



*Ambasciata d'Italia
Sofia*

The European Union is 60 years old

Is it too young
or too old?

EDITED BY STEFANO BALDI



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INTRODUCTION

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome (March 24th, 1957) Italian Embassies all over the world have organized initiatives to mark this important date. Sixty years later, a successful summit has taken place in Rome for the re-launching of the European Union.

“The Treaties of Rome: the EU is 60 years old, is it too young or too old?” was the provocative title chosen for the Round Table organized by the Italian Embassy in Sofia in collaboration with the Italian Cultural Institute of Sofia. The event took place on the 10th of March 2017 at the University of Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski.

The Round Table, held at the University’s prestigious “Aula Magna”, was opened by the Deputy Prime Minister for the preparation of the Bulgarian Presidency of the EU Council in 2018, Deniza Slateva, and by the Rector of the University of Sofia, Prof. Anastas Gerdjikov. 30 Ambassadors and members of the Diplomatic community participated to the event, together with representatives of the civil society and several Faculty members. Among the qualified participants, a group of 26 Bulgarians junior diplomats who are attending the Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The four panelists, Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo, Solomon Passy, Ingrid Shikova, and Ognian Zlatev, offered different approaches regarding the evolution of the European integration process, which led to a lively and constructive debate with the audience.

In this publication we have collected the interventions of the Panelists who have had the opportunity to revise and integrate their texts.

Solomon Passy, President of the Atlantic Club Bulgaria, focuses on the two major challenges for EU: the migration crisis and the future development of Trans-Atlantic relations. By presenting an action plan, he illustrates an interesting and realistic solution to these chal-

lenges. Bulgaria will contribute to shape these solutions in the light of the EU Presidency that Sofia will hold in the first semester of 2018.

Ingrid Shikova, Professor of EU policies at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, develops a reflection on the most important lessons that can be drawn from 60 years of European integration. In her intervention, Prof. Shikova focuses on the core principles of the European Project that define its uniqueness: peace and democracy, trust and loyalty, solidarity and responsibility, vision and dreams.

Ognian Zlatev, Head of Representation of the European Commission in Bulgaria, focuses on the present state of the Union and the challenges ahead. In his speech, Mr. Zlatev stresses the importance for Europe to stay united; only a united Europe will be capable of facing the many global challenges affecting today's world.

Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo, professor of Demography at La Sapienza University of Rome, illustrates the long and difficult path that brought to the establishment of the European Union as we know it today, retracing the milestones of the history of the European Union from Altiero Spinelli's visionary "Ventotene Manifesto" (1941) to the Rome Declaration of March 2017.

By sharing the interesting points that have been made, we hope that the discussion on the future of Europe will benefit of some additional and valuable food for thought. We hope that this material will offer an occasion to reflect on the long and difficult path that brought to the establishment of the European Union as we know it today. The European Union is going through a difficult time, facing both internal and external threats. We are witnessing the rising anti-Europe forces within the Member States of the Union and other ongoing changes occurring in the international scenario, characterized by a return to an inward looking attitude vis à vis the State to State relations. It is important to reflect on Europe's recent past, the values it stands up for and what it represents in today's changing world. Only by doing this, one can learn better understand and appreciate the meaning and the importance of European unity.

The event, and consequently this publication, wouldn't have been possible without the fruitful collaboration of the University of Sofia, which hosted the event in their "Aula Magna". Moreover, I am particularly grateful to the panelists for having contributed with their

expertise and passion to this complex discussion. Thanks also to the Atlantic Club that collaborated for the online streaming of the event and made available the recording at:

https://youtu.be/q-L5FYwN_5g?t=40s.

We would like to emphasize that the assessments and the opinions expressed in this publication should be attributed exclusively to the authors and that they do not necessary reflect the analysis and the official positions of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs or of the Organizations they belong to. Therefore, any errors or any omissions should be attributed to each individual author. To conclude, it should be kept in mind that the contributions of this edition are related to the date on which the Round Table took place (March 2017).

Stefano Baldi

Sofia, May 2017

EU IS 60 - Welcome address

Anastas Gerdjikov

Europe will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) as the beginning of a remarkable integration process on the European continent. Europe of today is a result of six decades of a constant process of development, accepting changes and responding to new challenges.

The European Union has developed into a political and economic structure of 28 member states with the goal of preserving peace, ensuring progress and prosperity, based on the common values of freedom, human rights and solidarity.

As the European Union celebrates one of the most remarkable historical moments of the European integration process – the signing of the Treaties of Rome, it also faces enormous challenges which threaten its unity and continuity: the ongoing refugee crisis, strong rise of anti-EU sentiment and a loss of faith in the EU values.

The challenges EU is facing today need our common political and intellectual effort to find the optimal solution that will reflect the will of the European peoples to continue together on the road ahead, overcoming the difficulties, and even having a more integrated Europe than a reduced version of it. This anniversary celebration should be an opportunity to reflect, listen and forge a new path for Europe.

Young generations and educational institutions have to play a major role in the future of Europe by bringing new energy and fresh ideas to reform the EU in order to meet fully the expectations of European peoples.

EU IS 60 – Introductory Remarks

Deniza Slateva

As one of the initial country members of the Union, Italy has always had a special role in shaping its future – from the founding fathers Ernesto Rossi and Altiero Spinelli with their Ventotene Manifesto and their groundbreaking ideas for a peaceful continent, to the “Erasmus mother”, Sofia Corradi, whose project celebrates its 30th birthday this year and it is considered one of the most successful EU policies to this day.

60 years ago the foundation of the EU was laid with the signing of the Treaties of Rome. Today we have gathered to discuss whether this is a lot or not. I believe however that the right question is not whether the EU is too old or too young – after all, as the great Mark Twain once said: “*Age is an issue of mind over matter. If you don’t mind, it doesn’t matter.*” The question we should be asking ourselves is how well has the EU aged? How much has been accomplished during these 60 years and what is still left to be done? What legacy are we leaving to the future generations? And as it often happens in life, the answer to these questions is not necessarily easy or perfect. I believe that the EU has aged well: 28 countries (and there were only 6 when it all started), comprising an area of more than 4 million sq. km., with a population of 500 million people, who enjoy their rights as EU citizens – the right to live, study, work, travel wherever they want in the Union; the right to start a business in another country, without fearing protectionism nor discrimination; the right to be protected as consumers by high-standard regulations; the right to be covered by a healthcare system or to enjoy a hard-earned pension in whichever EU country they happen to be at the moment; the right to freely move goods, capital, services and people across borders where once stood fences.

There is no doubt that today the European Union is at a historical turning point, facing dramatic challenges both from within and outside. New global powers are emerging and the world order is shifting. The European economy is gradually recovering from the financial crisis but this is not visible enough nor it is spread evenly. What is however perceivable by all European citizens are the terrorist

threats and the refugee crisis we have faced in those last years. And on top of that one of our Member States is about to leave the Union, posing many questions on what our future is. Today too many Europeans consider the Union as either too distant or too interfering in their day-to-day lives. They demand from the EU to deliver practical solutions to the crisis we face – whether it would be a financial, economic, cultural or social one. Most importantly, they ask how the EU is improving their standard of living and they expect a clear answer. In times like these the EU needs strength and determination to keep unity and to better respond to the expectations of its citizens in the areas of security, economy and social inclusion. Our leaders will have a unique opportunity in Rome later this month to simultaneously celebrate this remarkable anniversary and offer an ambitious vision on how we can preserve unity and achieve political consolidation. We need to reconfirm the principles of community approach, clear distribution of competences, and loyal co-operation. Solidarity and cohesion, as horizontal principles in all our actions, need to be reinforced. The responsibility and the contribution of every Member State to the achievement of the common goals should be visible, respected and adequately reflected in our decisions.

I would like to end my intervention with the powerful words from the Ventotene Manifesto, “For a free and united Europe”: “*The road to pursue is neither easy nor certain. But it must be followed and it will be done!*”

ON THE SPEEDS OF EUROPE, BULGARIA AND THE WORLD

Solomon Passy

I am very happy we mark the 60th Anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, with a discussion on the future of the European Union right here, in the Aula Magna of Sofia University in which five generations of my family studied and thought.

Today we should mention that Prof. Ivan Shishmanov, the co-founder of Bulgaria's Alma Mater, was among those who 90 years ago championed the idea of the unity of Europe and laid the foundations of the Pan-European Movement in Vienna and in Bulgaria. Indeed, the European idea and academic knowledge walk hand-in-hand.

United Europe is a post-War peace and prosperity project. While remembering the nightmares of war, we must remind today the March 10th the anniversary of the 1943 rescue of the Bulgarian Jews from deportation to the death camps during WWII – an unprecedented act in Europe.

The European project has a number of formal conceptions and roots, among which the 1941 Atlantic Charter, signed by Churchill and Roosevelt, the US Marshall Plan (1948), NATO (1949), the European Coal and Steel Community (1951) and the Treaties of Rome (1957) that shaped the contemporary form of the project.

The White Paper of EC President Jean-Claude Juncker, published on March 1st 2017 provoked heated (but not necessary long lasting!) discussions all over Europe, regarding the speed, the depth and the geographic scope of the various dimensions of European integration.

The trivial truth is that countries -- in EU and in other international unions -- have always moved forward, got united at different speeds and have been forming coalitions or alliances out of their free will. Most probably, this will also be the case in the decades ahead. Different formats of voluntary associations exist among willing

Member-States, nearer or farther neighbors. In addition to the well-known Schengen and €-areas, there are consultative formats, such as Benelux and Visegrad, grouped around specific regional interests; a Balkan format is under discussion. There are also other important formats: EU+Third Partners, the Customs Union, the European Economic Area, the Eastern Partnership, the Union for the Mediterranean, the Danube Region, the Baltic Sea Region, and the Northern Cooperation.

Different speeds are also identified at various levels in the UN and in other international organisations, and this doesn't seem to scare anyone. Just think of the UN Security Council, or G-20 and G-7; or, for that matter, of OECD, OCSE, etc.

No country may challenge the right to a voluntary association between two or more Member-States, regarding new and in-depth aspects of all-European or regional integration. Let us think of how to join the front runners, which will help us move ahead, rather than hinder their movement forward, which will be counterproductive for all of us.

