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The past, present and future of the European Union

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THE PAST (I) THE ORIGIN: IDEALS (I)

- The idea of the European integration: the “Ventotene Manifesto” (Altiero Spinelli)
- The idea of the “United States of Europe” (Winston Churchill)
- The idea of the “European Coal and Steel Community” (Robert Schumann / Jean Monnet)



THE PAST (I)

THE ORIGIN: IDEALS (II)

- The idea of the European integration: the “Ventotene Manifesto” (Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi)
- The Ventotene Manifesto (For a Free and United Europe. A draft Manifesto) was written in mid-1941 by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, in confinement on the island of Ventotene. It was published by Rossi in 1944.
- The Ventotene Manifesto advocates the need of the European integration (the institution of the “United States of Europe”). It reads *inter alia* that: “A free and united Europe is the necessary premise to the strengthening of modern civilisation, that has been temporarily halted the totalitarian era.”



THE PAST (I) THE ORIGIN: IDEALS (III)

- The “United States of Europe” (Winston Churchill)
 - Winston Churchill, speech in Zurich – 19 September 1946.
 - “I WISH TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY about the tragedy of Europe.” [...] “What is this sovereign remedy? It is to re-create the European Family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.”
 - “The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important. Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honour by their contribution to the common cause.”



THE PAST (I) THE ORIGIN: IDEALS (IV)

- The Schuman Declaration – 9 May 1950
- The Schuman Declaration was proclaimed by the French foreign minister Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950. It proposed the creation of a European Coal and Steel Community. Pooling coal and steel production would – in the words of the Declaration – make war between historic rivals France and Germany “not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible”.
- The ECSC (founding members: France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg) was the first step of the European integration process, that would lead to today's "European Union".



THE PAST (I) THE ORIGIN: IDEALS (V)

- Key quotes from the Schuman Declaration (9 May 1950)
- “World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it”
- “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 pooling of coal and steel production... will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims”



THE PAST (I) THE ORIGIN: IDEALS (VI)

- The “gradualist approach” for building the European integration (Jean Monnet)
- One of the founding fathers of the European integration process was Jean Monnet, a French political economist and diplomat. He was never elected to public office, but he worked behind the scenes of American and European governments as a well-connected pragmatic internationalist. He greatly inspired the Schumann Declaration, which was the first step of the European integration process, and he was the first President of the High Authority of the newly created European Coal and Steel Community in 1952.



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THE PAST (II) THE ORIGIN: FACTS

- The Schuman Declaration (9 May 1950)
- The European Coal and Steel Community (1951)
- The aborted European Defense Community (1952)
- The European Economic Community and the Euratom (1957)



THE PAST (III) THE EVOLUTION

- The Establishment and Functioning of the European Common Market
- From the European Common Market to the European Internal Market
- The Single European Act (1986): the European Internal Market and Beyond
- The Maastricht Treaty (1991): towards the European economic and monetary union
- The failure of the European Constitution (2004)
- Getting things done: the Lisbon Treaty (2009)



THE PRESENT

- The main challenges of the European Union today
 - Economic integration (Grexit and the Euro, austerity vs. solidarity);
 - Immigration policy (Med policy and Schengen crisis, security vs. solidarity);
 - “Europe à la carte” (Brexit or “free choice” Europe, national interests vs. solidarity).



THE PRESENT

Economic integration (Grexit and the Euro)

- Financial assistance to Greece (austerity vs. solidarity)
 - Greece has been receiving financial support from euro area Member States and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to cope with its financial difficulties and economic challenges since May 2010.
 - On 19 August 2015, the European Commission signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Greece, following approval by the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) Board of Governors for further stability support accompanied by a third economic adjustment programme. This follows the political agreement reached on 14 August 2015 and paves the way for mobilising up to €86 billion in financial assistance to Greece over three years (2015-2018). The disbursement of funds is linked to progress in delivery of policy conditions, in accordance with the MoU (“conditionality”). These policy conditions are intended to enable the Greek economy to return to a sustainable growth path based on sound public finances, enhanced competitiveness, high employment and financial stability.



