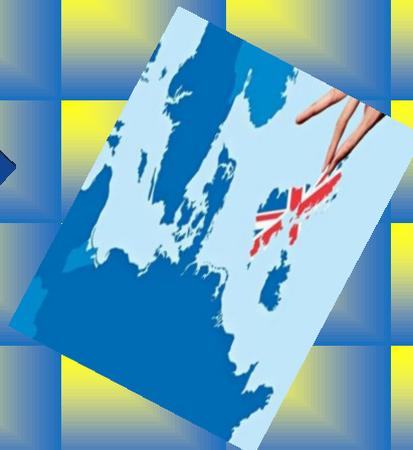


Which future for the European Union



MIUR - A2. "RETE Progetto E-CLIL-SECONDO CICLO" A.S. 2015/16

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MODULO E-CLIL 'Which future for the European Union ' – CLASSE VD LINGUISTICO

Il presente lavoro è frutto di una serie di approfondimenti condotti da quattro gruppi di studenti della classe VD Linguistico impegnati a rispondere al quesito '*Which future for the European Union*' .

Il percorso, proposto dalle insegnanti di Lingua Inglese (prof.ssa Vilma Rodeghiero) e di Storia (prof.ssa Emanuela Trentin) si è svolto secondo la modalità di apprendimento centrato sul compito, pertanto attraverso la mediazione didattica (triangolazione) studenti-materiali di ricerca-docenti che ha escluso la lezione frontale per favorire l'utilizzo, da parte degli studenti, di abilità e competenze integrate linguistiche, disciplinari e di digital literacy.

Il prodotto finale è risultato dello sviluppo delle quattro angolature da cui gli studenti hanno deciso di rispondere al compito :

- l'ideale e il reale: dal Manifesto di Ventotene ai problemi attuali della UE (con la ri-costruzione del percorso storico attraverso uno studio selettivo della cronologia proposta nel sito ufficiale della Unione europea);
- il funzionamento delle istituzioni europee ;
- la questione finanziaria con un case study sulla situazione della Grecia;
- il problema della identità europea.

Ogni angolatura rappresenta una micro-lezione sulle problematiche relative alla UE che gli studenti possono rappresentare ai compagni in modo tale da permettere, oltre alla condivisione dei contenuti, processi di autovalutazione e valutazione condivisa. Fungono da cornice del percorso una introduzione, tratta dalla proposta del Movimento Federalista europeo e adottata dal Congresso UEF di Berlino (novembre 2013), ed una conclusione che avvicina alcuni passaggi della Dichiarazione Schuman del 9 maggio 1950 ad un recente discorso del presidente della Commissione europea, Jean-Claude Juncker del 9 Settembre 2015.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the European Union

Europe is passing through a period of turbulence and uncertainty. The long financial crisis, which has led to economic stagnation, unemployment and political fragmentation, has exposed not only the flaws in the design of the Economic and Monetary Union and the weakness of EU institutions, but also a lack of commitment to European integration by EU states. As a result, the European Union has lost the trust of many citizens.

1. Put into practice the founders' ideals of a United Europe
2. Re-examine the common administration of the European Union
3. Share a new idea of European Identity

The European crisis : a proposal by MFe

(ADOPTED BY THE UEF CONGRESS, BERLIN | 16-17 NOVEMBER 2013 /AMENDED BY THE UEF FEDERAL COMMITTEE, BRUSSELS | 13 DECEMBER 2014)

If the European Union is to survive for years to come, it must pursue the paths of social peace, prosperity and political unity through the business of democratic government.

The proposal of European Federalists :

- Build a federal Europe with strong democratic institutions; we urge the European Parliament to develop its proposals on the structure of federal union alongside representatives of national parliaments. The main new feature of the fundamental law will be **the installation of a federal government**, with a powerful Treasury Secretary, for the fiscal and economic union.

-**grant a deeper fiscal integration**: at national level, fiscal discipline must be accompanied by economic reforms. At both European and national levels a better balance must be struck between fiscal consolidation and investment in growth and jobs: we need adequate forms of European taxation and new forms of European debt instruments for a proactive European social and economic policy. These steps require **the transformation of the eurozone into a true political union**.

-**work on a new constitutional Convention** to begin as soon as possible. The Convention will be composed of MEPs, national MPs, the Commission and the state governments. The new treaty must further enhance the capacity of the Union to act at home and abroad. It must be a strong constitutional framework in which its governors and law makers are empowered to make coherent and efficient choices about the direction of policy

EU will only survive and prosper by enhancing European democracy:

- We should transfer to the European Commission most of the residual executive powers now held by the Council, at least in the economic and fiscal field, turning the Commission into a recognisable and accountable government.

-The composition of the Parliament should be determined by logical, transparent and understandable rules on the basis of the population of the states; in order to build up real European political parties and to heighten the EU dimension of politics, a certain number of MEPs should be elected in a pan-European constituency from transnational lists. Parliament must gain the right of consent to treaty changes and to the accession of new states.

- Flexible and democratic procedures are needed for future treaty amendments, which should enter into force either once ratified by a qualified majority of the states and of Members of the European Parliament, or if carried in a pan- EU referendum by a majority of the states and citizens. Such changes will bring the EU into line with all other federal or international organisations.

PHASES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION : FROM INTEGRATION TO DISSOLUTION ?

DATES, EVENTS AND OUTCOMES

1945 - 1959

A peaceful Europe – the beginnings of cooperation

The European Union is set up with the aim of ending the frequent and bloody wars between neighbours, which culminated in the Second World War. As of 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community begins to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace. The six founding countries are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The 1950s are dominated by a cold war between east and west. Protests in Hungary against the Communist regime are put down by Soviet tanks in 1956. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome creates the European Economic Community (EEC), or 'Common Market'.

1944 - *Ventotene Manifesto*

1948 - *Treaty for BENELUX*

1949 - Birth of the *European Council*: european politic organization and international cooperation authority

1950 - The *Schuman declaration* (Birth of the European Union)

1958 - Birth of *CECA*. The treaty was subscribed in Paris by 6 nations (the *Inner six*): Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg.