The newest EU members including Bulgaria have an inherent interest in participating in all relevant already existing and possible future formats of internal integration: in Schengen and in the €-zone (as agreed already in the EU Treaty of April 25th 2005) and in OECD; in the European Space Agency and in the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

The idea of bringing Bulgaria to participate in various European formats is not a new one. It was first stated, in the most clear way by the founder of modern Bulgarian democracy and first democratically elected President, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, in his famous foundational principle, formulated as logo – back in 1990 – in just six words: Bulgaria -- member of all European structures!

If we let our dreams run free, we could have – and in fact, we should have already – spelled out new ambitious and long-term goals such as "Bulgaria among the first 40 global economies", and followed by "Bulgaria, member of G-20". It is high time that we freed our thinking from the limitations of measuring advancement only by the appropriation of €-funds. It is high time we transform Bulgaria from

a poor recipient into a prosperous donor on the European terrain. However, in order to achieve any goal, one should aim above it...

Therefore, I am not concerned by the different EU speeds, suggested by President Juncker's White Paper. They are neither new, nor avoidable, nor worrying – they are just business as usual. The five scenarios for EU's development from now on reflect major clichés of thought represented in the European Parliament and are worth a discussion, which should have already taken place in the comparatively peaceful European environment of a few years ago. True, we also face daily concerns.

What is worrying, however, is that the White Paper came out too late and with no focus on the major threats to Europe: the immediate one – the chaotic migration, and the mid-term one – the endurance of the Trans-Atlantic bond, undermined by the 2016 elections in UK and US.

It will be suicidal for EU if we keep on neglecting an out-of-the-box prioritization of managing migration (the major food for populism today) and demography, in view of coming up with an all-European solution which would also be globally acceptable. Otherwise, we risk discussing redecorating our kitchen in-between two earthquakes, which are to demolish the entire city we live in...

I am tempted to offer here a solution brainstormed recently at the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria – the country born by migrants and a shelter for migrants for millennia now. Do not expect me to give a sorcerer's stick solution such as building a wall or opening of all borders or likewise single action. No such exists and no immediate results are possible, as we are dramatically late in managing migration. Europe should expect in the next few decades hundreds of millions, I fear, if not a billion of migration flows, from the south and the south-east. Yet, it is better to act late than never.

Our action plan spreads in a set of five avenues:

1. The first thing Europe and the world need to do is to prioritize the implementation of the UN 17 sustainable goals, which will decrease the acceleration of widening the gap in life quality between the rich and the poor regions on the planet and will ease the migration pressure.

2. No matter how convincingly we may encourage or help people from disaster areas to overcome poverty there, on the spot, the numbers of those willing to migrate towards Europe will only go up. Therefore we should secure their early adaptation to European cultural realities well before they are headed to us. This could be done in different ways, including exporting European and comparable factories and businesses to Africa and other migration origin destinations. This will be a win-win scenario for all the stakeholders involved.

3. The numbers of those willing to settle in Europe will invariably stay much higher than its capacity of absorbing them. Therefore, it is both Europe's right and absolute obligation to introduce a unified system of migrant selection. It should benefit both the selected and the rejected ones, and Europe in general.

4. Selected migrants will obviously need specific integration programmes, tailored to their national specifics and to the host European States.

5. Additionally, the Euro-Atlantic world shall have to strengthen its security mechanisms. This may include also the construction of border installations, whenever and wherever needed. The most urgent matter, however, remains the development of common European security forces and defence.

This simple plan of just five points could serve as the basis of a Pan European strategy for migration management, which can only be truly effective if it gets the attention of the UN and of other key global players. EU could benefit from the successful experience gained already in USA, Canada, Switzerland, Australia and elsewhere.

Funding for this project could be secured through optimizing the existing development funds, allocated by EU, US and the rest of the world. During the period 2014-2020, EU targets the sum of 163 billion USD while the sum allocated by US for the same period is estimated to 259 BN USD. This totals 422 BN USD. There are other wealthy donors too, who would prefer to fund prevention rather than crisis management. Such are Japan, Canada, Australia and Israel with a total of 23 BN USD for the year 2016. The key today is not in the money but in the lack of efficient spending mechanism which may be achieved through a common strategy.

I hope that this plan and many more advanced Bulgarian ideas will be publicly presented during the Bulgarian EU Presidency, commencing on January 1st 2018. Given this upcoming important role of Bulgaria, it is imperative for us to keep our calm with regards to Juncker's White Paper, since we will be the ones to consolidate the consensus, based on its ideas and consequences.

EU has new hope and new horizons in 2017. Even Brexit may turn out to be of the two evils the lesser, which ironically could help saving the EU. If the elections in France and the Netherlands took place before Brexit, they could have been much more damaging for EU than the sole Brexit itself. And again, it was the populist rhetoric and mismanagement of migration which to a great extent yielded Brexit.

Europe -- lessons learned!

WHAT IS THE WAY AHEAD?

Ingrid Shikova

It is difficult to say if Europe is young or old. What is certain is that Europe is a lady – and it is well known that ladies prefer to hide the exact year of birth. Europe turning 60 in 2017 could be fake news. Perhaps Europe was born in 1951 when the Treaty of Paris was signed. Me and Europe we are peers and I will share under secret - our age is a little bit more than 60. Frankly said, I would prefer to have the age of the Erasmus program – we celebrate 30 years of Erasmus – the most successful European program. But let's not talk mathematically about age because I think age is a matter of state of mind, a matter of perception.

I think that Europe is old because Europe has memories, Europe is young because Europe has a future. This event is not only to celebrate a birthday - 60 years of the signing of Rome Treaty. This event is to remind, to discuss, to imagine, to dream, to draw lessons. The past is always full of lessons, if only we could read them and apply the conclusions drawn from them. To quote Konrad Adenauer “To look back into the past only makes sense if it serves the future”.

I would like to say few words about the lessons of 60 years of integration.

Lesson 1 is about PEACE AND DEMOCRACY or THE DESIRE TO BE TOGETHER

For my generation, the European Union is the end of cold war, the falling of Berlin wall, It is the end of the visas and the end of the long and humiliating queues at the doorstep of the Western Embassies, it is free travel, Single Market. For my generation, the European unity is the reality of a dream of peace, freedom and democracy coming true.

I have a feeling that most of us, Europeans, are forgetting the lessons of the history. We should never forget that the European Union has been a peace project and still is. You may say “It is just

history". No, the peoples from the Balkans, understand this very well. The EU is the most incredible and successful peace project in human history.

Now - almost 60 years after the Treaty of Rome - Europe's point of view is very different. The motivation derived from peace no longer serves a 'glue' which holds the Union together. In fact, the European citizens would like to see their Union capable of keeping the social peace, of strengthening the internal security and of protecting the EU external borders.

Today we are losing sight of the meaning of our Union. of why we are together. Ultimately, the European Union is based on the desire to be together. And it is this desire which seems to be evaporating.

Lesson 2 is about TRUST and LOYALTY

European integration is like love. To stay long and strong, love needs two basic things - trust and compromise. The same applies to European integration. The question related to the confidence between the EU Member States is discussed very seldom.

The EU, at that time the European Community, was not founded on love and trust, on the contrary, it was based on mutual hatred and mistrust. It was only few years after the end of the war when the negotiation for European Coal and Steel Community started. There was little room for any sympathy. But there was a strong desire to prevent another disaster in Europe. Rather than friendship leading to the European Community, on the contrary, it was the European Community which led to friendship, to mutual trust and confidence. Creating mutual trust and confidence is also one of the main merits of the European integration.

The confidence constitutes the oxygen that is indispensable to the EU cardiovascular system. Without oxygen, a cardiovascular system will stop operating exactly the way in which the EU will stop being fully operational without any trust and confidence among its Member States. Now, the so called polycrisis in the EU eroded the mutual confidence, eroded the loyalty.

I teach my students that loyalty is one of the main principles of the European integration, that if there is a common decision, if there is common legislative act, it should be implemented by all the Member states. What is endangering the EU is simply ignoring the rules. The major crises of recent years are concerned exactly with that: the Member states decide something together, but then they do not implement the decision. Of course, confidence has a second dimension - the citizens' confidence, which is also very important factor for the future of the EU.

Lesson 3 is about SOLIDARITY AND RESPONSABILITY

What we learned is that solidarity is not charity, but on the contrary, a contract: each party fulfils its obligations. Solidarity in the EU has never been an easy and uncomplicated act but solidarity of Member States was a vehicle in the common progress in the integration process. It could be labeled "concerted solidarity". Solidarity has never been, and cannot be, a sentimental idea of utopian dreamers. It constitutes an element of a pragmatic calculation of interests and will probably continue to do so. The solidarity among the Member States constitutes an element of the "package deal" system relating liberalization to redistribution. Jacques Delors' triptych of "competition that encourages, cooperation that strengthens and solidarity that unites" springs to mind as most adequate. In fact, in EU each step towards European integration incorporates a specific solidarity treaty or "package deal" – remember the establishment of the Cohesion Fund. Solidarity to achieve cohesion among all Member States should be its key element. The huge socioeconomic differences among the Member States and the regions serve no one and safeguard the interests of neither the rich, nor the poor countries. If those differences do not diminish, EU would find it difficult to remain stable and to progress along the path of integration. We could call it solidarity of the enlightened egoism.

In this "package deal" solidarity should twin with responsibility. The crisis of the Euro demonstrated to what extent restoration of responsibility is of consequence for the long-term spirit of solidarity. The solidarity-responsibility has a fundamental significance. The combination might be labeled.

Lesson 4 is about VISION AND DREAMS

Based on my long experience in following the progress of European integration, I dare to point out that the European Union succeeds in its actions only when those are based on a clear goal and a specific project. This is precisely the manner in which the EU Customs Union, Single Market and the Economic and Monetary Union were created. This was also the approach imposed by Jacques Delors: a clear vision, a goal, stages of performance and a timetable. This is an important pre-requisite, which regrettably does not exist at the moment. Which is the EU great project right now?

