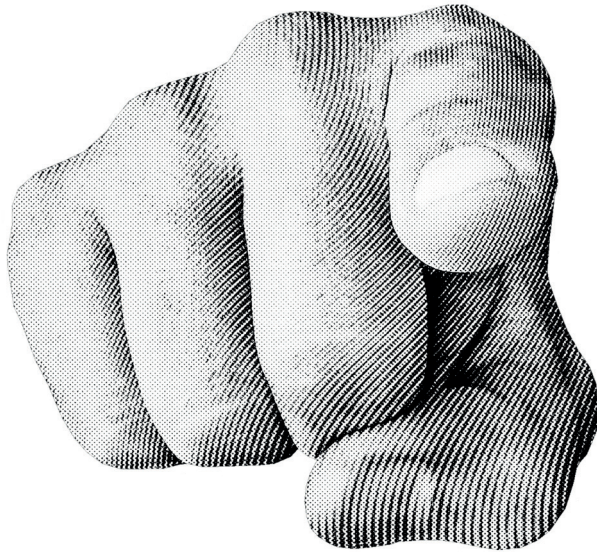


**DEMOCRACY,
NOT
EMPIRE!**



**101 POINTS ON
THE FUTURE OF THE
EUROPEAN UNION**

INSTITUTE FOR A FREE EUROPE
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*„A waistcoat buttoned the wrong way
must be unbuttoned and buttoned again.”*

Ferenc Deák

Ferenc Deák (1803-1876) Hungarian statesman, jurist, and one of the foremost legal thinkers of the nation, widely regarded as the architect of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867

INTRODUCTION

Europe is in crisis. Its foreign policy threatens a world war, its migration policy threatens the loss of European identity, and its economic policy threatens collapse. And yet, EU institutions do not tolerate criticism.

In Brussels today, a “good European” is someone who gives up their own interests, who says yes to everything, who lets the center decide for them—or who is bypassed in the name of the Union’s “unity.” A “good European” is someone who turns a blind eye to unlawful operations within EU institutions, to corruption, to the forced expansion of powers. Someone who accepts that the European Union is an imperial elite project—and that citizens are kept at arm’s length from decision-making. Those who are not considered “good Europeans”—because they speak out against the European Union’s misguided direction and reject Brussels’s overreach—face consequences: their funding is cut off, their media freedom is called into question, their border protection, self-governance, internal decision-making,

foreign policy, and family protection are challenged, their democracy and constitutionality are questioned, and their interests are denied.

This is precisely why the European Union must be rethought from the ground up, and why its institutional system and powers must be reviewed. The European project is in crisis—but perhaps it can still be saved. Over the past decade, the divide between member states has widened across many areas: questions of war and peace, geopolitical differences, economic disparities, immigration, barriers to the movement of services, the rule of law, the interpretation of national sovereignty—and many others. We must build new bridges between us, so that European cooperation is not further strained by internal conflicts and external pressures.

But for the nations of Europe to work together successfully, something deeper is required. We must strengthen the intellectual, cultural, and emotional bonds that hold nations together. We need the driving force of shared history, shared experience, and shared achievement. We need a renewed sense of European patriotism. This patriotism must be rooted in what matters to every European citizen: family, community, nation, faith, love, the ability to make sacrifices for others, shared European endeavors, self-respect, and shared successes grounded in achievement. We must strengthen the bonds that unite us against the walls that divide us.

The more such ties we discover and forge among ourselves, the closer—and stronger—our cooperation will become.

EU institutions—the world shaped by Brussels bureaucrats—must be changed. Imperial ambitions must be stopped. But this will not be achieved through the servile obedience of “good Europeans”—those who give up everything, who seek only to conform, who wait for instructions. What we need instead is bold action, proactive politics, and freedom fighters.

The real challenge of rethinking EU integration is this: to create a new form of European cooperation—one built on citizens’ trust, on peace, on economic stability, and on equality among member states.

Let us dare to be patriots.

Let’s begin.

EUROPEAN EMPIRE —OR UNITED EUROPE?

Europe's legacy is democracy.

For centuries, Europe remained the world's most successful region because it resisted imperial ambition—because its small, medium, and large nations were able to maintain a balance among themselves, and between common rules, collective action, and the sound self-interest of the nations that make up Europe. Since the fall of the Roman Empire, across long centuries and countless attempts, no empire has been able to subjugate Europe permanently. There were many attempts—external and internal alike: Genghis Khan, Suleiman, Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin.

Europe's strength lies in what it is made of: a multitude of autonomous entities, and the free competition of nations—without a single dominant center. For us Hungarians, for us Central Europeans, Europe's shared intellectual foundation has been the most important cornerstone for centuries. The Three Mounds have endured through difficult times:

a common European civilization rooted in tradition; a shared Christian faith born of the martyrdom of Golgotha; the democracy of the Acropolis, the Greek philosophy of rational common sense; and Rome's practical and equitable law. Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome—these form the defining framework of our survival.

Our shared civilization. Our shared faith. A Christian-rooted, common sense, democratic, and practical way of thinking—one that created and honors the concept of equal human dignity, and the equality of nations. These are our shared achievements, our shared heritage. This is the most beautiful face of Europe—the one it turns toward the world.

