



The Federalist Debate

Papers on Federalism
in Europe and the World

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In Memory of Antonio Papisca

Marco Mascia

In academia, political scientists focusing on European integration were (and still are) split into two categories: on the one hand, those in more direct contact with the process on the ground and who exchange views with officials from the European Community, committed local administrators and politicians, and pro-European associations and movements, and who also consistently work to educate, train and inform others on these issues; on the other, those who prefer theoretical analysis of the integration process and who are implicitly concerned about not letting themselves be tainted by values of "a cause".

Antonio Papisca, a convinced federalist, Emeritus professor at the University of Padua, who died suddenly on May 16, 2017, was proud of belonging to the former category.

His commitment to European federalism began in 1960, when he joined and became an active participant in the European Youth Campaign. While Secretary-general of the *Fédération internationale de la jeunesse catholique* (International Catholic Youth Federation), in July 1962, Papisca organised a conference at Palazzetto Venezia in Rome, attended by the Italian President of the Republic at that time, Antonio Segni, entitled "*I giovani e la costruzione dell'Europa*" (*Young People and the building of Europe*). The speakers included Ivo Murgia, Coordinator of the European Youth Campaign and editor of the journal "*Giovane Europa*" (*Young Europe*) and Altiero Spinelli, leader of the Italian federalists.

From 1966 to 1967, he moved to the United Nations in New York for a year of study and research as a UNITAR-Adlai E. Stevenson Fellow for Western Europe.

When he returned, he began his academic career at the University of Parma as assistant lecturer in International Organisation, then lecturer in International Law, and contributed to create the two-year specialisation course in "Law and Economics of International Organisations", the second year of which focused entirely on the European Communities.

On the morning of March 11, 1969, Papisca was accompanying his students on a study visit to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Together with lecturers and students from other countries, Papisca took part in a demonstration from the public gallery, protesting against the unsustainability of a barely legitimised Parliament, and demanding that its members be elected directly.

In 1971, Papisca established and directed the Higher Education Institute of European Political Studies (ISESP) in Reggio Calabria, which is still active and of which he remained Honorary President. In 1976, the Institute became a European Documentation Centre.

In the early 1970s, Papisca was awarded one of the first research grants instituted directly by the European Commission in Brussels, jointly with professor Antonio Tizzano. Over the same period, Papisca and other academics who shared a strong attachment to pro-European values supported the "*Movimento per l'Integrazione Universitaria Europea*" (*Movement for European University Integration*), MIUE. These were also the years in which he was an activist in the European Federalist Movement in Sicily and Calabria.

In 1975, he took part in the consultation called in Brussels by Leo Tindemans to draft what

was to become the famous Report on the European Union.

During the latter part of the 1970s, he was a member of the European Commission's research project preparing an Inquiry into the Policies of the European Community (Brussels, 1978-1980), of the "Research Committee on European Unification" of the "International Political Science Association" (1975), and of the Editorial Board of the *"Journal of Common Market Studies"*. In 1978, he was invited to join the Scientific Committee of the *Istituto Affari Internazionali (International Affairs Institute)* IAI, founded in 1965 on the initiative of Altiero Spinelli.

Throughout the 1970s, all of Antonio Papisca's academic writings focused on the process of European integration. He contributed a number of articles to the prestigious journal *"L'Europa"*, published in Rome under the editorship of Angelo Magliano, in the run-up to the first direct election of the European Parliament¹.

In 1974, Editori Meridionali Riuniti (Reggio Calabria) published his book *"Comunità Europea e sviluppo politico. Contributo all'analisi del sistema comunitario europeo (European Community and political development. A contribution to analysing the European Community system)"*; in 1975, came *Europa '80. Dalla Comunità all'Unione Europea (Europe '80. From the Community to the European Union)*, (Rome, Bulzoni) and in 1979 *Verso il nuovo Parlamento europeo. Chi, come, perché (Towards the New European Parliament. Who, How and Why)*, (Milan, Giuffrè). These three books made a fundamental contribution to the development of Italian political scientists teaching and researching on European integration. In 1979, he edited the Christmas gift book for the publisher Giuffrè, entitled *L'Europa tra amici e nemici (Europe: Friends and Foes)*.

