



E Union of European Federalists
Union Européen Fédéralistes
Union des Fédéralistes Européens

70
european
federalists

70 YEARS OF CAMPAIGNS FOR A UNITED AND FEDERAL EUROPE



Union of European Federalists

**70 years of campaigns
for a united and
federal Europe**



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Affairs Committee*

FOREWORD

The Union of European Federalists was founded in Paris in December 1946. While Europe was still in the middle of a brutal war, groups emerged in various countries - particularly in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium - calling for European political unity. They were united in the rejection of nationalism and in the belief that the only way to peace, democracy and a better future was for European states to unite in a European federation. Soon after the war they came together to form our organisation.

For seventy years the Union of European Federalists has been a relentless campaigner for European unification. We have never ceased believing and promoting the ultimate goal of the United States of Europe. At the same time we have been pragmatic advocates of all important intermediate steps that make today's European Union and that one day will lead to our final goal. We have been the first to campaign for a Europe without national borders, the direct elections of the European Parliament, the European currency, a European Constitution. Our demands have preceded their future achievements often by decades. We have often been harsh critics of the limits of the European Communities and then the European Union, but we have always been positive and defended the European project. In many countries, we have been an essential force in rallying politicians, opinion leaders, civil society and citizens around every important milestone of Europe's integration.

Today federalism and the project of a federal Europe are often misunderstood or misrepresented. Nevertheless, federalism is the only way to unite Europe. Only in a federal Europe can so many and diverse member states come together and achieve unity while preserving their diversities. Only in a federal Europe smaller states are protected and European citizens have a say through their directly elected representatives. Only with a federal Europe the limits of intergovernmental cooperation can be overcome. In a federal Europe member states wouldn't lose sovereignty, they would

contribute to create a greater European sovereignty, in a world of continental powers and global powerful market forces.

A united and federal Europe has never been so close, and nevertheless much remains to be done to complete this project. The European Union is facing a make-or-break moment and the next few years will be crucial for the long-term future of the European project. A prolonged financial and economic crisis has weakened several Member States and has shaken the trust of many European citizens in the Euro and the European Union. An unprecedented migration challenge is putting in danger Schengen and the free movements of people. Serious security challenges are surrounding the European Union. European solutions are required, and very rapidly, to regain the trust and hopes of the European citizens and create the conditions to relaunch the European political project. A sustainable single currency requires a fiscal and economic union. Internal freedom of movement across national borders requires European management of the common external European border. Common threats to our security call for European capabilities. Europe should have the power and resources to act as one on the world stage. European institutions should not be hostage of diverging interests of member states. A true European government would do better than any form of intergovernmental cooperation.

A committed and convincing federalist organisation is today more needed than ever, to spur national governments and politicians to act, to counter the negative forces of nationalism and populism, and to rally citizens and politicians around a positive vision of the European project, for a federal Europe.



Jean-Pierre GOUZY
*Former Secretary-General of UEF France,
Former member of the UEF FC*

THE BIRTH OF THE UEF

BY JEAN-PIERRE GOUZY

15 December 1946, 9 rue Auber, Opera quarter in Paris: the Union of European Federalists (UEF) is established at the headquarters of 'La Fédération', the main French federalist movement of the time.

This momentous occasion was not the result of coincidence; it would probably never have taken place without the repercussions of the 1941 Ventotene Manifesto, without the European resistance of men like Hendrik Brugmans, Henri Frenay and Altiero Spinelli, future leaders, of amongst other things, the UEF; without similar meetings, like that of the 'Socialistes européens' in Montrouge in June 1946; that of intellectuals in Geneva like Jaspers, Spendler, de Rougemont, Lukacs in September 1946, and of course the meeting in Hertenstein on the edge of the Quatre Cantons lake on the 15 to 22 of September 1946, the same year, during which Churchill made his famous speech on the 19 of September in Zurich in which he proudly said: "Stand up Europe! We have to create a United States of Europe."

The UEF was already starting to take shape in Hertenstein but it would take another meeting, called for by the British leaders of Federal Union, a month later in Luxembourg, to decide on the establishment of a European federalist secretariat in Paris and another one in New York for global federalists. In Paris, December 1946, after an ultimate preparatory conference in November in Basel, the decision was taken to set up a "union of European federalists" but many members remained captured by the idea of global federalism. Hence the first motto of the UEF: "A united Europe in a united world."

Additionally, certain groups were only interested in the establishment of a European federation, politically speaking, others thought mostly about instating a new organisation, others about organising peace, and others still about global federalism. Some referred voluntarily to an Anglo-Saxon model of federalism; others, specifically

French speakers, related to Proudhon and the libertarians of the preceding century or to the individualist thinking that emerged from debates and ideas during the course of the 1930s. For others, Hamilton still represented the essential reference.

Such a mixture of ideas was quite surprising. They needed to be channelled. This mixture made up the richness of UEF but in many ways it made life complicated for the movement over the course of the 1950s and even in to the 1960s.

Could it have gone differently at the start of our grand adventure in that European wasteland in which everything had to be rethought and rebuilt?

In Great Britain, for example, Miss Josephy, ex Vice-President of the Liberal Democrats, and one of the most active federalists of the time, was the incarnation of this mix of globalist, Atlanticist and European perspectives, representing one of the most symptomatic expressions of the *Outre Manch* federalist tradition.

The constitutive meeting of the UEF took place on 15 December 1946, under the presidency of a man who incarnated the debates of the third French republic. Ex deputy of Ardèche, Gaston Riou was the President of a group named '*Union économique et douanière européenne*'. In 1929 he published a premonitory work called '*Europe, ma patrie*' which included a declaration by Aristide Briand. May I remind you that Aristide Briand, in the name of the French government at the time and with the support of Gustave Stresemann, called for the people of Europe – atop the stage of the League of Nations – to tie a “federal knot” to each other.

The “*conjurés*” of rue Auber, despite their differences, decided unanimously to convene a first Congress, which was held in Montreux from 27 to 31 August, 1947. They also decided that the young UEF, which did not yet have a legal statute, would get one, conforming to Swiss legislation. The process was finalised with the establishment of its headquarters at Palais Wilson in Geneva. They then asked Alexandre Marc, journalist and 1930s *avant-garde*, to become the first

secretary-general of the new organisation and Hendrik Brugmans, future dean of the College of Europe, to be its first president. The first task would be to control the post-war federalist explosion: about fifty clubs, circles, and unequal movements in about ten countries. There were, for example, no less than around fifteen in France alone and about twelve in Belgium.

I conclude by mentioning that as a young man, I myself had been involved in the federalist movement for several months. Six years later, I became secretary-general for France. I therefore personally knew the witnesses and actors who were involved in the events that I just related. This authorizes my testimony of the day.

When the delegates of this memorable gathering separated, in to the bitter cold Paris night, immensely dark and sad, deprived of everything (because of the rations which disappeared definitively in 1949), the first post-war sign of European hope finally materialised: the UEF was born.

INTRODUCTION

European federalism finds its roots first in the Enlightenment and the ideas of Immanuel Kant and later on Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. It takes inspiration from the foundation of the United States of America and the essays of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay in *The Federalist*, as they advocated for the adoption of the first federal Constitution in history. However, it was only in the early 1940s that federalism became the inspiration for new movements calling for European political unity.

It was in 1795, less than a decade after the Constitution that gave birth to the United States of America was written, that the philosopher Immanuel Kant described how war could be avoided and “perpetual peace” ensured by nation states coming together in a federation, surrendering their sovereignty to a superior public power. Half a century later, in 1851, Proudhon criticised the nation state as form of political organisation and advocated federalism as a way to articulate power at different levels of government. In the same year Victor Hugo’s calls for a United States of Europe resonated widely in European intellectual circles. However, at a time when European nation states and nationalism were at the peak of their splendour and were seen as the guarantee of freedom, democracy and social welfare for their peoples and their power overseas, the idea of a united Europe was simply years ahead of its time.