1955 - 1st and 2nd June - The *Messina Conference (Spaak Report)*: the conference of the foreign ministers of the six members of the European Coal and Steel Community

1957 *Treaties of Rome* and the formation of the *European Economic Community*

1958 *Euratom*

1960 - 1969

A period of economic growth

The 1960s is a good period for the economy, helped by the fact that EU countries stop charging custom duties when they trade with each other. They also agree joint control over food production, so that everybody now has enough to eat - and soon there is even surplus agricultural produce. May 1968 becomes famous for student riots in Paris, and many changes in society and behaviour become associated with the so-called '68 generation'.

1960 3rd May - Foundation of the *European Free Trade Association (EFTA)*: intergovernmental organisation set up for the promotion of free trade and economic integration to the benefit of its Member States.

1965 8th April - *The Merger Treaty* (or Brussels Treaty): it combined the executive bodies of the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom and the European Economic Community into a single institutional structure.

1970 - 1979

A growing Community – the first enlargement

Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the European Union on 1 January 1973, raising the number of Member States to nine. The short, yet brutal, Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 results in an energy crisis and economic problems in Europe. The last right-wing dictatorships in Europe come to an end with the overthrow of the Salazar regime in Portugal in 1974 and the death of General Franco of Spain in 1975. The EU regional policy starts to transfer huge sums of money to create jobs and infrastructure in poorer areas. The European Parliament increases its influence in EU affairs and in 1979 all citizens can, for the first time, elect their members directly. The fight against pollution intensifies in the 1970s. The EU adopts laws to protect the environment, introducing the notion of 'the polluter pays' for the first time.

1973- The United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland and Denmark enter the European Economic Community. (9 Member States)

1974- December summit in Paris: creation of the European Council

1975- Creation of the European Court of Auditors, which was formally established on 18 October 1977

1977- Summit in Bremen: France and Germany proposed to improve the financial cooperation with the creation of the *European monetary System (EMS)*, which was established in 1979

1979 - Direct suffrage *election of the European Parliament*

1980 - 1989

The changing face of Europe - the fall of the Berlin Wall

The Polish trade union, Solidarność, and its leader Lech Walesa, become household names across Europe and the world following the Gdansk shipyard strikes in the summer of 1980. In 1981, Greece becomes the 10th member of the EU, and Spain and Portugal follow five years later. In 1986 the Single European Act is signed. This is a treaty which provides the basis for a vast six-year programme aimed at sorting out the problems with the free flow of trade across EU borders and thus creates the 'Single Market'. There is major political upheaval when, on 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall is pulled down and the border between East and West Germany is opened for the first time in 28 years. This leads to the reunification of Germany, when both East and West Germany are united in October 1990.

1981 - Greece enters the European Economic Community. (10 Member States)

1984 - Summit of Fontainebleau: creation of the plan "*DOOGE*", which was approved in March 1985.

1985 - *European Council of Luxemburg*: the Ten Member States agree to modify the treaty of Rome and to give new impulse to the process of European integration, elaborating the "*Single European Act*" (*SEA*). The premises for the creation of the only market within 1993 are placed.

1986 - Portugal and Spain enter the European Economic Community (12 Member States)

1986 - Subscription of the "Single European Act" in Luxemburg

1989 - European Council of Madrid : approval of the *DELORS Report* (Aim :*Economic and monetary union*)

1989 - Fall of the Berlin Wall : Europe pulls down ideological barriers.

1990 - 1999

A Europe without frontiers

With the collapse of communism across central and eastern Europe, Europeans become closer neighbours. In 1993 the Single Market is completed with the 'four freedoms' of: movement of goods, services, people and money. The 1990s is also the decade of two treaties: the 'Maastricht' Treaty on European Union in 1993 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999. People are concerned about how to protect the environment and also how Europeans can act together when it comes to security and defence matters. In 1995 the EU

gains three more new members: Austria, Finland and Sweden. A small village in Luxembourg gives its name to the 'Schengen' agreements that gradually allow people to travel without having their passports checked at the borders. Millions of young people study in other countries with EU support. Communication is made easier as more and more people start using mobile phones and the internet.

1990 - *re-unification of Germany*: East Germany enter the European Economic Community

1992 - Signature of the *MAASTRICHT Treaty* (Treaty on European Union), which created the European Union and led to the creation of the single *European currency, the euro*. It entered into force on 1st November 1993

1994 - Creation of the "*European Economic Area*" (EEA), established with the Treaty of Port in 1992. It is an area of free exchange between the fifteen EU countries and two of the four EFTA countries (Iceland and Norway). (15 Member States)

1995 - Austria, Finland and Sweden enter the EU. (15 Member States)

1995 - *The Schengen Agreement* entered into force (subscribed on June 1990)

1995 - the *European Council of Madrid* decides to call EURO the future European currency. The calendar of introduction of the Euro remains unchanged: the third phase will begin on 1st January 1999

1998 - the European Council of Brussels decides that 11 Member States (Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain) satisfy the necessary conditions for the adoption of the only currency from 1st January 1999. It will be afterwards the turn of Greece. European Central bank (BCE) is in charge of the monetary policy of the Union, that is defined and put into effect in euro.

2000 – 2009

Further expansion

The euro is now the new currency for many Europeans. During the decade more and more countries adopt the euro. 11 September 2001 becomes synonymous with the 'War on Terror' after hijacked airliners are flown into buildings in New York and Washington. EU countries begin to work much more closely together to fight crime. The political divisions between east and west Europe are finally declared healed when no fewer than 10 new countries join the EU in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. A financial crisis hits the global economy in September 2008. The Treaty of Lisbon is ratified by all EU countries before entering into force in 2009. It provides the EU with modern institutions and more efficient working methods.

2001 - *Signature of the Treaty of Nice*. The presidents of the Parliament, of the European Council and of the Commission proclaim the *EU Charter of Fundamental Rights*, which enters into force on 1st February 2003

1st January 2002 - *Euro banknotes and coins begin to circulate*

2004 - *Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Cyprus and Malta enter the EU*

2007- *Bulgaria and Romania enter the EU* (27 Member States)

2009 - the *Treaty of Lisbon* enters into force : it confers more powers to the European Parliament, modifies the procedures of vote of the council and makes permanent the figure of the president of the European Council

2010 – today

A challenging decade

The global economic **crisis strikes hard in Europe**. The EU helps several countries to confront their difficulties and establishes the 'Banking Union' to ensure safer and more reliable banks. In 2012, the European Union is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Croatia becomes the 28th member of the EU in 2013. Climate change is still high on the agenda and leaders agree to reduce harmful emissions. European elections are held in 2014 and **more Eurosceptics are elected into the European Parliament**. A new security policy is established in the wake of the annexation of Crimea by Russia. **Religious extremism increases in the Middle East** and various countries and regions around the world, leading to unrest and wars which result in **many people fleeing their homes and seeking refuge in Europe**. The EU is not only faced with the dilemma of how to take care of them, but also finds itself the target of several **terrorist attacks**.