The true cause of Europe's great wars was never conflict between small or medium-sized nations. It was always the result of imperial idea—imperial ambition. Not even the twentieth century's terrible imperial dictatorships—Soviet communism and German National Socialism, which placed ideology above humanity—were finally able to destroy this common foundation.

The European Union is in crisis today.

Europe's new form of unification—built on national foundations as a response to the failed imperial ambitions of the twentieth century—was a successful project for many decades. After the terrible wars of the past century, it

provided a framework for peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation among European nations. Unlike the logic of empire, the European Union's predecessor was built on equality, mutual respect, voluntarism—and on the nations that comprise it. That is why it was able to achieve unprecedented success.

From the very beginning, however, European integration carried a serious moral deficiency. Because of great power deals—and through no fault of their own—the central and eastern half of Europe, its very heart, the countries suffering under communist and Soviet oppression, were excluded from the common European organization for decades. They said this was the price of peace. It was a high price. The community has expanded, but it was not until 2004 that the majority of European countries were finally able to become members.

Yet instead of ensuring equality, instead of creating a truly democratic union, the continent's reunification at the beginning of the new millennium—after the initial hopes had faded—sharpened the dividing lines in Europe, producing new inequalities and new fractures. The rich and the powerful, pursuing their own ambitions of market expansion rather than striving for shared and mutual benefit, have become increasingly domineering—patronizing in tone, and increasingly open about it. They no longer hide their intent:

to impose their own models—once functional, but now rigid and stripped of their capacity for renewal—on others. Instead of a creative, mutually enriching approach open to learning the best solutions, they expect slavish imitation—and the unconditional service of their interests.

And when they encounter resistance—when emerging forces dare to represent their own interests, to articulate their own vision of the future and of the foundations of common action, and are even willing to cooperate with one another—the powerful respond. They use the Union’s legal mechanisms as instruments of open coercion. They place common institutions, selfishly, in the service of their particular interests.

The founding principle of a united Europe was clear. Beyond guaranteeing peace, nations were to build the European community in those areas where joint action brings greater results than acting alone—and to lend part of their sovereignty to the common good where it benefits all. In good faith, moving from compromise to compromise, member states contributed more and more, in the hope of mutual benefit.

But European integration has been distorted. What began as joint action for shared and mutual benefits has turned into a master scheme for power. Brussels no longer considers nations to be the *origo*. Instead, it serves the power

and imperial ambitions of certain circles. It turns against nations. It does not respect national sovereignty. It treats the punishment and subjugation of member states as its legitimate objective.

EU institutions are clinging ever more greedily to the influence they have acquired—an influence that, formally speaking, was never even transferred to them by the member states. And still, they demand more. They conduct the debate on Europe's future according to their own whims—in the old elitist manner.

But nations—and people—want a say in Europe's future.

Europe's political and geographical center now coincide.

We Hungarians have lived in the heart of Europe for more than a thousand years. Throughout our rich history, we—and our neighboring sister nations—have always been successful under the same conditions: when the great powers did not dominate Europe at the expense of the small; when nations like ours were not excluded from the common project; when democratic and equal cooperation prevailed over dictates and lecturing. Europe is in crisis today because it has abandoned the most important foundations of our common project. It has lost its faith. Its elite—detached from citizens—dreams not of nations, but of an artificial empire, seeking to manage

mounting crises through decrees issued in Brussels. We have seen this before. We know where this path leads.

We Hungarians—we Central European nations—have, throughout our history, set direction and offered example to other European nations. We defended Christianity with our lives and our bodies against occupying Muslim forces.

In 1848. In 1953. In 1956. In 1968. In 1981. Through the sacrifice of our blood, we sent a message to those who sought to crush us: for us, freedom cannot exist without a nation—and a nation cannot exist without freedom.

Today in Europe, a new threat looms. It threatens the nation—the natural, and until now the only successful, foundation of freedom and democracy—along with representation of the people and popular sovereignty. Censors seek to dictate what may and may not be said, which words may and may not be used. Ideologues of artificially constructed, alien concepts—and power-hungry bureaucrats—stand in the way of what Europe’s sensible citizens want.

We Hungarians—we Central Europeans—have experience. Our long history of suffering has armed us against adversity. It has taught us that swift and decisive action, a steadfast commitment to freedom and to our core values, the defense of our borders, our homeland, and our Christian civilization—and the setting of great goals—carry us through even the hardest times. In 1990, it was with this conviction

that we regained our lost independence and freedom. And we will not give this up again.

We were left out of the construction of Europe for many decades. But now we are entering the debate on our shared future. Never again will decisions be made about us—without us. Everything about our region predestines it to lead the European rebirth of the 21st century. We are free. And ready to act.

The successes of recent decades have made us confident—and disciplined. We are capable of rising above the grievances and wounds of our past, in the hope of a shared future. Of joining hands with the other nations of our region—and daring to imagine a new future for ourselves.

