources to appoint staff?

Tool 16: Summary of actions

Actually, the forementioned actions are the source of a wide range of non-exhaustive activities, such as:

- (a) We are going to attract more members, raise more revenue, recruit staff, apply specific strategies and tactics.
- (b) We are going to identify who all have an interest in a federal Europe and bind them to our initiative.
- (c) We are going to explore all possibilities to act and turn opportunities into realistic steps, such as the momentum of the European elections.
- (d) We are going to at least double the number of organisations joining FAEF every year. We will identify which multinationals have an interest in a federal Europe. We will make the stakeholders ambassadors and sponsors, without losing our independence.

- (e) To bring the worlds of experience and living close to the people, close to the citizens, close to relevant organisations, there will be a 'normal-language website' that translates (core) concepts into the language of the house and garden, of the neighbours, the street, the association, the work, the village, the city and the country: www.respect.eu.
- (f) Every possible form of (social) media is deployed and used.
- (g) Education and training are offered in a structured manner.

Annexes

Annex 1: Provisional list of competences and suitability for the political office

Having knowledge and insight obliges to share

Every profession requires relevant competence (knowledge and experience) and suitability (wisdom, integrity and morality). These two criteria determine whether someone should be allowed to get a particular profession. This should apply unconditionally and compulsorily to persons holding political office, the most important office in the world.

Two quotes might be applicable:

George Washington the first President of the United States of America:

"There is nothing which can better deserve our patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness."

This is reinforced by John Quincy Adams, also one of the 'founding fathers' of America's first federal constitution in 1787: *"I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history, naval architecture, navigation, commerce, and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry, and porcelain."*

Having knowledge is one thing. Transferring, sharing and applying it is two. Those who do so understand that having knowledge is not optional. It obliges to share. This realisation is what drives us to formulate below what requirements of competence and suitability should be imposed on those who feel they are worthy to aspire to political office.

This seems contrary to the constitutional provision - probably valid in every EU Member State - that every resident has an equal right to become a member of a general representative body through elections - without legal qualification requirements. However, setting qualification requirements does not deprive anyone of the right to prove that those requirements have been met; no one is excluded in advance. Moreover, political parties now also apply selection mechanisms when they decide whether or not to put someone on a list of candidates. The problem, however, is that the selection criteria are insufficiently tailored to the concepts of competence and suitability for political office, or that political parties misinterpret them.

The following set of requirements - first that of competence, then that of suitability - refers to mandatory literature. They include the sources mentioned in the text so far. The two types of requirements together depict one ambition: deliver such good political office holders that the work of the independent Ombudsmen and the Judiciary becomes redundant.

Requirements of competence

The requirement of competence in the fundamentals of political office requires having in-depth knowledge and experience such as:

1. To know how the concept of popular sovereignty has developed from Aristotle onwards through all centuries; popular sovereignty in the sense of *"All sovereignty - the supreme authority - rests with the people"*.
2. To know how the writings of political philosophers - in addition to famous historical popular uprisings such as the English Magna Carta (1215), the Dutch Placard of Abandonment (1581), the American Independence (1776), the French Revolution (1789) - provided the basis for various forms of organising representation of the people while preserving popular sovereignty.
3. To know how Erasmus around 1510, in his "Praise of Folly", addressed to Thomas More, relativized and corrected everything and everyone.
4. To know:
 - o what the Political Method of Johannes Althusius (1600) means;
 - o that this method contains the building blocks of centripetal federal state formation;
 - o how Pope Leo XIII incorporated aspects of Althusius method into the social aspects of the encyclical Rerum Novarum (1891);
 - o how Abraham Kuyper (Dutch prime minister and founder of the Free University in Amsterdam around 1900) derived the adage "sovereignty in one's own circle" from these sources.
5. To know what influence Thomas Hobbes' work Leviathan (1651) - with its description of man, the state, the absence of free opinion, the Christian state and the darkness of the metaphysical - had on political philosophy.
6. To know why and how the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau helped the leader of Corsica's uprising against the city-state of Genoa - Pasquale Paoli - around 1760 to formulate the first constitution in Europe, based on Rousseau's thoughts.
7. To know how the *"Philadelphia Convention"* (1787) was the first in the world to succeed in capturing political-philosophical considerations, since Aristotle, on popular sovereignty and representative democracy in a concrete federal constitution of only seven articles.
8. To know the significance of John Stuart Mills works "On Liberty" (1859), "Representative Government" (1861), "Utilitarianism" (1863).
9. To know why and how Martin Plattel (1970) sees utopian thinking as a high form of critical thinking.