2010 - At a European Council meeting in Brussels, EU leaders adopt *Europe 2020 targets* and all 16 eurozone countries back a plan to help Greece deal with its deficit.

2010 - European Council discusses strengthening the eurozone and making economies more crisis-proof

2010 -G20 leaders at the *Seoul summit* commit to a joint *Action Plan* to encourage more balanced growth within the global economy.

2011- *Estonia* adopts the euro as its currency, *becoming the 17th member* of the euro area.

2011-Three *new European financial supervisory authorities* begin operating: the European Banking Authority, the European Insurance and Occupational Pensions Authority and the European Securities and Markets Authority.

2011- A comprehensive *package of measures to strengthen the European economy* is finalised at the spring European Council in Brussels. The Euro Plus Pact was set up to reinforce economic policy coordination in the Economic and Monetary Union.

2011-The *Greek Parliament* adopts a package of spending cuts and structural reforms to *reduce the country's debt* and to make the economy more competitive. The EU reaffirms its support and solidarit

2011 - Euro area leaders agree on new support measures for Greece amounting to €109 billion

2011- A *summit of Heads of State and Government* from the euro area puts in place a comprehensive strategy that ensures *fiscal consolidation, growth, support to countries in difficulty*, and stronger euro area governance.

2011 -*Mario Draghi*, former Governor of Italy's Central Bank, takes over as *President of the European Central Bank (ECB)*.

2011- The leaders of 20 major advanced and emerging economies meet at *the G20 summit in Cannes*, France. They agree on determined and coordinated action for global economic recovery and job creation and take steps on financial reform.

2011- The Economic and Financial Affairs Council adopts a *package of six legislative proposals aimed at strengthening economic governance in the EU*. It includes rules for more responsible management of banks.

2011- At the European Council, 17 members of the euro area and several other EU countries agree to participate in a new '*fiscal compact*' and to coordinate their economic policies more tightly.

2012- A treaty to create a *European Stability Mechanism (ESM)* is signed. Based in Luxembourg, this institution will support euro area countries when necessary to safeguard financial stability.

2012 -At a *G8 meeting at Camp David in the USA*, leaders of eight of the largest world economies agree to boost economic recovery and create confidence by putting public finances in order, whilst at the same time taking growth-boosting measures.

2012- As part of *the 'European Semester'*, the Commission adopts recommendations for each of the 27 EU countries, offering guidance on 2012-2013 national budgets and economic policies

2012 During the European Council, EU leaders agree on *measures to restore confidence in the economy*, invest more in growth and establish a stronger union. The *'Compact for Growth and Jobs'* will mobilise €120 billion for immediate investment.

2012 In his annual State of the Union address, European Commission President *Barroso* makes a strong case for *new direction and a new way of thinking for Europe*. He proposes that the *EU moves towards becoming a federation of nation states*.

2012 The *European Union* is awarded the *Nobel Peace Prize 2012* at a ceremony in Oslo. The prize recognises the EU's contribution over six decades to the promotion of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights.

2012 At the European Council, EU leaders take the first step towards implementing a banking union with the decision, in principle, to create a *'single supervisory mechanism' (SSM)*, allowing the European Central Bank to supervise large euro area banks directly.

2013 *The Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union* (popularly known as the *'fiscal compact'*) enters into force. It aims to strengthen fiscal discipline in the euro area through the *'balanced budget rule'* and a correction mechanism.

2013- Two EU regulations on economic governance in the euro area are adopted. They are also known as the *'two-pack'*. They strengthen *the monitoring of the countries' public finances*.

2013 EU leaders meeting at the European Council in Brussels endorsed a comprehensive plan to *combat youth unemployment*.

2013 *Croatia joins the EU*, bringing the total number of member countries to 28. The EU now also has 24 official languages.

2013 - The *European Border Council Surveillance System (EUROSUR)* becomes operational. It aims to address the challenges of cross-border crime, the loss of lives of migrants at sea and irregular migration.

2013- The Council adopts the long-term EU budget for 2014-2020, the *'Multiannual Financial Framework'*. This marks the end of two and a half years of negotiations and allows a new generation of EU spending programmes to be implemented as of 1 January 2014.

2014 Greece takes over the six-month rotating presidency of the Council of the EU. The presidency's four priorities are growth, jobs and cohesion; further integration of the EU and the euro area; migration, borders and mobility and maritime policies.

2014- Latvia adopts the euro as its currency, becoming the 18th member of the euro area.

2014- *European elections take place* across the EU and 751 MEPs are elected. Total turnout is 43.09%.

2014 *New rules enter into force for voting in the Council of Ministers*, as stipulated in the Treaty of Lisbon. In order to be adopted by qualified majority, a new law or other decision must now obtain a *'double*

majority' of both Member States and population. This replaces the former system where each country had an allotted number of votes.

2014- *The Single Supervisory Mechanism for banks* enters into force. The European Central Bank takes on the role of overseeing that banks in the euro area operate in a safe and reliable way, working together with national authorities.

2015- EU leaders meet at an informal European Council in Brussels to discuss three challenges facing Europe: *restoring peace in Ukraine, fighting terrorism and improving the European Monetary Union*, particularly in the light of the change of government in Greece, whose new Prime Minister, Alexis Tsipras, asks for a review of its situation.

2015 At a special meeting of the European Council in Brussels, EU leaders agree on *four priority areas for action* in response to the 1 800 lives lost in the Mediterranean when migrants attempt the perilous *journey* to European shores in boats. These include *measures to fight traffickers, a new return programme for irregular migrants, more protection for refugees* from conflict areas, and *tripled resources for the the EU's search and rescue operations* in the Central Mediterranean

2015 The *Conservative party* wins a majority in the *United Kingdom* general election. The *party confirms* that an *'in-out' referendum* on membership of the European Union will be held before the end of 2017.