We are one of Europe's oldest nations with continuous statehood. We have accumulated an unprecedented wealth of experience in public law and state-building. The experiences of our region differ from those of the EU's founding members. As a nation that loves freedom and democracy, we are not burdened by the obligations and frustrations that stem from empire-building, nor by the weight of a guilty conscience born of the colonial racist oppression of other peoples. Our centuries-long history of oppression by others—and the story of suffering through our fierce resistance to it—forms the foundation of our conviction, to which we cling with all our might, regarding our national existence today.

We know that survival and success are possible through the strengthening of European nations—and through sensible, equal cooperation among them. Throughout its history, Hungary has often had to fight for its freedom. From the very beginning, our distinguished jurists worked to build our constitutional system—and the institutions that check and balance one another, securing the framework of our freedom.

The Golden Bull of 1222—a counterpart and contemporary of the English Magna Carta—is one of the earliest documents limiting royal power and despotism, and safeguarding public freedom. The 1568 Torda Declaration stands as the first official European formulation of religious tolerance. The concept of the Holy Crown, based on the mutual limitation of powers, is a worthy counterpart, parallel and contemporary of the theory of the French philosopher Montesquieu. Hungarian constitutional history is a rich repository of public law possibilities and institutions open to Europe. And in the dualist system, we experienced in practice both the advantages and the disadvantages of federal state solutions.

Europe's fate determines the fate of our nation as well. We know that the struggle—to strengthen our national unity and to ensure our survival—must be fought on this broad front. Drawing on the exceptional experience of our 1,100-year

history of state-building in Europe, we have something to say. We have sound advice—real solutions—on how to make our shared continent great again amid today’s global, turbulent storms.

We, here in the heart of Europe, have already witnessed—and endured—many such struggles. That is why we will never give up on freedom and democracy. Given our region’s geographical position, and as our history attests, Europe as a whole can defend itself today against encroaching imperial powers—precisely through us.

The European Union is not democratic today.

The fundamental flaw in the construction of a united Europe now is this: from the very beginning, Europe’s citizens—the voters—were left out, or rather, excluded from the process. The Union was not established democratically, with the approval of its citizens, but as the result of power deals. In the few instances when attempts were made to involve the people in European affairs through referendums, results that did not please the elite were consistently circumvented—or simply ignored. There is a long list of votes repeated in which the people initially “did not get it right”—meaning they failed to produce the outcome expected and negotiated by influential centers.

The European Union has reached its current crisis because the European project has turned its back on its most important agents—its own citizens—and on its greatest European achievement, a tradition spanning thousands of years: democracy and freedom. The European Union is afraid of the people. It suffers from demo-phobia. This is why European nations today cannot effectively resist the efforts of Brussels and certain influential member states to transform the Union into an empire—through homogenizing, centralizing, nation-suppressing ambitions. Because the community is not built democratically. Because it does not operate on the principle of fixed and limited member state authority. Because it strives instead for its own independent power—and undivided sovereignty.

The EU has been unable to provide adequate responses to the successive, ever more devastating waves of crises over the past decade and a half—economic crisis, migration, pandemic, the Russian–Ukrainian war. Because it has become detached from the people. Because it has fallen into the trap of false ideologies that reduce the complexity of the world to extremes—along with the petty games and unbridled ambitions for power that hide behind them. It has lost its sense of reality. Instead of solving problems, it has become entangled in useless, politically correct, utopian, ideological debates. It has forgotten a simple truth: an alliance

of nations can only succeed if the nations and citizens that comprise it are strong—and committed to the principles of democracy. Labeling democracy with “liberal” qualifier does not strengthen it. It serves instead to preserve the intellectual domination of elites—at the expense of citizen participation, national involvement, and majority rule.

Today, a titanic struggle is unfolding in Europe—a battle, an intellectual contest—between federalists and sovereignists, democrats and autocrats, democracy and dictatorship, and between those who embrace political accountability and transparency and those who seek to obscure it. We want a cooperative, democratic Europe. That is why we say no to a European Empire. The conflict has been reduced to its essence: a struggle between supporters of the Empire and supporters of the nation-states. Democrats stand for the nation—and for European cooperation. Supporters of the empire stand against both Europe and democracy. Europe will be great again only when it regains its freedom—and its faith in its most important creation, its most valuable shared achievement: democracy.

Europe can only be made great again if we strengthen its democracy, if we restore to citizens the right to have a say in common affairs, and if—within the framework of the European Union—we create a democracy of democracies, whose basic unit and foundation is the nation. There is much

work to be done. Because the enemies of democracy have amassed unprecedented strength, influence, and power. Reclaiming democracy—making Europe democratic again—is a Herculean task. Today, the question of democracy is Europe’s most important question. Democracy was born in Europe—we cannot allow it to meet an inglorious end right here. A Europe of peoples. A Europe of nations. A Europe of families. These all mean the same thing: restoring the right—and the responsibility—to make decisions to the place where their consequences are felt, and where accountability is real. Where leaders bear responsibility for public affairs and for their citizens—and where they are held to account.

