

# BESONDERE LERNLEISTUNG: THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

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## Preface

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*We must build a kind of United States of Europe. [...] The process is simple. We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past and look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years to come hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past. [...] Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe [...]*  
 – Winston Churchill, 19th September 1946, Zürich University<sup>i</sup>

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The European Union is in a crisis. At least according to scholars and specialized literature. But, has the European Union ever not been in a crisis? It is true, that since the establishment of the European Union with the treaty of Maastricht<sup>ii</sup> the European Union dealt with many different crises which had different effects for the member states. The government debt crisis<sup>iii</sup>, which effects Greece and other European countries and the refugee crisis<sup>iv</sup>, which demanded much energy and comprising from the European heads of government at numerous summits<sup>v</sup> and special meetings<sup>vi</sup> are only two examples of such crises which the European Union in part caused or contributed to<sup>vii</sup>. But even before that, the idea of a European community of states was subject to much criticism. Among others, critics lamented the much-too-large administrative machine of the European Union, whose costs are in no relation to the benefits for the population of the member states<sup>viii</sup> or the ineffectiveness of the European Union as large sums of money are spent for unreasonable projects. On the other hand, critics suggest that the European Union intrudes<sup>ix</sup> the privacy of its citizens<sup>x</sup> and imposes strict rules on them, which might collide with laws of member states<sup>xi</sup> or the purpose and benefit of such might not be comprehensive from an economic viewpoint<sup>xii</sup>.

Therefore, some criticism seems understandable and even the biggest proponents of the European Union have to agree to some of the criticized points. Since the founding of this unprecedented state community, the European Union changed the lives of its citizens, in most cases very profoundly<sup>xiii</sup>. But in most cases, those changes were improvements, as it is often ignored that the European Union guaranteed more peace, prosperity and freedom to the Europeans since its establishment<sup>xiv</sup>. The European Union achieved this with many different directives<sup>xv</sup>, which increased the standard of living for Europeans, for example the directive on particulate matter<sup>xvi</sup> or the ordinance on drinking water<sup>xvii</sup>. The Schengen area arrangement<sup>xviii</sup> in the core frame of the European Integration and the financial integration of the Euro-monetary union<sup>xix</sup> are examples as well.

The member states of the European Union profit from their membership in this supranational association of states. The political scientist Werner Weidenfeld describes the motives for the European integration since the end of the Second World War, which led to the establishment and expansion of the European Union as an “Ausdruck interessengeleiteter Politik”, or expression of interest-led policy.

Therefore, the European Integration serves for the purposes of the member states and not as an end in itself<sup>xx</sup>. He describes the five motives as 1) wish for a new self-understanding as an European communal experience after the time of nationalism in Germany and Europe 2) wish for security and peace within Europe through the prevention of violence inside the European community 3) wish for freedom and mobility after the war-related restrictions of the Second World War and the succeeding time in the movement of people, capital and goods 4) wish for economic prosperity through a common single market, which promotes economic stability and affluence 5) wish for the concentration of the power of governments within Europe to compete with the superpowers and gain influence<sup>xxi</sup>. The motives of those countries at the time of the European Integration are still current and their guiding ideals can be found in the European Union.

However, in the last years there was a tendency towards more nationality, as it can be observed for example in the current governments in Poland<sup>xxii</sup> or Hungary<sup>xxiii</sup>. Additionally, in other European countries, Eurosceptic parties as the AfD in Germany receive better electoral results<sup>xxiv</sup>. The skepticism towards the existing European system is intensified by the long enduring government debt crisis regarding different European countries including Greece<sup>xxv</sup>, Spain<sup>xxvi</sup> and other nations. Not only there, but also in the “donor countries”, meaning relatively wealthy countries, who contribute more money to the European budget as they receive<sup>xxvii</sup>, the dissatisfaction with the European Union is rising. This feeling is strengthened by the impression, that the European Union has no positive influence on their daily life<sup>xxviii</sup>, as the declining voter turnout at the European election shows<sup>xxix</sup>.

The generally accepted proposed solution for the Europe critics is to reduce the sphere of responsibility of the European Union and to eventually dissolve the European Union and the European currency union to finally return to national borders and national currencies. Those propositions can be seen on the right<sup>xxx</sup> as well as on the left<sup>xxxi</sup> and therefore covers the whole Eurosceptic range.

On the other hand, the proposal to expand the European Union and to give them more power and influence in order to finally turn the Union of the European State in one single federal state can rarely be observed. In regard of the current situation of the European Union with all their problems, this idea might end in rejection for most citizens of the European Union. But this idea, with which I dealt in my “Besondere Lernleistung” might even have certain advantages.

Of course, such idea will, aside from the feasibility, have great consequences on the life of every citizen in the European Union as the introduction of the United States of Europe would lead to a situation similar to the establishment of the Schengen area regulation or the launch of the Euro as currency. Especially in economic, social and foreign political perspectives, those aspects are connected with far-reaching changes, that surely can bring plenty of significant improvements to the population but also might alarm critics.

Surprisingly few literature is dedicated to this idea, and there are some points of criticism that need to be considered. Therefore, I will draw a comparison between the current European Union as a voluntary community of states and a European federal state of my conception and, based on that, analyze and evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of both solutions.

## Introduction

In recent years, the European Union and its institutions, for example the European parliament and the European commission had to deal with multitudinous crises. Those crises, which some of them were already mentioned, changed and advanced the European Union since its establishment in a sustainable matter. But the refugee crisis does not solely present an unprecedented challenge to the European Union, but also effects many other nations in Africa<sup>xxxii</sup>, Asia<sup>xxxiii</sup> and America<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

The repercussions of the so-called refugee crisis cannot be foreseen at the begin of my work on this “Besondere Lernleistung” in January 2016. Even if some trends appear noticeable, it is not possible to foresee the full extent of the crisis to this given point. It will probably take years or even decades from now to fully understand the effects of the current migration wave. Consequently, it is not possible to forecast and refer to current and future developments of the refugee crisis. Therefore, my work relates exclusively to a state before the crisis, dated to the year 2014. That means that only developments in and before 2014 will have an impact on my work. This would affect in more recent times the financial- and debt crisis<sup>xxxv</sup>, which influenced the entire European Union<sup>xxxvi</sup>.

The idea of a federal state consisting of the member states of the current European Union is in some regards “radical”. For most people, it is surely not easy to imagine such state, especially since the European Union develops itself further away from a common European Union: European countries develop regional trade agreements<sup>xxxvii</sup>, reject common European treaties<sup>xxxviii</sup> or decide to entirely leave the European Union<sup>xxxix</sup>. But this tendency goes even further. In many European countries, parties with skeptical stances towards the European Union<sup>xl</sup> or parties who publicly question their nations membership<sup>xli</sup> in the European Union gain support and popularity.

The European Union can be found in many areas of life and with the help of the European Union, member states developed numerous own strengths as many examples show. While the European Union especially affects the single market and domestic politics and offers many advantages for member states, a federal state consisting of the now-member states can bring many advantages on external economy from which all regions of such European state would profit.

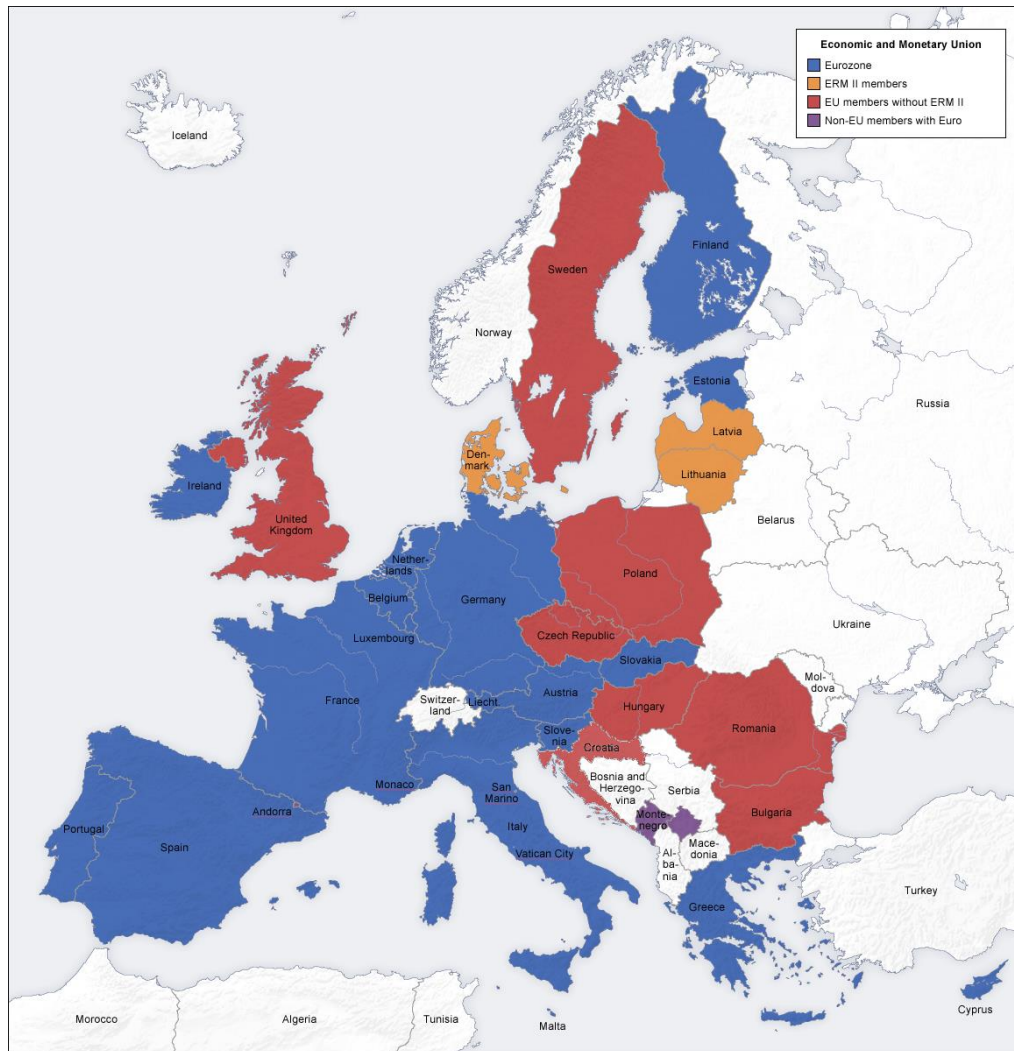
Assuming my hypothetical development of a state, which incorporates a great extent of the European countries, the question of the willingness to support this project in the member states emerges. Because this question refers to an everchanging initial situation, I included the states of the current European Union in my work. Those countries once decided to join the unprecedented concept of the European Union.