By the early 1930s Europe’s division into nation states was showing all its weaknesses and leading the continent to economic depression and the emergence of Nazism and fascism. It was at this time that so-called ‘Anglo-Saxon federalist school’ emerged in Britain and, in November 1938, the organisation ‘Federal Union’ - which years later would go on to become the British section of the UEF - was formed and began advocating federalism and European political unity. Their federalist ideas enjoyed widespread support from leading newspapers, politicians and academics. Within two short years of being founded

Federal Union counted 12,000 members in 225 branches across the country.

At the end of the 1930s, almost by chance, some of Federal Union's books became the source of inspiration for what then became the first independent federalist political movement. In 1939 the journalist, and future President of the Italian Republic, Luigi Einaudi sent a number of British federalist books to Ernesto Rossi, who, together with a young Italian by the name of Altiero Spinelli, was confined on the island of Ventotene. The ideas these books contained would provide the inspiration for what became known as the Ventotene Manifesto. In the final years of the Second World War, movements convinced of the need for a political federation of Europe were springing up in many European countries. They eventually came together as the Union of European Federalists in Paris in 1946 and thus paved the way for the 70 years of campaigning for a federal Europe that would follow.

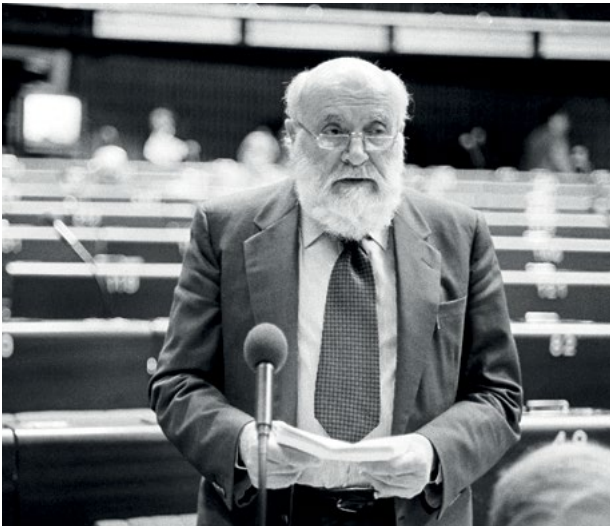
1940s

THE BEGINNINGS

The 1940s saw Europe left in ruins by the most brutal conflict ever fought between sovereign states. Death, destruction and devastation were spread across the continent. With the war still raging, federalist groups had already started to emerge in various countries, particularly in Italy, Germany and Switzerland. They were united in the belief that the only way to avoid the terrible mistakes of war from being repeated, and to ensure a brighter future for the continent and the world, was for the people of Europe to be irreversibly and democratically united in a federation.

Confined by the fascist regime on the Italian island of Ventotene, Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi had written what would become known as the Ventotene Manifesto (1941). The authors, anti-fascist militants, wrote of the need to prevent future wars by uniting Europe in a democratic federation. Spinelli believed that such a project needed a new independent political movement made up of people who saw the creation of European political unity as their essential goal and purpose. While those with whom he was incarcerated soon returned to their national political parties and to national politics, just days after being freed, on 27-28 August 1943, Spinelli founded the *Movimento Federalista Europeo* (MFE), now the Italian member section of the UEF, and started a new form of political engagement. Rather than aiming to attain a position in national politics, their mission was to create a new form of power at the European level.

With the war finally approaching its end, numerous voices emerged across Europe



ALTIERO SPINELLI
1907 – 1986
UEF President 1955 – 1956

Altiero Spinelli was born on 31 August 1907 in Rome, Italy. He joined the Communist Party aged 17 and was imprisoned and exiled by the fascist regime for 18 years. While confined to the island of Ventotene, together with Ernesto Rossi, he wrote the Ventotene Manifesto calling for a free and united Europe. In 1943 Spinelli founded the Movimento Federalista Europeo (MFE) in Milan and helped to gather federalists in a European organisation. He was President of UEF between 1955 and 1956.

Working in various roles, including as an advisor to political leaders including Alcide De Gasperi, Paul-Henri Spaak and Jean Monnet, Spinelli worked ceaselessly for European unification. He promoted federalist ideas as a European Commissioner and then as a member of the first democratically-elected European Parliament. In 1980, together with other federalist-minded MEPs, he founded 'The Crocodile Club' to call for institutional reform and the creation of a 'European Union', leading to the European Parliament's proposal for a Treaty on a federal European Union - the so-called 'Spinelli Treaty'.

The main building of the European Parliament in Brussels is named in his honour.



ALEXANDRE MARC
1904-2000
UEF President 1957 – 1959

Alexandre Marc (born Alexandr Markovitch Lipiansky in Odessa, Ukraine) was a French philosopher and writer, leader and theorist of European federalism. He participated in the creation of the group 'La Federation' and was president of the Union of European Federalists (1957-59), the leader of the European Federalist Movement and founder of the journal 'L'Europe en formation'. He also founded the Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE) in 1954. Marc dedicated his whole professional life to the promotion of federalist ideas and authored numerous books outlining his concept of integral federalism while working as a professor at a number of international schools.



HENRI BRUGMANS
1906 – 1997
UEF President 1947 – 1949

Born on 13 December in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, he witnessed how rapidly the world changed after 1914. His political activism began towards the end of his studies when he joined The Flemish Movement. In 1947 he became the first President of the Union of European Federalists. Brugmans contributed to the foundation of the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium and became its first rector serving from 1950 to 1972. He was awarded the Charlemagne Prize in 1951, which recognises people who have contributed to the promotion of European ideals and values and who have worked towards European unity.

calling for European unity, particularly in the resistance circles. Federalist groups developed especially in France, Germany and Switzerland. Spinelli and others reached out to them in view of creating a new European movement. In September 1946 a meeting took place in Hertenstein, Switzerland with the aim of developing a common political platform and to pave the way to the foundation of a new pan-European federalist movement. Seventy-two delegates from fourteen countries agreed on the Hertenstein Programme, which called for the creation of a 'European Union' "in accordance with federalist principles which call for a democratic structure beginning at the base" and for the transfer of parts of the sovereign rights of Member States – economic, political and military.

Coincidentally, on 19 September 1946, at exactly the same time that federalists met in Hertenstein, Winston Churchill was also in Switzerland to give a speech at the University of Zurich. Churchill argued for the creation of

a 'United States of Europe' to ensure peace and prosperity in Europe, although at that time he did not see Britain being part of any such project.

It was agreed at Hertenstein to gather in Paris later that year. This is how, on one cold winter's night the Union of European Federalists was officially established on 15 December 1946. The new organisation held its first ever European Congress in Montreux, Switzerland, between 27 and 31 August 1947 in parallel with the founding congress of the World Federalist Movement. Alexandre Marc (1904-2000), French journalist, became the organisation's first secretary-general and the Dutchman Hendrik Brugmans (1906-1997), future dean of the College of Europe, its first president. The organisation gathered around fifty clubs, circles and movements in about ten countries, of which at least fifteen in France alone and about twelve in Belgium.

In the early years German federalists could not participate in the meetings of the UEF



The Italian delegation at the 1st UEF Congress in Montreux, Switzerland in 1947, including Gustavo Malan, Guglielmo Usellini, Ernesto Rossi, Altiero Spinelli and Alberto Cabella.



The Hall of Knights at the European Congress in the Hague on 9 May 1948. More than 750 delegates gather under the 'green E' flag.

because they were not allowed to travel by the authorities of occupied Germany. Despite such restrictions, federalist groups were formed in Germany during this period. With the support of German federalists in exile in Switzerland, a merger of Germany's most important groups took place on 9 December 1946. The new organisation was named 'Europa-Union'. The first rallies of Europa-Union Deutschland (EUD) were organised in Duisburg, Cologne, Kiel and Lübeck. The first EUD Congress took place in Eutin, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, in 1947. In November 1947, after the accession of further federalist groups, Europa-Union became the German section of the UEF.