Today, the European Union’s common institutions are not like this. The European Commission is not accountable—and cannot be removed. The European Parliament is not representative; it is at the mercy of lobby interests, fashionable utopian ideologies, and pseudo-civil society NGOs with opaque funding. Meanwhile, as more and more crucial decisions are shifted to the courts, the European Court of Justice increasingly serves elitist, juristocratic interests. These areas must be returned to decision-making based on majority mandate—one that respects national sovereignty. The advocates of a European empire are not democrats. They are the enemies of democracy. Contrary to the will of the citizens, they are neither able nor willing to defend Europe’s

borders—and without borders, there is no identity, there is no Europe. Supporters of the European empire want all major decisions concerning the continent to be made in Brussels. Supporters of European democracy seek to preserve national sovereignty—and democratic national decision-making. The bureaucrats in Brussels, enemies of freedom and free speech, also seek to dictate to the people of Europe what they may—and may not—discuss. European nations and their citizens want to preserve their identity, to protect their territory and their people, to resist imperial restrictions on free speech, and to put an end to unrestricted immigration. They are the true democrats of today.

Supporters of the European Empire prefer immigration and resettlement to having their own children. They promote gender ideology instead of the concept of family. They work to dismantle the social bonds that hold our societies together, and they advocate policies and a social philosophy that run counter to the interests of Europe's citizens. They choose censorship over the freedom of speech and education, ideological justification over problem-solving, a homogeneous European identity over national diversity, the idolization of the present and the superficial over respect for the lessons of history, and indebtedness over the interests of future generations and growth built on our own efforts. They impose their ideas through propagandistic means,

and their operation is marked by the most serious forms of political corruption. EU institutions have member states finance the spread of their own ideology. A significant share of EU funds is spent on promoting europeist imperial ideas and those who propagate them—instead of supporting genuine civil initiatives, culture, research and development that strengthens European industry, and the advancement of digital capabilities.

The bureaucrats of the European empire search for arguments to explain why what people want cannot be done. They block every attempt to strengthen the will of the people in Brussels' decision-making. For Brussels bureaucrats, the struggle for power is what matters—not the fair management of the common affairs of Europe's nations. National democrats are directly accountable to citizens for their actions—because they remain close to them. True constitutional accountability exists only within a national framework. That is why the Union's institutions must be subject to tight national oversight. We cannot entrust Brussels bureaucrats with determining Europe's future.

The first step on the path to a new Europe is the restoration of European democracy.

100 + 1 POINTS ON FREEDOM AND SOVEREIGNTY

PATRIOTIC PROPOSALS FOR RETHINKING
EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND DEMOCRACY

The purpose of the following points—these institutional proposals and reform suggestions—is to initiate a debate on the refounding of the European Union: a debate on how to make it effective again, so that it can once more serve the interests of member states and their citizens, and defend democracy and national sovereignty rather than the imperial principle.

Until now, the conditions for such a debate have been absent. The power hunger of Brussels bureaucrats, and the exclusivity of their official doctrines—e. g. the discriminatory practice of funding apologetic “European studies” with EU taxpayers’ money—have monopolized the field,

squeezing out and effectively silencing objective, non-federalist, alternative, sovereignist inquiry and debate about the EU's institutional system. We must let fresh air into these smoke-filled, closed rooms. The future of the Union can no longer be determined by a narrow federalist elite. Good—better—solutions will emerge only if there are no taboos in analysis, and if those seeking them are not constrained by politically correct censorship.

We are undertaking an experimental and pioneering role—and we therefore reserve the right to be wrong. We believe that debate, and free intellectual competition, help shape a better world—and a Europe more successful than the one we have today.

The proposals that follow are diverse. They differ in significance, and they require different timeframes. Some are fundamental principles—philosophical and public law guidelines. Some require a complete overhaul of the current system before they can be implemented. Some call for amendments to the founding treaties. Others could be introduced as early as tomorrow. Taken together—placed side by side, in their interconnections and underlying logic—they reveal the main directions and driving forces of a new, or thoroughly revised, Treaty.

The extent to which radical change can be undertaken depends on political, international, and social circumstances.

Shaping these is the prerogative of politicians and governments. We can offer guidance—draw attention to interconnections, and outline directions for thought. The points include operational principles, practical adjustments, comprehensive institutional changes, as well as questions of principle, procedure, and content—and specific policy goals. Not every point carries the same weight. Changing terminology and names—though language and words hold great power—is of lesser importance than embedding new safeguards to protect sovereignty. Many of the reform goals we have outlined build upon one another; many can only be realized in relation to one another. Some require a wide range of related changes; others stand as alternatives—and as we move forward, a choice will have to be made.

We boldly embrace the colorful eclecticism of this list. It is a European creation—like a beautiful late-19th-century building in Barcelona, Budapest, or Vienna—where multiple styles coexist in harmony. What connects and holds these ideas together is a shared goal: national sovereignty, respect for democracy, the restoration of the rights of member states in this regard, and the optimization of powers delegated to the common framework. We have sought—and continue to seek—solutions that can simultaneously guarantee the autonomy of nations and the effectiveness of joint action.

