



Doc. 13527 – Compendium of written amendments

(Final version)

Towards a better European democracy: facing the challenges of a federal Europe

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A. Draft Resolution

1. The Parliamentary Assembly notes that, while the economic crisis in Europe remains a central concern, the way the integration of Europe took shape, and particularly the form and polity of the European Union, have also become matters of reflection, criticism and political disputes.
2. Having considered it for decades as part of the solution for most of the economic and political problems, citizens have in more recent years increasingly started perceiving the way Europe's integration was proceeding as another source of negative economic developments, increasing social disparities and erosion of democracy.
3. The rise and strength of nationalist parties in many European countries is another indication of the fact that the political form of European integration is being questioned. Too many citizens are turning their back on the European Union because they have the impression that the more competences it acquires, the less powerful democracy becomes.
4. To regain the trust of the citizens, the main challenge the European Union seems to face today, beyond the management of the fiscal and economic crisis, is the need to advance in the process of democratisation and to develop itself a polity which bases its powers on a strong transnational European democracy. For this purpose, several alternatives are available, including that of a federal Europe empowered with a federal democracy.
5. The Assembly believes that it can provide an ideal forum for deliberations on these alternatives for the future political form of the European Union and more specifically the challenges of opting for a European federal democracy, given that:

Amendment 1

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr David DAVIES, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ

In the draft resolution, paragraph 4, replace the words "a strong transnational European democracy. For this purpose, several alternatives are available, including that of a federal Europe empowered with a federal democracy" with the following words: "sovereign nation states and their national governments, as represented through the Council of Ministers".

Amendment 2

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI

In the draft resolution, paragraph 5, delete the following words: "these alternatives for".

Amendment 3

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI

In the draft resolution, paragraph 5, delete the following words: "and more specifically the challenges of opting for a European federal democracy, given that".

- 5.1. the original project underlying the creation of the Council of Europe and its Parliamentary Assembly, in the aftermath of the Second World War, was precisely the establishment of a "democratic European federation" on the basis of a European constitution;

Amendment 4

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, delete paragraph 5.1.

- 5.2. the Assembly is used to deliberating on how the fundamental European values, such as human rights, the rule of law and democracy, are developing and how they can be better protected. For many years, it has gained relevant experience through the adoption of numerous reports dealing with the crises which today's democracies face and looking for answers to the question of how democracy has to be developed in order to re-empower itself, in full respect of the integrity and sovereignty of the States, and how to strengthen its substance and prevent what might be seen as the erosion of democracy and its reduction to a kind of "post-democracy";
- 5.3. composed of representatives of national parliaments who can enrich and enlarge the essential debate back home, the Assembly bridges the emerging divide between European and national arenas of politics and can discuss available options without committing any governments or the European Union itself;
- 5.4. all Council of Europe member States and their citizens are linked to the European Union in different ways and to different degrees and have thus an interest in the realisation of institutional reforms which will re-empower democracy and help the European Union to overcome its crisis and come closer to its citizens.
6. The Assembly notes that, despite its different historical roots and diverging interpretations, federalism relates mainly to the principle of organising, in a multicultural

Amendment 5

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame

society, a polity by dividing powers between orders of government. Rather than constituting a model for an ever closer political union or a European State, federalism implies a process of balancing power in a differentiated political order which enables unity while guaranteeing diversity.

7. The Assembly further notes that the guiding principle for the distribution of powers within a federation is subsidiarity, in the sense that responsibility is to be given, in principle, to smaller units and that the solution to any problem should be sought as close as possible to the citizens.

8. Provided that it is based on democracy, federalism helps integrate diversity while respecting differences. A European federal democracy, therefore, would not mean more Europe and fewer nation States. It would imply a decentralised government with European competencies based on the will of the European citizens, enabling it to face, in the interest of European citizens, transnational issues which could not be addressed effectively by a nation State alone.

9. Such a European democratic federalism would be a mode of organisation more compatible with the multinational character of societies in today's European Union and the will of its member States to share only those powers with each other which could not be better used at home. As such, it would constitute a political system requiring a continuous search for a balance between integration and differentiation.

Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, delete paragraph 6.

Amendment 6

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, paragraph 7, delete the following words: "within a federation".

Amendment 7

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, delete paragraph 8.

Amendment 8

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, paragraph 9, first sentence, replace the words "Such a European democratic federalism" with the following words:

"European recognition of the sovereignty of the nation state".

10. For the above-mentioned reasons, the Assembly invites all interested Europeans and European institutions and States, including both governments and parliaments, to consider the challenges of a European federal democracy and to evaluate ways to transform today's treaty-based European Union into a constitution-based European federal union. The latter would decentralise power and strengthen only those European competencies which are necessary to face the transnational policy challenges better than any State in Europe could do alone, in the interest of the majority of European citizens.

Amendment 9

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, paragraph 10, first sentence, delete the following words: "to consider the challenges of a European federal democracy and".

Amendment 10

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, paragraph 10, first sentence, replace the words "constitution-based European federal union" with the following words: "loose confederation of nation states based upon the principle of free trade".

11. For its part, the Assembly considers that, for historical reasons and in view of its functions and composition, it could offer an inter-parliamentary public space where regular evaluations of "the state of European federal democracy" could contribute to the search and the establishment of the right federal balance.

Amendment 11

Tabled by Sir Roger GALE, Mr Robert WALTER, Mr James CLAPPISON, Dame Angela WATKINSON, Mr Brian BINLEY, Baroness Judith WILCOX, Lady Diana ECCLES, Mr Ian LIDDELL-GRAINGER, Mr Robert NEILL, Mr Egemen BAĞIŞ, Mr Mehmet Kasım GÜLPINAR, Mr Reha DENEMEÇ, Ms Tülin ERKAL KARA, Mr Ömer SELVİ, Mr Zbigniew GIRZYŃSKI, Mr Mariusz KAMIŃSKI, Mr Łukasz ZBONIKOWSKI, Mr Grzegorz CZELEJ

In the draft resolution, throughout paragraph 11, delete the word "federal".