The current European Union consists of 28 member states<sup>xlii</sup>. Those include Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom (sorted alphabetically). The European Union covers an area of 4.374.800 square kilometers and is populated by around 500.141.000 inhabitants in contrast to Europe, which has a size of 23.851.927 square kilometers and a population of 807.141.000 inhabitants.

Land <sup>xliii</sup>	Größe	Einwohner
Belgium	30.529	10.698.000
Bulgaria	110.879	7.497.000
Denmark	43.094	5.481.000
Germany	357.114	82.057.000
Estonia	45.227	1.339.000
Finland	338.419	5.348.000
France	551.500	62.637.000
Greece	131.957	11.183.000
Ireland	70.273	4.589.000
Italia	301.336	60.098.000
Croatia	56.594	4.410.000
Latvia	64.559	2.240.000
Lithuania	65.300	3.255.000
Luxembourg	2.596	492.000
Malta	316	410.000
Netherlands	37.354	16.653.000
Austria	83.871	8.387.000
Poland	312.685	38.038.000
Portugal	92.090	10.731.000
Romania	238.391	21.190.000
Sweden	441.370	9.293.000
Slovakia	49.035	5.412.000
Slovenia	20.273	2.025.000
Spain	505.992	43.517.000
Czech Republic	78.867	10.411.000
Hungary	93.028	9.971.000
United Kingdom	242.900	61.899.000
Cyprus	9.251	880.000
European Union	4.374.800	500.141.000
Remaining Europe <sup>1</sup>	19.467.127	307.000.000
Europe	23.841.927	807.141.000

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<sup>1</sup> Including Turkey and Russia



Map of the European Union<sup>xliv</sup>

In my elaboration, I would like to answer the question in how far the conception of a common European Union, which understands itself as a newly found, sovereign nation without any influence of other national states, in contrast to the current situation of a European community with sovereign nation states is beneficial and which disadvantages might evolve. For this purpose I developed the following leading question:

*The United States of Europe – To what extent do the advantages and disadvantages of a federal state consisting of selected European States as a form of government outweigh the advantages and disadvantages of the current European Union from an economic, social and political perspective?*

## Structure of the „United States of Europe“

### Form of government

Many legal scholars, jurists and constitutional theorists took on the question of an appropriate and effective form of government and reached numerous different conclusion for a form of state that works for the people. Especially the question of the system of the government has been one of the central questions of world politics during the twentieth century<sup>xlv</sup>. Here, it is important to not only look at the fundamental theory of the state, but also to remember the peculiarities and emerging problems of the “United States of Europe”. The United States of Europe would become the largest country in the world, however not by national territory but by total population. This needs to be taken into consideration as well as eventual oversea territories of some member states of the European Union<sup>xlvi</sup>. Therefore, it becomes evident that this new state consisting of the current states of the European Union needs new and different solutions regarding the form of government than other already established states in Europe.

### Example European Union

The European Union uses an established system of government with working legislative, executive and jurisdiction<sup>xlvii</sup>. Over the years of the existence of the European Union, this system was further refined. However, it is still not possible to simply translate the system of the European Union directly into a state, because the European Union uses an different conception necessary to establish such supranational structures. The model of the European Union cannot be applied 1:1 on a nation like the United States of Europe, therefore the federalist system of the United States of America<sup>xlviii</sup> might act as a model as well. The United States of America and the United States of Europe would have the high population and vast area of land in common. The system of government in the United States of America is developed to yield such special conditions and is consequently not comparable with many other states. But it is important to consider that the theory of the state in the United States of America is based to a high extent on the special history of the United States of America and therefore propagates different values than most countries in Europe<sup>xlix</sup>. Additionally, the conditions of living vary widely between North America and Europe<sup>l</sup>.

Furthermore, the European Union has made many advances since its establishment by use of treaties and established with the help of those treaties new structures and institutions. The European Union has been first laid out in the treaty of Paris and with the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951<sup>li</sup>. Since then, many treaties advanced the European Union and in 1992, with the treaty of Maastricht, the European Union in its current form has been established<sup>lii</sup>. The controversial treaty of Lisbon<sup>liii</sup> restructured some parts of the European Union and introduced new structures<sup>liv</sup>.

The citizens of the member states of the European Union elect the European Parliament through a direct election<sup>lv</sup>. The European parliament has 751 members, who come to a limited extend proportionally from every member state. The election is held every five years and all citizens of the European Union over the age of eighteen have the right to vote in the election<sup>lvi</sup>.

The official seat of the European Parliament is in Strasbourg, France. However only comparatively few plenary sessions are held here. Other meeting venues are Luxembourg and Brussels, Belgium<sup>lvii</sup>.

The European parliament plays an essential role in the legislative procedure of the European Union, but only the European Commission holds the right of initiative<sup>lviii</sup>. In the “ordinary legislative procedure”, as



the common legislative process in the European Union is called, the European Parliament needs to agree to a draft legislation of the European Commission<sup>lix</sup>. Additionally, the European Parliament can give the European Commission new impulses on new bills if it attaches it to its examination of the annual work report of the European Commission<sup>lx</sup>.

Through this process, the European Union perceives the democratic legitimization of the legislation process of the European Union because members of the European Parliament are elected directly and democratically by the population of the European Union<sup>lxi</sup>.

Furthermore, the European Parliament is commissioned with the task of democratic control over the other bodies of the European Union<sup>lxii</sup>. For example, new potential members of the European Commission need to introduce themselves in front of the European Parliament, while the European Parliament can reject any appointment. The European Parliament can, by a two-thirds majority of its members, pass a motion of censure and thereby compel the Commission to resign as a body. Additionally, the European Union has the right to ask questions about the work of the European Commission, which then need to be answered in written form<sup>lxiii</sup>.

As a third main task, the European Parliament, together with the Council of the European Union needs to set the budget of the European Union. The European Parliament can give consent or objection to the budget<sup>lxiv</sup>.

The European Parliament has one president and 14 vice presidents. Those are elected for two and a half years. The president of the European Parliament needs to confirm and sign all legislative drafts and legal acts<sup>lxv</sup>.

The European Union operates more than 20 parliamentary committees<sup>lxvi</sup>. The committees focus and counsel on specific topics and concerns of the European Union. Furthermore, they prepare the plenary sessions. All members of the European Parliament attend these plenary sessions and specific legislative acts are debated and afterwards voted on. For a resolution to pass, at least a third of all members of the European Parliament need to agree to the draft<sup>lxvii</sup>.

The European Parliament consists of politicians, who are often organized in parties in their home nations, but those parties cannot be found in the European Parliament. Therefore, different national parties merged into fractions, which share a political direction and ideology<sup>lxviii</sup>.

The European Commission is the equivalent to the governments in the national states of the European Union. The European Commission is regarded as politically independent and needs to represent the European Union abroad. Furthermore, the European Commission is tasked to initialize legal propositions<sup>lxix</sup>.

The European Commission consists of 28 “commissioners”, one from every country of the European Union. Additionally, 33.000 civil servants work in the administration of the European Commission<sup>lxx</sup>. The commissioners have different resorts and some commissioners take on other hierarchically structured offices and positions, for example the President of the Commission or the High Representatives<sup>lxxi</sup>.

The European Commission is reappointed every five years, in the timeframe of six month after the election of the European Parliament<sup>lxxii</sup>. During this process, a candidate for commission president is first suggested and then voted on<sup>lxxiii</sup>. The newly-elected president of the commission then talks to the

member states and in this process chooses the members of his commission. That means that the president himself decides on his cabinet<sup>lxxiv</sup>. All members need to be confirmed by the European Parliament<sup>lxxv</sup>.

The president presides over the European Commission. Therefore, he can request members of the commission to resign or reshuffle the distribution of tasks in his cabinet<sup>lxxvi</sup>. The official seat of the European Commission is located in Brussels, Belgium and the commission is scheduled to meet once a week<sup>lxxvii</sup>.

The Commission of the European Union has different tasks. As already mentioned, the European Commission has the right of initiative and can therefore exclusively suggest new legislation<sup>lxxviii</sup>. Those suggestions are then given to the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union for review. The European Commission needs to take on the problems and political circumstances of the European Union and create comprehensive legislation. During this process, the European Commission respectively their commissioners meet with representatives of stakeholder groups, for instance with representatives from businesses or unions<sup>lxxix</sup>.

However, the European Union acts according to the principle of subsidiarity, which implies that the European Commission only enact a law, if the same law couldn't be enacted more effectively on national or regional level<sup>lxxx</sup>.

In addition, the Commission of the European Union holds the task of administrating the budget of the European Union. In this process, the European Commission is controlled by the European Court of Auditors. The European Court of Auditors submits an annual report to the European Parliament, which the European Parliament then confirms<sup>lxxxi</sup>.

Next to the representation of the European Union in foreign countries and internationally, the European Commission needs to examine if European law is applied properly in the member states. If member states, according to the opinion of the European Commission, fail to do so, the European Commission can require the member states to correct the infringements and in case of a continuous violation of law, refer the case to the European Court of Justice. The European Court of Justice may sanction those states<sup>lxxxii</sup>.

To the current time<sup>2</sup>, the European Commission has the following departments or areas of responsibility<sup>lxxxiii</sup>: President of the European Commission; Better lawmaking, interinstitutional relations, the rule of law and the Charter of Fundamental Rights (First Vice-President of the European Union); High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (Vice President of the European Union); Household and personnel (Vice President); Digital Internal Market (Vice President); Energy Unions (Vice President); Euro and social dialogue (Vice President); Jobs, growth, investment and competitiveness (Vice President); Digital Economy and Society; European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations; Trade; International cooperation and development; Climate policy and energy; Environment, marine policy and fisheries; Health and food safety; Migration, home and citizenship; Employment, social affairs, qualifications and labor force; Economic and financial affairs, taxes and customs; Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management; Agriculture and rural development; Traffic; Domestic markets, industry, entrepreneurship and small and medium-sized enterprises; Justice,

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<sup>2</sup> Effective 18.07.2016

consumers and equality; Education, culture, youth and sport; Regional policy; Competition; Research, science and innovation; Financial Stability, Financial Services and the Union of Capital Markets.

The European Union consists of further institutions, those include the Council of the European Union and the European Council. Even though both institutions have similar names, different tasks are dedicated to them. The European Council is the highest political body of the European Union<sup>lxxxiv</sup>. The main task of the European Council is to define the policy direction of the European Union<sup>lxxxv</sup>. To fulfill this task, the European Council consists of the operational heads of the governments of the member states, the President of the European Commission, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the President of the European Council. The President of the European Council is elected by the same body and chairs the council. The European Council sets the goals and tasks for the European Union and moreover published so-called conclusions, in which the political orientation, policies and issues are formulated. The Council of the European Union then needs to address the conclusions<sup>lxxxvi</sup>.