At this stage, in the spirit of open-mindedness, we do not wish to place constraints on our imagination—so that every possible, sensible, and desirable direction may be explored at the outset of our common deliberation. We embrace the audacity of dreaming, and the courage to think big. In Europe’s current dire situation, we cannot afford the luxury of a lack of imagination, of procrastination, or of inching forward in small steps.

Our proposals set out goals toward which—according to our sober patriotic conviction—European nations must move. Our catalog belongs to the public domain. It carries no copyright—anyone may take part in turning these ideas into reality.

We must hurry—for the world is moving forward, even without those who care about both European cooperation and national self-determination. Let us not give up. Let others not decide for us. Let us take part—together—in this great and destiny-shaping endeavor.

In the interest of renewal, we Hungarians wish to contribute to a common European vision. We ask our brother nations to consider our proposals. The task is great. For the enemies of democracy and national self-determination have amassed unprecedented strength, influence, and power in recent years. Reclaiming national sovereignty, and making Europe democratic again, is a task worthy of us.

1 Europe is a civilizational framework—a continent, a Christian culture shaped by centuries of values, experience, and knowledge.

2 Without a firm moral compass, freedom dissolves into meaningless nihilism. For Europe, Christianity is that compass.

3 Europe's experience shows that democracy is only viable within a national framework; democracy and freedom cannot endure within an empire.

4 Europe will succeed if it follows its own path—if it learns from others without blindly copying them. European interests must be strengthened and represented together. No one will do this for us.

5 Europe must return to common sense—and to the wisdom of the *bonus et diligens paterfamilias*, the good steward rooted in Roman law. Its goals must be grounded in normality, in the world as it is, and in geopolitical, intellectual, and material realities.

6 For the nations of Europe to work together successfully, the intellectual, cultural, and emotional bonds that unite us must be strengthened. European patriotism must be fostered,

recognized, and supported within the community. This does not undermine national patriotism—it builds upon it.

7 Europe’s strength—and its future—lie with the Central European nations: the most dynamically developing nations today in the continent, shaped by the experience of two twentieth-century tyrannies, and therefore better equipped than any others to resist dictates. Today, Europe’s political and geographical centers coincide. The historical experience of the Central European nations can help make Europe great again. It is worth learning from them.

8 Instead of the servile obedience of those waiting for orders, we need bold action, proactive politics, true freedom-fighters, and patriots. A “good European” is not one who tolerates the unlawful operations, corruption, and forced expansion of powers of EU institutions, but one who defends sensible solutions rooted in Europe’s mature, hard-won traditions.

9 Europe’s self-determination must be restored. We need a self-reliant Europe—one that can stand on its own two feet, sustain and defend itself, and, as a global power, shape events rather than merely endure them.

10 Europe and the European Union are not the same. The European Union is a system of institutions based on rules and treaties; Europe is a spirit, a culture, a faith, and a civilization.

11 The European Union, as an institutional framework uniting the continent's strategic goals, has meaning only if it truly serves the nations and citizens of Europe.

12 Institutions must protect European interests, European nations, and European people, and must operate in accordance with European law. Clear legal mechanisms are needed to ensure that EU institutions do not overstep democracy or the mandate entrusted to them.

13 Respect for the constitutional and national identities of member states must be guaranteed. An EU institutional mechanism must be established to safeguard them.

14 We are not building a common state. Europe will never become a federal state. We do not want a European Empire.

15 The principle of “ever closer union” must be removed from the Treaty so that it can no longer be used for abuse. Today—particularly due to the expansive interpretation of the Court of Justice—it creates legal uncertainty, enables

arbitrariness and institutional power politics, and undermines the fundamental principles of impartiality.

16 The powers of EU institutions and member states must be clearly delineated in the Treaty, and the principle of “ever closer union” must be replaced with a functional public law structure grounded in a proper treaty basis.

17 The fundamental principle of conferral must be reinforced: any competence not lend from the member states to the Union remains with the member states. This principle has been interpreted in reverse; EU institutions have exceeded their authority and acted without mandate. Ultra vires conduct must be prohibited—and sanctioned.

18 In the course of reforming and refounding the EU, all shared competences and institutional powers must be re-examined, following the logic of a zero-based approach. Where the benefits of joint action are not clearly demonstrated, they must be abolished. A full inventory of competences must be drawn up, and powers must be returned to member states if they so request.

19 EU institutions, EU political forces, and bureaucrats must abandon anti–nation-state rhetoric and policies.

20 The EU's democratic deficit must be addressed. The people—the European demos—must be parties in the democratic oversight of the Union.

21 The citizens' initiative must be made effective. The current system is unworkable; that institution is incapable of enforcing the will of the citizens. We propose introducing the proven Hungarian model—the institution (of European) consultation.

22 The European community has meaning only if it operates voluntarily and free of coercion.

23 Member states are members of the community; as contracting parties, they are equal.

24 Instead of directives and sanctions, the functioning of the European community must be based on cooperation among equal partners—the nations. The Union is not a venue for centralized command, but a discourse among equals—one that respects the dignity of its partners and in which members seek to persuade one another. Voluntary cooperation instead of sanctions and lecturing.