2015 *Greece holds a referendum* on the conditions of a support programme proposed jointly by the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund and the European Central bank. 61 % vote against the proposal and 39 % vote in favour.

2015 At a summit in Brussels, euro area leaders and the Greek government agree on a *new support programme for Greece* under the European Stability Mechanism,

2015 European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker outlines his political vision for the future of the EU, focusing on the *major challenges posed by the refugee crisis, the future of the euro and foreign policy*.

2015 EU home affairs ministers decide to relocate 120 000 asylum seekers. The Commission proposes to set up a *permanent relocation system* as well as a further package of other measures to manage this crisis.

2015- 25 Leaders representing Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia meet in Brussels and agree to *improve cooperation and step up consultation between countries situated along the migration route*. They decide on pragmatic operational measures that can be implemented to tackle the refugee crisis in the region.

2015- *Terrorists launch multiple attacks in Paris*, leaving 130 people dead. In a joint statement, EU leaders and heads of state and government roundly condemn these acts, calling it "an attack against us all".

2015 At a Council meeting in Brussels, *European leaders discuss migration issues, the fight against terrorism and the United Kingdom's reform demands*.

2016 Meeting in the European Council, EU leaders agree on a new settlement for the United Kingdom within the EU. This includes the EU further promoting the competitiveness of the economy, that EU countries can temporarily limit some EU migrants' social benefits as well as the introduction of safeguards to strengthen subsidiarity. Prime Minister David Cameron announces that *a referendum on whether the UK should remain in or leave the EU will take place on 23 June 2016*.

2016 *EU leaders hold a meeting with their Turkish counterparts* on strengthening cooperation on the *migration and refugee crisis*.

2016 At a European Council meeting in Brussels, EU leaders reach an *agreement with Turkey* that aims to reduce irregular migration by sea from Turkey to Greece.

2016 A *double terrorist attack in Brussels* leaves more than 30 people dead and over 300 injured. In a statement, European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker calls for the EU to “*face the terrorist threat together, and to bring European solutions to questions that concern us all.*”

2016 *The people of the United Kingdom* vote to *withdraw from the European Union* by a margin of 52 % to 48 % in a referendum

1. 'The Dream' of The Ventotene Manifesto

1.1. *The Ventotene Manifesto*, whose full title is "**For a Free and United Europe. A draft manifesto**", was written between 1941 and 1944, during the Second World War, by Ernesto Rossi, Eugenio Colorni and Altiero Spinelli, when they were both interned on the island of Ventotene.

The text is divided into **4 chapters**:

1) **The crisis of modern civilization.** This part underlines how national independence was important for the progress, but it also explains that it has contributed to the growth of capitalist imperialism, which has brought to the outbreak of the world wars between the totalitarian States. **There is a revaluation of the concept of nation:** it isn't anymore the product of coexistence among men, but a negative entity that drives men to find the "vital space" through expansionist aims.

"Modern civilization has taken the principle of freedom as its basis, a principle which holds that man must not be a mere instrument to be used by others but an autonomous centre of life. With this code at hand, all those aspects of society that have not respected this principle have been placed on trial, a great historical trial. a) The equal right of all nations to organize themselves into independent States has been established[...]; b) The equal right of all citizens to participate in the process of determining the State's will is well-established. [...] ; c) The permanent value of the spirit of criticism has been asserted against authoritarian dogmatism [..];

*All the progressive forces, can be found in this huge wave, which is slowly gathering momentum: the most enlightened groups of the working classes who have not let themselves be swayed, either by terror or by flattery, from their ambition to achieve a better standard of living, the sharpest members of the intellectual classes, offended by the degradation to which intelligence is subjected, entrepreneurs who, wanting to undertake new initiatives, want to free themselves of the trappings of bureaucracy and national autarky, that bog down all their efforts, and, finally, all those who, with an innate sense of dignity, will not bend one inch when faced with the humiliation of servitude. **Today, the salvation of our civilization is entrusted to these forces.**"*

2) **Post-war tasks. European unity.** II - **Post-war tasks. European unity**
The chapter starts with a short view of the post-war scenario with Axis Powers' defeat. Then comes a representation of the coexistence's problem with the Nazi ideology, that is unfitting to the other European democracies. Finally, the "Nations' Society" is criticized, because it was not able to guarantee an political European unity.

"Germany's defeat would not automatically lead to the reorganization of Europe in accordance with our ideal of civilization. In the brief, intense period of general crisis (when the States will lie broken, when the masses will be anxiously waiting for a new message, like molten matter, burning, and easily shaped into new moulds capable of accommodating the guidance of serious internationalist minded men), the most privileged classes in the old national systems will attempt, by underhand or violent methods, to dampen the wave of internationalist feelings and passions and will ostentatiously begin to reconstruct the old State institutions.[...] The question which must be resolved first, failing which progress is no more than mere appearance, is the definitive abolition of the division of Europe into national, sovereign States.

With propaganda and action, seeking to establish in every possible way the agreements and links among the individual movements which are certainly in the process of being formed in the various countries, the foundation must be built now for a movement that knows how to mobilize all forces for the birth of the

new organism which will be the grandest creation, and the newest, that has occurred in Europe for centuries; in order to constitute a steady federal State, that will have at its disposal a European armed service instead of national armies; that will break decisively economic autarkies, the backbone of totalitarian regimes; that will have sufficient means to see that its deliberations for the maintenance of common order are executed in the individual federal states, while each State will retain the autonomy it needs for a plastic articulation and development of political life according to the particular characteristics of the various peoples. If a sufficient number of men in the main European countries understand this, then victory will soon fall into their hands, since both circumstances and opinion will be favourable to their efforts. They will have before them parties and factions that have already been disqualified by the disastrous experience of the last twenty years. Since it will be the moment for new action, it will also be the moment for new men: the MOVEMENT FOR A FREE AND UNITED EUROPE

3) Postwar duties. Reform of society. In this part of the Manifesto it is outlined the future of Europe, characterized by peace and freedom. It is also underlined the importance of a socialist European revolution, which requests:

-abolition of private properties

-collectivization of business interests

-a land reform that would redistribute the lands that are being accumulated

-a new education reform for youth, which is opened also to poor young people

-since the Church is an enemy of this socialist revolution, it is relevant: to abolish the "Patti Lateranensi" (which represents the alliance between Church and Fascist regime); to affirm the secularity of Italy; to introduce the freedom to profess any religious confessions.