It is obvious that the only way to save the European project is to invest in a Union that delivers on our citizens' needs. But also on our citizens' dreams, because life is not only made of needs. People don't accept technocratic solutions. They don't accept the European Union as a law-making machine. To quote Jacques Delors "*On ne tombe pas amoureux du marché unique*" - "Nobody falls in love with a single market". The European Union is not a building in Brussels, it is not an institution. The European Union is the community of us Europeans working together. To quote Antoine de Saint-Exupéry "If you want to build a ship, don't drum people together to collect wood – but rather teach them to long for the endless immensity of the sea."

In the age of "post-truth politics" which play with people's emotions, we can argue that the European Union suffers from an emotional deficit. Not enough has been done in order to present European integration as an emotionally seducing project. The populists use very successfully powerful national myths. The EU doesn't have any powerful myths at its disposal, which could increase the enthusiasm of the citizens. To quote Tommaso Padoa Schioppa – former Minister of Finance of Italy - "Europe should not only persuade the brains, it should again win the hearts."

To conclude I will quote Jim Warren – a participant in the implementation of the Marshall plan: "We had a goal; we had fire in our bellies; we worked like hell; we had tough, disciplined thinking, and we could program, strive for, and see results." This is what we need right now!

You may say I am a dreamer, but I am not the only one!

4.1 The future of Europe

I read in the book “Management for diplomats”, written by Ambassador Baldi a quote of Henry Ford “Put together is a beginning, remain together is a progress, work together is a success.” The most important question for the future of Europe is: “How can we continue not only being together, but also to work successfully together? There is a common saying about family firms: the first generation does the work, the second generation goes into expansion – and the third fritters it all away. Is this what we are going to do with the European Union or we will follow Conrad Adenauer advice: “*Wenn die anderen glauben, man ist am Ende, so muß man erst richtig anfangen*” – “*When everybody else thinks it's the end, we have to begin*”.

It is not only the vision of the European Commission we need, we need the political will of the Member states. Let's remember the words of Jean Monnet: “*Les hommes n'acceptent le changement que dans la nécessité et ils ne voient la nécessité que dans la crise.*”- “*People only accept change when they are faced with necessity, and only recognize necessity when a crisis is upon them.*”

The future of the European Union depends on several preconditions involving an adequate response to the realities of the 21st century:

- Ability to adapt quickly to the new developments in the world;
- Ability to compete and do not forget that the EU economy operates in the global market on which there are many other players;
- Ability to be flexible;
- Ability of comprehensive thinking not only at European but also at world level.

Bulgaria has to formulate its own position on the future of the European Union: a Union with a single function, playing the role of a large and free market, or a political union with common governance and common values. And also, Bulgaria's role in the differenti-

ated participation in the integration project. The differentiation of the integration is inevitable, but it is important how it will be organized. It has become obvious that “Europe on two-speed” has already come into existence and that it would be impossible to avoid this situation in the future. It is “a necessary evil”.

The ever increasing differentiation within the European Union as a reality, alongside Bulgaria’s dilemma whether to join the Eurozone, its attitude towards a political union in Europe and flexible participation in the integration policies, presuppose the need for a new Bulgarian EU policy – a policy of smart integration. This policy should be related to this country’s ability to formulate a clear vision of the emerging new European Union, which should reflect both the particular Bulgarian interests, as well as the country’s obligations deriving from European integration. The forthcoming Bulgarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union is a suitable occasion for reflection, as well as for debating the above issues. And also a good occasion to transform Bulgaria from mainly a policy taker to an active policy maker.

I conclude with a quote from the Altiero Spinelli’s Manifesto di Ventotene:

“La via da percorrere non è facile, né sicura. Ma deve essere percorsa, e lo sarà!”.
“The road to pursue is neither easy nor certain, but it must be followed and it will be done!”

INITIATIVES OF EU INSTITUTIONS TO RE-LAUNCH THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

Ognian Zlatev

The 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome is a wonderful opportunity to reflect both on the accomplishments of European integration and on the way forward. Thinking about the future of Europe we should not forget to evaluate the past. In times when we are facing multiple challenges, it is important to remember the original goals of European integration. The story of Europe is one of peace, democracy, solidarity and freedom, but also of prosperity, equality, well-being and sustainability. It is worthwhile remembering the principles that unite us as Europeans, and the shared successes we have enjoyed together.

The relations between the Western European countries after World War II are influenced by three main achievements: the peaceful co-existence, the changed politics and the new channels and processes of interaction between states.

Since 1945 Western European countries coexist in peace and no armed conflicts between any of them have been considered possible. International politics gradually changed its focus. Policies switched from questions related to territory and defense to topics concerning the well-being of the population. Interstate communication in the Western industrialized world took different forms, especially within the European Communities, where the Governments of the member states regularly met to exchange views and information, and often, to take mutually binding decisions.

Even though political and economic changes have brought countries together, we could hardly speak of one single integrative force in Western Europe in the years after World War II. The processes of cooperation and integration have worked in different forums, on different levels, in different ways and on various speeds. Even in the EC/EU, which is in the center of European integration, the process has varied considerably during the years: mid 70-ies to the 80-ies of the last century are marked by the slowest progress, while in the years from mid 80ies to the beginning of the 90ies, European integration took place on its highest speed.

Many factors have influenced the integration process in such a way that it became difficult to predict. In the last 25 years, the Treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice have profoundly reformed and transformed a Union that has more than doubled in size.

The Lisbon Treaty, and the decade-long debate that preceded it, has opened a new chapter of European integration that still holds unfulfilled potential.

Today Europe is home to the world's largest single market and second most used currency. It is the largest trade power and development and humanitarian aid donor. Thanks in part to Horizon 2020, the world's biggest multinational research program, Europe is at the cutting edge of innovation. Its diplomacy holds real weight and helps keep the world safer and more sustainable, as shown by the historic deal with Iran on its nuclear program or the leading role the EU played in the Paris Climate Agreement and the adoption by the United Nations of the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030. This influence is reinforced by our close cooperation with NATO and our active role in the Council of Europe.

Europe is attractive to many of its partners. While no further accession to the EU is expected in the short term, the prospect itself is a powerful tool to project stability and security along our borders. The EU works actively with its neighborhood whether in the east or in the south. From our strengthened partnership with Ukraine to the wide-ranging cooperation with our African partners, Europe's role as a positive global force is more important than ever.

Despite all this, it is important to evaluate the place of Europe in a constantly changing reality, where other parts of the world grow, while Europe's place in the world is shrinking.

- Europe represents a falling share of the world population;
- its relative economic power is also forecast to wane, accounting for much less than 20% of the world's GDP in 2030, down from around 22% today;
- the euro is now a global currency but other players are gaining weight;
- the need to reflect on how to deter, respond and protect against threats, ranging from large-scale cyber-attacks to more

traditional forms of aggression, has never been so critical. Being a “soft power” is no longer powerful enough when force can prevail over rules;

- unemployment levels are falling but are still high in EU28. The challenge is particularly acute for the younger generation. For the first time since the Second World War, there is a real risk that the generation of today’s young adults ends up less well-off than their parents;

- Europe is ageing fast and life expectancy is reaching unprecedented levels. With a median age of 45, Europe will be the “oldest” region in the world by 2030;

- social protection systems will need to be significantly modernized to remain affordable and to keep pace with new demographic and work-life realities;

- the various changes affecting the world and the real sense of insecurity felt by many have given rise to a growing disaffection with mainstream politics and institutions at all levels.

All these challenges are reflected in the White Paper on the Future of Europe, presented by the President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker in the beginning of March.

The White Book presents five scenarios for the future of Europe which offer a series of glimpses into the potential state of the Union by 2025 depending on the choices we will jointly make.

The scenarios test different options for the future of integration between member states, starting from carrying on as we are, arriving to doing much more together. In the latter, the creation of European Defense Union is foreseen, as well as a joint approach to migration; more powers of the EU in the trade area on the international scene are planned, together with greater coordination on fiscal, social and taxation matters, etc.

Another scenario proposes the option to maintain only the single market as the main “raison d’être” of the EU27. In this case, further progress would depend on the capacity to agree related policies and standards. There is also a scenario suggesting that those coun-

tries wanting to do more in certain areas, might create coalitions among themselves within the Union.

Finally there is a scenario where the EU27 decides to focus its attention and limited resources on a reduced number of areas.

European leaders will now have to hold an honest and open debate about the future of the European Union. We can say that at this critical juncture in history, the Commission is putting on the table a number of credible options for Member States on how best to build unity at 27.

We expect leaders in Rome to launch a formal debate on these options, involving their citizens and national parliaments. Globalization, migration, terrorism, and populism are profoundly affecting the daily lives of Europeans and there is no better time, than now to have this difficult debate.

The end goal is to reach a unifying consensus on how best we can move forward. The consensus will then be validated –or not – by the people of Europe in the European elections in 2019. And thus, celebrating the accomplishments of European integration on this important anniversary from the signing of the Treaties of Rome, European leaders and citizens have the opportunity to open a new chapter in our history. This will once again confirm the uniqueness of our European Union, which since its establishment up till today continues to shape up and advance in order to meet the challenges of a changing world.

It is the duty of all of us to continue to write and tell the story of united Europe.

60 YEARS. THE LONG HISTORY OF EUROPE

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1 - Ventotene: Altiero Spinelli and Ursula Hirschman

The island of Ventotene, in the archipelago of the Pontine Islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, off the coast of Lazio was, during the Fascist period, one of the places of exile for the opponents of the regime: it is in this island that the visionary project of the European Federation was born and theorized. Facing the immense tragedy of the war, the overcoming of national states appeared as the only way forward for Europe. The "Ventotene Manifesto" was drawn up in 1941 by Altiero Spinelli and by Ernesto Rossi with a preface by Eugenio Colorni, during their exile. The Manifesto was first published in 1944 with the title "Verso la Federazione Europea". It was initially distributed in Rome and Milan by Ursula Hirschmann (wife of Eugenio Colorni and, after his death, of Altiero Spinelli) and it led in 1943, to the founding of the Movimento Federalista Europeo (MFE) in Milan. Even before the war, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi (1923-1924) from Vienna launched the project and the document "Pan-Europe" supported by Paul Claudel, Paul Valery, Miguel de Unamuno, Aristide Briand, Francesco Nitti and others. He also started a European Interparliamentary Union in 1947 which then resulted in a stronger European movement inaugurated in the Hague in 1948.