25 The European community can only be built on a culture of mutual respect. It must operate according to the principles of intergovernmentalism, because true democratic, majority-based authority lies with national governments. Where its operation extends beyond this, it must be curtailed.

26 The essence of European cooperation is consensus. Bypassing member states, legal maneuvering, and EU measures imposed without agreement must be prohibited, as they undermine genuine joint decision-making.

27 The principle of subsidiarity must be strengthened in the Treaties. In its current, centralist formulation, however, it conflicts with the principle of conferral of powers. The level at which an issue should be decided cannot be determined solely by expediency; it must always be preceded by an assessment of whether the matter falls at all within EU competence. In the absence of this, it is not justified.

28 Today, the Union's institutions protect only a supposed supranational interest. Procedures must be established within the Union to safeguard national sovereignty, and creeping centralization of powers must be prevented.

29 It must be clearly stated that the European Union is a defined organization, delineated by the founding Treaty, in which powers are fixed and cannot be altered without a treaty amendment—that is, without the unanimous consent of all member states.

30 The European Union enforces its will through the national legal systems and institutions of the member states; beyond a limited number of central bodies, it has no independent institutional system—and cannot have one. The numerous EU agencies and parliamentary committees established without proper authority must be subjected to a sovereignty review—and abolished.

31 The creation of parallel national and Community functions and institutions is not permitted; it runs counter to the Treaties. In the event of conflict, national institutions must take precedence.

32 The right of member states to invoke vital national interests as a safeguard must be explicitly stated in the Treaty. This ensures national sovereignty and may ease formal resistance to majority decision-making. Majority decision-making can function only if appropriate emergency brake mechanisms are in place to protect these interests.

33 The exercise of rights guaranteed to member states by the Treaties cannot be deemed or declared as ones contrary to the interests of the Union. Unanimity is the bastion of member state sovereignty; on fundamental issues affecting sovereignty, the right of any member state to block joint action must be preserved if vital interests so require.

34 Building on previous practice, but as a new procedure, the right of abstention must be introduced for decisions requiring unanimity. It should apply where a member state does not wish to block a consensus decision, but does not wish to participate in it or accept it as binding upon itself. During the legislative process—with the exception of the strictly and exhaustively defined core competences of the Union—member states should be free to exercise their right to opt out in advance.

35 In areas of law beyond the core, member states may establish among themselves circles of integration of varying intensity and scope.

36 The powers and influence of bodies and institutions established within the framework of enhanced cooperation must not extend, in any way, to non-participating countries or to EU institutions. Participation in enhanced cooperation is voluntary. Any form of Community or institutional

pressure in this area must be prohibited.

37 Respect for European taxpayers' money. EU institutions must be accountable to member states for the spending of EU funds. They must be held accountable in cases of political and economic corruption. All EU spending must be scrutinized—and waste must be eliminated.

38 There is no Europe without nations, as a united Europe is built on nations. A strong and effective Union can exist only on a strong national foundation. There can be no effective cooperation among weak nations. Europe will be strong and successful only if the nations that comprise it are strong and successful. We must act together only where the unification and coordination of national will and goals make us stronger than the mere sum of our parts—and where this intention is genuinely shared by all.

39 The nations of Europe compete fairly with one another, in accordance with the rules set out in the Treaties.

40 Europe should intervene only in matters for which it has been authorized. The rest must be carried out by the European nations themselves. The Union operates on the principle of conferred and borrowed powers.

41 The European Union must be re-founded as a democracy of democracies—whose basic units and foundations are the European nations.

42 The basic units of the European Union are the member states—nations coming together for multiple common goals. It is a misconception that the Union refers to EU institutions. It refers to the totality of the member states—and only secondarily to Brussels, Strasbourg, and Luxembourg.

43 A European Charter of the Rights of Nations must be established.

44 The expansive, federalist, and individualistic interpretation of the Charter of Fundamental Rights must be brought to an end. Under this approach, it is applied to the domestic law of member states in order to fragment them—exceeding the limited mandate under which the rights it enshrines apply exclusively related to the Union, and not to the member states themselves.

45 National minorities are the building blocks of Europe. It must be clearly stated that the Union supports the collective rights of indigenous minorities and, accordingly, the practical exercise of their autonomy.

46 A Committee on National and Ethnic Minorities must be established, modeled on the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.

47 The sovereignty of the European Union consists of the joint exercise of national sovereignties, which—within limits—pertains to EU institutions. Only the member states possess independent sovereignty. The authority of EU institutions is derivative, borrowed, and originates from the member states. Members lend certain elements of their sovereignty to the Union for the common good—but retain control over them; the loan can be revoked.

48 The structure of the Union must be redesigned to once again respect the sovereignty of its members. To achieve this, we must move toward intergovernmentalism—a model applied many times before, and proven to work.

49 With regard to fundamental issues of sovereignty, new EU competences may be established only by unanimous decisions and through amendments to the Treaties. Any decision restricting sovereignty that affects the territory, population, borders, or national sovereignty of member states is possible only with the express consent of the member states concerned.

50 Any activity that undermines the national sovereignty of member states must not receive institutional support from the EU.