The European Council elects a president for two and a half year, who is allowed to have a maximum of two terms. The president chairs the meeting and convenes the conferences of the European Council, which take place at least four times a year and regularly two times a half-year<sup>lxxxvii</sup>.

A similar body is the so-called “Euro-Summit”, consisting of the head of governments in the participating Euro-countries and the president of the European Commission as well as the president of the European Central bank<sup>lxxxviii</sup>. During this gathering, the political work and management of the Euro-zone are debated, as well as necessary economic policy issues. The president of the Euro-summit is elected under the same conditions as the president of the European Council<sup>lxxxix</sup>.

The Council of the European Union consists of the Ministers of the member states. Each member state of the European Union may send a minister to the Council meeting of their resort. In order to ensure the primary task of the Council of the European Union, which consists of the decision-making of matters of the European Union, there are ten different meetings, each chaired by a minister of a member state for six months<sup>xc</sup>. The 10 Councils of the European Union are grouped into several areas: Foreign Affairs; General affairs; Business and finance; Justice and Home Affairs; Employment, social policy, health and consumer protection; Competitiveness (internal market, industry, research and space); Transport, telecommunications and energy; Agriculture and fisheries; Environment; Education, youth, culture and sport<sup>xc</sup>. However, the Council for foreign affairs isn’t chaired by a minister, but by the High Representative for foreign affairs and security policy of the European Union<sup>xcii</sup>.

The task of the Council of the European Union is to examine and approve the legislation of the European Commission as well as to coordinate the policy and implementation of the regulations of the European Union in the member states and to define and implement a common European foreign and security policy. In addition, the Council of the European Union has the task, together with the European Parliament, to define and adopt the budget of the European Union. The Council of the European Union signs every year all international agreements between the European Union and states not affiliated with this federation, as well as with international organizations<sup>xciii</sup>.

An important part of the judicative of the European Union is the European Court of Justice. This institution ensures that all member states apply and interpret the law of the European Union correctly<sup>xciv</sup>. The European Court of justice can judge and mediate in legal disputes between countries of

the European Union, between institutions of the European Union and between individuals and companies<sup>xcv</sup>.

The Court of Justice of the European Union is organized into two bodies. On the one hand, there is the Court of Justice, which judges on requests of national courts and in certain annulment proceedings. On the other hand, there is the Court of First Instance, an institution that judges on annulment proceedings of private individuals and companies. An annulment proceeding is defined as a procedure in case of suspicion of an unlawful act of the European Union with the aim to nullify this law<sup>xcvixcvii</sup>.

The Court of Justice as an institution of the European Court of Justice consists of 28 judges, one from each member state of the European Union, as well as nine “Advocates-Generals”. This is supposed to ensure that every national legal system is represented in the European Court of Justice. The Advocates-Generals also have the task impartially submit assessments, which are then used for jurisdiction. The judges of the Court of Justice are appointed for a term of six years by the respective government of the member states, and these judges then elect the President of the Court for a term of three years<sup>xcviii</sup>. In each case, the lawsuit is first assigned to a judge, who then submits a written declaration. The declaration will be discussed at the General Assembly of the Court of Justice, and here, the members decide whether further oral proceedings will be necessary. If this is the case, a conventional court procedure is convened, which then results in a judgment<sup>xcix</sup>.

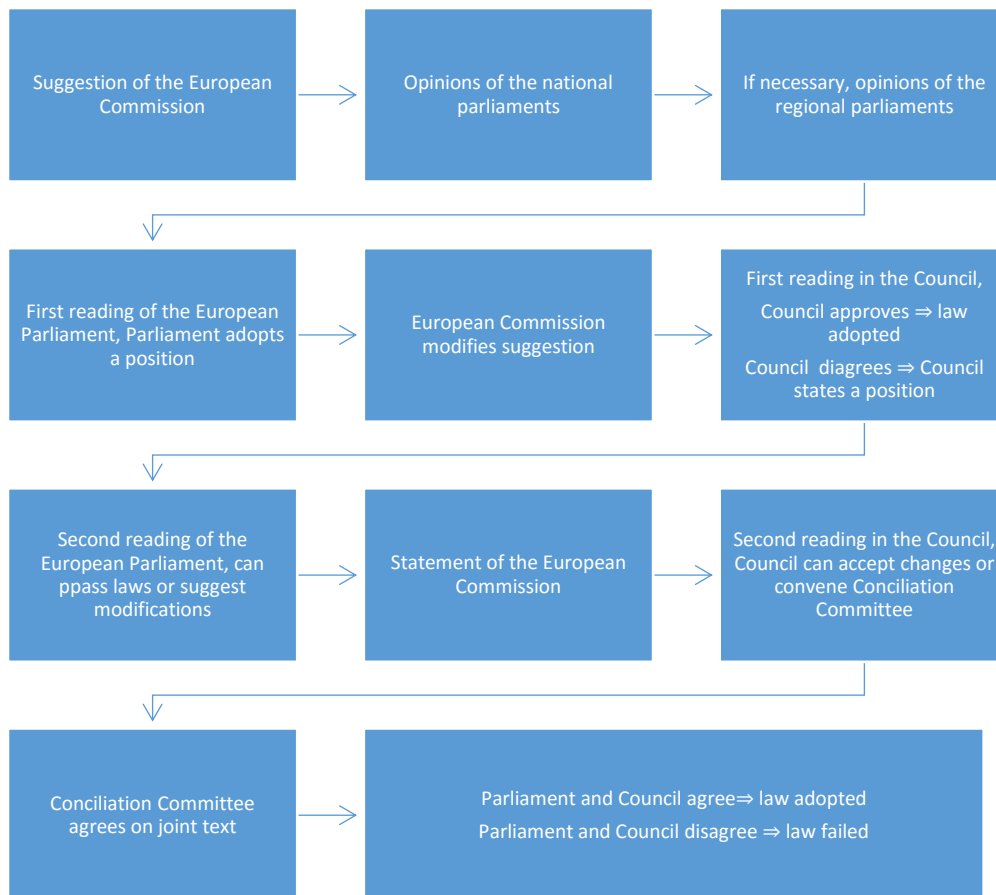
The second body of the Court of Justice of the European Union is the court, which is similar to the Court of Justice as it consists of 28 judges from every member state, who are appointed by the same rules and are represented by a president too. However, negotiations are being held in smaller chambers where fewer judges are present, even though a so-called “full-session meeting” can be called in, which includes all 28 judges<sup>c</sup>.

One of the most important institutions of the European Union is the European Central Bank<sup>ci</sup>. The task of the European Central Bank is to maintain currency stability in the sense of guaranteeing stable consumer prices. The European Central Bank is trying to maintain price stability by keeping an annual inflation rate of slightly less than 2%<sup>cii</sup>. To ensure this goal, the European Central Bank has the option of setting interest rates at the key interest rate, which is then obligatory. In addition, the institution manages the official currency reserves of all member states, conducts foreign exchange transactions and can intervene in the economic policies of the Member States through targeted support measures<sup>ciii</sup>.

The European Central Bank as a body of the European Union is completely independent from all other institutions of the European Union<sup>civ</sup>. Additionally, the European Central Bank is part of the Economic and Monetary Union in the European Union. Therefore all 28 member states of the European Union are represented in the European Central Bank<sup>cv</sup>. The European Central Bank is operated by the Executive Board, consisting of the President, the Vice-President and four other designated members. These have been appointed by the European Council and have been held for an eight-year term in this position. The Board of Directors directs monetary policy and manages the day-to-day business of the Bank. Furthermore, there are two other bodies within the European Central Bank. One of them is the Council of the European Central Bank, consisting of six members of the board of directors and the 19 presidents of the Euro-member states. The Council of the European Central Bank is the highest governing body of the European Central Bank and meets biannually. The “Extended council of the European System of

Central Banks” consists of the presidents of the 28 national central banks of the European Union and the president and vice president of the European Central Bank<sup>cvi</sup>.

Due to the numerous institutions, the legislative process in the European Union is specifically regulated and in some aspects more complicated and lengthy than that of individual national states. There are different types of legislation, such as regulations which must be applied directly by member states; directives requiring member states to achieve a specific result; decisions which are binding; as well as non-binding recommendations. The right of initiative for all European Union legislation comes from the European Commission. In drafting the proposal, however, governments, companies and other organizations are often consulted. The proposal is subsequently passed on to the Parliament of the European Union, which then debates it. The Council of the European Union may then adopt or reject the act at first reading. In this case, the proposal will be discussed again in the European Parliament and in the Council of the European Union, and if it is subsequently rejected, a conciliation committee will be convened to agree on a joint text with the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union. Should one of these two institutions reject the proposal of the Mediation Committee, the EU legislation will not be adopted<sup>cvi</sup>.



*Ordinary legislative procedure of the European Union<sup>1</sup>*

### Example United States of America

In addition, the United States of America are worth a closer look. Not only because of the similar situation of a state large in size and population, but also because of the historically deep rooted federalism established in the constitution<sup>cviii</sup>. In the United States of America there is also a balanced division of power between the legislative, executive and judicial branches.

The power in the United States of America derives from the congress and the President of the United States<sup>cix</sup>. The congress consists of the senate and the house of representatives. In the Senate, each of the hundred members represent a state of the United States of America, therefore there are two senators for each state. The members are elected for six years but a third of the senator seats are newly voted on every two years<sup>cx</sup>. In addition, the American constitutional system includes the House of Representatives which particularly deals with domestic politics. The House of Representatives has 435 voting members who each represent an electoral district. Legislative drafts are discussed in both chambers of congress and the two chambers then must agree separately to a bill in order to pass<sup>cx</sup>. In addition to legislation, the Congress also performs the tasks of budget decision-making and the control of the executive including the office of the president<sup>cxii</sup>.

The president, who is elected every four years for no more than two terms, represents not only the United States of America in the whole world, but also signs every legislation resolved by congress. Alternatively, the president can veto a bill in order to stop the law. However, a veto can be overwritten by a two-thirds majority of congress<sup>cxiii</sup>. In addition, the president is the Commander-in-Chief of all United States' armed forces<sup>cxiv</sup>, but is required to get the approval of congress for every military deployment exceeding 60 days<sup>cxv</sup>. The President appoints his Cabinet, but the confirmation also requires the approval of the Senate.

The judiciary in the United States is fragmented<sup>cxvi</sup>. The highest judiciary institution in the United States of America is the supreme court, which consists of nine judges, who are appointed for their lifetime by the president and are sworn in with the approval of the Senate<sup>cxvii</sup>. This procedure is intended to ensure the independence of the court against political circumstances. In general, the court must make majority decisions<sup>cxviii</sup>. As a result of the fragmentation of the jurisdiction of the United States of America, there are a total of 88 District Courts, above that eleven Circuit Courts, and the Supreme Court, the most important court in the United States<sup>cxix</sup>.