THE PRESENT

Economic integration (Grexit and the Euro)

- MoU for a three-year ESM programme 2015-2018
 - The MoU has been prepared with regard to a loan given by the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) facility covering the period 2015-2018. It details the conditionality attached to the financial assistance. The conditionality will be updated on a quarterly basis, taking into account the progress in reforms achieved over the previous quarter. In each review the specific policy measures and other instruments to achieve these broad objectives outlined here will be fully specified in detail and timeline.
 - The Greek Government stands ready to take any measures that may become appropriate for this purpose as circumstances change [and] commits to consult and agree with the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund on all actions relevant for the achievement of the objectives of the Memorandum of Understanding before these are finalized and legally adopted.



THE PRESENT

Immigration policy (Schengen crisis)

- Immigration policy (Schengen crisis, security vs. solidarity)
- What is Schengen ?
- The Schengen Agreements on the gradual abolition of checks at common borders was signed in 1990 and its implementation started in 1995, initially involving seven EU States. Born as an intergovernmental initiative, the Schengen Agreements have been later incorporated into EU law.
- Today, the Schengen Area encompasses most EU States, except for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Romania and the United Kingdom. However, Bulgaria and Romania are currently in the process of joining the Schengen Area. Moreover, some non-EU States, namely Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein have joined the Schengen Area.
- The border-free Schengen Area guarantees free movement to more than 400 million EU citizens, as well as to many non-EU nationals, businessmen, tourists or other persons legally present on the EU territory.



THE PRESENT

Immigration policy (Schengen crisis)

- Immigration policy (Schengen crisis, security vs solidarity)
- European Council Conclusions – 19 February 2016
- In response to the migration crisis facing the EU, the objective must be to rapidly stem the flows, protect our external borders, reduce illegal migration and safeguard the integrity of the Schengen area.
- It is important to restore, in a concerted manner, the normal functioning of the Schengen area, with full support for Member States which face difficult circumstances.
- On 12 February 2016, the Council adopted a recommendation on addressing serious deficiencies identified during an evaluation of Greece's application of the Schengen acquis in the area of external border management. The recommendation proposes to Greece remedial action to address these deficiencies.



THE PRESENT

“Europe à la carte” (Brexit or “free choice”)

- “Europe à la carte” (Brexit or “free choice” Europe, national interests vs. solidarity).
- The “Brexit saga”
- The United Kingdom since 2015 announced its intention to renegotiate the conditions of its EU membership and in November 2015 requested a new settlement to the EU, in order to prevent its exit (Brexit).
- The European Council agreed on 19 February 2016 a new settlement for the UK in the EU, which fully addresses the requests of the UK and is legally binding. It will become effective on the date the UK informs the Council that it has decided to remain a member of the European Union.
- The UK Government will hold a national referendum on 23 June 2016 to ask its citizen whether they want to accept the new settlement or exit the EU.



THE PRESENT

“Europe à la carte” (Brexit or “free choice”)

- “Europe à la carte” (national interests vs solidarity).
- The new settlement for the United Kingdom in the European Union agreed by the European Council on 19 February 2016 is based on four pillars.
- *Economic governance*: the agreement guarantees mutual respect between those Member States who are in the Euro area and those who are not.
- *Competitiveness*: the agreement commits the EU to further promote the competitiveness of its economy and reduce regulatory burden on businesses.
- *Subsidiarity*: the agreement recognises that the UK, “in the light of the specific situation it has under the Treaties, is not committed to further political integration into the European Union.”
- *Social benefits and free movement*: the agreement creates a new safeguard mechanism that will allow Member States to limit the access of newly arriving EU workers to in-work benefits for a total period of up to four years from the start of employment.



THE FUTURE

- Towards a greater Union or the end of Europe?
- Global geo-politics: which place for the European Union in the globalised world?
- Global markets: EU USA, China and the emerging economies (e.g. the Transatlantic Treaty TTIP and the EU-China relationship)
- A look at the future: is the European Union still a good idea?