



SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

LUISS Guido Carli

Conference on:
«Reforming the EU: Central European
Perspectives»

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REFORMING THE EU POLITY: DILEMMAS AND ALTERNATIVES

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1. Introduction
2. The Maastricht differentiated governance
3. Post-crisis governance scenario
4. Bringing comparative federalism back in
5. The EU as a federal union
6. Conclusion

1. Introduction

1. The concept of governance in the EU literature - too much 'processes' and too little 'institutions'
2. Governance vs. government in the EU
3. The Maastricht Treaty and the differentiated governance regime: supranational and intergovernmental
4. The post-2008 crises and the debate on the future of Europe: the Commission's White Paper
5. The EU and comparative federalism: distinction between federal states and federal unions
6. The EU as a federal union: a normative assessment



2. The Maastricht governance regime

1. The Maastricht critical juncture: single market and strategic policies
2. The governance of single market regulatory policies (supranational)
3. The governance of the new strategic policies (intergovernmental)
4. The EU as an internally differentiated system based on different structure of governance for managing different European policies

3. Post-crisis governance scenarios

1. Four Presidents, Five Presidents and Commission's White Paper
2. The five scenarios of the Commission's White Paper can be reduced to three
3. Europe à la carte, Europe as a state and multi-speed Europe
4. Majone vs. Rodrik - international organization and state centralization
5. State governance A and B vs. clubs' governance
6. The incongruences of the three option from the perspective of democratic legitimacy

4. Comparative federalism back in

1. Comparative federalism and the distinction between federal state and federal union (US and Switzerland)
2. Federal union as the answer to the paradox of making possible a sovereign union of sovereign states
3. James Madison and the strategy of separation of powers
4. Combining governance with government (government as a process and not as an institution)
5. Keep the horizontal institutions and the vertical levels separate, giving each institution and level autonomous resources
6. In the US - foreign policy and economic modernization strengthened the government vis-à-vis the governance. BUT

5. The EU as a federal union

1. From a normative perspective, the EU should introduce vertical and horizontal separation
2. Vertical separation: firewalls between national and supranational governance (the European Council's role)
3. Horizontal separation: prevent both state governance A and B centralization
4. Institutionalization of a bicameral legislature and reform of the executive power (unitary or dual)
5. Limited competences but autonomous resources

1. Differentiated governance and its limits
2. Reform's proposals: the 'science' of the future of the EU?
3. Limits of clubs' governance and state governance A and B - ambiguity of multi-speed Europe
4. Comparative federalism and its concepts and methods: distinction between federal state and federal union
5. The federal union as multiple separation of powers: from a normative model to an institutional strategy
6. In sum, in the future: *which European Union?*



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WHICH **EUROPEAN UNION?**

Europe After the Euro Crisis

SERGIO FABBRINI