After the war, the Federalists emerged immediately into Europe's political design: on one side they were inspired by Hamilton, the Federalist Papers and from the American experience; on the other they were motivated by the legacy of Kant, Proudhon, Cattaneo and others and deepening of the personalist doctrines of the '30s. Thus emerged Monnet and Schumann, De Gasperi, Adenauer, Spaak; but also Brugmans, Marc de Rougemont and obviously Spinelli.

In 1973, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the European Federalist Movement (MFE), a commemorative plaque was placed on the facade of Ventotene's City Hall. In 2007, furthermore,

a stamp was issued by the Italian Post Office to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Altiero Spinelli. The President Giorgio Napolitano, during his first public appearance as Head of State in Ventotene, on May 21st, 2006, took part to a conference for the twentieth anniversary of Altiero Spinelli's death and launched a call to find in Spinelli's political legacy the push to relaunch the European constitutional process; and following his example, other Italian and European leaders made, in Ventotene, similar witnesses.

2 - From the war to Europe: Winston Churchill

On May 8th, 1945, at 3 p.m., the capitulation of Germany put an end to World War II, which had begun on September 3rd, 1939. Only Ireland, Switzerland, Sweden and Portugal were spared by the conflict: and Europe came out exhausted.

In 1945 in the Ukrainian city of Yalta, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin agreed on the future structure of Europe and a few years later, on June 5th, 1947, the American program of economic intervention, presented by George Marshall at Harvard and thus called "Marshall Plan", helped to restore Europe after the war. Winston Churchill, in 1947, from the University of Zurich appealed for the United States of Europe and the following year, from the 7th to the 11th May 1948, the Hague Congress, chaired by Churchill and organized by Duncan Sandys and Joseph Retinger, involving the main European leaders, represented a concrete moment of exchange on the real opportunity to start the process of European integration and giving rise to a new strand of opinion cuts across the political parties of the different countries. It represents the European Movement who collected all original Europeanism ideas and an organized federalism and that is considered the starting point of the new European project. Among the 750 delegates there were all the main leaders of the European political culture; for Italy, for example, figured Ignazio Silone, Adriano Olivetti and Altiero Spinelli, among others.

On May 5th, 1949, with the signing of the Treaty of London, the Council of Europe was founded: it was the first organization to a supranational level dedicated to the creation of a democratic and legal common framework in Europe. The Council of Europe was established in Strasbourg and the very strong initial comparison between

"unionists" and "federalists" or between "institutionalist" and "functionalist", quickly evolved towards an intergovernmental formula.

3 - Europe before the treaties: Jean Monnet e Robert Schumann

The "Declaration" pronounced on May 9th, 1950, by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Schuman, inspired by Jean Monnet, is considered the birth certificate of the European integration process. The intent of the French Government was to put the entire French and German production of coal and steel under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other European countries. In the same room, on April 18th, 1951, the ECSC Treaty (European Coal and Steel Community) was signed. It was then ratified in Paris on July 25th, 1952. The ECSC was the first European institution with the participation of France, Italy, Germany and the Benelux countries with a structure composed by: an assembly of control in front of which meets a High Authority with executive functions; a Committee of Ministers as a political union with the Member States, and a court of justice to settle disputes. Jean Monnet, its creator, was named president. In 1952, in Rome, an international meeting launched a political project for a European Constituent Assembly.

On May 27th, 1952, in Paris, the European countries signed the Treaty establishing the European Defense Community (EDC), a military cooperation project which will never come into force for the non-ratification of the French Parliament. Despite the failure of the EDC, the foreign ministers of the Six, in Messina in 1955, on the initiative of Paul-Henry Spaak and Gaetano Martino, re-launched the European integration process, setting out a number of principles and intentions in order to establish the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the common European market. Meanwhile the Hungarian Revolution and the Soviet repression shook Europe (October 1956).

4 - 1957-1962: Willy Brandt

On March 25th, 1957, in the Orazi and Curiazi room in the Campidoglio, in Rome, the Treaties establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Com-

munity (Euratom) were signed. One year after the signing of the Euratom Treaty, in Brussels the Atomium was inaugurated on the occasion of the great Universal Exhibition of 1958: it represented a symbol of optimism and modernity.

The European Social Fund (ESF), established in 1958, promoted the employability of the unemployed and of the most vulnerable social groups, with special funds for vocational training. Moreover, the European Regional Development Fund (FEOGA), established in 1975, funded infrastructure developments and productive investments, contributed to the development and structural adjustment of the regions which were lagging behind, and to the economic conversion of declining industrial regions. Meanwhile, since 1962, the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) was the financial instrument for a sustainable rural development policy in the EU.

Later, in 2000, the European Council assessed a special meeting in Lisbon to agree on a new strategy with the goal of making the European Union "the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth, accompanied by more and better jobs and greater social cohesion". To achieve these aims, the Union promoted, among others, the harmonization of the European rail networks to ensure that trains could effectively compete with road transport, and a sustainable economic growth based on the use of renewable and non-polluting energies and the development of a "European social model" to combat social exclusion.

In 1960, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, Sweden and Switzerland (joined by Finland the following year) signed in Stockholm, the Agreement establishing the EFTA - European Free Trade Area, as an alternative to the Community; during the following years, however, almost all the countries decided to join the EEC, abandoning the EFTA project. During these first years of European integration, the Common Agricultural Policy (PAC) entered into force. It was one of the most important policies both for its strong burden on the Community budget (about 50%, then more), and because in this area Member States relied on the Community exclusive competences. The key objective was to tackle the food shortages that followed the Second World War and thereby ensure a se-

cure supply of food and the protection of farmers' economic conditions. In 1961, the construction of the Berlin Wall, representing the Cold War symbol, divided a nation, Europe and the world into two opposing blocs. Nikita Khrushchev, secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964 and Willy Brandt, Mayor of Berlin from 1957 to 1966 and later chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, were the protagonists of this international scene during the Cold War. But these same years were also, for Italy and for most of the Western European democracies, the years of the economic boom: a period of overall prosperity for the economic sectors and for social development.

5 - 1963-1967: Charles de Gaulle

In 1963, after a famous stay in Berlin, the young American president John Fitzgerald Kennedy arrived for an official visit to Rome, wrapping up a triumphant mission in Western Europe a few months before being killed in Dallas on November 22nd, 1963.

Faced with the will of the United Kingdom to apply for joining the Community, the French president Charles De Gaulle strongly opposed to it, explaining, in 1963 in a famous press conference, that the UK would have thus become the Trojan horse of United States.

In 1965 France, disagreeing with a number of European Commission's proposals, withdrew, for seven months, its representatives from both the Council and the COREPER (Committee of Permanent Representatives). This moment, known as the "empty chair crisis", ended only in 1966 with the Luxembourg compromise, with which France obtained the maintenance of the unanimous vote rule when vital interests for Member States would have been at stake. British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Foreign Minister George Brown on January 15th, 1967, were received in Rome by the President Aldo Moro and the Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani: during their tour in the European capitals, the two British leaders reaffirmed England's will to enter the common market.

In March 1966, the European Federalist Movement promoted both in Italy and France, a campaign for a voluntary census of the European people: this important and successful federalist action, began at first in the universities, and then spread to the entire city of Rome and all central and southern Italy, representing one of the ini-

tiatives in which young Europeans have mostly invested, sparing no energies, in the belief that it was the most effective way to disseminate the federalist idea of a European unity.

6 - 1968-1972: The student movement

In August 1968 Soviet tanks invaded Czechoslovakia and suppressed the so-called "Prague Spring", a bold attempt to introduce elements of democracy in the Czechoslovak system, led by a broad political, intellectual and popular movement. In the same years, in almost all of Europe, students protested against a society they considered outdated and in which they felt lonely. The youth revolt extended, in some cases, also against the European integration process: the young contestants turned away from communism but refused, at the same time, an idea of Europe that they felt was born as too "bourgeois."

At the same time their mobilization spread across Europe and only almost twenty years after, the European Institutions affirmed the Erasmus programs.

As for the institutional sphere, on July 1st, 1968 customs duties on goods between the Community Member States were abolished, eighteen months ahead of what was scheduled in the Rome Treaty. Thus the Customs Union entered into force: it was a common tariff that replaced national customs duties in trade with the rest of the world. In 1971, Europe realized, also due to the decision by US President Richard Nixon to end the possibility of conversion of the dollar in gold, the need of a coordination of the EU economic policy. Meanwhile the Community began to widen itself: in 1972 in Brussels, the foreign ministers of Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the UK signed the entry treaties. However a referendum in Norway, on the 26th of September of the same year, rejected the entry into the Community.

7- 1973-1977: Roy Jenkins and François-Xavier Ortoli

As a result of the oil crisis and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the Copenhagen Summit affirmed the need for a common energy policy, which, however, was not realized. Commenting on the summit, the Commission President François-Xavier Ortoli said to be

pleased of two results: first, it was clearly stated that Europe intended to speak with a single voice in the major businesses of the world; secondly, it was a positive sign that the declaration on energy issues had included "all the possibilities of a common policy". The oil crisis of the early seventies led many governments, including the Italian one, to adopt a series of measures to save energy, including the prohibition to use motor vehicles on public holidays. In February 1975, the European Council (the summit of Heads of State and Government of the Member States together with the president of the European Commission) met for the first time in Dublin. In 1979, various demonstrations were carried out in the UK during the confirmatory referendum for the entry in the European Community: 67.2% of UK voted in favor of the UK permanence in the Community. On December 1 of the same year the Rome European Council gave its assent for the direct election of the European Parliament and delivered positively on the passport union and on the Community participation to the conference on the North-South dialogue with a single representation.

Always in 1975 the first Lomé Convention (Togo) strengthened the cooperation relationship with African countries, the Caribbean and the Pacific (started in 1963 with the Yaounde Convention), thanks to the introduction of special trade arrangements which stipulated that manufactured products and agricultural products, not directly competing with the products subject to the common agricultural policy, could enter the Community without customs duties or quantitative restrictions. Three other Lomé Conventions continued to update these agreements until the creation of the ECHO (European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office) in 1992. The office coordinated the operations of humanitarian assistance to non-member countries and was long under the direction of Commissioner Emma Bonino, in charge of emergency humanitarian aid. In 2000 in Cotonou (Benin), the European Union and its Member States signed a new twenty-year cooperation agreement with the 77 ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) States: The partnership, that aimed to reduce poverty, was based on a policy of dialogue, development aid and on a trade and economic cooperation strategy. The European Union became the main partner of developing countries, in terms of aid, trade and direct investment. Together, the Community and its Member States, provided 55% of international official development assistance.