10. To know what Karl Popper wrote about the growth of knowledge ('trial motivation and error elimination') in the 1930s. Against the background of John Locke's "Guide to Reason" (1706).
11. To know that the protection of popular sovereignty must be ensured by following indelible principles such as:
 - o Ex factis ius oritur: it is the facts that must lead to justice;
 - o Ex iniuria ius non oritur: from injustice comes no justice;
 - o Pacta servanda sunt: treaties must be observed;
 - o Rule of law: no one is above the law;
 - o Trias politica: the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial power;
 - o Checks and balances: the constitutional instruments to guarantee the separation of the three powers;
 - o Actus contrarius principle: the procedure to put right what has gone wrong in the past;
 - o Habeas corpus: the prohibition of unlawful detention and the right to a fair trial;
 - o Ius cogens: mandatory law;
 - o Ius post bellum: right after a war;
 - o The right to self-determination is an inalienable right.
12. To know the origin and meaning of human rights treaties and fight tirelessly for their application.
13. To know the constitution inside and out. Also in relation to concepts of representative and parliamentary democracy within constitutional monarchy, and within the structure of the decentralized unitary state.
14. To know how political parties based on religious principles can function within the principle of separation of church and state.
15. To know at what point law as an instrument for achieving political goals (the so-called 'instrumental view of law', driven by the political delusion of the day) should give way to the independent value of written law.
16. To know why and how the first federal constitution established constitutionalism and why pursuing federalisation based on treaties is seriously flawed.
17. To know the fundamental difference between a centralized and a decentralized unitary state.
18. To know the fundamental difference between federal state-building on the one hand, while preserving the sovereignty of the member states, and intergovernmental entanglement that top-down crumbles the sovereignty of the member states on the other.

19. To know that for countries that have to cooperate and live together, only a federal state - based on a constitution and not on treaties is the appropriate form of organisation, with consequences for the correct application of constitutional and institutional norms, with the aim of entrusting to a federal body those interests that the individual states cannot look after independently, while preserving the sovereignty of the member states and their citizens.
20. To know the fundamental difference between centripetal and centrifugal federal statehood.
21. To know why intergovernmental forms of government such as the United Nations and the European Union with their limited political life cycle and fundamental systemic failures cause irreparable damage to the principles of sovereignty and democracy and should be replaced by a federal form of government as soon as possible.
22. To know the fundamental difference between a parliamentary and a presidential system.
23. To know the fundamental difference between an appointed and an elected prime minister, either from and by parliament or from and by the people.
24. To know the fundamental difference between monism and dualism and that working with a Coalition Agreement as a catalyst for monism negates the required dualism between parliament and government.
25. To know how to apply the architecture of breaking the status quo, the architecture of setting goals, the architecture of achieving goals and the architecture of the process of circular policymaking; circular in the sense of avoiding policy traps, losing policy energy and falling into the trap of solution thinking.
26. To know how the links between policy, regulation, implementation, enforcement and organisation are connected: the chain approach.
27. To know how enforceable law can be designed without the pathological side effects of juridification and bureaucratization of governance.
28. To know which elements from sciences such as law, philosophy, political science, political history and philosophy, sociology, organisation theory, communication theory, cybernetics, systems theory, causality theory, formal logic, argumentation theory, demography, thermodynamics, psychoanalysis, social psychology and science methodology will guarantee good governance.
29. To know that individuals but public organisations have no conscience and no learning capacity and that therefore raising the quality of public organisations should be driven by investment in the individual learning capacity and conscience of political office holders and civil servants.

30. To know that public bodies that manoeuvre individuals and groups of citizens into hopeless powerlessness are exercising a form of terror.