51 Europe will survive only if it can defend its borders, its citizens, its assets, its culture, and its natural environment—and if it can halt mass immigration. The material and intellectual wealth created by those who live here belongs to the peoples of Europe. To preserve a Europe without internal borders—and the free movement of citizens and goods—the external border must be protected.

52 Adequate European capacity is necessary so that member states can protect Europe's territory and citizens against external attacks and attempts at foreign influence. The purpose of defense capacity is to protect Europe—not to serve the interests of third countries.

53 Member states must coordinate their joint defense against external threats, Islamism, terrorism, and mass immigration. The protection of external borders is a member state responsibility; the Union must provide financial support for it. If a member state is unable to ensure its defense, it may request support from other member states or from the Union.

54 Member states have the right to decide whom they admit to their territory—and whom they do not—and whom they choose to live with. Within the framework of the free movement of persons and Schengen cooperation, member states coordinate their migration policies, but the Union cannot oblige any member state to accept immigrants. Regulatory matters related to Schengen, immigration, and migration must be referred to the Council of Interior Ministers.

55 Asylum applications must be submitted and adjudicated outside the Union. Adjudication remains the responsibility of national authorities, acting in accordance with national rules.

56 Freedom of speech, the press, science, and education is a matter of sovereignty—and must be restored. The intellectual constraints imposed on public discourse—under the pretext of political correctness, gender ideology, and liberalism—which stifle free debate must be removed. Down with censorship.

57 Complete freedom of research must be guaranteed. The biased promotion of “European studies,” and its EU funding, must be abolished.

58 Children and young people are Europe's next generation—without them, there is no future. The continent's demographic reserves are being depleted. Only a robust family policy can halt rapid population decline; our goals for the future must be aligned with this.

59 Family law and education are matters of national competence; the Union has no authority over them. At most, it may complement national measures—with the consent of the member states concerned—where objectives align. It is unthinkable that the majority should be required to abandon their European and national way of life and values for the sake of any ideology. Given the radically different convictions and traditions of European societies in these matters, imposing common regulation would tear the Union apart. Uniform solutions cannot be imposed on member states.

60 In European cooperation, horizontal freedoms—the free movement of goods, persons, capital, and services—must be strengthened, and the balance among them must be maintained.

61 To ensure the uniform application of EU freedoms, efforts must be made to reduce economic and development disparities among member states. Effective EU policies are needed to support weaker members and enable their convergence.

62 The EU budgetary system is based on the principle of member states' primary financial authority—this is the foundation of the common budget. A fundamental principle of integration is that the common budget is authorized through the approval of national parliaments—this is the cornerstone of financial sovereignty.

63 Responsibility toward future generations is a fundamental principle at both the national and EU levels. We must return to the practice whereby the Union does not take on debt and does not become indebted. The EU budget must not exceed the limits unanimously set by the member states. Borrowing in response to the coronavirus pandemic was an exceptional measure in an exceptional situation—and it is now clear that that experiment has failed. We say no to further joint borrowing and to common European taxes. Tax competition fosters healthy competition among countries in different circumstances.

64 We need an innovative economy—and science that drives digital and technological progress. Europe's nations must share their best practices, exchange their hard-earned knowledge, and learn from one another—so they can remain competitive in the world.

65 We need a common European industrial policy built on our strengths—and large, joint European companies capable of ensuring Europe’s place in global competition. Access to these must be voluntary, market-based, and open to all EU countries.

66 The Common Agricultural Policy and the maintenance of established subsidies are matters of security—but also of civilization and ecology. Europe cannot, even in the future, relinquish its ability to meet its own food needs.

67 Action against environmental polluters is both a national and a European issue, requiring a fair distribution of burdens and the enforcement of the “polluter pays” principle. The use of natural resources must be subject to strict regulation. Excesses—and politically motivated, climate-hysterical, ivy green measures that threaten millions of European jobs—must be curbed.

68 The extralegal influence of NGOs and pseudo-civil society organizations poses a threat to Europe. Hiding behind organizations presented as civil society groups, EU institutions seek to bypass sovereign member states in order to expand their own power. This influence—and the lack of transparency surrounding it—must be brought to an end.

69 The Union must defend itself more effectively than ever against illegitimate external influence. In the face of external pressure, it must strive for joint action. These include: NGOs, foreign governments, globalist organizations funded by individuals, corporations, economic actors, intellectual influence, cultural expansion, and vulnerabilities in digital, information, and infrastructure systems.

70 The Union is a non-partisan organization and may not support non-governmental organizations engaged in political activity.

71 The strictest possible conflict-of-interest rules must be established in institutional administration. Organizations that influence the Union—or receive funding from it—must be subject to rigorous requirements of transparency, financing, and disclosure of interests. Lobby groups and NGOs seeking to influence Community decisions must disclose the names of their funders and the amounts of support received.

72 The misleading names of EU institutions and symbols, which suggest statehood and sovereign authority, must be changed. The Parliament should be called the General Assembly, and the Court of Justice the Service Court.

73 The Commission must respect the sovereignty of member states and follow the principle of territorial convergence in the allocation of EU funds. Access to EU funding must not be made contingent on political pressure.