Due to the widespread federalism established in the constitution, each state has its own jurisdiction, consisting of a state supreme court and subordinate courts<sup>cx</sup>. Each of the 50 states therefore have own legal systems, which predominantly deal with civil- and criminal trials<sup>cxxi</sup>. Furthermore, each state can and has to adopt its own laws and thereby has its own executive and legislative powers<sup>cxii</sup>. The executive is usually represented by a directly elected governor, while the legislative consists of two chambers, with the exception of the state of Nevada<sup>cxiii</sup>. The federal states have their own constitutions, taxes and state laws. It is often the practice that members of the judiciary and the legislative branch are directly elected. However, since the world economic crisis in the thirties of the last century, the American political system has changed to a more cooperative federalism in which the government must also cooperate with federal states<sup>cxiv</sup>.

## Form of government

In the construction of a form of government and an associated constitution for the “United States of Europe”, a hybrid of the current treaty construct of the European Union and the constitution of the United States of America is necessary. Moreover, a view on the constitutions of various other states can be helpful, however it is important to note that such states have different initial conditions and different historical and geographical circumstances.

Through the numerous constitutional treaties, the existing European Union has been expanded and has gained more legal bases and institutions. The European Union is already equipped with a functioning executive, legislature and judiciary (see section ‘European Union’). However, it is not enough to solely translate the constitutional system of the European Union to the United States of Europe. This is in particular due to the fact that the European Union is a supranational federation and that it is very important for member states to uphold their judiciary. Although the institutions of the European Union have far reaching powers, it is not the task of the European Union to regulate the lives of the citizens in every area of life. This is in part the task of the member states under the principle of subsidiarity<sup>cxxxv</sup>. In the new United States of Europe, however, there would be a central government that would take care of the lives of its citizens in all regards.

A form of federalism is necessary in the United States of Europe too, as it becomes apparent that the large area of the United States of Europe requires such federalism. A central government cannot reach all citizens with all decisions. Federalism allows organized structures, but leaves enough space for individual states to develop their own laws tailored to the local population. For example, in the rural regions of Eastern Europe different priorities in the social system are necessary than in the industrially advanced Central Europe<sup>cxxxvi</sup>. According to author George Anderson, federalism is best suited to “democracies with a large population or a large national territory, as well as countries with regionally diverse, different population groups”<sup>cxxxvii</sup>. Here, the integration of an institutional-functionalistic understanding of federalism is sensible. The political scientist Werner Weidenfeld describes the institutional-functionalistic understanding as “a political structural principle, in which the exercise of state tasks is divided between regional member states and the general state, that each state level can make definitive decisions in a number of areas of responsibility.”<sup>cxxxviii</sup> The furtherance of a common European State is an advantage of this principle<sup>cxxxix</sup>.

Therefore, the United States of Europe represent a federal republic with a representative parliamentary system. This derives from different steps. First of all, the United States of Europe are a democracy. The sovereignty of the people is given, since the people are holders of all state power, and the principles of pluralism, such as the diversity of opinion and organization, are also given<sup>cxxx</sup>. Furthermore, the criteria for a republic are met. This is achieved in particular by the involvement of the public in state and politics<sup>cxxxi</sup>, as especially Jürgen Habermas describes it<sup>cxxxii</sup>. In addition, the United States of Europe outline a state of law and a constitutional state, since both the rule of law, fundamental rights and the separation of powers as well as an institutional democracy exist<sup>cxxxiii</sup>.

In order to establish the United States of Europe, it is necessary to use the system of a federal republic. This is indispensable through the use of federalism described above, and offers further advantages. On the one hand, a federal republic allows both a horizontal and a vertical division of powers. The horizontal division of power can be found in the distribution of power between the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary, which assures the continuity of democracy, while the vertical division of powers between

the individual states and the government secures the already mentioned elements of federalism<sup>cxixiv</sup>. The free choice of the population for the state form and constitutional orientation of the United States of Europe is also given. The political scholar Birgit Enzmann writes in her book: "The federal state goes beyond the minimum degree of vertical division of power into municipal self-administration and state competence and is facultative."<sup>cxixv</sup> As another advantage it is important to note that the system of government of a federal republic through the vertical division of power ensures more political participation of its citizens, which might be very well necessary in a country with a large area<sup>cxixvi</sup>.

In a further step, it is essential to narrow down the United States of Europe into a representative democracy and a parliamentary government system. The representative democracy is the basis for the necessary division of powers within the United States of Europe and is also a necessity in a state of the size of the United States of Europe<sup>cxixvii</sup>. In a democracy, according to Rolf Schmidt, a relationship of tension can arise, as he says: "The principle of democracy requires the assertion of the majority of wills, on the other hand it tries to prevent the consequences of majority decisions by means of fundamental rights, minority protection, rule of law and social justice"<sup>cxixviii</sup>. Through the parliamentary system of government this conflict can be prevented because the parliament represents the legislation as well as the crucial body of formation of government. Therefore, a dependency of the government to the parliament is given, which embodies a form of supervision<sup>cxixix</sup>. Through this system, consequently a working parliamentary opposition can arise, another form of parliamentary control<sup>cxl</sup>.

## Constitution

In the consideration of a constitution for the United States, some of the existing institutions can be taken up, for instance the European Parliament. The European Parliament partakes the role of the representation of interests within the bodies of the European Union. The European Parliament is democratically legitimated by the direct election of the members of Parliament<sup>cxli</sup>. Therefore, in a democracy as the United States of Europe, a parliament is essential.

Additionally, for the "federal states" (for further information on the allocation of federal states within the United States of Europe, refer to the section "Member States) direct influence on the government as it is currently being exercised by the Council of the European Union is important. However, in the case of the United States of Europe, the federal states should not have a predominant role but rather a controlling and an initiating function. This would be comparable to the "Bundesrat" of the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>cxlii</sup>.

In the current European Union, the European Commission embodies a "sort of government" which represents the European Union outwards and further initiates laws and supervises over the correct application of European law.

The executive power in the United States of Europe lays in the European Government, which is elected by the European Parliament. In the European Union, this government would be to a limited extend similar to the European Commission. Reminiscent of the European Union, the president of the United States of Europe is the head of state for the United States of Europe and can therefore appoint a cabinet. Each secretary needs to be individually confirmed by the Parliament of the United States of Europe. In the current European Union, there are 28 commissioners, so that each member state is represented. This is not necessary in the United States of Europe due to the absence of such strong national interests. While regional interests are still existent, they do not have the same significance in the United States of



Europe as in the European Union with the system of subsidiarity. Therefore, only the number of members in the government required to appoint all resorts is necessary. The President of the United States of Europe may appoint a minister as his deputy and vice-president (in one person). The government of the United States of Europe can propose laws and handles the enforcement of every law passed. In addition, the government of the United States of Europe is conducting negotiations with other nations and organizations.

The Parliament of the United States of Europe is elected directly from the electoral districts. The Parliament of the European Union has the task of the legislative body (together with the Council of the United States of Europe) and can therefore approve any law with a simple majority or propose alterations and additionally holds the budgetary powers. The Parliament of the United States of Europe is in the obligation to represent the directly electing population, but during the legislative process, the parliament needs to consult different interest groups, for instance business representatives or union leaders. While this might not seem sensible in the context of the public disapproval of the work of such interest groups<sup>cxliii</sup>, lobbyists are necessary for the political system. In the current European Union, this is stated in the Treaty of the European Union, which statutes the European Commission's obligation to give a voice to interest groups<sup>cxliv</sup>. As a result, interest groups and their lobbyists serve as intermediaries between the state and society, since they can represent society in a broad range of interests<sup>cxlv</sup>. Through this state-legal form of lobbying, all representatives of interests have the same chance of being heard. Thus, the author Peter Lösche describes the advantages of interest groups for democracy as: "Politicians are dependent on their information, analysis and evaluations, which they receive not from their employees or advisors, but from lobbyists. And they need the feedback of affected groups in order to be able to assess the impacts which have not previously been considered."<sup>cxlvi</sup>

The Parliament of the United States of Europe can initiate the legislative process with a simple majority, which then is passed on for evaluation to the government of the United States of Europe. Furthermore, the parliament needs to assess the national budget. In this process, a suggestion of the parliament is forwarded to the Council of the United States of Europe, who then gives approval. If the parliament does not obtain consent from the Council of the United States of Europe, the parliament must reach an agreement until both the Council and Parliament agree. In addition, the parliament of the United States of Europe must elect the President of the United States of Europe and confirm every secretary in its office. Through a vote of no-confidence with a two-thirds majority, the parliament can remove the president or the whole government from power. The members of the Parliament of the United States of Europe are allowed to form factions.

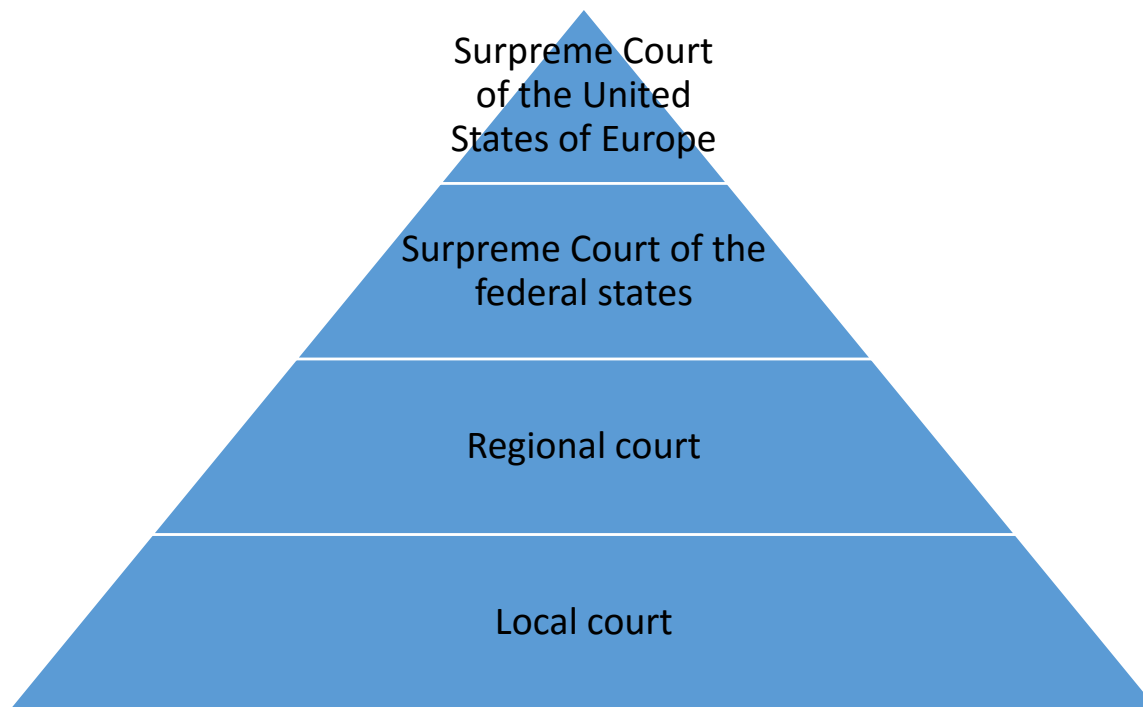
In the United States of Europe parties compete together with their leading candidate to form the European government. Thus, voters are transparently informed about the party and its personnel. The parties should not join together by local areas, but by common ideas. Elections shall be held in accordance with the electoral principles of a general, direct, free, equal and secret election.