The new organisation managed to reconcile the so-called 'integral' and 'institutional' strands of federalism. *Integral federalism* derived from the teachings of Pierre Joseph Proudhon and had Alexandre Marc as its greatest proponent in UEF. *Institutional federalism*, looked at the teachings of Alexander Hamilton and the formation of the United States of America, and was supported by Altiero Spinelli in the UEF. *Integral federalism*, which carried significant weight during the early years of the UEF, saw federalism as a way to organise society at large and thought that a federal system's basic components must include not only entities of a territorial nature (from municipalities to states), but also those of a

functional and professional nature. On the contrary, *institutional federalism* believed the constituent units of a federal system can only be institutions of a territorial nature and that the political priority in Europe was to gather all those who were in favour of European federation, even if they had different ideological orientations, rather than to divide forces with proposals on how to overhaul European and national society.

The new organisation was united around the idea that an irreversible and democratic European unity could only be achieved through the construction of a European federal state and that European unity would be a fundamental stage and decisive impulse towards world peace and integration. The organisation was convinced that a united Europe would be a mediating force between the USA and the USSR at a time when the division of Europe into opposing blocks and the cold war were imminent, but it viewed the unification of Europe as only possible to commence within the area of western influence, supported by the United States and the Marshall Plan, given the developments in Central and Eastern Europe.

Under Brugmans' lead the UEF founded the International Committee for the Movements for European Unity together with other organisations interested in promoting a united, although not necessarily federal,

100,000 EUROPEANS

militant federalists of *Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland* and belonging to free groups from the countries under totalitarian governments,

represented by their delegates at

THE EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION OF FEDERALISTS

which met in Paris on the 29th, 30th and 31st October, 1949, demand the immediate conclusion of a

FEDERAL PACT

between the European states, and unanimously approved the text which follows.

Only a Federal Union of Europe can preserve peace with freedom and assure that prosperity which is the essential condition for raising the living standard of the European peoples.

READER,

to achieve a United States of Europe, give your signature to the Petition for a European Federal Pact.

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Excerpt from the booklet 'From the Powerless Consultative Assembly to a European Pact' (1949).

Europe. This organisation would later evolve to become the European Movement, an umbrella organisation of pro-European organisations that exists to this day and of which the UEF continues to be a member. In 1948 the International Committee for the Movements for European Unity organised its first major event – the Hague Congress of Europe.

The Hague Congress, 7-11 May 1948, was attended by hundreds of delegates from across Europe including many leading political figures of the time such as Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillan, Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, Pierre-Henri Teitgen and François Mitterrand. The Congress was a special moment in the history of Europe and adopted a statement recognising: "the urgent duty of the nations of Europe to create an economic and political union in order to assure security and social progress" and calling for the creation of a European Assembly and Charter of Human Rights.

Towards the end of the decade, on 5 May 1949, the Council of Europe was established as the first organisation of European cooperation and with the aim of achieving "a greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress". But the Council of Europe's limited goals and structure were far from meeting federalist demands for political unity.

On 31 October 1949, at an extraordinary General Assembly in Paris, the UEF launched its first major campaign demanding a 'Federal Pact'. It called for a Constituent Assembly to develop a pact to establish a European Federation on the model of the Philadelphia Convention that had led to the Constitution establishing the United States of America.

In those early years after the war, federalists hoped that the reaction to the horror and destruction the conflict had caused, and the dismantled political systems in the defeated countries, would offer the opportunity to reconstruct Europe on a different basis. However, despite the European sentiment of many of the political leaders of the time, the route of reconstructing national political systems with only limited forms of cooperation at European level was set to prevail, at least in the short-term.

1950s

EARLY CAMPAIGNS FOR A EUROPEAN FEDERATION

The years after the Second World War saw the economic and political reconstruction of the European nation states, defeating the federalists' hope for the immediate emergence of a European federation. However, the war had been so devastating that a new spirit of cooperation among the states and peoples of Europe emerged.

In the early 1950s, the UEF continued its Campaign for the Federal Pact. A petition gathered 500,000 signatures in Italy alone and, in November 1950, five thousand members of the newly-formed Young European Federalists (JEF) marched to support the Pact in Strasbourg. While the Pact was never able to achieve its primary objective of creating a European Federation, the campaign revealed the limit to which the Council of Europe could be exploited to achieve the ultimate goal of political union for the continent.

At this time the UEF was led by three key figures: Frenchman Henri Frenay (1905-1988), German Eugen Kogon (1903-1987), and Altiero Spinelli – who would continue to play a key role in the organisation and for the federalist cause for many years to come. Local groups were formed and new members recruited, particularly by the then three largest organisations in Italy, Germany and France. The UEF had members sections in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Romania, Spain, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

Throughout the 1950s, federalists continuously called for a Europe without borders. Notable protests were held on 24 August 1950 when French and German



HENRI FRENAY
1905 – 1988
UEF President 1950 – 1952

A politician and military officer, Henri Frenay was born in Lyon, France on 11 November 1905. He studied at the Centre of Germanic Studies in Strasbourg before joining the French Army. In February 1941 he joined the French Resistance and was involved in the publication of several underground newspapers, such as Les Petites Ailes, Vérités and Combat. In November 1943 Frenay met future French President Charles De Gaulle, who later appointed him as a minister of prisoners, refugees and deportees. His faith in the European construction motivated him to participate in The Congress of Europe in The Hague in 1948. In 1950 Frenay became UEF President and worked tirelessly to convince governments to abandon the framework of nation states, create a single European currency and build a European army.

students met at the Weiler and Zollamt border crossing and broke off the border separating their countries, and on 28 December 1952 when thousands of French and Italian activists gathered at Ponte San Luigi. On the latter occasion Italian resistance hero and later prominent politician Paolo Emilio Taviani (1912-2001) and the future Belgian Prime Minister Paul-Henri Spaak (1899-1972) spoke to the gathered crowds who had forced their way over the border to embrace their fellow Europeans. It took more than three decades before the Schengen Agreement, abolishing border controls between member states, would be signed.

Meanwhile, the first piece of what would one day become the European Union was already tentatively being put into place as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was formed in 1951. In his 9 May 1950 declaration, the French Foreign Minister of the



EUGEN KOGON
1903 – 1987
UEF President 1950-1952

Eugen Kogon was a German journalist, sociologist and politician. His opposition to Nazism led to his arrest on numerous occasions by the Gestapo and he was eventually deported to the Buchenwald concentration camp in 1939. With such brutal experience of war he rejected the international system of nation states and pleaded for the establishment of a European Republic. Kogon was the first President of Europa Union Deutschland (EUD/UEF Germany) from 1949 until 1954. Between 1950 and 1952 he was the president of the UEF Central Committee.

time Robert Schuman (1886-1963), proposed the European Coal and Steel Community as a way to make war “not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible” and create “a first step in the federation of Europe”. His initiative was inspired and drafted together with fellow ‘founding father of Europe’ Jean Monnet (1888-1979) who would become the first President of the High Authority, the executive branch of the Community that later evolved into the European Commission.

Soon after the signing of the ECSC Treaty, European governments had to face the issue of West German rearmament. The ‘European Defence Community’ was proposed as an alternative and in 1952 a treaty was signed between West Germany, France, Italy, and the Benelux countries which included provisions for a European Army with a democratically elected Parliament: the ‘Assembly of the European Defence Community’.



Paul-Henri Spaak, one of the 'founding fathers' of the European Union, gave a speech during the 'Europe without borders' protest at Ponte San Luigi, Italy in 1952.



Jubilant activists run cross the Italian border during the "Europe without borders" campaign at Ponte San Luigi, Italy in 1952.

