



*in cooperation with*



Unión de  
Europeístas y  
Federalistas de España



THE FEDERALIST  
LE FEDERALISTE  
IL FEDERALISTA

## Federalist Debate and Training Weekend 2015

### *THE FUTURE OF EUROPE BETWEEN FEDERALISM AND THE NATION STATE*

13 - 15 March 2015 | Madrid

#### Recommended readings

#### Introductory readings

- A selection of articles from The Federalist Papers by Alexander Hamilton:
  - [“Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States”](#) and [“The Same Subject Continued: Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States”](#)
  - [“Advantage of the Union in Respect to Economy in Government”](#)
  - [“The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union”](#) and [“The Same Subject Continued: The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union”](#)
  - [“Concerning the General Power of Taxation”](#)

*These papers were published in 1787 in New York as part of the reflections about the second and definitive Constitution of the United States of America.*

- Leo Klinkers, [“European Federalist Paper no. 1”](#), in The European Federalist Papers, August 2012
- Rainer Bauböck, [“The Three Levels of Citizenship within the European Union”](#), in German Law Journal, Vol. 15 No. 05, 2014, pp. 751-764
- Signe Larsen, [“Federation: Notes on the thought of Carl Schmitt”](#), in Critical Legal Thinking – Law & the Political, 25 September 2014

#### Session I – EUROPEAN INTEGRATION BETWEEN FEDERALISM AND THE NATION STATE: MODELS AND OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

- Francesco Rossolillo, [“Federalism in a Post-Industrial Society”](#), in The Federalist, Year XXVI, 1984, Number 2, Page 120

- Frank A.G. den Butter and Mathieu L.L. Segers, [\*Prospects for an EMU between Federalism and Nationalism\*](#), ed. Tinbergen Institute, January 2014
- Guido Montani, "[Micronationalism and Federalism](#)", in *The Federalist*, Year XXXV, 1993, Number 1, Page 9
- Jürgen Habermas, "[Europe's post-democratic era](#)", in *The Guardian*, 10 November 2011
- Jürgen Habermas, "[Only deeper European unification can save the Eurozone](#)", in *The Guardian*, 9 August 2012
- Lucio Levi, "[Recent Developments in Federalist Theory](#)", in Lucio Levi, Guido Montani and Francesco Rossolillo, *Three Introductions to Federalism*, The Ventetone Papers, ed. The Altiero Spinelli Institute for Federalist Studies, Ventetone (Italy), 1989, pp. 33-72
- Mario Albertini, "[Federalism](#)", in Mario Albertini and Sergio Pistone, *Federalism, Raison d'Etat and Peace*, The Ventetone Papers, ed. The Altiero Spinelli Institute for Federalist Studies, Ventetone (Italy), 2001, pp. 5-30
- Rainer Lepsius, "[The European Union as a Sovereignty Association of a Special Nature](#)", ed. The Jean Monnet Centre for International and Regional Economic Law and Justice, 2000
- Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, "[Section 4. The European Union as an Emerging Federal System](#)", in [\*Who is Afraid of a European Federation? How to Constitutionalise a Multi-Level Governance System\*](#), ed. The Jean Monnet Centre for International and Regional Economic Law and Justice, 2000

## Session II – RENOVATING EUROPE – TIME FOR EUROPEAN FEDERAL POLICIES

- Laurie Buonanno and Neill Nugent, "[Explaining the EU's Policy Portfolio: Applying a Federal Integration Approach to EU Cohesion Policy](#)", Bruges Political Research Papers, no. 20, December 2011
- Paolo Giordani and Michele Ruta, "[Why Immigration Policy Should Be a Federal Policy: Considerations on the EU and the US](#)", *Perspectives on Federalism*, Vol. 3, issue 1, 2011
- Stephen Pickford, Federico Steinberg and Miguel Otero-Iglesias, "[How to Fix the Euro. Strengthening Economic Governance in Europe](#)", joint Chatham House, Elcano Royal Institute and AREL report, March 2014

## Session III – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES TOWARDS A FEDERAL EUROPE

- Andreas Gross (Rapporteur of the Committee on Political Affairs and Democracy, Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe), [\*Towards a better European democracy: facing the challenges of a federal Europe. Report\*](#), Doc. 13527, Strasbourg, 06 June 2014
- Bruno S. Frey, "[European unification: a new proposal](#)", *Constitutional Political Economy* 24, 2012, pp. 285-294
- Heather Grabbe and Stefan Lehne, [\*Emotional Intelligence for EU Democracy\*](#), Carnegie Europe, 26 January 2015

- Luisa Trumellini, "[A pre-constitutional pact for federal political union of the Eurozone](#)", in The Federalist, Year LV, 2013, Single Issue, Page 136