Papisca focused his attention on the European Community as a "developing political system", concentrating particularly on the issue of

the democratic deficit and on the emerging "European political parties". In his studies, he envisages the process of political unification of Europe and the simultaneous process of expanding the role of local and regional authorities as factors of "political ecology", that is, "restoring competence and morality to political life at all levels".

The prospect of the direct election of the European Parliament gave rise to further debate among political scientists specialising in European integration. Papisca, moving from the premise that a political party is the first offspring of a national state, recognised that the political party, inasmuch as holder of "real political power", has the role of "real federator"². For the European community system to materialise real power for itself, "it is necessary for political parties to move up to the European level with the power that they hold from the outset, and exert it at that level". Papisca, well in advance of the Treaties of Maastricht and Nice, listed among the measures that European summits would need to adopt, the recognition of political parties with supra-national structures and dimensions, and their financing at the EU level.

Again in proximity of the first elections for the European Parliament, Papisca wrote a series of articles published in the official Italian Christian Democracy Party's newspaper *"Il Popolo"* (*The People*). The main theme of his comments was that of European-level democracy.

In 1975, Papisca won the chair of Political Science and International Relations in the Faculty of Political Science of Catania University, and in 1978 he was called to the chair of International Relations in the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Padua. In the universities of Parma, Catania and Padua he contributed to the development of both teaching and research activities in the fields of international relations, European integration and human rights. He also held

significant institutional positions, including that of Dean of the Faculty of Political Science in Padua from 1980 to 1983. Again in Padua University, he established the Department of International Studies, the first of its kind in Italy, which he directed from 1986 to 1992, and, from 1983 to 1995, the PhD in International Relations, with a curriculum on European integration. In 1982, he created the Human Rights Centre.

In the 1980s, Papisca's writings on European integration³ are interwoven with those on peace, human rights and international democracy. His book "*Democrazia internazionale, via di pace. Per un nuovo ordine internazionale democratico*" (1986) (*International Democracy as a Road to Peace. For a New, Democratic International Order*) is the mature product of a long journey of academic and civil society engagement, which led him to write, in no uncertain terms, that the "state-centric" system of international politics is, *naturaliter*, a "belligerous" and "criminogenic" system. Its transformation into a "human-centric" one can only be achieved through the democratisation of international relations, that is, through a direct legitimisation of the decision-making bodies at the supranational level and a greater popular involvement in their decision-making. Papisca considered the transnational civil society movements the actors of the human-centric change. The United Nations, duly empowered and democratised, constitute the embryo of a world government⁴.

These were also the years of Papisca's intellectual and political commitment to the peace movement. His ideas are a reference point for political pacifism in Italy, which has been growing since the 1980s: international human rights law is the compass, the route to follow is that of an institutional and nonviolent road to peace; the democratisation of the UN and the recognition of the human right to peace are the objectives to be achieved through the Peoples' United Nations, city diplomacy, education and training, the strength of values, ideas and laws.

He was one of the founders of the *Tavola della pace* (*Peace Roundtable*) and a tireless promoter of and participant at the Perugia-Assisi Peace March and at the National Coordinating Body of Local Authorities for Peace and Human Rights. Antonio Papisca's vision is that of wholesale humanism, to be realised in the extended space of internationally recognised human rights, constantly striving to build an order of peace, from local towns to the United Nations, where life and peace, the rule of law and the welfare state are seen as the two sides of the same coin: interdependent and indivisible. Exemplary proof of Papisca's federalist leanings comes from his nominating (as Dean of the Faculty) Altiero Spinelli for an Honorary Degree in Political Science at the University of Padua, which was solemnly awarded him on May 28, 1982. For the occasion, Papisca organised a conference entitled "*La sfida Europea*" (*The European Challenge*), the acts of which were published by Cedam (1984).