Federalists, with support from governmental figures Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967) and Alcide De Gasperi (1881-1954), saw the proposal of the European Defence Community as an opportunity to create a European Political Community arguing that creating a European army without political control at European level was inconceivable. In September 1952, owing to a Spinelli-inspired proposal from the Italian Government, the Special Council of Ministers of the European Coal and Steel Community decided to establish an Ad Hoc Assembly responsible for the drafting of a European Political Community (EPC) Treaty. Such a Political Community would have placed the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Defence Community and a project for economic integration into a single framework with strong, if not completely, federal characteristics. Its adoption would therefore have created particularly solid foundations for rapid progress towards a European federal state. However since the creation of the European Political Community was inextricably linked to the European Defence Community, the two ideas died together when the treaty establishing the latter was rejected by the French National Assembly on 30 August 1954.

The serious crisis resulting from the collapse of the European Defence Community did not diminish the will of the governments of the six

ECSC's founding countries to push forward with some form of European integration. The memory of the war still burning and the structural inability of the European nation states to confront fundamental problems of the time were clear to many. But the attachment to national sovereignty proved too strong and the governments of the time only considered integration on an economic level possible. This, unlike the political and military integration proposed by the federalists, would not mean the immediate transfer of what was viewed as fundamental aspects of sovereignty to supranational institutions. In the end, the relaunch of the European integration project was decided in Messina in June 1955. It was based on proposals by Jean Monnet and the Benelux governments and led to the signing of the treaties establishing the European Community for Atomic Energy (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC) in Rome on 25 March 1957. The EEC aimed to foster economic integration by building a customs union and a common market between its six member states (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany).

Although the objective of European federation was not indicated in the Treaties of Rome (as it was in the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950), the conviction that guided some of those who inspired it, particularly

Jean Monnet and Paul-Henri Spaak, was that the advancement of economic integration would gradually lead to political integration. In their minds within the Treaties of Rome the embryos of a political union were established (a Commission independent from national governments, community law and the role of the Court of Justice and an assembly whose direct election was one day foreseen). They were convinced that political integration would inevitably follow as these embryos developed.

Ahead of this new phase of the European integration process, the federalists were divided. The vast majority of Dutch and German federalists led by Hendrik Brugmans and Ernst Friedländer (1895-1973), as well as the French '*La Fédération*' movement, led by André Voisin (1918-1999), maintained that it was necessary to exploit the dynamics set in motion by the new Communities, particularly the European Economic Community. They believed that the federalists had to accept a gradual realisation of their vision, and therefore had to actively support economic integration and commit themselves to strengthening the existing embryonic federal principles in the Community system in the belief that they would lead to a more advanced phase of political integration.

Altiero Spinelli, on the other hand, who was supported by the majority of Italian, French and Belgian federalists, was convinced that the European Communities did not dramatically change the European order and their approach was not capable of making significant progress towards European integration. As a consequence they believed the federalists should harshly criticise these governments' initiatives and contest the gradualist approach inspired by Jean Monnet. Spinelli attacked the common market as a "fraud". Unconvinced by the policy of 'small steps' and by the logic of economic integration advocated by Monnet at the time, they argued that an assembly of elected representatives should have been given the mandate for drafting a European Constitution for political unity, as the representatives of national governments and their diplomats had proven unable to agree on such an outcome.

This divergence, not on the ultimate fundamental goals, but with regard to strategic approach, led to the break-up of the UEF and to the formation of two organisations which would go their own separate ways until 1973.

In 1956, the supporters of the Brugmans-Friedländer line founded a new organisation, the '*Action européenne fédéraliste*' (AEF), which was a coordination structure grouping together the German Europa-Union, the Dutch Federalist Movement, the French *Fédération*, the British Federal Union and other small federalist groups in Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark and Italy. The Spinelli faction led to the transformation of the UEF into the '*Mouvement Fédéraliste Européen Supranational*' (MFES, the supranational European Federalist Movement) in 1959. This group was organised as a pan-European supranational movement and not in constituent organisations (although the largest organisations maintained their national structures governed by 'national commissions'). Their magazine at that time was the '*European People*' issued in Italian, French, German and Dutch.

In those years, the fundamental activity of the 'Spinellian federalists' gathered in the MFES consisted of organising, between 1957 and 1962, simulated elections in a number of European cities to elect representatives to a symbolic 'Congress of the European People' - inspired by the Congress of the Indian People led by Mahatma Gandhi - to act as a self-proclaimed European Constituent Assembly. Electoral booths were organised in Italy (Milano and Turin in particular), France (especially in Lyon and Strasbourg), Belgium (notably in Antwerp and Ostend) and Germany and the 'votes' and support of around 640,000 citizens was gathered for the Congress of the European People.

While the action did not achieve its goals, it helped to raise public awareness in many European cities and formed a generation of committed activists and leaders who would go on to play key roles in the UEF for decades to come.



Saturday afternoon on the Place de la République, Lyon, France in 1960. A polling station is set up to invite people to elect representatives to a symbolic 'Congress of the European People'.



Mr. Lode Craeybeckx, mayor of Antwerp, in Belgium, participating in the 'Congress of the European People' elections in 1961.

The end of the decade was a bitter-sweet moment in the history of the UEF. While the federalist movement remained divided over the necessary strategy required to move Europe forwards towards their shared final goal: the creation of a true political union as a European federation. Enormous and historical steps had been taken by the governments of France, Germany, Italy

and the Benelux countries to solidify the pacification of the European continent with common institutions through the creation of the Coal and Steel Community, the European Community for Atomic Energy and the European Economic Community. But it was clear that the objective of political union had been put off to a distant future.



Union of European Federalists demonstration in Luxembourg, May 1953



'For The United States of Europe by the Congress of the European People'.

DE OORZAKEN VAN DE MISLUKKING

De oorzaak van de mislukking ligt niet in de representatieve volksvergadering van de Europese Staten, maar in de afwezigheid van een voorafgaand verdrag. Het is niet de afwezigheid van een voorafgaand verdrag die de oorzaak van de mislukking is, maar de afwezigheid van een voorafgaand verdrag dat de afwezigheid van een voorafgaand verdrag is.

Verkiezingen in Telt

Op 9 en 10 juli a.s. zal ook Nederland-talige Europeanen in de gelegenheid zijn om aan de eerste verkiezingen voor het Congres van het Europees Volk deel te nemen. Dit wordt immers te Tsjecho-Slowakije in het kader van de daar te houden Europeesfeer verkiezingen georganiseerd.

Altera SPINELLI

Altera SPINELLI is een van de belangrijkste leden van de Europese Federatie. Hij heeft een belangrijke rol gespeeld in de ontwikkeling van de Europese Federatie.

Europa dreigt in Afrika te verliezen

Europa dreigt in Afrika te verliezen. Dit is een grote bedreiging voor de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

30.000 NIEUWE EUROPEANEN

30.000 NIEUWE EUROPEANEN. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie. Het toont aan dat er veel belangstelling is voor de Europese Federatie.

En onze lezers

En onze lezers. Dit is een belangrijk onderdeel van de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

EINE NEUE POLITISCHE KRAFT

EINE NEUE POLITISCHE KRAFT. Gegen die wachsende Illgitimität unserer Nationalstaaten. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie.

EINE NEUE WELT DES GEISTES

EINE NEUE WELT DES GEISTES. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie. Het toont aan dat er veel belangstelling is voor de Europese Federatie.

Der erste Versuch

Der erste Versuch. Dit is een belangrijk onderdeel van de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

Eine neue Legitimität

Eine neue Legitimität. Dit is een belangrijk onderdeel van de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

Das Europäische Volk fordert seine Rechte

Das Europäische Volk fordert seine Rechte. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie. Het toont aan dat er veel belangstelling is voor de Europese Federatie.

Die Lage in Frankreich

Die Lage in Frankreich. Dit is een belangrijk onderdeel van de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

CONFEDERATION OU FEDERATION

CONFEDERATION OU FEDERATION. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie. Het toont aan dat er veel belangstelling is voor de Europese Federatie.