The Council represents the national states in the current European Union. With the abolition of national states by the establishment of the United States of Europe, a representation of the interests of the Council is no longer necessary, rather the national states are transformed into federal states. These federal states, however, need to be represented in the government system too. Therefore, the Federal Council of the United States of Europe consists of the governments of the federal states of Europe, which also have a local parliament, as is customary in federalism. The Council has the authority to vote on laws

that have been approved by the parliament, if they affect the states directly. The duties of the federal states of the United States of Europe under federalism lie, for example, in the promotion of cultural and regional identity, education or nature conservation. In addition, the Federal Council of the United States can co-determine the state budget (see previous page) and has to implement adopted statutes in the federal states. Each state sends a member to the Council of the United States of Europe, that member is represented by the head of a federal state.

The official currency of the United States of Europe is the Euro. This is already widely used, internationally recognized and consists of an established system. The European Central Bank is thus the central bank, issuing money and foreign exchange and holding the currency reserves of the United States of Europe. All countries which are not part of the United States of Europe but have the euro as a currency can keep it, but lose their right of participation in the European Central Bank and, consequently, also in the committees of the parliament of the United States of Europe as they are not represented there. All other federal states of the United States of Europe that do not yet use the euro as an official currency in the European Union must adapt it.

In the United States of Europe, the federalist principle is also translated into the judicative. Therefore, there is a plurality of courts, which are arranged pyramidal. In cases of public law, the courts at the lowest level, which are local (municipal), must be consulted first. If the judges deem it as necessary, a court case may be passed on to a regional court, which is concerned over a greater area. The transfer takes place when a basic decision is required and the case can not be clarified between two parties, but also effect other citizens. The first instance of appeal is the supreme court of a federal state by judges which are appointed by the parliament of the corresponding federal state. If the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic approves the ruling, it is valid. However, as a further instance of appeal the Supreme Court of the United States of Europe, whose judgments are final, can be added. The judges of the Supreme Court of the United States of Europe are appointed by the parliament of the United States of Europe and elected for lifetime. There are nine different judges who ensure a balanced mix of opinions and views, but also ensure the continuation of the work of the Supreme Court in human incidents.



*Graphical representation of the judicial system of the United States of Europe*

The Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms is the basis of all laws; all institutions of the United States of Europe must comply with them and consider them in drafting new legislation. There is no state religion in the United States of Europe. The United States of Europe is a sovereign nation state and can conclude treaties and agreements with other states and join supranational organizations.

### Feasibility

Although my work does not intend to be a feasibility study, but rather assesses an idea, it is still advisable to contemplate the implementation of the United States of Europe and resulting problems. One of the biggest problems facing the European Union today is the lack of acceptance and confidence of the population in the European institutions, which is developing negatively<sup>cxlvii</sup>. Although many citizens welcome the freedom of movement and other benefits of the European Union, they are critical of the current problems and the future viability of the European Union<sup>cxlviii</sup>. It is therefore difficult to convince these citizens that the United States of Europe is a positive development of the European Union, even if it is mainly associated with advantages. Even if this were the case, this far-reaching step is only possible with the support of the majority of the population, which is a necessity due to the understanding of democracy in the United States of Europe. However, this majority support is not foreseeable at the present time.

### Member States of the United States of Europe

In my planning for the United States of Europe, I included the nations of the current European Union.

That means that the United States of Europe is constituted of the national territory of the current countries Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania,

Sweden, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Czech Republic, Hungary and Cyprus. These countries once decided in an historic, unprecedented move to consolidate in the European Union in the context of the European Integration to secure and advance the ideals of peace, democracy and human rights<sup>cxlix</sup>. Even though those countries are very different, not only from an economic and cultural viewpoint<sup>cl</sup>, they were able to form a larger construct, the European Union. It is therefore at least to be assumed, notwithstanding current political conditions, that these countries could be willing for accession to the United States of Europe.

Great Britain conducted a referendum on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016 in which the majority came out in opposition towards remaining the European Union<sup>cli</sup>. Even though this development was not completely conceivable at the beginning of my work, Great Britain always had a different relationship with the European Union<sup>clii</sup> and made use of that special status<sup>cliii</sup>. In the last few years, the relationship between the citizens of Great Britain to the European Union has been negatively affected<sup>cliv</sup>. It would be understandable to not regard Great Britain as a full-fledged part of the European Union and consequently of the United States of Europe. However, in the past the tendency has shown that Scotland might achieve independence<sup>clv</sup> as certain efforts are already being made by the Scottish government<sup>clvi</sup>. Additionally, Scotland is more closely aligned with Europe than the other members of the United Kingdom, and the majority of the population of Scotland voted to stay in the European Union in the referendum<sup>clvii</sup>. Since there is not enough literature for the possibility of a sovereign Scotland detached from the United Kingdom towards the accession of the European Union and respectively the United States from Europe, I have included Great Britain in my construction of the United States of Europe.

Through the previously explained state form of federalism, it is essential to establish constituent states or federal states<sup>clviii</sup>. The question of the size of such member states must be considered. According to author George Anderson, the number and relative size of these member states characterize the policy of a state<sup>clix</sup>.

The United States of Europe is made up of the current member states of the European Union, creating a social diversity of languages, religions, ideologies and ethnic groups under one government. Although the borders of the member states should take account of these differences, they should not be controlled by them, as this may lead to insurmountable differences and divisions between the member states or promote interests of independence<sup>clx</sup>. Also, the federal member states should be similar in regards of economy and population, in order to prevent a political or economic superiority of individual member states.

A practical idea is the definition of member states on the basis of economic motives (including consideration of urban populations in economically strong places and the availability of naturally occurring resources as well as industrial resources of a region), and the consideration of overlapping individual ethical, linguistic and religious regions. This supports the prevention of social polarization, similar to the current problem in Switzerland<sup>clxi</sup>.

With Switzerland, there is another nation in the middle of Europe, completely encircled by the United States of Europe, making it a so-called enclave. This is, however, far less problematic than it first seems, since this situation also occurs in other parts of the world and the sovereignty of Switzerland is still ensured. The history of Switzerland and the Constitution of Switzerland continue to be characterized by a strong neutrality<sup>clxii</sup>. In addition, an agreement on the free movement of goods between the United

States of Europe and Switzerland makes sense, as has already been the case with the European Union in the agreement on the free trade association and the bilateral treaties<sup>clxiii</sup>. The Principality of Lichtenstein, Andorra and San Marino are also enclaves. Again, in those cases the negotiation of free trade agreements with the United States of Europe is appropriate and required.

The Vatican City State has had so far an extraterritorial relationship with Italy, which can certainly be maintained with the United States of Europe. The Vatican uses both the euro as a currency and the trade status for countries without access to the European internal market while the Vatican is enjoying exemption of duty through agreements with Italy<sup>clxiv</sup>. In the past, the Vatican has spoken positively about possible long-term accession to the Schengen Agreement<sup>clxv</sup>.

The current capital of the European Union is in Brussels. In the United States of Europe, it makes sense to maintain this location as a capital, as many European institutions are already in place and the European Union infrastructure already exists. However, it is important to note that although Brussels is very central in the United States of Europe, it is not one of the most populous cities in Europe<sup>clxvi</sup>. In addition, it makes sense to organize the government district in Brussels into a separate, independent "district", similar to the city of Washington D.C. in the United States of America<sup>clxvii</sup>. This administrative district would bring the advantage that the institutions of the United States of Europe can manage their building infrastructure themselves, because other interests than in a mainly urban district with a higher population density are predominant. Under a common metropolitan region, attention must be paid to the interests of the citizens of the surrounding neighborhoods, which are very different from those of the government district, such as in social policy making. It is also possible to recruit own security forces for the governmental districts of the European Union.

It is also beneficial, from another point of view, to exclude Brussels from a district which is separated from the federal states and does not have the same rights as such member states within the United States of Europe. In the United States of America, in recent decades a debate has evolved since Washington DC is in a similar situation as such a possibly independent government district in the United States of Europe. The debate was guided, in particular, by the motives that Washington DC is administered by the United States Congress, whereas the political participation for its citizen to vote on members of Congress is not probable, and there is therefore no possibility for democratic partaking<sup>clxviii</sup>. However, despite the support of a majority of the population<sup>clxix</sup> and efforts of different politicians<sup>clxx</sup>, it is difficult to change this status.

For this reasons, the metropolitan area of Brussels should be part of its associated federal state, and there should be an independent special district exclusively for governmental purposes (currently the "European Quarter" in Brussels).

Also for the seat of the Parliament of the United States of Europe Brussels should be defined as a location. The official seat of the Parliament of the European Union is in Strasbourg, although only a part of Parliament's work is taking place here<sup>clxxi</sup>. This leads to the displeasure of the members of the Parliament of the European Union, who wish only one seat of the Parliament<sup>clxxii</sup>, since a single location does not require the logistical and personnel expenses required by this policy of several sites<sup>clxxiii</sup>. Thus, in the United States of Europe, it is sensible and necessary to locate the important institution of the Parliament in Brussels near the other institutions of the United States of Europe.

Some members of the European Union currently have colonial territories outside their fixed borders. The establishment of the United States of Europe raises the question of how to deal with these territories outside Europe, whose main objective is the long-term achievement of independence. In the current European Union, such territorial areas or overseas territories, are held in particular by Denmark, France and the Netherlands and their handling is defined in Articles 349 and 355 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union<sup>clxxiv</sup>. These articles state, among others, that special arrangements for these zones are made if the laws of the European Union seriously affect the development of this region. A similar principle would also be conceivable for the United States of Europe, after examining all the ways of the independence of these regions, and the claims of foreign states on these territories are negotiated, and these cannot be administrated by law of the United States of Europe. Here the Parliament of the United States of Europe should have the right to adopt individual laws for these territories. In particular, France has a number of oversee departments, including French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, Saint-Barthélemy and Saint-Martin, which are part of the European Union and use the euro<sup>clxxv</sup>. For these places a special solution may be necessary, which includes preparation for an incorporation into the United States of Europe.