8 - 1978-1982: Simone Veil

The Bremen and Brussels summits brought to an agreement for the institution of a European Monetary System, a mechanism aimed at stabilizing exchange rates to redress existing instability, at reducing inflation and at cooperating to prepare for a unified European Monetary System. French President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, were the protagonists of this process of monetary integration. The kidnapping and assassination of Aldo Moro, Secretary of the Christian Democrats, and of his bodyguards, by the Red Brigades, was one of the most severe terrorist attacks in Italy during the "years of lead". On June 10th, 1979, for the first time European citizens were called upon to directly elect their representatives to the European Parliament. Posters in Community countries invited citizens to participate and thus exercise their new right and many mobilized for the attribution of the constituent mandate to the European Parliament. A few days later, the new European Parliament elected by universal suffrage, met in Strasbourg for its first session and elected Simone Veil as its President with an absolute majority in its second round of voting. The citizens of the Community elected 410 European MEPs: a big step towards a more democratic Europe. On January 1st, 1981 Greece became the tenth Member of the Community. Europe also expanded its boundaries towards the Mediterranean by welcoming Greece only a few years after the fall of the Regime of the "Colonels" and the birth of the Republic.

9 - 1983-1987: Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, François Mitterrand

On February 14th, 1984 the European Parliament approved, by large majority (237 votes to 31) the draft of the Treaty that established the European Union, drawn up by the Committee on Constitutional Affairs. Suggested on the initiative of Altiero Spinelli, the constitutional reform draft then grew into one of the most important issues of the electoral campaign for the European elections on June 17. On September 22nd, 1984, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President François Mitterrand held hands in the French cemetery of Verdun, as they commemorated the bloodiest battle of the First World War. The Schengen Agreements, signed in 1985, estab-

lished a series of measures facilitating the free movement of people and the coordination of the fight against the trafficking of weapons and drugs. The agreements were signed in the small village of Schengen (in Luxembourg), initially outside of the Community regulations and were soon integrated with the Treaty of Amsterdam. At the Milan European Council (from the 28th to the 29th of June 1985) Bettino Craxi and Giulio Andreotti brought into minority British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and obtained the launch of an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) to consider the possibility of an institutional reform. The conference opened under the Luxembourg Presidency on September 9th, 1985 and ended a few months later with the signing of the Single European Act. On January 1st, 1986 the entry of Portugal and Spain in the European Community, brought to political stability and to an unprecedented economic development in the new Member States. Further on in January, the European Parliament approved the Single European Act, signed the previous year after the Intergovernmental Conference. Work was thus started to revise the Treaty of Rome. The main aim was to revitalize the process for the construction of Europe for the completion of the Internal Market which appeared difficult to achieve on the basis of the Treaties in force due to the decision-making process of the Council that imposed unanimity for the harmonization of regulations.

10 - 1988-1992: Jacques Delors

The core issues discussed during the Council of Strasbourg in 1989 were: the economic and monetary union, the European Social Charter and the reforms required to enable the enlargement to the countries of central and eastern Europe. During this Council, in fact, the Heads of State and government of eleven Member States adopted the Community Charter of fundamental social rights of workers. With the fall of the Berlin wall on November 9th, 1989 men and women from East and West Berlin were able to move freely from one part of the city to the other. Faced with the exodus of masses of people towards the West, the East German government opened its borders. After more than forty years of division, in 1990 the reunification of Germany was finally a fact and the eastern part of the country joined the Community. The European Council in Rome (1990) gave start to the two intergovernmental conferences on the economic and monetary Union and on the Political Union which

then led to the Maastricht Treaty: there was a general consensus of the Member States on the concept of European citizenship which could be asserted mainly by strengthening civil rights. Universal suffrage extended to the election of the European Parliament allowed a democratic discussion within the European Community. As symbols are important, since they allow citizens to identify themselves with Europe, on May 29th, 1986, the European flag was hoisted up for the first time in front of the Berlaymont building, seat of the European Commission in Bruxelles, and the “Ode to Joy” by Ludwig van Beethoven, was played for the first time as official European anthem. In 1987 the Erasmus program was set up to let student mobility with the aim of educating young people in a European context: in thirty years it has involved millions of students referred to as the “Erasmus generation” and surely represents one of the EU's most appreciated initiatives. Coinciding with the signing of the Treaty of Nice (France) on December 7th-8th 2000 the Charter of Fundamental Rights, was proclaimed.

The Treaty on the European Union (TEU) marked a new important step in the political integration of European countries: among others it established European citizenship, it reinforced the powers of the European Parliament and launched the Economic and Monetary Union.

11 - 1993-1997: Romano Prodi

The European Council of Copenhagen in June 1993, approved the idea of the great opening up to the East and defined the criteria for accession to the candidate countries. The "Copenhagen criteria" are threefold; one "political": the presence of stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for minorities and their protection; one "economic": the existence of a functioning market economy able to cope with the competitive pressure and market forces within the EU; The third criterion concerns the membership to the *acquis communautaire*, namely the acceptance of the established EU legislation and all of the obligations of membership, with particular reference to the objectives of the political, economic and monetary union. On January 1st, 1995, Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the European Union raising the number of Member States to 15 and its citizens to about 370 million. The Barcelona

Conference on November 27th-28th, 1995, launched the Euro-Mediterranean partnership (also called Barcelona Process), initially including 12 Mediterranean countries, among which Israel and Palestine. The Declaration adopted at the end of the conference established a work program on political cooperation and security, economic and financial cooperation and on social, cultural and human cooperation. The main objective was to create a forum for dialogue, exchange and cooperation, guaranteeing peace, stability and prosperity. The initiative was ambitious and it even envisaged the creation of a free-trade area in the Mediterranean by 2010. After the tragedy of the Bosnian war (1992-1995), the European Union was committed to monitor the elections held for the month of October 1996, less than a year after the end of the civil conflict that involved the areas of the former Yugoslavia. On October 2nd, 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam was signed bringing changes and additions to the Treaties establishing the European Community and to the European Union Treaty in view of the accession of East European countries. It intervened in various sectors such as regional aid, transports, professional training, combating fraud, the right to establish oneself in another country of the European Union, equal opportunities, and the coordination among national social security systems. A few months later, the European Council started the negotiations on the accession of 13 countries thus putting an end, once and for all, to the divisions of the past. The extending the European integration model on a continental level was finally seen as a guarantee of stability and prosperity for the future.

Europe invested in technologies that produced energy from renewable sources. In particular, the leaders of the 27 committed to achieving the following objectives by 2020: reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 20% compared to 1990; increase energy efficiency in order to reduce energy consumption by 20% compared to projections for 2020; raise the share of energy from renewable sources to 20% of total consumption. The strategy of the Commission in the area of renewable energy in the European Union sets the twofold aim, for the XXI century, of enhancing security of energy supply and reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

12 - 1998-2002: Carlo Azeglio Ciampi

The European Central Bank (ECB) was created in Frankfurt on June 1, 1998. The ECB is an evolution of the former European Monetary Institute (EMI) that had the functions of reinforcing cooperation among national central banks and of coordinating monetary policies. The European Central Bank is a totally independent institution with the task of introducing and managing the new currency and of defining and implementing the monetary policy of the European Union.

In 1999, the Euro made its debut, initially only in the financial markets. Carlo Azeglio Ciampi and Romano Prodi were among the great craftsmen of the euro. On December 27, 2001, the light sculpture of the euro in front of the European Central Bank in Frankfurt was completed and on January 1, 2002, a big show at the Cinquantenaire Park in Brussels, finally celebrated the monetary circulation of the euro in the pockets of the citizens of the twelve EU countries. The Euro symbol is a combination of the first letter of the Greek alphabet epsilon, (€), symbol of the weight of European civilization, and the E of Europe. The two parallel horizontal lines that cross the symbol represent the stability of the currency, while the color recalls the yellow of gold, a symbol of its value.

The enlargement of NATO to the East preceded the widening of the European Union, started on March 16, 1999: when Poland, Czech Republic, and Hungary join the North Atlantic Treaty. On September 28, 2000, a referendum held in Denmark brought to the non-adoption of the European currency with 52.5% of the population voting “No”.

The European Council approved, on December 11, 2000, the Treaty of Nice. On that same occasion the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union was also solemnly proclaimed. The Charter constituted a summary of the values shared by the Member states of the Union. On September 11, 2001, the terrorist attack against the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center shocked the United States, Europe, and the world. In October 2001, following the American attack thousands of Afghan refugees were forced to shelter in Pakistan: the military action was undertaken after the refusal of the Taliban government to hand over the Saudi billionaire Osama Bin Laden, held responsible of the devastating terrorist at-

tacks of September 11. Precisely in Afghanistan, European Commissioner Emma Bonino, with the involvement of the European Parliament had launched, shortly before, the initiative "A Flower for the Women of Kabul" against the oppression of women's rights in Afghanistan and with the aim to draw the public attention to the fate of Afghan women, as a symbol of women's ongoing struggles around the world.

13 - The constituent process: Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

The European Council, meeting in Laeken (Belgium) in 2001, issued a Declaration on the future of the Union which paved the way towards the European Constitution. Former French President Giscard d'Estaing was appointed President of the European Convention in charge of preparing a draft of the Constitution to submit at the next Intergovernmental Conference. The first session of the European Convention on the future of Europe, was held on February 28, 2002 and consisted of 105 members: representatives of both governments and parliaments of the Member States, representatives of the European Parliament and the Commission and representatives of the governments and parliaments of the applicant States, joined by 13 observers representing the Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of Regions, the Ombudsman and the European social partners. In an official ceremony in Rome, Valéry Giscard D'Estaing, together with the two Vice-Presidents of the Convention (the Italian Giuliano Amato and the Belgian Jean-Luc Dehaene), submitted to the President of the European Council Silvio Berlusconi the final report of the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. On October 29, 2004, the Heads of State and Government of the 25 Member States and the 3 candidate countries signed solemnly in Rome the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, symbolically in the same Orazi and Curiazi del Campidoglio room which had housed the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Thus began the long process of ratifications, sometimes parliamentary and sometimes by referendum until May 29, 2005, when France voted "no" in the referendum, followed two days later by the Netherlands. The votes against the ratification of the Constitutional Treaty were the 54,68% with a holding of 69.34% of eligible voters. In the Netherlands, instead, the negative votes were the 61.54%, with a percentage of 63.30% of voters. Set aside the Constitutional Treaty rejected by

France and Holland, a long period of institutional impasse began and got to and end only in July 2007, with the opening of the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) which led to the new Lisbon Treaty.