Tombés du Sommet

Tombés du Sommet. Dit is een belangrijk onderdeel van de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

UN DÉBAT CAPITAL

UN DÉBAT CAPITAL. Dit is een belangrijk onderdeel van de Europese Federatie. Het is belangrijk om de aandacht te vestigen op deze situatie.

En Italie: Les Européens disent "non"

En Italie: Les Européens disent "non". Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie. Het toont aan dat er veel belangstelling is voor de Europese Federatie.

500.000 europei chiedono la Costituente

500.000 europei chiedono la Costituente. Il C.P.E. si riunisce dal 2 al 4 dicembre ad Ostenda. MANIFESTAZIONE A TORINO L'11 DICEMBRE. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie.

DOMENICA 11 DICEMBRE alle ore 10.30 al Cinema Torino

DOMENICA 11 DICEMBRE alle ore 10.30 al Cinema Torino. RELAZIONE PUBBLICA DEI DELEGATI DEL CPE ELETTI DAL POPOLO EUROPEO IN TORINO NELL'APRILE DEL 1956. Dit is een belangrijke ontwikkeling voor de Europese Federatie.

1960s

GRADUALISTS AND RADICALS DIVIDED BUT RETAIN UNITED GOALS

The 1960s were a time of great social change and the polarising spectre of the Cold War divided the continent. European federalists, though themselves divided between the supra-national European Federalist Movement (MFES) and the 'Action européenne fédéraliste' (AEF), retained the shared vision of a united future for Europe and also for the federalist movements. These shared goals led the organisations to collaborating in a progressively more intense manner. At the heart of this process was an evolution in the views of both organisations towards the European Community.

Economic integration boosted by the European Economic Community was proving its value. The federalists of the MFES were now convinced that the European Economic Community's system was more solid than they had originally thought. They therefore came to accept that the federalist alternative should be pursued through the development of the European Economic Community, rather than its collapse. However they remained convinced that such an evolution would not be the result of mere automatic developments. In order to overcome the extremely strong tendency towards the preservation of national sovereignty, they believed that the federalists had to undertake consistent and systematic public awareness campaigns, exposing and exploiting the contradictions and deficiencies of the EEC, and keeping the objective of a European federation in the political debate.

Meanwhile the AEF federalists lost their confidence in the idea of a more or less automatic passage from economic to political union and slowly moved away from their fairly uncritical support for the European Economic Community and governments'



European federalists from Florence, Venice, Marseille and many other cities demonstrating during the Summit of Heads of State and Government in The Hague, Netherlands, 1 December 1969.

initiatives. They became convinced of the need to supplement advice and advocacy work with the political classes with a more militant approach in favour of federalist principles and a solid effort to mobilise public opinion.

By the mid-1960s the efforts of both groups had already turned to campaigning for direct elections to the European Parliament. It was only in 1962 that the institution became known as a 'parliament' having been previously referred to as the 'consultative assembly'. Despite the name change it was still formed by representatives appointed by national governments, often among low-ranking politicians. A European election, which was foreseen by the Treaty of Rome, was meant to involve European citizens in the integration process, which had thus far proceeded in a technocratic manner, and therefore raised questions of democratic legitimacy.

At this point the federalists' call for a direct election was not accompanied by calls for strengthening the powers of the European Parliament. It was believed that such a strategy

would make it easier to overcome resistance and that the increased accountability provided by direct elections would open the door to further powers being transferred to the European Parliament. This outcome was thought particularly likely should a European party-political system emerged in the context of the election campaign. The conviction was that the European election would open the way for federal developments through the assumption of a permanent 'constituent role' by the European Parliament.

The campaign for the European election – conducted in close collaboration with the European Movement – was carried out without interruption from 1967 to the first direct election in 1979. It was accompanied by various initiatives and campaigns aimed at raising public awareness of the need for European political unity and mobilising forces around the strategic objective of the European elections.

The most notable of such initiatives were a series of 'frontier actions', promoted by the German federalists of Europa Union Deutschland to demand the abolition of



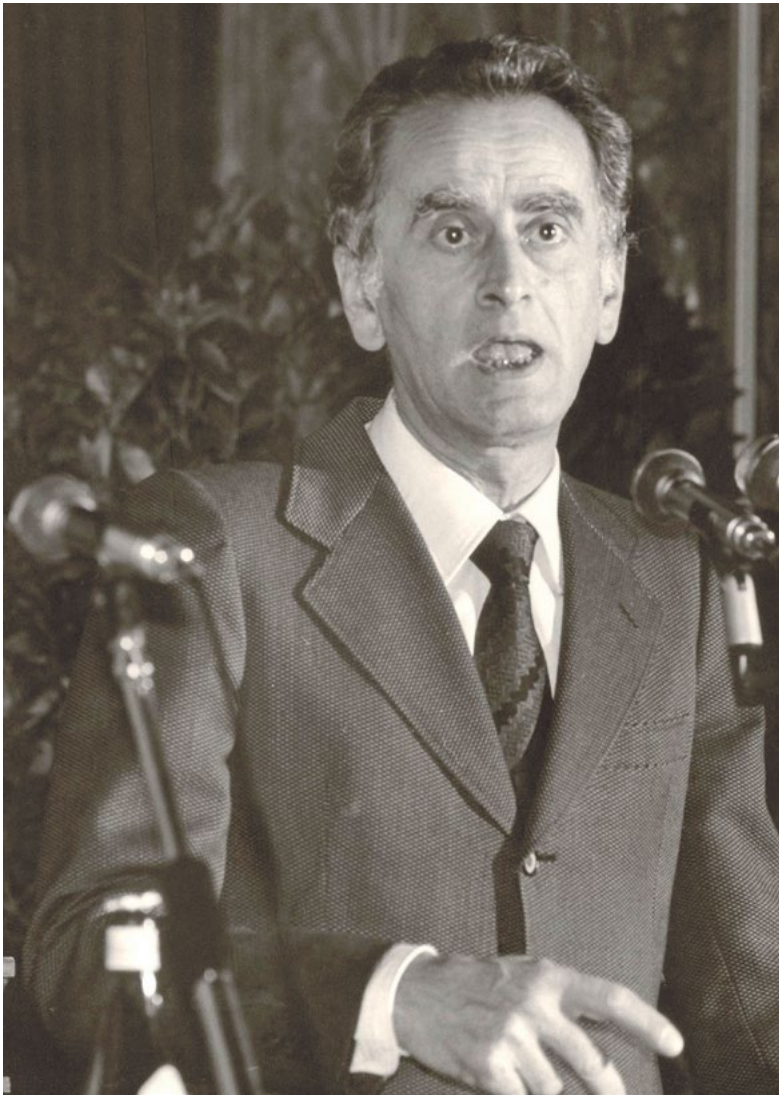
Action Europe campaign at a German frontier, 1968.

national frontiers, with symbolic actions particularly at the Franco-German border. In his later years as Federal Chancellor, Helmut Kohl spoke about how he had joined such actions in his youth. Meanwhile, the Italian federalists of the *Movimento Federalista Europeo* (MFE), led by Mario Albertini (1919-1997), promoted a 'bill of popular initiative' (which was signed by 65,000 citizens) for the direct election of Italian representatives in the European Parliament that was presented to the Senate in 1969.

Street demonstrations were organised throughout the decade, particularly on the occasions of gatherings of Heads of State and Government of the Communities. At this time such summits attracted little to no

attention from the general public. Notable for the number of participants present were the demonstrations of thousands of people, organised together with JEF, in Rome in June 1967, in The Hague in December 1969 and in Paris in October 1972.

A decade that began with the division of the UEF on its strategic line finally saw the groups realigning as they shared the vision of a directly elected European Parliament. While European Federalists had called for this essential democratic institution since their very beginnings it would take another decade before the first direct elections would be held by universal suffrage among European citizens in 1979.