The United States of Europe should have the option of a voluntary expansion as they understand themselves as a sovereign, democratic state. If other states declare the aspiration to join the United States of Europe, this is in hypothetically possible. The European Union<sup>clxxvi</sup> and the United States of America<sup>clxxvii</sup>, for example, allow such a possibility. The European Union has created prerequisites for the attainment of membership. This includes functioning democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the protection of minorities, as well as the existence of a competitive market economy<sup>clxxviii</sup>. Such a model would also be possible for the United States of Europe with a majority of the Parliament of the United States of Europe in favor of an extension if a candidate nation fulfills the above-mentioned democratic principles.

On the other hand, there should be no possibility for individual federal states to leave the United States of Europe and to become independent again, since, unlike the European Union, which allows an exit from paragraph 50 of the Treaty of the European Union<sup>clxxix</sup>, the United States of Europe means a fusion of the federal state with the rest of the nation, including the modification of member states' borders. Consequently, an exit from the United States of Europe would not be possible. In the light of debates in recent years in the United States of America whether it is possible for the state of Texas to separate from the union<sup>clxxx</sup>, the government argued that problems within this union should be solved by debates and elections, and the separation is not apprehended<sup>clxxxi</sup> and hence not specified in the constitution and in laws<sup>clxxxii</sup>.

## Comparison between the current European Union and the “United States of Europe”

In the following part of my work, I will compare the European Union with my draft of the United States of Europe from a social, economic and security policy perspective, following to selected aspects. The benefits for the citizens of the European Union and the United States of Europe should be given priority in particular by also taking into account the different living conditions within Europe.

The main advantages of the United States of Europe lay in the pooling of competences and the resulting supervision of large amounts of money and of social benefits, while the advantages for the retention of

the European Union lay mainly in the subsidiarity and the subsequent benefits. It is important to retain that the achievements already achieved by the European Union, such as labor rights and consumer protection<sup>clxxxiii</sup>, would not be compulsorily lost in the United States of Europe, but would be implemented.

### The advantages and disadvantages of the United States of Europe in comparison to the European Union from a social viewpoint

Through the United States of Europe and the state structure described earlier, Europe is growing even stronger together than under the European Union. This has in particular structural advantages, as federal states can work together even better. These benefits can be found in all aspects of social life, simple examples are climate protection or internal security.

The European Union is one of the main players in international climate policy<sup>clxxxiv</sup> and is trying to limit climate change through various so-called climate action plans<sup>clxxxv</sup>. Although these projects are very positive and ambitious in a worldwide comparison, global climate change is an international problem and cannot be solved by a single country<sup>clxxxvi</sup>. The European Union is challenged with the problem that individual member states have a different "energy mix", which means the composition of energy sources a country uses. Therefore, the European Union cannot enforce necessary climate policies<sup>clxxxvii</sup>. This problem would not be existent for the United States of Europe, as energy can then be exchanged in any form to any state and the use of renewable energies can be promoted in all regions of the United States of Europe. Through the geographic position of the United States of Europe, including for example the current Netherlands threatened by shifting climatic conditions, there is a national interest in sustainable environmental protection<sup>clxxxviii</sup>. As a result, the United States of Europe can enforce established climate protection targets throughout the country. Unlike in the current European Union, the climate protection targets do not need to be adapted for individual member nations.

The European Union is only equipped with the policy authority Europol and the CEPOL training institution in the area of internal security. However, Europol resources are limited, as Europol has only limited executive power<sup>clxxxix</sup>. The United States of Europe would change this situation. Instead, the police can operate freely within the United States from Europe, not only exchanging and collecting information, but also specifically acting against threats to the state, such as organized crime and terrorism.

The cooperation with regional police and security forces would not only significantly improve, but also become a necessity. This would in return greatly improve the security of the Europeans. As a further advantage, homeland security in the whole United States of Europe would be adjusted to one common level, as for example know-how between the federal states could be shared. For example, Eastern European states have a higher crime rate<sup>cxc</sup>, while Central European police forces might use their experience<sup>cxc<sup>i</sup></sup> to solve those crimes, but Central European countries face problems in the recruitment of new officers<sup>cxc<sup>ii</sup></sup>. In the United States of Europe, a system could be implemented which allows the exchange of knowledge, staff and equipment as required.

In the view of the European population, one of the biggest problems facing the European Union is immigration and the migration of refugees<sup>cxc<sup>iii</sup></sup>. Thanks to the Schengen Agreement, free movement of persons<sup>cxc<sup>iv</sup></sup> and the freedom of movement of workers<sup>cxc<sup>v</sup></sup> is already guaranteed within the European Union. However, these measures and the enforcement of agreements relating to migration, such as the Dublin III Convention, are strongly dependent on the willingness and possibilities of individual member

states: if a member state fails to fulfill its obligations and open its external borders, the European Union and all member states are effected<sup>cxvii</sup>. With the help of the United States of Europe, however, these problems can be averted.

With this in mind, the national borders can be even better secured, when there is only one border police controlling the borders of the United States of Europe and not different border patrols from different nations controlling different parts of the border. The reception of refugees can also be better accomplished, as, unlike the Dublin Convention a functioning key framework can be developed for the entirety of the United States of Europe, where refugees are centrally given access and then distributed throughout the country. This way, the United States of Europe might be able to sustainably solve a refugee crisis. While the benefits of the "four freedoms", which include free movement of goods, free movement of services, free movement of persons and free movement of capital<sup>cxviii</sup>, continue to be an essential part of the United States of Europe, the targeted safeguarding of the external borders of the United States of Europe and the resulting increase in control of immigration are further advantages of the United States of Europe.

In the European Union, one of the most prevalent problems is the high rate of youth unemployment in Southern Europe, for example Greece has a 58 percent youth unemployment rate and Spain a 55 percent youth unemployment rate<sup>cxix</sup>. This stands in a stark contrast to the understaffing of apprenticeships in Central Europe and the efforts of companies in Central Europe to recruit young people. This problem has broad consequences, not only that the countries with high youth unemployment have problems with administrative ineffectiveness, crime and corruption, but with a desolate financial situation as well<sup>cxix</sup>. This hurts the confidence in the policies of the European Union<sup>cc</sup>. The United States of Europe would offer a possible solution to solving this problem in the long term. In particular, structural problems such as lack of training places, lack of infrastructure and lack of investment could be reduced<sup>cci</sup>. Through the United States of Europe, companies are free to settle where jobs are sought, while job seekers can travel more freely and quickly to other regions where applicants for training programs and jobs are sought, such as Germany with many available jobs<sup>ccii</sup>. By pooling capacities, the government of the United States of Europe could further reduce youth unemployment in Europe: it is estimated that the cost of eradicating youth unemployment ranges from 18 to 75 billion euros<sup>cciii</sup>. This sum might not be borne by individual states which have already been financially stricken, but the bundling of all state budgets of these former individual states in the United States of Europe might mean that this sum can be financed entirely<sup>cciv</sup>. Consequently, the United States of Europe might could solve a problem the European Union was not able to tackle: the high youth unemployment in Europe, which prevail at least since the financial crisis around 2008.

One of the largest spheres of society in which the United States of Europe could actively improve the lives of its citizens would be health care and retirement provision. The European Union does not have much influence in the area of social security, as it is a matter of subsidiarity among the national states; the European Union can only aid the individual national states financially<sup>ccv</sup>. The United States of Europe, on the other hand, could help to build a unified health system, which actually becomes a necessity with the merger of different individual states into one national state. It is best to use a social insurance model, which allows citizens to choose between private and statutory health insurance, but a state-owned, tax-financed model is also a possibility. However, both methods require an adaptation of the very different health systems in Europe, who also vary in quality<sup>ccvi</sup>. This adaptation however is not an easy process, as it requires a great deal of time and the effort of federal states with better health care to transfer their



knowledge to other states. Once this happens, this newly gained convergence can improve the lives of many citizens in the United States of Europe. The problem mentioned above also applies to eldercare: in the European Union, there is no uniform system of old-age provision, as this area of competence is attributed to the national states<sup>ccvii</sup>. In the United States of Europe, of course, a standardized solution is also necessary, such as a mixture of public and company-held pension schemes. This could in particular benefit those citizens whose retirement age lay below the average European level in their country. The new provision also has the advantage that up to 334 million Europeans of working age<sup>ccviii</sup> would pay into such fund and especially those regions with a demographically high percentage of people old age would benefit.

The level of education within the European Union varies widely<sup>ccix</sup>. While the European Union has set itself the objective of increasing educational standards, for example through transnational training and funding programs, the implementation falls within the sphere of influence of member states and these face partly structural and financial difficulties to compete with countries with a higher educational standard. In the United States of Europe, this could be better implemented under the umbrella of a national state, for example through the development of common educational standards as already suggested by some stakeholders in the European Union<sup>ccx</sup>, which however failed in the execution, or by the interregional exchange of knowledge and teacher personnel. Thus, in the long term, the level of education in the United States of Europe could be adapted to a common standard<sup>ccxi</sup>, which consequently comes to the benefit of the population of the United States of Europe.

In the area of higher education, there is an even greater imbalance between the member states of the European Union, while some member states have a high density of citizens with a tertiary education, other member states have a much lower density<sup>ccxii</sup>. The United States of Europe could provide a comprehensive, universal post-secondary education, as is financially possible only in such national state. In the current European Union, only some member states offer state-funded higher education to no costs for its citizens<sup>ccxiii</sup>. In a consolidation of all member states, the United States of Europe would have an annual gross domestic product of 14.6 trillion Euro<sup>ccxiv</sup>, and in the moment the European average of expenditure on public and private educational institutions is 5.6 per cent of the gross domestic product, in most countries the volume is even higher<sup>ccxv</sup>. This calculates an amount of 817 billion euros, dedicated to the education policy of the United States of Europe. There are no calculations for a universal, state-funded higher education in the European Union, but in the United States of America the calculated costs for a state-funded higher education are 62.6 billion dollars<sup>ccxvi</sup>. Calculated for the population of the United States of Europe this would result in the sum of 99.007 billion euros<sup>3</sup>. Although it is important to point out the different conditions in Europe, these figures bear witness to a financial feasibility that would allow for a comprehensive higher education in the United States of Europe.