14 - 2003-2007: Angela Merkel

The War in Iraq, in 2003, represented one of the most evident failures of Europe's efforts to realize a common foreign policy. Some countries (among which France and Germany) were against the war, while others (among which Italy, the United Kingdom, and Spain) supported the US military interventions. May 1, 2004, is the day of the historic big enlargement of the European Union: with the entry of 10 new countries (Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic and Hungary) the Union of 25 was born.

On October 3, 2005 the European Union officially opened the accession negotiations with Turkey and Croatia: during the negotiations, the candidate countries undertook to fully implement the legislation and EU policies, known as the *acquis communautaire*, and demonstrated the will to adhere to the political objectives of the Treaties.

The terrorist attacks in London on July 7, 2005, had adverse effects on the Schengen agreements as France and the Netherlands decided the temporary suspension of the free movement of persons. The Bolkestein Directive on the deregulation of services in the internal market, subject of many protest demonstrations, was adopted in 2006. In 2007, the EU intervened on international roaming: the European regulation on this sector became binding law in all Union countries, bringing down the cellphone bill for consumers across Member States.

The EU-Latin America Summit focused its attention on fighting poverty and on access to natural resources and it also organized a "counter summit" promoted by some non-governmental organizations that brought together more than a thousand participants.

The European Union also participated regularly since 1996 to the ASEM meetings with Asian countries. This was an interregional forum which brought together the European Commission, all 27 Members States of the Union, and the 14 members of the AESAN

(Association of Southeast Asian Nations), plus China, Japan, and South Korea.

In January 2007, the Union widened to Romania and Bulgaria, bringing to 27 the number of member countries. The President of the European Union in office Angela Merkel, the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso, and the President of the European Parliament Hans-Gert Pöttering, signed the Berlin Declaration to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, in the presence of the Heads of States and Governments from the 27 States that form the European Union. Always under the German Presidency, after deep reflection following the negative outcome of the referendums in France and Holland, the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) was opened to draft a new “Reform Treaty” to amend existing treaties, under the Portuguese Presidency.

15 - The Lisbon Treaty: José Manuel Durão Barroso

Even though the formal signing occurred in the Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon on December 13, 2007, a long process of national ratification of the Treaty, necessary for its entry into force, started. It was a turning point in the European pathway that put an end to over two-years "of reflections" after the referendum rejections of the European Constitution in France and Holland. The purpose was to give Europe a new Treaty that could enter into force in 2009, year of the election by universal suffrage of the European Parliament. In the new text most of the innovations contained in the European Constitution were accepted, but all explicit reference to the constitutional nature of the text, had been canceled.

Even though the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union was not integrated into the Treaty, explicit references may be found giving it a constitutional status. On June 12, 2008 in Ireland was held the referendum on the twenty-eighth amendment of the Irish Constitution. The referendum would have allowed the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty but only 53.1% of those eligible voted and of these 53.4% was against (862 415 people), while only 46.6% were in favor (752 451 persons). The electoral campaign for the referendum had been very lively and torn, it was calculated that about one hundred thousand posters had been hung up in the streets around the country: those for the "no", mainly promoted by associa-

tions of conservatives, focused on the risks resulting from the ratification of the Treaty, from the lowering of the minimum wage to the renunciation of national independence. On October 2, 2009 a second referendum on the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland, was participated by 59% of the eligible voters: this time the 67.13% voted yes. On November 13, 2009, the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty was completed and came into force on December 1, 2009. The Belgian Herman Van Rompuy and Britain's Baroness Catherine Ashton were nominated respectively new President of the European Council and new High representative for EU foreign policy as well as vice president of the European Commission; in 2014, the Polish Donald Tusk and Italian Federica Mogherini, succeed Herman Van Rompuy and Baroness Catherine Ashton.

16 - 2008-2013: The Nobel Prize

While Europe the Eurozone widened (Cyprus and Malta in 2008, Slovakia in 2009, Estonia in 2011 and also Latvia and Lithuania in 2014) the failure of the US bank Lehman Brothers (September 15, 2008) was one of the causes of the financial and then economic crisis that quickly reached global dimensions. On November 5, 2008 Senator Barack Obama was elected as the 44th President of the United States of America: a G20 meeting in Washington was immediately organized in order to clamp down on the global economic crisis. The G8, held in Italy in L'Aquila in July 2009, suffered the absence of the major emerging countries and its efficiency creaked: according to the Brazilian President Lula the G8 "had no raison d'être", and it must had to be replaced by the G20, "more important, more representative and close to the reality of crisis we are experiencing." Meanwhile the desperate landings in the Mediterranean trying to reach Europe were continuing: on March 31, 2009 a new tragedy involved two boats loaded with more than 200 people headed to Italy from Libya. In 2009 the seventh direct election to the European Parliament took place, the new European Commission was appointed (still led by the Portuguese José Manuel Durão Barroso). On May 26, 2011 the Serbian authorities arrested after 16 years on the run, Ratko Mladic, accused of war crimes and genocide, thus removing the main obstacle to the future accession of Serbia to the EU. Meanwhile neighboring Croatian citizens voted "yes" in a referendum on EU membership, paving the way to the European Union as the 28th member state on

July 1, 2013. In June 2011, the Greek parliament adopted a set of spending cuts and structural reforms to reduce debt and strengthen the competitiveness of the national economy, but the austerity measures seemed to worsen the economic situation and the crisis expanded also to other European countries. The European Union offered humanitarian and financial assistance for a democratic Libya after the fall of the Gaddafi regime and announced 350 million euro aid to countries in North Africa and the Middle East engaged in the transition to democracy in the so-called "Arab Spring". Despite the economic and political crisis in its inside, the European Union was striving to carry out its role on the international stage: on the sidelines of the EU-Brazil Summit, President Barroso called for greater efforts to build an "Association Agreement" between Europe and Mercosur which, balanced and ambitious, was set to become one of the most important international agreements. In December 2012, the European Union received, in Oslo, the Nobel Peace Prize: the prize recognized the role played by the European integration process in over sixty years in the promotion of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights. Many were the special pleas made to the European leaders asking for a return to the spirit and principles of the founding fathers in finding solutions to the deep economic and political crisis that the EU was experiencing.

Between 2010 and 2011 the economic crisis, started in the United States with the subprime mortgage crisis, spreads to the sovereign debts and to the public finances of many countries, often already burdened by the public assistance granted to the banking systems. The Eurozone countries, were those more involved, being unable to use the exchange rate instrument or to implement expansionary monetary policies. Some countries (Greece, Ireland, Portugal) were able to avoid default only due to the provision of large loans (from the EU and from the International Monetary Fund) called "bailouts", conditioned to heavy austerity measures. In March 2011, the Portuguese Prime Minister Socrates resigned after the Lisbon parliament rejected the austerity plan prepared by his government on EU request. In July 2011, the Eurozone countries signed a treaty introducing the so-called European Stability Mechanism, which provided loans to countries in crisis, granting them financial stability. The MES (also called Fund bailout) assumed the form of a real intergovernmental organization, with the power, attributed by the founding

Treaty, to impose macroeconomic policy choices to the acceding countries. In the same months the results of stress tests on banks were published.

The test's goal was to analyze the bank ability to withstand another recession: 83 out of 91 banks passed the test. On November 1, 2011 Mario Draghi, former Governor of the Bank of Italy, became the new President of the European Central Bank (ECB) during a very delicate phase for the euro. A few months later he declared that the euro is irreversible and that the ECB must be ready to do whatever it takes to save the single currency, trying to restore confidence to the markets. However, expectations for an effective response from the ECB or from the other European institutions were often disenchanted and exchanges periodically crashed and spreads were rising again. In December 2012, at an informal meeting of the European Council, all EU countries (except the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom) voted a new treaty on stability, coordination and governance of the economic and monetary union. The purpose of the Treaty was to strengthen budgetary discipline through automatic sanctions and stricter controls and, in particular, through a rule which required a balanced budget. During the European Council of December 2012, EU leaders took their first steps towards the creation of a banking union with the decision to create a single supervisory mechanism by which the European Central Bank supervised directly on the large euro area banks. However, it was clear that a functioning banking union necessarily implied some form of fiscal - and then political - union, which for the moment was not on the horizon.

17 - From 2013 to date: Mario Draghi and Jean Claude Juncker

On July 1, 2013 Croatia became the twenty-eighth member state of the European Union, while in January 2014, Latvia officially adopted the single currency, followed a year later also by neighboring Lithuania, bringing to 19 the number of euro zone countries.

The island of Cyprus was affected by a strong financial and banking crisis and the Cypriot government in March 2013 committed to carry out a forced levy on the current accounts of its citizens, in return of the aid given by the Eurozone countries.

Between 22 and 25 May 2014 in the 28 EU countries the eighth elections by universal suffrage of the European Parliament took place: for the first time, the major European parties indicated their candidate as President of the Commission. On the basis of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Council appointed as the new president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, the candidate of the European People's Party (EPP). His Commission took over on November 1, 2014, on the basis of a political agreement on the new European Parliament among the main pro-European forces (Popular/EPP, Socialists/PES and Liberal/ALDE).

Public opinion in the various European countries allied with "Eurosceptics" movements, as the National Front of Marine Le Pen in France, the 5 Star Movement of Beppe Grillo in Italy and UKIP of Nigel Farage in Britain. The persisting serious situation of instability in Europe was the result of the inability of the institutions to restore growth and development, often insisting on the other hand on the compliance with the strict rules of the so-called "austerity", which led to the deterioration of the public accounts of the states in crisis and unemployment close to 12% in Europe in 2013.

