



ISSN: 2036-5438

**The Never-Ending Reform of the EU:  
Another Link in the Chain of the Semi-Permanent  
Treaty Revision Process?**

by

Roberto Castaldi\* and Giuseppe Martinico\* (eds.)

Perspectives on Federalism, Vol. 6, issue 3, 2014





## Abstract

This special issue is the result of a long project started within the activity of one of the working groups created at the Centre for Studies on Federalism, Turin, almost three years ago, namely the working group on “the EU and its institutional reforms” chaired by Prof. Antonio Padoa Schioppa, Emeritus Professor of Law at the University of Milan and former President of the Centre for Studies on Federalism.

## Key-words

Lisbon Treaty, reforms, semi-permanent Treaty revision process



This special issue marks the beginning of the new joint editorship of *Perspectives of Federalism* by Roberto Castaldi and Giuseppe Martinico. It is, however, the result of a long project started within the activity of one of the working groups created at the Centre for Studies on Federalism, Turin, almost three years ago, namely the working group on “the EU and its institutional reforms” chaired by Prof. Antonio Padoa Schioppa, Emeritus Professor of law at the University of Milan and former President of the Centre for Studies on Federalism.

Within the activity of this working group we organized in Pisa a workshop devoted to “Which form of government for the Eurozone?”<sup>I</sup> held at the Scuola Superiore S. Anna, Pisa, on 27 September 2013.

On that occasion we gathered established and young scholars to give comments on a first version of a paper published by Prof. Padoa Schioppa in this journal last year with the highly significant title “Guidelines for a Constitutional Reform of the European Union”.<sup>II</sup>

The workshop, co-organized with the STALS (Sant’Anna Legal Studies<sup>III</sup>) Program offered a marvelous opportunity to exchange and discuss different (sometimes competing) views on the future of the Union, and triggered an ongoing debate which convinced us to collect some of those comments in the form of fully fledged papers in order to give visibility to this debate.

We thus asked our authors to write academic papers with a clear normative intent, i.e. works aimed at giving an explicit contribution to the discussion without renouncing the depth of the scholarly works. The final output of this collective enterprise reflects such a variety.

At the heart of the opening essay is the reform of economic governance in the EU, as a reaction to the Eurozone crisis, which has increased asymmetries in the Union. In her article Cristina Fasone deals with asymmetries amongst national parliaments that have arisen in the context of the crisis, by starting from the consideration that, although formally respected, the principle of equality of Member States before the Treaties has been put under stress.

Tommaso Virgili offers a critical account of the European partnership with Egypt under the European Neighbourhood Policy, in order to assess the effectiveness of EU policy in the promotion of democratization and human rights. Edoardo Bressanelli



discusses the role of EU parties and suggests how to strengthen it in the light of a number of recent developments and challenges.

In his article Giuseppe Martinico tries to explore some important issues that should be taken into account when advancing reform proposals with regard to the Court of Justice of the European Union. Diane Fromage studies the question of national parliaments and democratic accountability in the context of the financial crisis, focusing on three Member States: France, Germany and Spain.

Giacomo Delledonne investigates the role of the European Council in the institutional framework laid down by the Lisbon Treaty, trying to understand whether it can plausibly serve as a collective “head of state” of a federalised polity. Jerónimo Maillo González-Orús offers a critical account of some of the proposals to reinforce the role of the EU Commission, exploring the different implications that a “politicized” Commission would have in the EU by distinguishing different scenarios (strong politicization of the Commission vs. weak politicization of the Commission, reforms in the long run versus reforms in the short run). Mario Kölling engages with the long standing debate on the reform of the EU budget by analyzing the agreement of the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) 2014-2020.

María Isabel González Pascual focuses on the impact of the Eurocrisis upon Regions, with particular attention paid to the effects of budget constraints and austerity measures on the Regions of Member States such as Italy or Spain. Fabio Masini analyses the ECB contribution to crisis management and proposes to address the persistent asymmetry between monetary union (centralised) and economic union (based on a mere coordination of national economic policies), the incomplete (if compared to a fully-fledged federal Central Bank) mandate of the European Central Bank, the limited budget of the EU and uncertainty surrounding budgetary policies in the Union.

Together these papers offer an overview of the development of European governance during the crisis and contribute to the debate on its reform.

---

\* Roberto Castaldi is Associate Professor of Political Philosophy at eCampus University and Research Director of CesUE ([www.cesue.eu](http://www.cesue.eu)).

\* Giuseppe Martinico is Associate Professor of Comparative Public Law at Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna, Pisa and STALS Editor ([www.stals.sssup.it](http://www.stals.sssup.it)).

<sup>I</sup> <http://stals.sssup.it/files/Seminario%20Scuola-CSF-IAI-EUDO.pdf>.

<sup>II</sup> [http://www.on-federalism.eu/attachments/158\\_download.pdf](http://www.on-federalism.eu/attachments/158_download.pdf).

<sup>III</sup> [www.stals.ssup.it](http://www.stals.ssup.it).