*A free and united Europe is the necessary premise to the strengthening of modern civilization as regards which the totalitarian era is only a temporary setback. As soon as this era ends the historical process of struggle against social inequalities and privileges will be restored in full. All the old conservative institutions that have hindered this process will either have collapsed or will be teetering on the verge of collapse. [...] With a view to indicating the content of this principle in greater detail, we emphasize the following points while stressing the need to assess the appropriateness of every point in the programme and means of achieving them in relationship to the indispensable premise of European unity: **a) Enterprises with a necessarily monopolistic activity, and in a position to exploit consumers, cannot be left in the hands of private ownership[...]** **b) Private property and inheritance legislation in the past was so drawn up as to permit the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, privileged members of society.** [...] **c) The young need to be assisted with all the measures needed to reduce the gap between the starting positions in the struggle to survive to a minimum.** [...] **d) The almost unlimited potential of modern technology to mass produce essential goods guarantees, with relatively low social costs, that everyone can have food, lodging, clothing and the minimum of comfort needed to preserve a sense of human dignity.** [...] **e) Working class freedom can only be achieved when the conditions described have been fulfilled.***

4) The revolutionary situation. The final chapter invites people to forget the past and be ready to face the new present, which is different from what was supposed to be.

"Today, in an effort to begin shaping the outlines of the future, those who have understood the reasons for the current crisis in European civilization, and who have therefore inherited the ideals of movements dedicated to raising the dignity humanity, which were shipwrecked either on their inability to understand the goal to be pursued or on the means by which to achieve it have begun to meet and seek each other. The road to pursue is neither easy nor certain, but it must be followed and it will be done!2

1.2 THE VENTOTENE MANIFESTO DREAM: DOOMED TO REMAIN A DREAM ?

What does the Manifesto says:

"In order to respond to *our needs*, the *European revolution must be socialist*, that is, it must be the emancipation of the *working classes* and the *creation of more humane conditions for them.*"

What should the Manifesto say TODAY:

"In order to respond to *our needs*, the *European revolution must be liberal*, that is, it must be the emancipation of the *ruling classes* and the *creation of more affluent living conditions for them.*"

What does the Manifesto say:

"The truly fundamental principle of socialism [...] is that according to which the economic forces must not dominate men, but - as with natural forces - to be subject to man, guided and controlled in the most rational way, so that the masses will not become victims."

What should TODAY the Manifesto say:

"The truly fundamental principle of liberalism [...] is that according to which the economic forces must dominate men and [...] subdue them, guide them, check them in the most rational way, so that the masses will become victims."

What does the Manifesto say:

"We can no longer leave firms to private business, that carrying out monopolistic activity, will exploit the mass of consumers."

What should TODAY the Manifesto say:

"We have to leave firms to private business, that carrying out monopolistic activity, will exploit the mass of consumers."

What does the Manifesto say:

"Social solidarity towards those who manage their submissions in the economic struggle will manifest itself not with the forms of charity, always demeaning, and producers of the same ills the consequences of which are trying to repair, but with a series of providences which guarantee unconditionally to all a decent standard of living [...]. So no one will be forced by poverty to accept enslaving work contracts ".

What should TODAY the Manifesto say:

Social solidarity towards those who manage their submissions in the economic struggle will manifest itself with the forms of charity, in order to produce the same ills the consequences of which are trying to repair. We should avoid providences which guarantee unconditionally to all a decent standard of living [...]. So the majority of people will be forced by poverty to accept enslaving work contracts

2. How The European Union works

2.1 THE INSTITUTIONS

In the European Union there are three institutions involved in the legislation, which are the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission. Each one of them has a different role but they are connected.

The European Parliament is elected by the citizens and currently has 751 deputies guided by Martin Schulz. Together with the Council, it exerts the legislative power based on the laws proposed by the Commission. It decides also on international agreements and enlargements, reviews the Commission's work program and asks it to propose legislation.

The European Commission is composed by a team of 28 Commissioners (one from each country) currently guided by the president Jean-Claude Juncker who decides the policy area of the Commissioners. It promotes the legislative process, proposing new laws in order to protect the interests of the citizens. It also manages EU policies, allocates EU funding, enforces EU law together with the Court of Justice and represents the EU internationally.

The Council of the European Union is composed by government ministers from each EU country and on a six month basis the presidency changes. Its role is to discuss and adopt laws, to coordinate EU countries' policies, to develop foreign and security policy based on European Council guidelines, to conclude agreements between the EU and other countries or international organizations.

The ABC of the European Parliament

8th parliamentary term

751 MEPs elected by direct universal suffrage for a five-year period

1 President
14 Vice-Presidents

MEPs by political group (September 2015)

70	ALDE	217	EPP
50	Greens/EFA	74	ECR
190	S&D	45	EFDD
52	QUE/NGL	39	ENF
		14	Non-attached

37% ♀ 63% ♂

After 2014 elections

How to create a political group

- A minimum of 25 members
- Representing at least one-quarter of member states
- MEPs cannot belong to more than one political group

MEPs are divided up among a number of specialised standing committees

20 Committees | 2 Subcommittees | 1 Special committee

Source: European Parliament

ABC of the EU institutions



European Parliament

The only directly-elected EU body. Represents the EU's 500 million inhabitants. Plays a key role in electing the President of the European Commission. Shares power over EU budget and legislation with Council of the European Union.

751 MEPs

Seats per country from 2014

21	17	21	13	96	6	11	21	54	74	11	73	6	8	11	6	21	6	26	18	51	21	32	8	13	13	20	73
BELGIUM	BULGARIA	CZECH REPUBLIC	DENMARK	GERMANY	ESTONIA	IRELAND	GREECE	SPAIN	FRANCE	CROATIA	ITALY	CYPRUS	LATVIA	LITHUANIA	LUXEMBOURG	HUNGARY	MALTA	NETHERLANDS	AUSTRIA	POLAND	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA	POLAND	SPAIN	UNITED KINGDOM



European Commission

The EU's executive body, responsible for proposing and implementing EU laws, monitoring the treaties and the day-to-day running of the EU.



Council of the European Union

Government ministers who share budgetary and legislative power with European Parliament.

European Council

Heads of state or government of EU Member States. Strategic body that decides the EU's political direction.