In the European neighborhood, Ukraine fell into a full-blown civil war with the so-called "euromaidan" demonstrations (the largest pro-European gathering never happened in history), that led to the fall of the pro-Russian government of Viktor Yanukovich, forced to leave the country on February 21, 2014. Following these events, Russian troops and pro-Russian insurgents militarily occupied the Crimea and eastern parts of Ukraine. The European countries, the United States and NATO reacted to these events with severe trade sanctions to Russia which, in turn, responded with a boycott of European and American products. Once again there has been a lack of a real European foreign policy and a general inability of the EU countries in managing even the closer military and political crises.

While the Ukrainian crisis was tearing apart Europe to the East, the western side tried to pull the EU, and its most affected countries, out of the shoals of the economic crisis. A project was subsequently proposed by the president of the European Commission (the so-called plan Juncker), with the aim of boosting investment through the establishment of a new European Fund for Strategic Investments (EFSI) with the help of the European Investment Bank (EIB).

In the political elections that took place at the beginning of 2015, Greek citizens, exhausted by years of sacrifice and economic crisis, gave the majority to the Radical Left Coalition (SYRIZA) led by the young leader Alexis Tsipras, appointed prime minister on January 26, 2015. Tsipras had the difficult task of negotiating with the European institutions and with the leaders of other member countries, the change of the strict austerity conditions accepted by the previous Greek governments.

18 - The XXI Century: The new migrations in Europe and in the Mediterranean

During an extraordinary meeting of the European Council in Brussels, the EU leaders came to an intervention agreement in four priority sectors, after the tragedies of thousands of migrants who lost their lives in the Mediterranean trying to reach the European shores. These included tools that try to thwart traffickers, a new program to redistribute illegal immigrants, more protection for refugees from war zones and tripled European Union funds for control and rescue operations in the central Mediterranean Sea.

Europe has always been a land of migration: as a source of migration flow and as a destination for people seeking a better life. In particular, the Mediterranean Sea has been the center of many of its civilization stages as circulation area and intersection of populations.

After the tragedy of Lampedusa in October 2013, where 366 migrants have died and after many other similar tragedies, the EU's ability to take charge of the migrations in the Mediterranean in a fair and sustainable way - and thus in compliance with fundamental rights started to show some weakness. Italy, Malta and Greece, more than any other, have experienced a lack of European solidarity. Following the confusion caused by the tragedy of Lampedusa, the Italian government, led by Enrico Letta, has authorized a military humanitarian operation in the central Mediterranean, called Mare Nostrum, aimed at assisting the shipwrecked and at combatting migrant traffickers. This operation has not prevented, however, the flow of new migrants and thus new deaths in the sea. For this reason, the Italian Presidency in the second half of 2014 made the Justice and Home Affairs Council adopt a European policy approach in October 2014 aiming at improving the management of migration flows in the cen-

tral Mediterranean. This approach should have hinged around three axes: the cooperation with third countries, the strengthening of the external border management (then the FRONTEX Agency) and the implementation of national measures for a regime of common asylum. However, the European solidarity, long evoked by Italy, has been substantially realized through the efforts, mostly financial, of the FRONTEX Agency, founded in 2005 with the task of assisting EU Member States in the common external border control operations (sea, land and air).

Always on the same trail, on November 1, 2014, the EU launched the Triton operation, to strengthen border controls in the central Mediterranean with the patrol 30 miles off the Italian coast. Triton, which saw the Italian progressive dismantling of the Mare Nostrum operation, led by FRONTEX. Also Greece has been assisted by the EU, with the inauguration of the Poseidon operation on February 1, 2015. On April 23, 2015, the European Council has tripled its budget for both the operations from 2.9 to 9 million Euros monthly. Although these operations do not exclude the rescue at sea, in accordance with the rules of international law, they are mainly carried out near Europe's coasts and not near the coasts of the main countries of origin of refugees. This has aroused the concern of many NGOs and of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), who have examined the risks of an increasing number of deaths at sea.

To further strengthen the European solidarity at the EU's external borders, various solutions have been offered. President of the Commission Jean-Claude Juncker has suggested to further increase the funding for FRONTEX, through additional contributions by the European member states. The development of a Smart Borders Package, has been subject of a pilot project conducted in 2015. These "smart borders" would be able to intercept those entering and staying illegally in the Schengen area and therefore beyond the duration of their visa, and give prompt news to the countries of origin. As far as asylum is concerned, it was discussed to implement the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), already adopted in 2013, in order to standardize the conditions for asylum between Member States and offer a unique status to persons enjoying European humanitarian protection. Meanwhile, in order to support the European countries under the greatest pressure, and in accordance with the conclusions

adopted by the Justice and Home Affairs Council (JHA) in October 2014, the EU called on its member states to respect more the set the provisions of the Dublin Regulation on the designation of the member state responsible for examining an asylum application, regulation by many as outdated and in any case to be reformulated.

The summer 2015 has seen several cases of migrants drowned at sea, the boats sunk, the built walls and of course the Greek crisis. According to FRONTEX, only in July, the arrivals of migrants were 50,000 in Greece, 34,000 in Hungary and 20,000 in Italy, marking a 200 per cent compared with July last year. Altogether, according to UNHCR figures, in 2015 there were 1,008,6116 entry by sea and 3,771 people died or were missing trying to cross European borders. The worsening of the war in Syria has, in fact, forced many thousands of people to follow the Balkan route, and headed for the countries of northern Europe. The reactions of the states crossed by migrants have been different. For example, Macedonia, Serbia and Hungary have erected barriers for rejecting the flows of migrants, while Germany announced that it would have welcomed 800 thousand in 2015 and suggested the creation of hot spots - centers for the identification of migrants - in Italy and Greece, probably in response to the dramatic events, including the finding of a child drowned in Greece and the 50 suffocated in a truck in Austria. The creation of these centers should be accompanied by a redistribution of asylum seekers for all EU countries: with many political and organizational resistances to pursue these goals.

Considering the development of the wars in Syria, Somalia, Eritrea, Yemen and Sudan, it is expected that entrances and asylum applications will not decrease in the near future, not least because the migration to European countries express a demand for the values that the EU represents today. The whole set of European values, (such as peace, democracy, human rights, rule of law, freedom and mobility) is known as the *acquis communautaire* and is the set of settled rules, regulations, policies, treaties, agreements and decisions that the EU has adopted since its origin. The *acquis communautaire*, besides constituting the material and immaterial border for states wishing to be integrated into the EU, has become the main reason for which migrants decide to cross the borders of Europe and enter into European society. Based on these considerations, it is clear not only that migratory movements at the borders have no reason to stall in the

near future, but also that the management of these movements and of their political, social and economic consequences, must necessarily be European. More than a signal of solidarity to the states, this would mean the strengthening of the union of the States policy.

Terrorism is another contemporary challenge that Europe is facing. After the terrorist attack that struck the headquarters of the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris, in January 2015, across Europe, demonstrations are organized in defense of the right of expression.

However, despite the intensification of EU-wide tools to fight terrorism, 13 November of the same year, still in Paris, a series of attacks by an armed command linked to the Islamic state, better known as ISIS, kills 130 people. In a joint statement, EU leaders and heads of state and government strongly condemn these attacks, calling them "a terroristic attack against all of us" and undertake "to face together this threat by any means necessary and inflexible determination".

Despite this, 2016 has been a year of many terrorist attacks in Europe: from Turkey to France and Germany. These events induce governments to take measures for more control and public order but also push Europe to reopen the chapter of European security and defense with more attention.

19 – 2017: The European Parliament opens the reform process of the European Union

Three major reports calling for greater EU integration have been adopted by the European Parliament on February 16, 2017. Every single day is essential to regain people's trust in Europe, rebuild vision, and relaunch Europe. Today, the European Parliament moves in that direction and shows the right direction to the national governments.

The report on "Improving the functioning of the EU building on the potential of the Lisbon Treaty", prepared by MEPs Elmar Broks and Mercedes Bresso, shows that the Lisbon Treaty offers instruments that should be used with no delay to deepen the Economic and Monetary Union, increase the effectiveness of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and make the Area of Freedom, Security

and Justice more fit for today's challenges. The adopted text also indicates the ways to improve the effectiveness of the Council's decision-making process, by extending the use of qualified majority voting, and by guaranteeing its transparency by holding its meetings in public.

The report on "Possible evolutions and adjustments of the current institutional set up of the EU", prepared by MEP Guy Verhofstadt, outlines proposals for deep reforms of the EU's institutional architecture, going beyond the Treaty of Lisbon. It calls for a real European Government, for a genuine EU budget and for the creation of a European defence union.

The report on "Budgetary Capacity for the Euro area", prepared by MEPs Pervenche Berès and Reimer Böge, makes a strong call for the creation of a budget of the Eurozone, aiming at finally providing the monetary union with economic policy tools. The European Parliament is now taking a strong stance in support of the full completion and parliamentarisation of the Economic and Monetary Union.

Finally, a White Paper on the future of the European Union was presented by the Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker on March 1, 2017, in plenary session at the European Parliament in Brussels. The book aims to give substance to the Rome Declaration of 25 March 2017 on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome; and proposes the choice between different possible alternative scenarios for the European Union.

The first possible future traced by Juncker is what remains mid-stream; it goes on as if nothing had happened ignoring Brexit and internal and external political risks. The second scenario is regressive, provides a Europe that leaves all political ambition and focuses on the domestic market, the latter becoming its essential rationale: it would increase the differences between countries on consumer protection, on the environment, on taxes and subsidies. It would become harder to work abroad and Europe would become more vulnerable. The number three scenario is the one of enhanced cooperation supported by Merkel and therefore it is the most plausible: some governments would go ahead on security, justice, police and intelligence cooperation against terrorism and organized crime. A European Public Prosecutor would be launched against tax fraud, money laundering, weapons and drugs and tax, social and industry standards.

The fourth scenario sees a dismantling: less Europe but more efficient on the few matters that remain. The fifth point is the most ambitious, paves the way for a true political union that works in 27 and not in small groups and by 2025 it acts with a single voice on trade and foreign policy with a single seat in the major international organizations. The European Parliament would have the last word on various matters among which: management of migrants, security and defense would be common. The single market on energy, digital and services would be completed and, finally, the currency would grow with the completion of a banking union, a budget and a Minister of Finance of the Eurozone.