74 Cooperation among national parliaments within the EU must be strengthened. They must be granted greater powers to actively participate in EU lawmaking and oversight, as well as in budgetary and ethical matters. We propose the introduction of the “red card” procedure: national parliaments, acting together, should be able to block EU legislation that infringes on national competences.

75 The Union’s supreme legislative, administrative, and diplomatic body is the Council—the assembly of member states. The Council represents the Union vis-à-vis external partners. Only the Council may initiate EU legislation; the Commission’s right to do so must be revoked. Only the Council may initiate infringement proceedings against a member state; this power must be removed from the Commission.

76 The Commission is the executive body of the Council; it must be restructured into an executive secretariat serving the members and the Council. As a subordinate body and neutral executive apparatus, the Commission must not

represent political ideologies or engage in politically driven decision-making.

77 It must continue to be guaranteed that each member state may appoint a commissioner to the Commission. The right of appointment rests with the member states. The Parliament hears them, but does not vote on individual commissioners. The appointment of senior Commission officials must be transparent, and the Commission must adhere to appointment quotas applicable to the member states.

78 The Commission's operations and internal decision-making must be transparent and accessible to the Parliament and the member states. The Commission is accountable to the Parliament, the Council, and the members. It must respond to their inquiries within a short timeframe and ensure access to documents generated in the course of its operation.

79 The Commission is subject to scrutiny by the European Parliament, but is not elected by it. In the election of the President of the European Commission, the Parliament (General Assembly) may exercise its right of consent only once; if the nominee is rejected, the European Council may elect the President. A strict deadline must be set for the exercise of this right, and failure to meet it shall result in forfeiture.

80 The Parliament must be transformed into a consultative EU body. To oversee and exercise shared EU competences, national legislatures must send MEPs from among their own members—proportionally, reflecting local party representation—replacing the current system of direct election, following the model of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

81 The Parliament must continue to have no right of legislative initiative. In accordance with the principle of the separation of powers, this right should belong exclusively to the Council. Parliamentary resolutions, veiled proposals, and self-initiated reports aimed at covered initiatives are invalid. In the legislative process, Parliament debates drafts initiated by the Council and prepared by the Commission; its opinion is not binding.

82 On matters not falling within EU competence, the Parliament has no right to express opinion. It may not establish standing or inquiry committees, organize visits, or adopt resolutions on such matters; any such decisions are invalid.

83 In its operations, the composition of standing committees, and the allocation of offices, the Parliament must reflect the proportional results of the European elections.

The application of the so-called cordon sanitaire violates the principle of democracy; decisions taken under it are invalid.

84 A (new) EU court must be established to protect the rights and sovereignty of member states.

85 The preliminary ruling procedure must be abolished, as it seriously infringes upon national jurisdiction and the administration of justice.

86 The principle of the primacy of EU law—which is a principle not included now in the Treaties and has been established only by the Court of Justice—must be set aside.

87 The court's current jurisdiction must be limited exclusively to the resolution of internal legal disputes.

88 The Court of Justice may not rule on cases involving national constitutional issues.

89 The Court of Justice must be restructured in line with its new designation. Its primary task should be to adjudicate disputes involving EU employees, and proceedings must be established against Community institutions for exceeding their powers.

90 By majority vote, the Council may set aside a judgment of the Court.

91 The transparent operation of the Court must be guaranteed. The Council and the Parliament shall evaluate its work in by specific annual reports.

92 A conflict of interest must be declared between the staff of the Court of Justice and other Community institutions after the expiration of their terms of service.

93 The assignment of cases at the Court of Justice must be strictly automatic and random; the President of the Court must have no influence over it.

94 The Court's case law must be based on strict adherence to the Treaty. After the new Treaty enters into force, the Court may not refer decisions based on the previous Treaty.

95 We oppose any further expansion of majority decision-making at the expense of unanimity. Existing rules must be reviewed to determine where unanimity should be restored and where a qualified majority remains justified. The Council should strive for consensus-based decision-making even where the Treaty does not require it.

96 Member states must be able to initiate infringement proceedings where EU institutions act in violation of the Treaties.

97 The so-called rule of law procedures must be abolished, as they fundamentally undermine the sovereignty and equality of members, as well as legal certainty. The current procedure runs counter to the Treaties; due to its vagueness, it creates fertile ground for political blackmail and corruption.

98 The procedure under Article 7 must be abolished, as it generates unnecessary discord among members. Should it remain, however, only the Council should be authorized to conduct it; neither the Commission nor the Parliament should have a role, and decisions must continue to be taken unanimously—excluding the party concerned.

99 The current Article 114 must be deleted. In the absence of a legal basis, consensus must not suffice for joint EU action. If members still wish to proceed, they should amend the Treaties or move to an intergovernmental basis—outside the structures of the Union.

100 All conditionality procedures affecting financial support to which member states are entitled under the budget must be abolished, as they result in unequal sanctions and violate the equality of members. The rule of law is undermined when entitlements granted by law are assessed on the basis of arbitrary, non-uniform criteria.

+1 Double standards must be eliminated in all areas of EU decision-making.

May 1, 2026
Budapest