Requirements of suitability

Now the question of suitability. This involves insight, integrity and morality. The key requirements are:

1. Understanding and sensing that society is at risk if constitutional controversies are swept under the carpet. For example:
 - o refusing to introduce a constitutional court;
 - o refusing to bring the administrative jurisdiction of the Council of State under to the 'common law';
 - o refusing to abolish the 'instrumental view of law'.
2. Understanding and sensing that a constitution is of, by and for the people and must be ratified by the citizens.
3. Understanding and sensing that the exercise of political office in party affiliation is always under pressure from the trend of oligarchization, political monopolisation and thus leads to corruption in the sense of decay.
4. Understanding and sensing that a carefully designed system of checks and balances should protect the trias politica, at any cost.
5. Understanding and sensing that holding and exercising political powers is incompatible with accepting immunity and double mandates.
6. Understanding and sensing that having powers in relation to society requires accountability for the exercise of those powers; and that to this end, a treaty, but only a constitution, cannot be used.
7. Understanding and sensing that the right to hold political office requires the courage to use serving the people to do good and fight evil. Doing good in the sense of restlessly protecting inalienable values of humanity. And fighting the ever-dormant (crypto)fascism that can threaten any society.
8. Understanding and sensing that the (mis)behaviour of political office holders determines the (mis)behaviour of society. The role model function is all-important. Normative behaviour of the grassroots of society is almost always a derivative of normative behaviour of the top of society.
9. Understanding and sensing that acting respectfully, valuing everyone, showing empathy and looking for commonality and connection creates a sense of security and trust in government.
10. Understanding and sensing what Ernst Bloch describes in his three-volume *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*. Partly against the background of one of the principles of the

Declaration of Independence (1776) and the subsequent Federal Constitution of the United States: *"The task of government is to aid the citizens in their pursuit of happiness."*

11. Understanding and sensing what Plato meant by his Politeia. And how that relates to sophistry.
12. Understanding and sensing what Nicolás Machiavelli explains about power in his book *'Il Principe'*.
13. Understanding and sensing what Michel Foucault means by 'power' in relation to 'discipline-society'.
14. Understanding and sensing why John Rawls' theory of justice should be the guiding motive of every political office holder.
15. Understanding and sensing the difference, as well as the similarities, of Hobbes', Lockes' and Rousseau's social contract.
16. Understanding and sensing what Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurter Schule describes as the autocrat who tolerates no contradiction and sees his own rightness - even if it is at odds with scientific facts - as the measure of all things.
17. Understanding and sensing that moral action means acting in the light of Immanuel Kant's 'categorical imperative': you can only judge the world on the competence and suitability of world peace if you agree on how to treat the earth and thus the available surface. Study that also in the context of Martin Heidegger's views on living, living and working on earth.
18. Understanding and sensing why the Club of Rome Report (1972) as an alarm signal for all the mistakes governments make to the detriment of nature and the environment even in 2023, with various climate agreements, does not make enough states stand shoulder to shoulder to stop global warming and the further extinction of plants, animals and eventually humans.
19. Understanding and sensing that sincerity in speaking, recognising facts and acting truthfully takes place in the light of Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative action.
20. Understanding and sensing that acting wisely should be in accordance with Aristotle's Virtue Ethics.
21. Understanding and sensing - also in the context of cognitive dissonance - what Alexis de Tocqueville means by the tensions between individual and general interests. And how difficult it is to convince citizens that acting in the general interest serves their individual interests (see the contradictory individual reactions to advice to vaccinate during the corona-pandemic).

22. Understanding and sensing why and how the Weimar Republic after the First World War provided the fertile ground for Hitler's rise to power. Examine that against the background of Hanna Ahrendt's book *'The Origins of Totalitarianism'*.
23. Understanding and sensing that courageous action - and the courage to act - is required in the face of resistance from destructive forces.
24. Understanding and sensing that talking to and about citizens is inferior to deliberating with citizens.
25. Understand and sensing that where authority disappears, a government is left with only power that is not used in the service of the people.
26. Understanding and sensing that having the above knowledge requirements is not optional: *noblesse oblige*.

If someone knows something about public health, defence, agriculture, livestock and fisheries, macroeconomics, housing, infrastructure, climate change or other policy sectors in addition to these competence and suitability requirements, that is nice, but not a necessity. Sometimes even annoying because civil servants and consultants are better at it than political office holders. Parliament should be filled with generalists, not policy specialists.