Source: European Parliament

2.2 VOTING IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPEAN UNION

Depending on the issue under discussion, the Council of the EU takes its decisions by:

- **SIMPLE MAJORITY OF VOTING** is reached if at least 15 Council members vote in favour.
- **QUALIFIED MAJORITY OF VOTING** is reached when 55% of member states, representing at least 65% of the EU population, vote in favour.

This voting process is described in the treaties of the European Union.

The most notable changes to the voting system occurred:

- I. with the 1973 enlargement, when the number of votes for the largest member states was increased from 4 to 10,
- II. with the Treaty of Nice, when the maximum number of votes was increased to 29, thresholds became defined in terms of percentages, and a direct population-dependent condition was introduced,
- III. with the Treaty of Lisbon, when the concept of votes was abandoned in favor of a "double majority" depending only on the number of states and the population represented.

So, the weighting of votes roughly reflects the size of population of each member state.

GREECE as Belgium, Czech Republic, Hungary and Portugal has 12 votes.

In 1981 Greece joined the EU. The access to the Community was regarded by Greece as a powerful factor that would contribute to the development and modernization of the Greek economy and society. Greece also considered the Community to be the institutional framework within which stability could be brought into its democratic political system and institutions.

The article number 14 of the Accession Treaty regulating the enlargement of the community by Greece says that acts of the Council now required are:

- I. 45 votes (if the act was proposed by the Commission), or
 - II. 45 votes by at least 6 member states (if the act was not proposed by the Commission).
- **UNANIMOUS VOTE:** it requires everyone to agree or abstain from voting for a certain important and sensitive matter

3. A TICKLISH QUESTION : CONTRIBUTIONS AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT

EU's sources of income include contributions from member countries.

The EU countries agree on the size of the budget and how it is to be financed several years in advance.

- a small percentage of **gross national income** (usually around 0.7%) contributed by all EU countries - the
- largest source of budget revenue. The underlying principles are solidarity and ability to pay – though the amount may be adjusted to avoid over-burdening particular countries.

Budgets and Funding

How much does Greece contribute and receive?

Member countries' financial contributions to the EU budget are shared fairly, according to means. The larger your country's economy, the more it pays – and vice versa. The EU budget doesn't aim to redistribute wealth, but rather to focus on the needs of all Europeans as a whole.

Breakdown of Greece's finances with the EU in 2014:

- Total EU spending in Greece – € 7.095 billion
- Total EU spending as % of Greek GNI – 3.98 %
- Total Greek contribution to the EU budget – € 1.827 billion
- Greek contribution to the EU budget as % of its GNI – 1.02 %

More figures on the EU budget, revenue and spending:

➤ EU budget in Greece

- ...The EU budget focuses on overcoming the crisis by investing in growth and jobs with projects helping Greek entrepreneurs start businesses, and the new multi-billion-euro fund to tackle youth unemployment in the EU's hardest-hit regions.
- ...The EU budget is an important source of support for Greek farmers and rural areas.
- ...EU investment makes sure Greek regions develop their full potential, for example, by modernising roads in Peloponnisos or improving Internet access and services in hotels all around the country.
- ...The EU budget is YOUR budget: from scientists to farmers, from universities to small businesses, we all benefit from projects funded by the EU

➤ Money and the EU

The EU budget is funded from sources including a percentage of each member country's gross national income. It is spent on efforts as diverse as raising the standard of living in poorer regions and ensuring food safety. The euro is the common currency of most EU countries.

How is the EU funded?

The EU obtains revenue not only from contributions from member countries but also from import duties on products from outside the EU and a percentage of the value-added tax levied by each country.

How is the EU budget spent?

The EU budget pays for a vast array of activities from rural development and environmental protection to protection of external borders and promotion of human rights. The Commission, Council and Parliament all have a say in how big the budget is and how it is allocated. But the Commission and EU countries are responsible for the actual

3.1 THE EUROPEAN DEBT CRISIS

The European debt crisis refers to Europe's inability to pay the debts it built up in recent decades. This phenomenon grew out of the U.S. financial crisis of 2008-2009. A slowing global economy exposed the unsustainable financial policies of certain eurozone countries.

The eurozone is made up of 17 European countries that use the euro, including France, Germany, Spain, and Ireland. Several countries in the eurozone have borrowed and spent too much since the global recession began, causing them to lose control of their finances.

The European debt crisis can be traced back to **October 2009**, when Greece's new government admitted the budget deficit would be double the previous government's estimate, hitting 12% GDP. After years of uncontrolled spending and nonexistent fiscal reforms, Greece was one of the first countries to buckle under the economic strain.

It was also the first eurozone country to take a multi-billion pound bailout from other European countries (followed by Portugal and Ireland).

If Greece fails to pay what it owes, the country will go bankrupt and most likely become the first country to leave the euro currency. Greece's departure could open a floodgate with other countries following suit.

Today, the European debt crisis is on the brink of pulling the entire eurozone into a recession; dragging the global economy down with it. Ten European countries have already slipped into a recession and three more have needed to be bailed out in order to avoid going into default.

In March 2013, the government in Cyprus raided personal bank accounts to bail out the country's financial system; setting a dangerous precedent. While politicians are saying this is a one-time event, one has to wonder if this tactic won't be used again elsewhere. It's not as if there isn't just cause.

While Germany has been the economic engine for the eurozone, its slowing economy could join the rest of the region in recession. Thanks to the deep recessions in the other eurozone countries and austerity programs, Germany's ability to carry the region is in serious jeopardy.

That said, there is more to the European debt crisis than just debt. Despite a shared currency, the eurozone is made up of different countries with vastly different cultures, histories, philosophies, and economies. And those differences illustrate just how difficult it is for disparate countries to work together with one unified voice.

Altogether there are six European nations whose debts are larger than their economic output, and 16 that have debts larger than the 60%-of-GDP limit set out in the Maastricht Treaty.

Greece's public debt is, unsurprisingly, the highest in the EU - standing at 177% of its GDP. Admittedly had a very large debt problem even before joining Euro and before the credit crisis. The credit crisis exacerbated an already significant problem. The Greek economy was also fundamentally uncompetitive, followed by Italy and Portugal.