MARIO ALBERTINI
1919 - 1997
UEF President 1975 - 1984

A philosopher, political scientist and professor of political philosophy at the University of Pavia, he dedicated his professional life to the promotion of federalism. He led the Italian Movimento Federalista Europeo (MFE/UEF Italy) from 1966 until his death. In 1959 he became the founding editor of the publication 'The Federalists' and served as President of the Union of European Federalists from 1975 until 1984. Through his books and essays, he provided a major contribution to the theory of European federalism and the federalist interpretation of the European integration process.

50.000 FIRME

PER L'ELEZIONE DEL PARLAMENTO EUROPEO

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DI LEGGE
DI INIZIATIVA
POPOLARE**

LA RACCOLTA DELLE **50.000 FIRME** NECESSARIE
PER LA PRESENTAZIONE DELLA LEGGE AL PARLAMENTO
AVRÀ INIZIO A MILANO IL: **4-5-6-7 OTTOBRE**
PRESSO I SEGGI DI: Piazza del Duomo, Piazza San Babila,
Corso Buenos Ayres, Largo Cairoli e Piazza Cordusio



a cura del Comitato per l'Europa di Milano
e del Movimento Federalista Europeo

A federalist campaign in Italy to gather 50,000 signatures demanding elections to the European Parliament, 1968.



European Federalists campaigning at the Summit of Heads of State and Government in 1963. At the front General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, and Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

1970s

FEDERALISTS UNITE FOR THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

In the first half of the 1970s, Europe was suffering from the oil crisis, tensions in the Middle-East, slow economic growth and widespread social unrest. The first project for an economic and monetary union, the so-called 'Werner plan', proposed in 1972, had failed to gather consensus among national governments. Within a context of increasing monetary instability and economic stagnation, the concrete possibility emerged that the benefits of economic integration already obtained through the European Economic Community could be lost.

Governments slowly began to realise that the risk of regression was real and that the only course to protecting the achievements already made was through further integration. Such integration would have to be undertaken with democratic accountability at the European level and include the involvement of political parties and gauging of public opinion. In this context, it was to be the struggle for direct elections to the European Parliament that would provide the final impetus for the reunification and reconstruction of the UEF.

Upon the initiative of the Italian European Federalist Movement and the German Europa-Union Deutschland, the largest organisations in the MFES and the AEF respectively, a joint-committee was formed at the Congress of Nancy in 1972 and a unification agreement was concluded. In parallel the youth organisation of the Young European Federalists (JEF) was re-established and held its constitutive Congress in Luxembourg in March 1972. The Union of European Federalists was finally formally reunited in April 1973 at the VII Congress in Brussels.



ÉTIENNE HIRSCH
1901-1994
UEF President 1964 – 1972

Étienne Hirsch was a French engineer committed to European ideals and a close associate of Jean Monnet since meeting him in Algeria in 1943. In 1950 he participated in the development of the Schuman plan. In 1952 Hirsch succeeded Jean Monnet as Commissioner General, a post he occupied until 1959. From 1959 to 1962 he served as President of the Commission of the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). In 1963 Hirsch became a professor at the Institute for European Studies at the Free University of Brussels. He was President of the Union of European Federalists between 1964 and 1975. Between 1966 and 1968 he was in charge of Planning as part of the 'counter-government' led by François Mitterrand (1966-1968).

Unlike the MFES, the new Union of European Federalists was made up of national groups. However, it was not meant to be simply an international coordination platform of national organisations, as the original UEF and especially the AEF had been, but a more supranational organisation. Frenchman Etienne Hirsch (1901-1994) was elected as president, having enjoyed the same office at the Executive Commission of Euratom until, owing to his federalist positions, he was ousted by French President Charles de Gaulle. Hirsch had already become president of the MFES in 1964. Italian Caterina Chizzola was appointed as secretary-general and remained in the post until 1990.

The preamble of the statute of the new UEF recalled Immanuel Kant, Alexander Hamilton and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon as the fathers of federalism and listed a number of documents as its main points of reference including the



Demonstration in Rome, December 1975.



Demonstration in Rome, December 1975.

directives of the Federal Union (1939), The Ventotene Manifesto (1941), The Hertenstein Programme (1946) and the declaration of the UEF Congress of Montreux (1947).

In the mid-1970s federalist demonstrations followed the main meetings of the European Council. In December 1975 a particularly visible demonstration took place at the time of the European Council in Rome, where the pressure applied by federalist activists paid off as it was decided that the European election would be held. Initially the United Kingdom and Denmark, which had joined the European Community in 1973, were unwilling to be involved, but in the end both countries went on to take part in the elections. In 1976 Federalists demonstrated again in Brussels as the European Council decided on the number of Members of Parliament to be elected.



A poster for the first European Parliamentary elections in 1979.

In June 1979, 33 years after the foundation of the UEF, the first direct elections to the European Parliament were held. They were the first international elections in history and for the first time directly-elected members of the European Parliament sat according to European political groups. It was a momentous occasion and at the first session of the newly-elected Parliament on 17 July 1979, 5,000 people joined a federalist demonstration in Strasbourg. The vision of a federal Europe had come one important step closer to reality.

The positive climate and the expectations of a relaunch of the European integration process raised by the decision on the direct election also gave a boost to the proposals for strengthening monetary cooperation and contributed to the creation of the European Monetary System (EMS) in 1979. This new institution was strongly promoted by the French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt

(1918-2015) and firmly supported by the federalists, who called for a European single currency: *'European Parliament, European Currency, European Government'* was one of the slogans of the time. A petition calling for a European Currency and a European Government, launched in 1978, was one of the initiatives of that time and was the basis of a number of grassroots actions throughout Europe.

In the space of less than a decade federalist groups divided for over a decade were united once more under the UEF banner and Europe had its first directly elected Parliament.



In June 1977, demonstrators in Brussels showed their support for the single currency and the election of the European Parliament through universal suffrage.



Demonstration for a common European currency during the European Council meeting in Brussels, 5 December 1978.



Demonstration for a common European currency during the European Council meeting in Brussels, 5 December 1977.

1980s

FROM ELECTIONS TO DEMOCRACY

The 1980s marked the beginning of the transition to democracy in Eastern Europe with important movements opposed to communist rule gaining strength in various countries. In Western Europe federalists looked to build on the previous decade's achievements. They set about developing the European Communities into a future federal Europe, to which they hoped formerly communist countries would later be free to join.

The UEF focused on a campaign for European Democracy throughout the 1980s. Altiero Spinelli, who had spent the first half of the 1970s as a European Commissioner, was elected to the first European Parliament in June 1979. The UEF, with the Italian Mario Albertini president from 1975 to 1984, supported Spinelli's work for a European Parliament initiative for a political union including a European Constitution. Spinelli formed the *Club Crocodile* of federalist MEPs and gradually gathered the support of the vast majority of the Parliament for his proposals. Meanwhile, the UEF involved citizens, political and social organisations and local authorities with a series of systematic grass-root campaigns.

The European Parliament, thanks to the impetus provided by Spinelli, finally approved a proposal for a '*Draft Treaty Establishing a European Union*' on Valentine's Day 1984. This was for all intents and purposes a European constitution and would become known as 'The Spinelli Treaty'. It contained decisive progress in a federal direction and its entry into force was foreseen by ratification in a majority of member states.

The UEF, that had elected the British academic and ardent federalist John Pinder (1924-2015) as president, continued to



JOHN PINDER
1925 -2015
UEF President 1984 - 1987

John Pinder was a pioneer of public policy studies and a prominent British proponent of European federalism. After serving during the Second World War in the West African Artillery, he became a press officer at the Federal Union in 1950. Pinder was President of the Union of European Federalists from 1984 until 1990 and active in the European Movement in the UK and internationally. He published extensively on the politics, economics and history of the EC/EU and of federalism. He is the author of numerous books, including 'The Building of the European Union' and 'The European Union: a Very Short Introduction'.



Demonstration during the European Council meeting in Brussels, 29 March in 1985.