In any case, it should be ruled out that - as is currently the case - they get too involved in governing policy thinking. That is not their job and responsibility. Political office holders are above that, or at least should be above that, on another level of abstraction. They have to determine, after structural consultation with implementing professionals and citizens, including road makers and dustmen, the content of political themes for the next four years, backed and protected by their competence and suitability for political office, with those themes being the basis for the executive administrative agenda.

This is how political office holders are supposed to perform their first duties as representatives of the people. By controlling the implementation of the administrative agenda, they fulfil the second task. With legislating, in-house and thus having cohorts of legislative lawyers at their disposal, the third task.

If, in addition to these competence and suitability requirements, someone also knows something about public health, defence, agriculture, livestock and fisheries, macroeconomics, housing, infrastructure, climate change or other policy sectors, then that is a bonus, but not a necessity. Sometimes even annoying because civil servants and advisers are better at it than politicians.

Annex 2: FAEF's Webinars

Under the title *Advancing towards a federated states of Europe*, FAEF is organising symposia in the form of webinars.

First Symposium, October/November 2023

1st webinar (13th October, 2023)

Title: "Ratification of the FAEF Federal Constitution for Europe", designed by the 2021-2022 FAEF Citizens' Convention

Speakers:

Leo Klinkers, Former President FAEF

Mauro Casarotto, Secretary General FAEF

Peter Hovens, Treasurer FAEF

Moderator: Javier Giner, Executive member board FAEF.

2nd webinar (20th October, 2023).

Title: "Direct democracy: quality of democracy versus quality of governance"

Speakers:

Susanna M. Cafaro, Professor of EU & International Law, Salento University, Italy

Daniel Ordás, Jurist and Politician, Switzerland

Leopoldo A. Cook Vice-President Latin America and the Caribbean for the World Constitution, Venezuela

Moderator: Manuel Galiñanes, President FAEF.

3rd webinar (17th November, 2023): The role of citizens in a Federated States of Europe

Suggested participants: Davor Jancic (School of Law, Queen Mary University of London; email: d.jancic@qmul.ac.uk); Rubén Marciel Pariente (Barcelona University; email: ruben_marciel@ub.edu); Assya Kavrakova; Chief Executive of European Citizen Action Service and Program Director on European Policies and Civic Participation at the Open Society Foundations (email: assay.kavrakova@ecas.org; assay.kavrakova@gmail.com)

4th webinar (24th November, 2023): Transnational political parties in a Federated States of Europe: ethical code of practice and suitability of representatives

Suggested participants: Leo Klinkers, Yves Gernigon, a representative from Volt Europe, Paul Magnette (Free Univ. of Brussels; email: paul.magnette@ulb.be), Luciano Bardi (Univ. of Pisa; email: luciano.bardi@eui.eu)

Second Symposium, January/February 2024

5th webinar (19th January, 2024): The role of a Federated States of Europe on World politics

Suggested participants: Ingo Piepers, Glen Martin (email: gmartin@radford.edu), Joyeeta Gupta (University of Amsterdam)

6th webinar (26th January, 2024): A Federated States of Europe to guarantee sustainable economy and fair wealth distribution

Suggested themes and participants:

- (i) "Revenue from federal taxes, under simultaneous relief from national taxes of member states" by Giuseppe Martinico
- (ii) "A Fiscal Transfers Union system to allow the federal body the return of federal taxes collected to member states in financial difficulties" by Benjamin Zeeb (Germany)
- (iii) "Strict supervision of banks to decrease the risk of economic recession and market fluctuations" by Moses Marinho Sanches (The Netherlands Bank)

7th webinar (16th February, 2024): The judiciary structure in a Federated States of Europe

Suggested participants: Carlos Fernández Liesa (Professor of International Law, Carlos III University, Madrid); Jean-Paul Jean (Advocate General at the Court of Cassation and Associate Professor at the University of Poitiers); Hélène Jorry (Expert on European Union law Associate expert in the CEPEJ); Prof. Wim Voermans (Professor of Constitutional and Administrative Law; University of Leiden; email: w.j.m.voermans@law.leidenuniv.nl)

8th webinar (23rd February, 2024): A Federated States of Europe to achieve a universal public health care system