Since its establishment, the European Union has advanced consumer protection in Europe to a great extent. In particular, the numerous regulations and directives of the institutions of the European Union which are transposed into law by the member states of the European Union, allow consumers to be better protected in all areas of everyday life and to rely on legal grounds<sup>ccxvii</sup>. One of the problems arising here is the in some cases slow and error-prone implementation of passed guidelines<sup>ccxviii</sup>. The United States of Europe could help in those situations. Through the statehood of the United States of Europe, directives and laws can be implemented more quickly because they do not have to go through so many

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<sup>3</sup> Exchange rate dated 01.07.2017, based on the OANDA RATES™ Conversion System

different bodies, but only the legislative and executive branches. Thus, consumer protection regulations can be applied more quickly and better. Another problem are the numerous exceptions to laws and regulations where member states claim in order to take into account their national specificities<sup>ccxix</sup>. The United States of Europe could help to implement uniform rules applying everywhere. However, this brings up one of the biggest problems the United States of Europe face. The United States of Europe are no longer able to take into account the regional peculiarities of the federal states in the United States of Europe as it was custom in the European Union. Instead, uniform solutions apply to every member state. A good illustration of this problem is the dispute between some European countries on permitted ingredients of chocolate. The United Kingdom and Belgium had different notions of necessary and permitted ingredients and both states required that the regional traditions are addressed in the regulation<sup>ccxx</sup>. In the European Union, this decision may still be within the jurisdiction of the member states within the principle of subsidiarity, but this procedure would no longer be possible in the United States of Europe. Instead, uniform rules need to be found for the whole of the United States of Europe. While the Chocolate Directive is just one example of cultural differences between the member states, it is also important to consider the different economic and population-related structures within Europe<sup>ccxxi</sup>. With the European Union, this can be circumvented by derogations and thundering on subsidiarity. This is not possible in the United States of Europe, and additionally the risk exists that laws and regulations may not be universally applicable, and might not help the United States of Europe instead might worsen the life of its citizens.

One of the most criticized aspects of the European Union is the loss of democracy and the participation of citizens, for example, because the European Commission is not directly elected and the European Parliament has no right of initiative in draft legislation<sup>ccxxii</sup>. The United States of Europe solves this problem by making the government more directly involved in decision-making (see section "Constitution"). This promotes democracy, as the co-determination of the population is encouraged. Through the United States of Europe, the elections, which are currently mainly held in the member states, would extend to the United States of Europe and its government, and the population could therefore participate more in democracy, as is already the case in the member states<sup>ccxxiii</sup>. Therefore, the choices of the majority of the population of the United States of Europe regain a stronger role and can offset the initial democratic deficit. The United States of Europe would also contribute to a more equitable representation of the population in the Parliament, as it is the case in the current European Union. In the European Union, some countries have fewer representatives in the European Parliament while each delegate also represent fewer citizens. Other countries with a higher population density have more representatives, but those need to represent more citizens at a time. One example would be Germany and Luxembourg. While Germany has more than 82 members of parliament and 82.2 million inhabitants, the density is 854,167 inhabitants per MEP. In Luxembourg, this rate is 83.333 per MEP when six MEPs are sent, who represent 569,700 inhabitants<sup>ccxxiv</sup>. Although this system of "decreasing proportionality" serves to allow the parliamentary co-determination of smaller states, many citizens of populous states are underrepresented. The United States of Europe offers a solution here, as the re-drawing of federal states can create new and fairer electoral districts with an almost equal number of parliamentary mandates.

One of the greatest problems emerging from the United States of Europe would be the rise in taxes and the increase of prices of interregional goods as opposed to the unchanged salaries and life costs. This would particularly affect Eastern and Southern European regions where the cost of living is much

lower<sup>ccxxv</sup>. When the population in these regions is particularly affected it could lead to a social imbalance or migration, hurting the federal states with higher salaries and costs of living as well as those with lower salaries and costs of living, in particular through the concentration of jobs and labor in some regions and the loss of labor in other regions. This would also have far-reaching implications for the entire economy in the United States of Europe. A further adjustment of salaries could not be conducted when taking into account market economic circumstances and this difficulty further slows down the integration within the United States of Europe. On the other hand, corporations could push this inequality even further if they move their production plants into regions with lower wage levels and thus create unemployment at their former production sites. This would in return lead to a deeper social divide. With the introduction of the Euro in countries that not yet have adopted the Euro as official currency, social injustice could further progress. This is in part due to the underappreciated currencies and higher inflation rates in Eastern Europe. If the local currency was depreciated in favor of the Euro, citizens in those countries would lose parts of their savings. A recent example is Latvia, which adopted the Euro in 2014 and where the Euro led to social problems<sup>ccxxvi</sup>. A proposed solution to that problem might be the certain set amounts of exemption for currency exchanges to a 1:1 basis, as it was conducted in the former German Democratic Republic and helped the citizens to keep parts of their savings.

Another central problem of the United States of Europe is the communication within the Union and the necessary choice of an official language. This decision would undeniably have far-reaching consequences. The European Union has solved this problem by introducing 24 official languages spoken in the respective member states<sup>ccxxvii</sup>. This means that all official documents must be published in all 24 languages, but mainly in English for the internal use in the European Union. For the United States of Europe such a solution is not conceivable, instead a language is required which is spoken by all official institutions and is spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population. English is the most appropriate language, as it is spoken by about 40 percent of Europeans, more than any other language and is understood in all European institutions<sup>ccxxviii</sup>. Additionally, English is easy to learn and spread far beyond Europe<sup>ccxxix</sup>. This decision is a logical consequence, but leads to several significant problems. That means that all state information must be translated, as well as numerous other public information. The only advantages are that this makes it even easier to cooperate with other countries, for example in the area of science, since it is even easier to access content from all over the world by communicating in the same language. Teaching this language to those Europeans who do not speak English might present a greater problem but it becomes a necessity in a state like the United States of Europe that people can communicate beyond their regional borders. However, it will be difficult to teach all people in the United States of Europe to speak and to translate the entire curriculum in all federal states of the United States of Europe will be a major structural challenge. There are also reasonable concerns that citizens of the United States of Europe will lose the cultural identity of their language as there are currently more than 60 different languages in Europe<sup>ccxxx</sup>. A single official language like English might help to bring together the people of the United States of Europe and create a single European identity, but this is also linked to the relinquishment of national identity. Even if the language in the United States can be passed on outside the public sphere in the United States of Europe, in recent decades countries in the European Union have also been interested in preserving their own linguistic culture. For example, Ireland has made many efforts to preserve Gaelic as one language<sup>ccxxxi</sup>. These efforts are extinguished when the United States of Europe introduces one official language.

However, with the United States of Europe, not only the linguistic identity will get lost but the entire regional cultural identity might be affected. The regional cultural identity can also be found in the school policy, for example, in which regional peculiarities are taught. This problem is evolving even broader since the United States of Europe demands the abolition of national identity to ensure cohesion and integration. In contrast, most Europeans are not willing to give up their national identity<sup>ccxxxii</sup>, especially since some countries in Europe strongly identified with historical events<sup>ccxxxiii</sup>.

Next to the ideological problem, the establishment of the United States of Europe raises the question of more or less integration and centralization in Europe. This makes the decision over the introduction of a federal state like the United States of Europe subjective according to one's own political preferences of more or less government involvement. The United States of Europe would offer a including solution, especially highlighting the strength of a united government which might lead to an increase of the standards of living for all citizens in Europe while the European Union in its current form does not progress to this last step and retains the national states. This on the other hand offers the advantage that national states can better answer the individual needs of the population and certain population groups.

### The advantages and disadvantages of the United States of Europe in comparison to the European Union from an economical viewpoint

From the economic point of view, the advantages of the United States of Europe over the European Union are in particular the possibilities of a joint financial budget of the United States of Europe as well as the single currency union and the bundling of competencies of the federal states within the United States of Europe.

The United States of Europe would have a very high federal budget available. At present, the total accumulated budget of all member states of the European Union is 6.412.327 million euro<sup>ccxxxiv</sup>. Although it is important to note that these revenues in the United States of Europe would continue to fall as a result of the harmonization of taxes, the figure very high is compared to other large nations and can therefore be used for social programs and labor market reforms.

One of the biggest psychological problems of the European Union is the financial plan, where some countries pay in a lot of money, while other countries receive many benefits, which results in the feeling of a bias of inequity in the views of politicians and the population in the net-receiving countries<sup>ccxxxv</sup>. In the United States of Europe, this problem is not present in such a form because the United States of Europe are one nation and not an association of nations. Therefore, richer states are able to help poorer states without the sense of exploitation because it is the same country benefiting.

Another advantage of the United States of Europe lies in the newly-gained economic power. Already now, the European Union represent almost a quarter of the worlds gross domestic product and if this power is united in one nation state like the United States of Europe, this country would be able to dictate trade relations and compete competitively with other world economic powers such as the BRIC States or the United States of America. The smaller countries in Europe with lower economic power would normally not be able enforce such a market power and therefore benefit to a great extent from the United States of Europe.

Through the United States of Europe, the already open inner-European borders of the European internal market would become even more open. This would mean that both workers and employers can move

faster and move freely in Europe. While it is true that this is already possible in the European Union, it is still bound to some difficulties and restrictions who would be completely eliminated in the United States of Europe<sup>ccxxxvi</sup>. This would further stimulate intra-European trade, and will also help regions such as Germany, with a strong industry through domestic exports<sup>ccxxxvii</sup>, to grow as well as boost growth in agricultural countries<sup>ccxxxviii</sup>.

The United States of Europe would constitute a single financial market. This carries the advantage that the financial market can be better controlled and supervised by the institutions of the United States of Europe. Consequently, the United States of Europe could be in a position to carry out a financial market reform and protect the European markets from abuse and speculation.

With the central government in the United States of Europe, innovation in Europe could be further advanced, which then benefits the overall economical output in the United States of Europe. With the establishment of a public bank similar to the German “Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau”, the government could invest in projects and public-private partnerships that might not be feasible with a private credit institute<sup>ccxxxix</sup>. Examples could be scientific institutes and projects or start-ups, that need long-term investment but offer a great return for society. Especially companies outside the well-funded financial sectors would profit from such a bank. While the European Investment Bank in the European Union has a similar task, it fails to use the money sustainable and effectively because national states cannot use the funds properly due to financial restrictions<sup>ccxli</sup>. A investment bank in the United States of Europe would not only be able to better coordinate such projects but additionally offer new economic perspectives for the country by supporting emerging and key industries and by driving innovation.

The maintenance of the euro as an official currency in the United States of Europe (see section "Constitution") connotes that the United States of Europe is in a position to contribute more stability to the euro. Therefore, most of the problems of the financial crises in the Eurozone would become redundant<sup>ccxlii</sup>, as the national states will no longer be responsible for their debts, but a solvent United States of Europe will assume the debt. Therefore, it is not necessary to develop rescue plans that are paid by other European countries, but instead, government revenue can be used directly at required places.

A further advantage of the United States of Europe can be found in the combining of the government institutions within Europe and the resulting gains in efficiency and cost savings. At present, each of the 28 member states has its own government apparatus and the European Union also operates own authorities. These numerous administrations become redundant in the United States of Europe and can be consolidated, only the smaller regional parliaments of the federal states have to be financed. This drastically reduces the maintenance costs of the administration of the United States of Europe. The merger would also create new competencies and know-how.