In 1987, he was the driving force behind the founding of the "*Associazione Universitaria di Studi Europei*", AUSE, (*University Association for European Studies*), of which he became President for six years. At the request of the European Commission, the other member countries also established their own national associations on European Studies, and in 1987 these set up the network "European Community Studies Association", ECSA-Europe, later opened up to other countries and renamed ECSA-World. In 1989, Papisca edited the Italian part of the first edition of the "*Who's Who in European Integration Studies*", launched by ECSA-Europe.

In 1990, he was appointed to the European University Council for the Action Jean Monnet (which later became the Jean Monnet Programme), a body established in Brussels on the initiative of the European Commission together with the then European Rectors' Conference and ECSA-Europe, comprising a President, four Rectors nominated by their

Conference and four Professors designated by ECSA-Europe. Following a joint decision by the European Commission and the European University Council for the Jean Monnet Programme, in 2002 Papisca was elected President of ECSA-World in Brussels.

The years that followed were of intense hard work for Papisca, who took an active part in the meetings, held in Brussels, of the ECSA-Europe and the European University Council, providing a fundamental contribution to the development of the Jean Monnet Programme in the Italian universities and other European universities.

While he was President of ECSA-World, he organized four international conferences in Brussels (Charlemagne Building) on the following subjects: "Intercultural Dialogue" (March 20-21, 2002), "Peace, Security and Stability. International Dialogue and the Role of the European Union" (December 5-6, 2002); "Dialogue between Peoples and Cultures. Actors in the Dialogue" (March 24-25, 2004); "The European Union and Emerging World Orders: Perceptions and Strategies" (November 30- December 1, 2004).

In 1997, at the request of the European Commission, Papisca promoted the establishment and directed the "European Master Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation", E.MA (1997-2003), and the "European Joint Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation", the first joint title created in Europe in the framework of the Bologna Process. In 2003, together with the 41 European universities which were partners in the E.MA, he promoted the establishment of the "European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation", EIUC, an association with legal personality, whose seat is at the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Venice Lido.

For his commitment in the field of human rights, in 1999 UNESCO attributed to Antonio Papisca the UNESCO Chair in Human Rights, Democracy and Peace.

In preparation for the European Year for Intercultural Dialogue (2008), Papisca coordinated the Jean Monnet-ECSA-World European Research Project on "The Role of Intercultural Dialogue for the Development of a New (Plural, Democratic) Citizenship". The conclusions of the project are available in the book edited by L. Bekemans, M. Karasinska-Fendler, M. Mascia, A. Papisca, C.A. Stephanou and P.G. Xuereb containing thirty-two essays and entitled *Intercultural Dialogue and Citizenship. Translating Values into Actions. A Common Project for Europeans and their Partners*, published by Marsilio.

From 2008 to 2010, Papisca participated as a speaker at the EU Committee of the Regions "Ateliers on Multi-level Governance" in Brussels, contributing to the drafting of the Committee of the Regions' "White Paper on Multi-level Governance" (2009)⁵ and, subsequently, to drafting the Resolution "Charter for Multi-Level Governance in Europe" (2014) and the opinion "Local and regional authorities and the multilevel protection of the rule of law and fundamental rights in the EU" (2015).

In 2008, he coordinated the AUSE Research Group on the "European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)" and multi-level governance. The results of this research were compiled in the book edited by Antonio Papisca and published by Marsilio in 2009 "*Il Gruppo europeo di cooperazione territoriale. Nuove sfide allo spazio dell'Unione Europea*" (*The European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation. New Challenges to the European Union's space*).