Suggested participants: Anne Bucher (Fellow at Bruegel, Brussels; email: anne.bucher@bruegel.org), Danielle Brady or Elizabeth Kuiper, Hans Henri P.Kluge (WHO Regional Director for Europe), Irene Papanicolas or Peter C. Smith (The European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies), Martin McKee (London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, London; email: martin.mckee@lshtm.ac.uk), Manuel Galiñanes

Annex 3: FAEF's publications in Europe Today Magazine

F.A.E.F. Press release, May 17th, 2018 – Milan Declaration

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2018/05/18/f-a-e-f-press-release-may-17th-2018-milan-declaration/>

Being pro-European does not forcibly mean defending the current European Union, by Mauro Casarotto, September 3rd, 2018

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2018/09/03/being-pro-european-does-not-forcibly-mean-defending-the-current-european-union/>

F.A.E.F. Conference 'Democracy and federalism – federate the federalists', September 18th, 2018

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2018/09/26/f-a-e-f-conference-democracy-and-federalism-federate-the-federalists/>

We cannot ask Turkey to decide on the Christmas Menu... by Lorenzo Sparviero, December 25th, 2018

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2018/12/25/we-cannot-ask-turkeys-to-decide-on-the-christmas-menu/>

Federate the federalists: 'Europe will be a federation, or will not be', by Lorenzo Sparviero, January 15th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/01/15/federate-the-federalists-europe-will-be-a-federation-or-will-not-be/>

Sovereignty, Security and Solidarity, by Leo Klinkers, March 13th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/03/13/sovereignty-security-and-solidarity/>

The EU inferiority complex, by Peter Hovens, April 1st, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/04/01/the-eu-inferiority-complex/>

Brexit is not a solution. A European Federation is, by Leo Klinkers, April 2nd, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/04/02/brexit-is-not-a-solution-a-european-federation-is/>

Macron and Rutte: intergovernmentalism 2.0, by Leo Klinkers, May 3rd, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/05/03/macron-and-rutte-intergovernmentalism-2-0/>

More European integration? By Leo Klinkers, May 6th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/05/06/more-european-integration/>

Victory in Europe Day and the election of the European Parliament, by Peter Hovens, May 8th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/05/08/victory-in-europe-day-and-the-election-of-the-european-parliament/>

Federal EU vs intergovernmental EU. Which would work best? By Leo Klinkers, May 18th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/05/18/federal-eu-vs-intergovernmental-eu-which-would-work-best/>

Europe is like a Ferrari with a 70-year old engine, interview to Mauro Casarotto by Olivia Muñoz-Rojas, May 21st, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/05/21/europe-is-like-a-ferrari-with-a-70-year-old-engine/>

If not now, when? By Lorenzo Sparviero, May 22nd, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/05/22/if-not-now-when/>

A federal Europe is not a transfer union, by Leo Klinkers, June, 4th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/06/04/a-federal-europe-is-not-a-transfer-union/>

Video Appeal for Tusk and Barnier, by FAEF, June 21st, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/06/21/video-appeal-for-tusk-and-barnier/>

The power game of Merkel, Macron and Rutte, by Leo Klinkers, June 21st, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/06/22/the-power-game-of-merkel-macron-and-rutte/>

The “Europe of the citizens”, by Leo Klinkers, July 4th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/07/04/the-europe-of-the-citizens/>

Standards of federalism, by Leo Klinkers, September 7th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/09/07/standards-of-federalism/>

Response to Yannis Karamitsios (Federalist Connection), September 30th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/09/30/response-to-yannis-karamitsios-federalist-connection/>

Give room to the Oceans, then the rising sea level can be lowered, by Leo Klinkers, October 9th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/10/09/give-room-to-the-oceans-then-the-rising-sea-level-can-be-lowered/>

Albania and Northern-Macedonia. Victims of autocratizing EU-oligarchy, by Leo Klinkers, October 25th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/10/25/albania-and-northern-macedonia-victims-of-autocratizing-eu-oligarchy/>

Brexit's trauma and Europe trapped between opposing conservatisms, by Mauro Casarotto, December 24th, 2019

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2019/12/24/brexits-trauma-and-europe-trapped-between-opposing-conservatism/>

Open letter on federal Europe for sardines and other European movements, by Lorenzo Sparviero, February 19th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/02/19/open-letter-on-federal-europe-for-sardines-and-other-european-movements/>