Helmut Kohl, German Federal Chancellor (in the middle in front of the photographers) with demonstrators from the Union of European Federalists during the European Council meeting in Brussels, 29-30 March 1985.



A poster in Dutch and French calling for citizens to join the biggest demonstration for the 'European Union Now' in Milan, Italy, 1985.



A cover of the magazine 'Il Giorno' featuring the biggest federalist demonstration in the history of the organisation in Piazza del Duomo in Milan, Italy, 1985.

demonstrate at European Council meetings in support of the Spinelli Treaty. On 29 June 1985, on the occasion of a meeting in Milan, 100,000 federalists from all over Europe gathered in the largest popular demonstration in the history of the federalist movement, marching through the city centre and ending with a final rally on the Piazza del Duomo. The high turnout was thanks to a combined effort of all member organisation and a coalition of political and social forces gathered by the federalists.

However, the European Council disregarded the proposals of the European Parliament and the Spinelli Treaty and decided instead to convene an intergovernmental conference to review the Community Treaties in view of creating a single market for goods and services, later achieved with the Single European Act (1986).

Among the most radical initiatives by the federalists in order to keep the prospect of a constitutional initiative by the European Parliament alive, was one particular campaign in Italy. The MFE, the Italian section of UEF, gathered 120,000 signatures to encourage the Italian Parliament to pass

a constitutional law to hold a consultative referendum on whether to give a 'constituent mandate' to the European Parliament. The referendum was held in conjunction with the June 1989 European elections and achieved 88% support with a turnout of 82%. Public support was also high elsewhere in Europe. Federalists in Belgium attempted to demonstrate this with a similar initiative but were unsuccessful in their attempt to hold a popular referendum.

While a European Constitution failed to materialise at this point, and it would take another 20 years to be formally proposed once again, the campaign was an important factor in the process which led to the Single European Act. This Act, despite its narrow scope compared to the requests of the federalists and of the European Parliament, was able to put European integration back into motion. It also laid the basis for monetary integration and opened a phase of institutional reforms to reflect the fact that over the preceding years the European Communities had become increasingly integrated in foreign policy, security and defence, internal affairs and justice.



Federalist demonstration during a European Council summit, Strasbourg, 6 December 1989.



Activists in Milan launch a federalist balloon! 29 June 1985.

1990s

TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN CURRENCY

The 1990s were played out against a background of era-defining transformation within the international system following the end of the cold war and German reunification. The necessity, which the UEF had maintained ever since its inception, to organically connect the reconstruction of Germany to the creation of a common European sovereignty, represented a fundamental factor in the progress made in the integration process during the 1990s. Key figures drove developments at the European level, including European Commission President Jacques Delors, French President François Mitterrand, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti but their vision could never have been fulfilled without the support of citizens which manifested itself in UEF actions in support of the integration progress.

A major rally organised by federalists in Maastricht in December 1991 attracted thousands of activists and a final convention was attended by the then President of the Commission Jacques Delors (who addressed the crowd declaring: “federalism is not an f-word”). The Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers and the President of the European Parliament Enrique Barón Crespo were also present. The Maastricht Treaty, finally ratified in 1993, represented the almost total realisation of the single market and prepared the continent for the birth of the European Union and a new single currency – with the name ‘euro’ first being decided upon in December 1995.

The UEF continued its Campaign for European Democracy until 1996 with Italian Francesco Rossolillo (1937-2005) as president from 1990 to 1997, and Dutchman Gerard Vissels following Italian Caterina Chizzola as secretary-general. If the basic objective of this campaign was, as always, the



Demonstration during the European Council meeting in Maastricht, 8 December in 1991.

creation of a European federation achieved through a democratic-constituent process, the campaign's concrete demands were: the elimination of border controls between the countries of the European Union, a parallel enlargement and deepening of the Union, the strengthening of the executive role of the European Commission, the strengthening of the powers of the European Parliament and the extension of majority voting in the Council of Ministers.

With the introduction of the euro now foreseen for 1999, federalists used the mid-90s to advocate for an acceleration of the creation of the single currency (as some were concerned that the long time required for its implementation had the potential to derail the process entirely) and at the same time lay the basis for the next steps in the integration process. Considerable debate was raised in federalist ranks by the controversial proposal made in 1994 by German Christian Democrat

politicians Wolfgang Schäuble and Karl Lamers for a Kerneuropa ('core Europe') of the countries able to join the euro, a subject that would prove divisive even for the federalists in later years.

With the introduction of the euro certain and imminent, the UEF returned to its roots of demanding a European Constitution to complete the political union around the soon to be created single currency. At the European summit in Brussels in December 1993, some hundred federalists from the UEF and JEF held a public action in the vicinity of the European summit under the slogan "Wake Up, it's Constitution Time!" At the European summit in Florence in June 1996, the UEF and JEF gathered thousands of federalists in a public demonstration in Piazza della Signoria and in a series of other indoor and outdoor events where proposals for a European Constitution began to be put forward.



Addressing the federalist crowd, Jacques Delors declares: "federalism is not an f-word!". Maastricht, 8 December 1991.

At the Congress in Vienna in 1997, where German Jo Leinen was elected president, the UEF officially began a Campaign for a European Constitutional Assembly, soon thereafter renamed as the 'Campaign for a European Constitution'. In spring 1998, the UEF launched an Appeal 'For a democratic European Union, for a European Constitution' on which local sections gathered citizens' signatures. In April 1999, the UEF published a proposal of 'Twelve Guidelines for a European Constitution' and, upon a UEF initiative, an 'Intergroup for a European Constitution' was set-up in the European Parliament in September of the same year. The group gathered most federalist MEPs and was supported by the then UEF Secretary-General Frenchman Bruno Boissiere.

The campaign was launched with a clear understanding of the challenges Europe was facing. There was an urgent need to integrate monetary union with supranational social and economic government and it was clear that the imminent enlargement of the European Union with 10 new countries in Central and Eastern Europe required stronger political cohesion to avoid a dilution, if not even the collapse, of the entire European project. It was also essential for the EU to be able to act effectively on an international level in order to make a significant contribution to the creation of a fairer and more peaceful world and this would require the federalisation of security, defence and foreign policies. It was clear to many that only a federal system provided effective answers to the challenges



European federalists gather in Klagenfurt to call for a European Constitution during an unofficial European Council meeting, in Pörtlach, Austria, 23-24 October 1998.

Europe faced. As enlargement grew closer new UEF sections were gradually formed in countries expected or expecting to accede. In the course of the 1990s the UEF boasted more than 20 national sections.

The decade, and with it, the 20th Century, would come to an end with part of Europe uniting around a new single currency. The euro was something that fifty years earlier the most visionary federalists had dreamed of, and which federalists of the time were now committed to, believing as they did that the single currency would make the need for a democratic European government more urgent than ever.

At a Congress held in Bonn in April 1999, the UEF reaffirmed its calls for a democratic constitutional process and the need for a true European Federation to evolve with an effective federal government. A resolution expressly warned of: "the risk posed to the achievements of the EMU by not strengthening it with political union." Ten years later, as Europe struggled to cope with the Eurozone crisis, the weakness of the currency, the lack of a democratic and effective European government would begin to be exposed to the European public at large.

2000s

THE STRUGGLE FOR A EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

A new year, new decade, new century and new millennium begun with a new hope that federalist demands would finally be met. With the arrival of the single currency and the enlargement of the Union to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe making rapid progress, the limits of the political structure of the Union were clearly apparent and Europe was finally ready for a Constitution.

When German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer gave a speech at the Humboldt University in May 2000 advocating a 'federal vanguard' of a core of countries to set up a political unity in parallel to the enlargement of the European Union to new countries, many federalists were galvanised. A delegation of federalists welcomed and encouraged Fischer upon his arrival at the European Parliament a few weeks after his controversial proposal. To exploit the momentum created by Fischer's speech, the UEF and JEF mobilised and organised a public demonstration with over 10,000 people at the December 2000 European Council in Nice calling for a European Constitution. The decision to summon a European Convention, chaired by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, followed.