The detailed causes of the debt crisis varied however the principle cause it is related with the introduction of the Euro it became possible for some Eurozone countries to borrow at much cheaper rates than previously. This is because although the debt was still national debt, the assumption was made that being within the Euro meant that the risk of these countries had declined as a result of the economic rules they were now bound into. In several countries, private debts arising from a property bubble were transferred to sovereign debt as a result of banking system bailouts and government responses to slowing economies post-bubble. The structure of the eurozone as a currency union without fiscal union (e.g., different tax and public pension rules) contributed to the crisis and limited the ability of European leaders to respond. European banks own a significant amount of sovereign debt, such that concerns regarding the solvency of banking systems or sovereigns are negatively reinforcing.

3.2 GREECE'S DEBT CRISIS EXPLAINED

The **Greek government-debt crisis** (also known as the **Greek depression**) started in late 2009. It was the first of five sovereign debt crises in the eurozone – later referred to collectively as the European debt crisis. In Greece, triggers included the turmoil of the Great Recession, structural weaknesses in the Greek economy, and a sudden crisis in confidence among lenders. In late 2009, fears developed about Greece's ability to meet its debt obligations due to revelations that previous data on government debt levels and deficits had been misreported by the Greek government. This led to a crisis of confidence, indicated by a widening of bond yield spreads and the cost of risk insurance on credit default swaps compared to the other Eurozone countries – Germany in particular.¹ In 2012, Greece's government had the largest sovereign debt default in history.

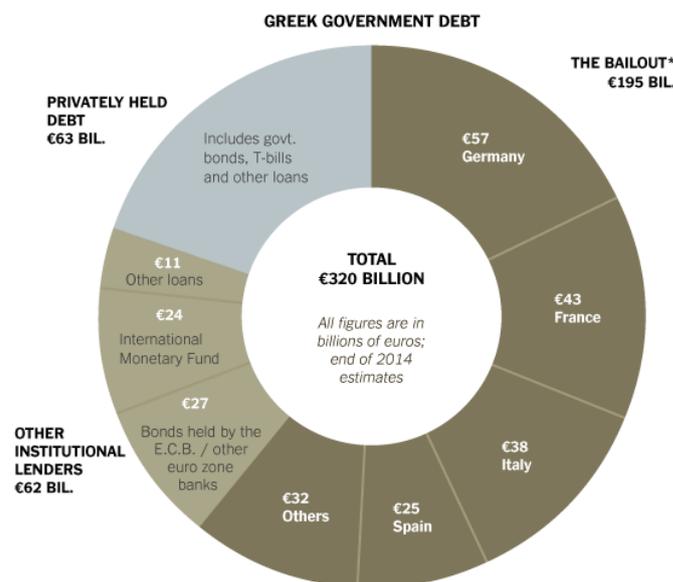
WHAT'S THE LATEST?

After receiving three bailouts in five years and accepting a series of austerity measures, Greece needs new aid to make a July debt payment and to avoid defaulting on its debt.

Greek lawmakers approved budget cuts and economic overhauls, which covered several of the changes sought by the country's international creditors, last year.

They included raising the retirement age, cutting pensions, liberalizing the energy market, opening up cosseted professions, expanding a property tax that Greeks already revile, and pushing forward a stalled program to privatize state assets.

Passing that package paved the way for Greece to receive the first tranche of funds from that bailout program. But the country and its creditors are now embroiled in a new round of talks that have dragged on for months. There needs to be a breakthrough to release about 5 billion euros, or about \$5.7 billion, in additional loans that Athens needs to pay down debt repayments that are due in July. The impasse has fueled fears of more financial upheaval and a potential default that could rattle the eurozone.



*European countries lent to Greece through two newly created institutions — €53 billion through the Bilateral Loan Facility and €142 billion through the European Financial Stability Facility. These are in addition to each country's contribution to the I.M.F.

Sources: Deutsche Bank; I.M.F.; Reuters; Bloomberg

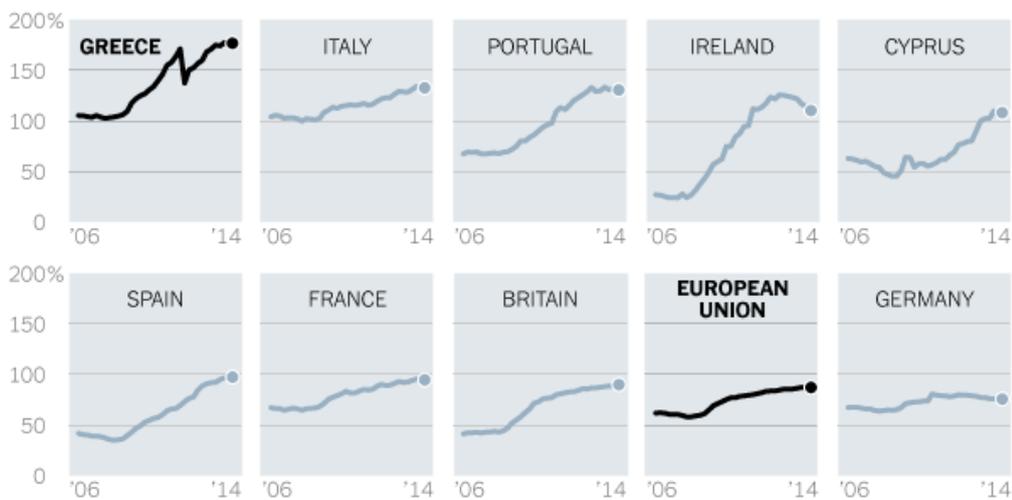
HOW DOES THE CRISIS AFFECT THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM?

In the European Union, most real decision-making power, particularly on matters involving politically delicate things like money and migrants, rests with 28 national governments, each one beholden to its voters and taxpayers. This tension has grown only more acute since the January 1999 introduction of the euro, which binds 19 nations into a single currency zone watched over by the European Central Bank but

leaves budget and tax policy in the hands of each country, an arrangement that some economists believe was doomed from the start.

Since Greece's debt crisis began in 2010, most international banks and foreign investors have sold their Greek bonds and other holdings, so they are no longer vulnerable to what happens in Greece. (Some private investors who subsequently plowed back into Greek bonds, betting on a comeback, regret that decision.)

And in the meantime, the other crisis countries in the eurozone, like Portugal, Ireland and Spain, have taken steps to overhaul their economies and are much less vulnerable to market contagion than they were a few years ago.



WHAT IF GREECE LEFT THE EUROZONE?