Covid19, EU crisis and insanity of national governments, by Mauro Casarotto, March 4th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/03/24/covid19-eu-crisis-and-insanity-of-national-governments/>

SOS Europe – A Call For Unity, A European Petition, by FAEF, April 1st, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/04/01/sos-europe-a-call-for-unity-a-european-petition/>

Anarchy + Anarchy = Strong Man, by Leo Klinkers, April 8th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/04/08/anarchy-man-anarchy-strong/>

The Curse Of Intergovernmentalist System Errors, by Leo Klinkers, April 14th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/04/14/the-curse-of-intergovernmentalist-system-errors/>

To err is human but to persevere in error is diabolical, by Leo Klinkers, May 29th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/05/29/to-err-is-human-but-to-persevere-in-error-is-diabolical/>

Is the EU's 750 Billion Recovery Fund a 'Hamiltonian moment'? by Leo Klinkers, June 1st, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/06/01/is-the-eus-750-billion-recovery-fund-a-hamiltonian-moment/>

Fighting the identity crisis of federalism in Europe, by Leo Klinkers, June 10th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/06/10/fighting-the-identity-crisis-of-federalism-in-europe/>

Episodes of flaring up European unity in the context of Federalism, by Leo Klinkers, July 8th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/07/08/episodes-of-flaring-up-european-unity-in-the-context-of-federalism/>

The perverse impact of operating with treaties, by Leo Klinkers, July 6th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/07/16/the-perverse-impact-of-operating-with-treaties/>

Citizens do not want this European Union, August 5th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/08/05/citizens-do-not-want-this-europe-an-union/>

Is Trump a psychopath? Does the Goldwater Rule need to be revised? By Leo Klinkers, September 2nd, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/09/02/is-trump-a-psychopath-does-the-goldwater-rule-need-to-be-revised/>

Open letter to my young federalist friends, by Lorenzo Sparviero, September 4th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/09/04/open-letter-to-my-young-federalist-friends/>

Foundations of Political Office, by Leo Klinkers, September 20th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/09/21/foundations-of-political-office/>

A man with great ideals never dies, November 10th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/11/10/a-man-with-great-ideals-never-dies/>

What the Trump experience demonstrates to Europe in terms of federal state construction, by Leo Klinkers and Mauro Casarotto, November 26th, 2020

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2020/11/26/what-the-trump-experience-demonstrates-to-europe-in-terms-of-federal-state-construction/>

The Trump case: seven lessons it taught us and a final question for Europe, by Mauro Casarotto, January 20th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/01/20/the-trump-case-seven-lessons-it-taught-us-and-a-final-question-for-europe/>

The right of veto as a hand grenade in the European Council, by Leo Klinkers, March 30th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/03/30/the-right-of-veto-as-a-hand-grenade-in-the-european-council/>

Do the Citizens of Europe have the right to vote for a federal Constitution to be ratified by their national Parliament? The case of Italy, by Alessandro Pietrogiacomì, April 7th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/04/07/do-the-citizens-of-europe-have-the-right-to-vote-a-federal-constitution-to-be-ratified-by-national-parliament-the-case-of-italy/>

A federation is better at fighting pandemics than a treaty, by FAEF, April 18th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/04/18/a-federation-is-better-at-fighting-pandemics-than-a-treaty/>

Who is the judicial boss in the EU? The European Court of Justice or the highest courts in the Member States? By Leo Klinkers, May 7th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/05/07/who-is-the-judicial-boss-in-the-eu-the-european-court-of-justice-or-the-highest-courts-in-the-member-states/>

FAEF Citizens' Convention to give Europe a Federal Constitution is officially opened!
By FAEF, October, 2nd, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/10/02/faef-citizens-convention-to-give-europe-a-federal-constitution-is-officially-opened/>

Why the EU will never resolve the conflict with national courts, by Mauro Casarotto,
October 28th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/10/28/why-the-eu-will-never-resolve-the-conflict-with-national-courts/>

New German Government should schedule a popular vote for a European Federal Constitution, by Leo Klinkers, December 8th, 2021

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2021/12/08/new-german-government-should-schedule-a-popular-vote-for-a-european-federal-constitution/>