Some federalists were sceptical about the likely outcome of the Convention, arguing that a political initiative by a select group of member states, the founding six or the countries using the euro would be required. However, the UEF made every effort to lobby for an as-advanced-as-possible outcome. While the final proposals that emerged from the Convention were deemed by many



10,000 demonstrators call for a European Constitution at the European Council meeting in Nice, France, 7 December 2000.

to be unsatisfactory, the important steps towards more integration and democratic participation they contained were judged to warrant the organisation's support.

However, the decision to refer the draft Constitution prepared by the Convention to an intergovernmental conference acting on the principle of unanimous decision making and the need for unanimous ratification would prove fatal. In 2005, referendums in France and the Netherlands rejected the proposed European Constitution.

Under the guidance of Italian Mercedes Bresso and Austrian Friedhelm Frischenschlager, elected president and secretary-general in 2006 and 2005 respectively, the UEF aimed to have the constitutional project rewritten

and improved and then subjected to a European consultative referendum to be held on the same day as the 2009 European Elections. This plan was undermined by the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007, which contained watered-down versions of the reforms proposed by the Constitutional Treaty. All reference, even symbolic, to the concept of constitution had been erased and key institutional reforms were abandoned with the specific intention of reducing any expectations that the process of institutional change in a federal direction might be rapidly resumed.

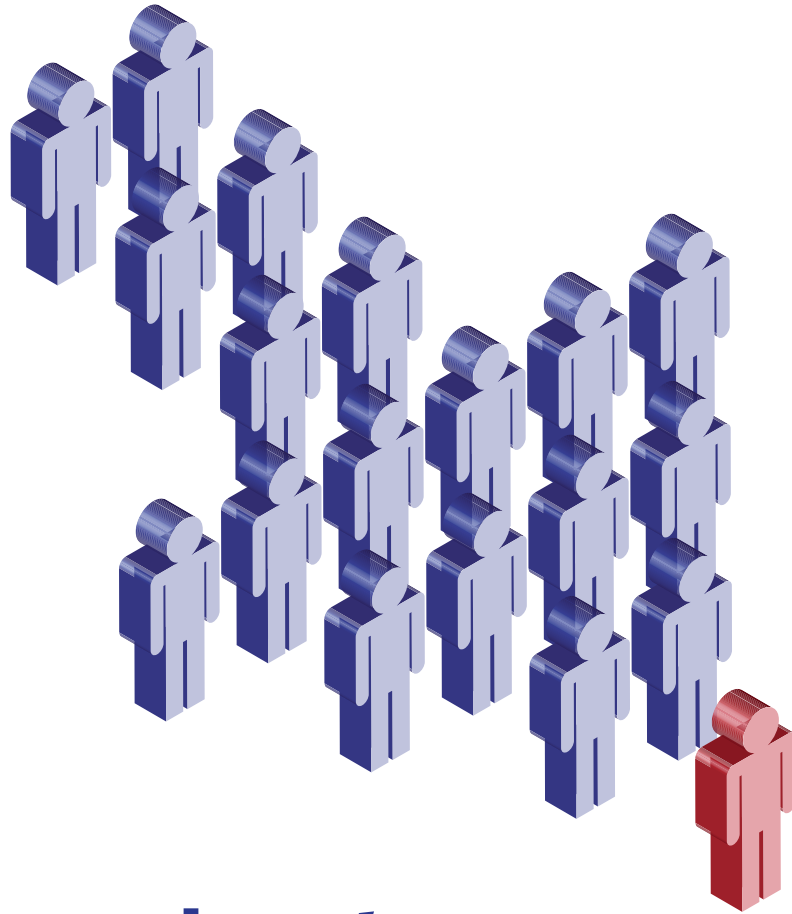
As a disappointing decade drew to a close federalists remained determined. With British MEP Andrew Duff elected president at the European Congress in Paris in 2008,



A federalist campaigner wears a 'Who is your Candidate?' T-shirt at the Congress of the Party of European Socialists in Madrid, Spain, 1 December 2008.

and Spaniard Jean Marc Simon having been chosen as secretary-general a year earlier, the UEF launched the 'Who is your Candidate?' campaign for the 2009 European Elections. European Political parties were encouraged to nominate their candidate for European Commission President, should their party win the largest number of seats.

This attempt to politicise the Commission and thereby achieve a greater democratic oversight via a more informal route did not go unnoticed. Five years later at the 2014 elections, the parties caught up and leading candidates (*Spitzenkandidäten*) were put forward by each of the main European parties.



Who's **Your** Candidate?

Countdown to the 1st European
Presidential Election in 2009

The 'Who is your Candidate?' campaign asked the European political parties to nominate their candidate for President of the European Commission following the 2009 elections.

2010s

CALLING FOR A FEDERAL EUROPE

The financial crisis that began in 2008 in the USA spilled over to Europe at that start of the 2010s. The extent to which several Eurozone countries, and by extension the euro itself, were exposed, demonstrated a dangerous proof of federalist warnings about the limits of a currency union without fiscal and political backbone. The UEF warned that Europe found itself facing a dramatic alternative: either to build a federal Union, starting from the Eurozone countries, or to face disintegration.

For the first four years of the decade German Christian Wenning served as UEF Secretary-General and oversaw the campaign: 'Federal Union Now!' The campaign called for a strong European government able to tackle the economic crisis and provide jobs and growth for Europe while securing the future of the single currency. At a Congress in Berlin in 2013 the UEF launched a Manifesto for a federal Europe ahead of the 2014 European elections. Longstanding MEP and German federalist Elmar Brok was elected the organisation's latest, and at the time of writing, current president.

The UEF campaigned 'Towards Federal Europe' in the run-up to the European Parliamentary elections in 2014, asking candidates to declare their commitment to building a European Federation and encouraging citizens to support those candidates. The campaign aimed to thereby increase the number of Federalist MEPs in the European Parliament.

Italian Paolo Vacca, previously President of the Young European Federalists (JEF), was elected as secretary-general in June 2014 and

WHO TO VOTE FOR IN #EP2014?

Vote for a candidate who supports a federal Europe!



E #toFedEU
www.towardsfederaleurope.eu

has recently overseen a growing Brussels-based secretariat, an increased number of new events and activities across Europe, and greater cooperation with the Spinelli Group of federalist MEPs.

The 2013 Manifesto for a Federal Europe was updated in 2015. The UEF has since continued to call for essential steps towards a federal Europe including the completion the Economic and Monetary Union with a fiscal and economic union. The organisation has also repeatedly demanded the strengthening of European common policies in several fields including social, migration, industrial, energy and internal security as well as the federalisation of European external foreign, security and defence policy. In terms of institutional reform federalists continue to push for the Commission to be elected by the European Parliament and equipped with full executive powers turning it into a federal government for Europe, and for the European Parliament to be elected with greater proportionality and a uniform electoral system with regional colleges and transnational lists. This would occur alongside the transformation of the Council

of Ministers into a Chamber of States or Senate where members would no longer enjoy veto rights.

Since the 2014 elections, initiatives have specifically focussed on encouraging the European Parliament to take the lead and re-open the debate on the architecture of the Union with a view to a new reform of the Treaties. The UEF is committed to pushing ahead towards a federal Europe with solutions that address both the need for a more economically and politically integrated Eurozone and the looser integration of member states that are not yet ready to join a true political union.

The 2016 marks the 70th anniversary of the UEF. After 70 years of leading the way towards a united and federal Europe, the UEF looks to the future with the same vision and final goal as the earliest European federalists possessed. Now, as then, UEF members dream of a federal Europe, politically united and able to secure peace and prosperity for generations to come and are committed to gathering citizens from across Europe to rally around this cause.

Union of European Federalists: 70 years of federalist campaigns for a united and federal Europe

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