In March 2010, Papisca was a speaker at the European Parliament in Brussels at their hearing on the accession of the European Union to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. In 2015, he was the coordinator of the "AUSE like-minded scholars" research group for a uniform European law on citizenship. Papisca's views on the issue were published in the journal "*La cittadinanza europea*" (No.1,

2016, pp. 5-12), in an essay entitled "*Cuius Europa, Eius (nova) Civitas. Per una legge europea uniforme sulla cittadinanza*" (For a Uniform European Law on Citizenship).

Two examples of the most prestigious recognition for his commitment to European integration were the awarding in 2004 of a Jean Monnet Chair *ad honorem*, and in 2007 his inclusion among the 20 profiles in the "Jean Monnet Success Stories", published by the European Commission, specifically highlighting his contribution to the "Dialogue between Peoples and Cultures".

On November 12, 2016, together with professors Giulio Guderzo, Luigi Vittorio Majocchi, Sergio Pistone, Franco Praussello and Dario Velo at the Castello di Belgioioso (Pavia), he was awarded the prize "*Cittadinanza Europea: per l'Europa dei popoli e la pace nel mondo*" (*European Citizenship: for a Europe of the Peoples and Peace in the World*), an annual award established by the town council in Belgioioso on the initiative and under the patronage of the Altiero Spinelli Centre for Excellence at Roma-Tre University.

I conclude these recollections on Antonio Papisca by quoting a proposal regarding citizenship, in the light of the current migratory phenomenon, which most people consider utopian but which, I am quite convinced, will once again prove far-sighted.

"Why should we have a single currency for the European Union, but not a uniform citizenship as well? The *plenitudo iuris* (fullness of the law) achieved by an order when it recognises fundamental human rights brings about the *plenitudo civitatis*, or the fullness of rights for the person inasmuch as the original holder of these same rights. With the Charter of Fundamental Rights proclaimed in Nice in 2000 and made legally binding by the Lisbon Treaty, the order of the Union has entered into this advanced status of civilisation of law, with the consequence that it is called to promote EU citizenship from the current subordinate status of derived citizenship to that of primary, plural and inclusive citizenship. The times are ripe for giving legal substance to a 'Nova Civitas' (new citizenship). The *ius sanguinis* (law by blood) must be repealed and just one "European" *ius soli* (right of the soil) introduced: the *ius humanae dignitatis* (law of human dignity) must be the parameter overarching any other. The ultimate objective should be a legislative act by the European Council-Parliament which makes EU citizenship primary and simultaneously plural".

¹ These articles are collected in the publication A.Papisca, 1979-2009, *Uso/abuso delle elezioni europee. Le speranze di 30 anni fa* (1979-2009, *The use and abuse of the European elections. The hopes of 30 years ago*) Padova, Cleup, 2009.

² A. Papisca, *Alla ricerca del "federatore" reale* (*Searching for the Real "Federator"*), in "Il Mulino", 260, 1978, p. 840-865.

³ See, among others, A. Papisca, *Economic and Monetary Union: The Resolution of the Council of Ministers of 22 March 1971*, in G. Ionescu (ed.), *The European Alternatives: An Inquiry into the Policies of the European Community*, Alphen de Rijn, Sijthoff, 1979, p. 455-475; *The Dynamic of European Community Institutions in a Future Context of Political Development*, in "The International Spectator", 3, 1980, p. 223-248; *The Case of Italy*, in C.D.Nuallain (ed.), *The Evolving Presidency of the European Council of Ministers. Impacts and Implications for National Governments*, London, Croom Helm Publ., 1984.

⁴ *Reforming the United Nations by the Convention Method: Learning from the EU*, in "The Federalist Debate", vol. XIX, 1, 2006, p. 8-12.

⁵ V. A.Papisca, *Which Role for the Committee of the Regions in a Strengthened Multi-Level Governance Framework*, Brussels, Committee of the Regions, 2009; Idem, *Value Roots for Multi-level Governance and Intercultural Dialogue*, in "Pace diritti umani/Peace human rights", VII, 2, 2010, p. 95-116.

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