The European State System at a Crossroads, by Leo Klinkers, February 19th, 2022

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/02/19/the-european-state-system-at-a-crossroads/>

What caused EU's geopolitical irrelevance in the Ukrainian drama? By Leo Klinkers,
February 27th, 2022

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/02/27/what-caused-eus-geopolitical-irrelevance-in-the-ukrainian-drama/>

The Ukraine War is a call for a European Federation now, by Leo Klinkers and Mauro Casarotto, March 3rd, 2022

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/03/03/the-ukraine-war-is-a-call-for-a-european-federation-now/>

Without a Constitution-based Federal Europe a common defense is built on quicksand, by Mauro Casarotto, March 7th, 2022

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/03/07/without-a-constitution-based-federal-europe-a-common-defense-is-built-on-quicksand/>

The San Francisco Promise, Ukraine, and UN's irrelevance, by Leo Klinkers and Mauro Casarotto, March 23rd, 2022

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/03/23/the-san-francisco-promise-ukraine-and-uns-irrelevance/>

Unitary aspects of centripetal and centrifugal federations, and the source of Putin's autocratic behaviour, by Leo Klinkers, April 1st, 2022

<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/04/01/unitary-aspects-of-centripetal-and-centrifugal-federations-and-the-source-of-putins-autocratic-behaviour/>

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR 'THE FEDERATED STATES OF EUROPE', by FAEF, Iustitia Scripta 2022, September 2022
<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/05/23/the-making-of-the-constitution-for-the-federated-states-of-europe/>

The US Supreme Court case and how protect citizens' rights in Europe, by FAEF, July 10th, 2022
<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/07/10/the-us-supreme-court-case-and-how-protect-citizens-rights-in-europe/>

EU built on treaty-quicksand, by Leo Klinkers, September 20th, 2022
<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2022/09/20/eu-built-on-treaty-quicksand/>

Federating the world to tackle global existential threats, October 9th, 2023
<https://www.europetodaymagazine.eu/2023/10/09/federating-the-world-to-tackle-global-existential-threats/>

Annex 4: List of essays in our book The Making of the Constitution for The Federated States of Europe

About fundamental aspects on federalizing Europe

- o [Definition and Value of Federalism](#) – Herbert Tombeur
- o [Unitary Aspects of Centripetal and Centrifugal Federations](#) and the source of Putin's autocratic behaviour – Leo Klinkers
- o [Spinelli's role on the federalization of Europe](#): start afresh from the Ventotene Manifesto - Mauro Casarotto

About federal constitutional law making

- o [A study in the field of Comparative Federal Constitutions](#) – Giuseppe Martinico
- o [The Federated States of Europe as a democratic state](#) founded on the rule of law – Frans Tonnaer

About numerical, participatory and competent representation

- o [Dynamic Sizing and Ranked Voting](#) – Lars N. Christensen
- o [Citizens' Participation](#) – Ivan Gil Carretero
- o [A fundamental new look at the requirements for holding political office](#) – Peter Hovens

About common interests

- o [The importance of a common European Defense](#) – Ingo Piepers
- o [Does federalizing Europe strengthen economic stability?](#) – Mozes Wilhelm Marinho Sanches Junior

About emerging federations

- o [Towards a federal Spain in a federal Europe?](#) – Javier Giner

About the alfa and omega of federalism

- o [The Torah in the Construction of a Federal Europe](#), including Russia – Frans M. Vermeulen
- o [Attribution of Values and Virtues in 'The Federated States of Europe'](#) – Berend W. Scheperboer
- o [The concept of 'FEDERATION' in the Constitution for the Federation of EARTH](#) – Glen T. Martin

Annex 5: Six videos on federal state formation

- “Some people say that the European Union is already looking like a federation. What do you think?”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TVrF5ry0wvk>
- “What really is a federation?”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FU03fqD5jwM>
- “Why a federal state is not a superstate”: : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ks5zJpmXbxE&t=7s> ;
- “Why a Federal Constitution should be better than a treaty?”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y-mD1oY6-J8> ;
- “Why the USA has a federation since more than 2 centuries, while Europe hasn’t reached it yet?” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DYZ_RFiiHI8 ;
- “Which should be the objectives of a European Federation?” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Wbbf18W0gw>