### [The advantages and disadvantages of the United States of Europe in comparison to the European Union from a foreign affairs and security political viewpoint](#)

On the field of the European foreign policy and in security and defense policy the United States of Europe offer some advantages, which are especially beneficial in the increase of influence on the world stage and in the financial and structural advantages resulting from synergies. Disadvantages can be found in the differences between individual armed forces within Europe.

For the United States of Europe, a universal military policy would be necessary to ensure the legal capabilities of the United States of Europe. That means also to necessarily build up mutual armed forces.

In the European Union, there are currently 28 different forces representing national interests, and the European Union has so far carried out only few limited military operations and peace missions in Eastern Europe and Africa<sup>ccxlii</sup>. The European Union and its member states were struggling to adapt to the new threats of the twenty-first century described by author Hans-Peter Bartels as a "threat of international terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and the instability of failed states"<sup>ccxliii</sup>.

United armed forces of the United States of Europe would be better able to answer such threats. Militarization differs enormously within member states, for example, some southern European countries have a higher military capacity than smaller European states. In particular, those smaller nations cannot face the above-mentioned dangers as a result of the inferiority of their forces<sup>ccxliv</sup>. Combining the European forces in the United States of Europe would create a new powerful army, which is competitive in comparison with other countries. Together, the United States of Europe would have a troop strength of more than 1,683,000 men, which would correspond to a higher troop strength than that of the United States of America<sup>ccxlv</sup>. Furthermore, the United States of Europe would have a nuclear weapons arsenal and a high weaponry in an international comparison<sup>ccxlvi</sup>.

On the other hand, the United States of Europe could provide for a more efficient army. In the European Union for example, € 194 billion is spent on the entire military establishment every year<sup>ccxlvii</sup>. According to calculations by the European Union, each year at least € 29 billion can be saved if the armed forces are combined within the European Union<sup>ccxlviii</sup>. However, the economic benefits of a united army of the United States of Europe are even more extensive as for instance weaponry can be exchanged and uniformly acquired throughout the country, which would not only reduce the need for weapons, but also creates new market power when purchasing armaments and armor systems.

Even within the United States of Europe, a disproportion between national armies could be balanced. For example, some armies, such as Germany, have a well-trained staff<sup>ccxlix</sup>, but lack operational weapons<sup>cccli</sup> and recruits<sup>cccli</sup>, while other countries can provide a high number of troops or are well equipped<sup>ccclii</sup>, but have other deficits. Therefore, within the United States, military knowledge, equipment and personnel could be exchanged for the protection of militarily important points and the efficiency of the European army can be greatly improved.

From both the military and the foreign policy perspectives, the United States of Europe would gain significantly more influence. The United States of Europe would be the largest single market in the world, accounting for a quarter of the world's gross domestic product. With the concentrated power of the European states in the United States of Europe, the newly gained influence could be used to further pursue its task of promoting peace and freedom worldwide. This would give the United States of Europe greater emphasis in negotiations with NATO or at the United Nations and on the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral treaties. In addition, this new strength would help to mediate in international conflicts.

The United States of Europe's interventional power would also be strengthened, as compared to the European Union, given that not a number of different geopolitical and regional interests dominate a foreign policy strategy but the United States of Europe can act with one voice. In the past, the European Union has often been gridlocked on such issues, as it could be seen with a potential invasion of Iraq. With the United States of Europe, a consensus is required to command the armed forces, but a problem

might be that this consensus must be found first within the United States of Europe. However, if a direction is found, the United States of Europe's forces would be able to tackle any threats more effectively and in a united way.

A united European army in the United States of Europe would present the disadvantages that the entire command force derives from a central body. In order to prevent abuse, a balanced control system is needed across the armed forces. If this system is undermined, it poses a greater risk from the armed forces than possible in the European Union and the system of separated national armed forces. This could result in immense damage for the homogeneity of the United States of Europe and its uniform decisions.

The mostly different military structures of the different military forces in Europe pose another problem. For example, different armies use different, incompatible weapon systems. However, it is also important to remember that 22 of the 28 EU Member States are already organized in NATO, which already use uniform control structures and must also coordinate themselves with other armies<sup>ccliii</sup>. Although the armed forces of the United States of Europe would still need further adjustments, a NATO-like model is also imaginable for the United States of Europe: the army is structured into sub-forces that are centrally organized.

Additionally, the United States of Europe has the advantage of better being able to coordinate humanitarian aid. Although the European Union already has a system for the distribution of humanitarian aid, the financial aid comes directly from member states and is therefore relies on their willingness to help<sup>ccliv</sup>. The United States of Europe could build a more inclusive system to manage global crises. Already by now, the member states of the European Union are the largest donor of humanitarian aid<sup>cclv</sup> and in the United States of Europe this peaceful commitment could be further expended.

Even in the foreign policy between the United States of Europe and other allied states, the United States could benefit from the increased effectiveness, as the United States of Europe can act with "one voice" and national geopolitical interests of the member states become irrelevant. This would help in particular with the negotiation of bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements, because unlike the European Union, treaties are not first negotiated by the European Union and then subsequently ratified by each member states. In conclusion, the United States of Europe would become more agile and effective.

## Conclusion

During the work on my "Besondere Lernleistung", I dealt with the European Union and drew a comparison between the European Union and the "United States of Europe", a state structure I developed, which incorporates all nations of the current European Union.

I have defined the new state as a federal republic with a representative parliamentary government system. The advantages lay particularly in the parliamentary government system, which allows a substantial division of powers and promotes the stability of the government. In addition, the system of institutional-functionalist federalism supports the horizontal division of powers between the central government and the federal states, which allows structural advantages and the regional imposition of laws. This appeared the best way to promote a coherent European state like the United States of Europe.

Furthermore, the United States of Europe have a parliamentary representation, as well as a Federal Council, which represents the duties of the federal states under the federal constitution. The parliament can initiate legislative procedures which are then confirmed by the Federal Council and adapted by the government. The judiciary is organized in a hierarchical manner, thereby permitting relief of the legal system and the conciliation of the federal constitution. Currency and official payment method of the United States of Europe is the euro, which is already widely accepted and internationally recognized in Europe. In the United States of Europe, member states and federal states must be established according to the principle of federalism. Those, however, are only rudimentarily based on the previous national states in Europe and should instead be based on economic and social similarities and divergences.

During my work, I was able to analyze both the advantages and the disadvantages of such state model. The advantages and disadvantages can be categorized by social, economic and foreign political aspects.

I came to the conclusion that the United States of Europe can improve various areas of public life, especially through the newly gained capacities and possibilities afforded by this form of government. This makes it easier for the state to set goals and regulations and to draft binding laws that improve the quality of life for the citizens. This could not be achieved in such a way in the European Union, as member states are responsible for compliance with directives and supra-regional agreements and therefore they cannot be implemented in the same way. The United States could also benefit from synergies between countries that currently do not exist between nations of the European Union. Examples would be a joint energy policy of the United States of Europe which would allow international climate agreements to be implemented and respected, thereby promoting the use of renewable energies through the better exchange of electricity in different regions of Europe, as well as the area of internal security in the United States of Europe through a federal police department and the exchange of information, experiences, equipment and personnel within Europe and beyond through expanded European cooperation in the fight against threats such as organized crime or terrorism.

Further advantages of the United States of Europe lie in the jointly extended domestic area, which allows free movement of persons and goods beyond the possibilities of the European Union. For example, a functioning key for the distribution of refugees within the United States of Europe could be defined or youth unemployment in Europe could be sustainably combated. The financial solvency of the potential United States of Europe can also cover other areas, such as the harmonization of health systems, the



development of a common system of health care and social security, or a common European higher education policy, which offers free universal university education in Europe.

The United States of Europe could counterbalance the democratic deficit of the European Union, criticized by many citizens, by having a directly elected parliament in the United States of Europe, therefore contributing to a more equitable representation of the population.

One of the biggest problems facing the United States of Europe would be the difference between the consistent salaries and rising taxes and life costs, in particular the difference between Western and Eastern Europe. This would reduce integration within the United States of Europe and could result in social divisions. Moreover, it would be inevitable to agree on an official language in the United States of Europe, which preference is given to English due to the wide spread of the language. However, this is resulting in the cultural loss of other European languages and, in addition, the loss of cultural and regional identity by the United States of Europe.

From an economic perspective, the financial potential of the United States of Europe through the accumulated budget of all the current member states of the European Union can also be highlighted. These funds allow necessary social programs and labor market reforms, which can help solve some problems of the current European Union, such as high youth unemployment. Moreover, a complex system of financing with as in the European Union revenue and expenditure in coordination with the member states is no longer necessary and any disparity in funding is balanced. Moreover, the United States of Europe, as the world's largest economy, would strengthen the internal market and the negotiation capacity and role of Europe in the world and further ensure stability in the financial markets. The concept of the United States of Europe also combines administrative authorities and generated synergies can save costs and make the authorities more effective.

The foreign policy and security policy benefits of the United States of Europe primarily allow the forces of all the countries of the European Union to unite and thus better address the dangers of our time such as terrorism. Combining the forces of the United States of Europe would save costs while increasing effectiveness. In addition, the United States of Europe would gain intervention strength from through joint forces and increase negotiation capability for example when resolving international conflicts and negotiating bilateral and multilateral treaties.

In conclusion, the advantages of the United States of Europe in comparison to the European Union can be found in the gain of efficiency and financial strength and in the new possibilities to advance the European ideas, deriving from the form of state of the United States of Europe. Therefore, the United States of Europe could be able to advance the life of its citizens and beyond. Consequently, this idea deserves further consideration.

It becomes apparent that the United States of Europe represent a comprehensive further development of the European Union. In many aspects, the United States of Europe and the European Union are similar as they encourage the same values of free movements of people and goods or equal rights of citizens. The United States of Europe would further advance the progress made in the European Union with new options available to the national state. The United States of Europe would present an answer to the conflict of more nationality vs. more European integration and translated to a national state the conflict

of a stronger government in contrast to a limited government. There are good reasons for both positions, but the United States of Europe would definitely lead to a larger role of government in society as laws and regulations would be enforced in the whole national territory. Additionally, it is important to note that the United States of Europe do not present a static body, but politics and policy making inside the constitutional framework are everchanging and offer the possibilities for change and advancement of the nation regarding eventual circumstances, for example in the way of reforms.

Coming back to the leading question *“The United States of Europe – To what extent do the advantages and disadvantages of a federal state consisting of selected European States as a form of government outweigh the advantages and disadvantages of the current European Union from an economic, social and political perspective?”*, we can conclude that the benefits of the United States of Europe in contrast to the European Union can be found in the increase of efficiency and financial strength, as well as new opportunities for the European idea to spread throughout Europe due to the form of government. Therefore, the United States of Europe might be able to further improve the lives of the population in the United States of Europe and beyond, and this idea deserves a closer look. While the United States of Europe would surely advance the European idea and benefit the citizens of Europe, as of now it is unlikely that such federal state will evolve in the near future.

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