At the height of the debt crisis a few years ago, many experts worried that Greece's problems would spill over to the rest of the world. If Greece defaulted on its debt and exited the eurozone, they argued, it might create global financial shocks bigger than ever.

Now, however, some people believe that if Greece were to leave the currency union, in what is known as a "Grexit," it would not be such a catastrophe. Europe has put up safeguards to limit the so-called financial contagion, in an effort to keep the problems from spreading to other countries. Greece, just a tiny part of the eurozone economy, could regain financial autonomy by leaving, these people contend — and the eurozone would actually be better off without a country that seems to constantly need its neighbors' support.

4. Which identity for Europe ?

THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

What is cultural identity?

The definition of cultural identity, in its most basic form, is a **sense of belonging**.

Cultural identity can be defined as a **shared sense of companionship** that involves the same beliefs, interests and basic principles of living. The cultural identity that relates to a person's heritage helps them to identify with others who have the same traditions and basic belief system.

Some people claim that a person's cultural identity is the foundation or groundwork on which every other aspect of their being is built. It is the cornerstone of what makes them who they are.

There are different levels of identity

Identities based on religion, sex, professional interests, or membership in local community groups may impact more significantly than national identity in the everyday life.

Thus, we can explain the fact that children create their own identity, which can be different from that of their parents, considering the difference of experiences in each generation.

National identity is one's identity or sense of belonging to one state or to one nation. It is the sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics. National identity may refer to the subjective feeling one shares with a group of people about a nation, regardless of one's legal citizenship status. National identity is viewed in psychological terms as "an awareness of difference", a "feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they'"

Do we see ourselves as European, or are the various cultures of Europe too diverse to have anything in common? Does European identity actually exist? If so, in what sense?

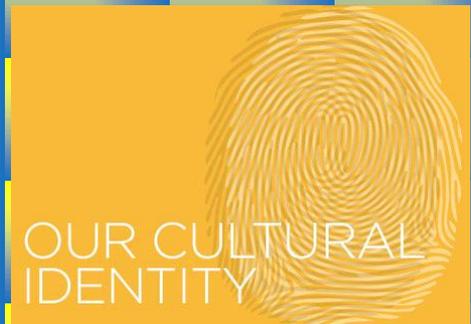
At the present day, a united Europe inevitably implies the existence of some degree of legal pluralism, cultural, linguistic as well as institutional diversity, due to each country's cultural and institutional backgrounds. European citizens, in fact, want to form a union without losing any of their features or having to surrender their specificity.

European IDENTITY shall encompass all national, local, religious and community differences and features. It shall reflect different but converging routes, under the banner of liberty and diversity.

THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY

"The diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a United Europe, all give the European Identity its originality and its own dynamism."

(Document on The European Identity published by the Nine Foreign Ministers on 14 December 1973, in Copenhagen)



Elements of European Identity

Because of the great number of perspectives which can be taken on the subject, it is impossible to form a single, all-embracing conception of European culture.

Nonetheless, there are core elements which are generally agreed upon as forming the cultural foundation of modern Europe. One list of these elements given by K. Bochmann includes:

- a common cultural and spiritual heritage derived from Greco-Roman antiquity, Christianity, the Renaissance and its Humanism, the political thinking of the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution, and the developments of Modernity, including all types of socialism;
- a rich and dynamic material culture that has been extended to the other continents as the result of industrialization and colonialism during the "Great Divergence";
- a specific conception of the individual expressed by the existence of, and respect for, a legality that guarantees human rights and the liberty of the individual;
- a plurality of states with different political orders, which are condemned to live together in one way or another;
- respect for peoples, states and nations outside Europe.

What do Europeans think?

(OPINIONS ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY)

Can the EU survive if it is based on economic self-interest, or is a European identity needed? Do we see ourselves as European, or are the various cultures of Europe too diverse to have anything in common?

"It is not about destroying nation-states... it is about including [them] in a greater group of different cultures and states with their European ideals in common." -*Joachim*

"Most countries don't even like each other. In Britain, for example, we have the Magna Carta which states we can never be ruled by outside power. No Briton would ever agree to this abuse of power by the EU.

Most of us don't really care about what's going on in other countries, everybody should just worry about his own." -*Stephen Pockley*



"European identity can only be formed with investing in education and culture. Investing in creating movies, a European music industry, art, education, and constant exchanges of culture and heritage.. It can only be achieved not by watering down any national pride or culture, replacing it with American movies and music or ideology. This results in the "Americanization" of Europe. But with constant cultural exchanges, with exposure of one's culture to another. With an education that is Europe oriented and explains how EU works and what are our rights in it. No common currency, single market, EU ID cards or an

integrated economy can create a common European identity. It is culture and heritage that bind people together, not a currency..”-*Christos Mouzeviris*.

“Who wants to be part of some gray Euroland where you go from country to country without even noticing you have crossed a border? What happened to people being proud of their history and culture?”-*Paul X*

“A truly european identity can be developed only if the countries and citizens are really equal as it should be: all the voices of the member-states should be heard with the same consideration, without giving more attention or importance to the politics of one or of some countries more than the others.”-*Joachim Kokkelmans*

From the standpoint of a considerable extent of European citizens, the European Union is, above all, either a conglomerate of nations that have come together and created a Single Market and a single currency, or an ensemble of states who share the same technological and economical ambitions, rather than an entity formed on the basis of shared values and of a common European identity.

Today, Europe is divided into a western and a eastern side, a Baltic and a central region, a Euro-Asiatic and a Mediterranean area, each characterized by its own history and relations with the other parts of the world.

This rich and multiform culture must be preserved and all its components safeguarded.

Thus, the main task and challenge facing European citizens today is to promote the awareness of a common European home, without suffocating or overlapping but rather supplementing the already existing patriotic and community spirit, and help unite the different limbs of a common body- our continent.

“World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations.

A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.”

(The Schuman Declaration – 9 May 1950)

“It is time to speak frankly about the big issues facing the European Union. Because our European Union is not in a good state. There is not enough Europe in this Union. And there is not enough Union in this Union.

We have to change this. And we have to change this now.

No wind favours he who has no destined port – we need to know where we are headed.”

(European Commission - Speech State of the Union 2015: Time for Honesty, Unity and Solidarity- Jean-Claude Juncker President of the European Commission Strasbourg, 9 September 2015)