The 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome on 25 March 2017 is thus a great occasion to start a process, involving both national parliaments and civil society: so that an intensive preparatory political activity, centered on the relaunch of Europe at several speeds, is triggered in many major European countries without strong constraints exerted by the electoral season that at this same period affects Germany, France, Holland, Italy. A common policy statement, “The Rome Declaration” on the future of Europe is thus relaunched on March 25, 2017 by the Heads of State and Government gathered in Rome at the Campidoglio.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

Brief Biographies of Authors

Solomon Passy

Founder and president of the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria, and previously Bulgaria's Foreign Minister, Chairman of the OSCE and UN Security Council. In August 1990, Dr. Passy, MP in the Grand National Assembly, drafted a bill for Bulgaria's accession to NATO. This was the beginning of the public discussion in CEE about the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and NATO and the EU's eastward enlargement. Minister Passy (2001-2005) successfully negotiated the invitation for Bulgaria's membership in NATO, and effectively concluded the accession process in 2004 when Bulgaria joined the Alliance. He drafted a parliamentary resolution for Bulgaria joining the EU (1990). In addition, he is a co-author of the new Bulgarian Constitution of 1991 and a sponsor of the draft bill for abolishing the death penalty. Minister Passy negotiated and signed the EU Accession Treaty in 2005. He is also a pioneer in the elaboration of a national legal framework on space exploration, and a passionate proponent of Bulgaria's membership in the European Space Agency.

Ingrid Shikova

Full professor of EU Policies at Sofia University "St.Kliment Ohridski". She is dedicated to European Studies. She is one of the founders of the European Studies Department at Sofia University. She has many publications in the field of European integration issues including textbooks for university and secondary school students. She has a broad teaching experience as well as specialisations at prestigious Universities in Europe. She is experienced in EU project management. Prof. Shikova is guest lecturer at the Diplomatic Institute to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and at the Bulgarian School of Politics. In 2009 she was awarded a highest honorary sign with blue

ribbon of Sofia University for her contribution to the development of European Studies in Bulgaria.

Ognian Zlatev

Head of Representation In Bulgaria at European Commission since May 1, 2013. He has been working since 2011 as Head of Communication at the Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. In this role, he helped in communicating effectively the Commission's actions to tackle youth unemployment and social inclusion. Before joining the European Commission, he served on the Managing Board of Bulgarian National Television (the public service broadcaster). Earlier, he founded and managed the Media Development Center in Bulgaria and was a Founding Member and President of the South-East European Network for Professionalization of the Media (SEENPM). He has also served as Director of the Information Center for the Open Society Institute in Sofia, Manager of the BBC Center in Bulgaria and Exchange Officer at the British Council office in Bulgaria. He has a strong background in communication related to EU integration, EU policies and EU institutions

Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo

Professor Emeritus of Demography at “La Sapienza” University of Rome and Director of a Unesco Chair on “Population, Migrations and Development”. He has been Director of EuroSapienza Center; Director of CUIA (Italian University Consortium for Argentina); and Deputy Rector for international affairs of the University “La Sapienza” of Rome. He collaborated with the Foreign Office for statistical and demographic issues related to the main International Organizations: in this capacity he was a member of the Italian Delegation at the European and World Population Conferences from 1974 to 2005. On several occasions he has drawn up research reports on problems of migrations and population studies for various Administrations and International Organizations. He was President of the European Committee for the Population of the Council of Europe

(Strasbourg). He is member of the Editorial Board of the Reviews “L’Europe en Formation”, “Studi Emigrazione”, “GENUS”, “Welfare papers” and many others.

Moderator

Stefano Baldi

Ambassador of Italy in Sofia since September 2016. He is a career diplomat at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International cooperation with experience in both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. He has been the Director of the Diplomatic Institute of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2011 until 2016. Being passionate about education and learning, Ambassador Stefano Baldi also collaborates with many Italian Universities, holding seminars and courses in International Affairs. Having a strong personal interest in management, digital diplomacy and diplomatic history, he is author of several books about diplomacy and he is responsible for the educational blog “Diplo Learning Corner”.

Appendix 2
Photo Gallery
March 10th, 2017



The Panelists of the Round Table. From right to left: Stefano Baldi, Solomon Passy, Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo, Ognian Zlatev, Ingrid Shikova.



Participants to the Round Table, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski.



Anastas Gerdjikov, Rector of the University of Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski, during his welcome address to the audience at the Round Table.



Deniza Slateva, Deputy Prime Minister for the preparation of the Bulgarian Presidency of the EU Council in 2018, during her introductory remarks to the Round Table.



The Panelists of the Round Table. From right to left: Stefano Baldi, Solomon Passy, Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo, Ognian Zlatev, Ingrid Shikova.



Participants to the Round Table, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski.

Appendix 3

Documents

White Paper for the Future of Europe

In his White Paper for the Future of Europe, European Commission President Jean –Claude Juncker presents five scenarios on the future of the European Union. The five scenarios offer a series of glimpses into the potential state of the EU by the year 2025, depending on the choices that will be made now, not only at the national and at the European level, but also at the international level. However, the five different scenarios all start from a common point: that the 27 Member States decide to move forward together as a Union.

In order to stimulate the reader to reflect on the future of the European Union, it was decided to include in this Pamphlet European Commission President Juncker’s Five Scenarios, as presented in his White Paper for the Future of Europe.

Scenario 1: Carrying on

THE EUROPEAN UNION FOCUSES ON DELIVERING ITS POSITIVE REFORM AGENDA.

Why and how?

In a scenario where the EU27 sticks to its course, it focuses on implementing and upgrading its current reform agenda. This is done in the spirit of the Commission’s New Start for Europe in 2014 and of the Bratislava Declaration agreed by all 27 Member States in 2016. Priorities are regularly updated, problems are tackled as they arise and new legislation is rolled out accordingly.

As a result, the 27 Member States and the EU Institutions pursue a joint agenda for action. The speed of decision-making depends

on overcoming differences of views in order to deliver on collective long-term priorities. EU legislation is checked regularly to see whether it is fit for purpose. Outdated legislation is withdrawn.

By 2025, this means:

The EU27 continues to focus on jobs, growth and investment by strengthening the single market and by stepping up investment in digital, transport and energy infrastructure.

There is incremental progress on improving the functioning of the single currency in order to drive growth and prevent shocks starting at home or abroad. Further steps are taken to strengthen financial supervision, to ensure the sustainability of public finances and to develop capital markets to finance the real economy.

The Commission's reform of State aid law ensures that 90% of all State aid measures are in the hands of national, regional and local authorities.

The fight against terrorism is stepped up in line with the willingness of national authorities to share intelligence. Defence cooperation is deepened in terms of research, industry and joint procurement. Member States decide to pool some military capabilities and to enhance financial solidarity for EU missions abroad.

On foreign policy, progress is made on speaking with one voice. The EU27 actively pursues trade agreements with partners from around the world, in the same way as it does today. Management of external borders is the primary responsibility of individual countries, but cooperation is reinforced thanks to the operational support of the European Border and Coast Guard. Continuous improvement to border management is needed to keep up with new challenges. If this is not done, some countries may wish to maintain targeted internal controls.

The EU27 manages to positively shape the global agenda in a number of fields such as climate, financial stability and sustainable development.

Pros and cons:

The positive agenda of action continues to deliver concrete results, based on a shared sense of purpose. Citizens' rights derived from EU law are upheld. The unity of the EU27 is preserved but may still be tested in the event of major disputes. Only a collective resolve to deliver jointly on the things that matter will help close the gap between promises on paper and citizens' expectations.

Scenario 2: Nothing but the single market**THE EUROPEAN UNION IS GRADUALLY RE-CENTRED ON THE SINGLE MARKET.****Why and how?**

In a scenario where the EU27 cannot agree to do more in many policy areas, it increasingly focuses on deepening certain key aspects of the single market. There is no shared resolve to work more together in areas such as migration, security or defence.

As a result, the EU27 does not step up its work in most policy domains. Cooperation on new issues of common concern is often managed bilaterally. The EU27 also significantly reduces regulatory burden by withdrawing two existing pieces of legislation for every new initiative proposed.

By 2025, this means:

The functioning of the single market becomes the main "raison d'être" of the EU27. Further progress depends on the capacity to agree related policies and standards. This proves easier for the free movement of capital and of goods, which continues tariff-free, than it does in other areas.

Given the strong focus on reducing regulation at EU level, differences persist or increase in areas such as consumer, social and environmental standards, as well as in taxation and in the use of public

subsidies. This creates a risk of a “race to the bottom”. It is also difficult to agree new common rules on the mobility of workers or for the access to regulated professions. As a result, the free movement of workers and services is not fully guaranteed.

The euro facilitates trade exchanges but growing divergence and limited cooperation are major sources of vulnerability. This puts at risk the integrity of the single currency and its capacity to respond to a new financial crisis.

There are more systematic checks of people at national borders due to insufficient cooperation on security and migration matters.

Internal disagreements on the approach to international trade mean the EU struggles to conclude deals with its partners. Migration and some foreign policy issues are increasingly left to bilateral cooperation. Humanitarian and development aid is dealt with nationally. The EU as a whole is no longer represented in a number of international fora as it fails to agree on a common position on issues of relevance to global partners such as climate change, fighting tax evasion, harnessing globalisation and promoting international trade.

Pros and cons:

The EU’s re-centred priorities mean that differences of views between Member States on new emerging issues often need to be solved bilaterally, on a case-by-case basis. Citizens’ rights derived from EU law may become restricted over time. Decision-making may be simpler to understand but the capacity to act collectively is limited. This may widen the gap between expectations and delivery at all levels.

Scenario 3: Those who want more do more

THE EUROPEAN UNION ALLOWS WILLING MEMBER STATES TO DO MORE TOGETHER IN SPECIFIC AREAS.

Why and how?

In a scenario where the EU27 proceeds as today but where certain Member States want to do more in common, one or several “coalitions of the willing” emerge to work together in specific policy areas. These may cover policies such as defence, internal security, taxation or social matters.

As a result, new groups of Member States agree on specific legal and budgetary arrangements to deepen their cooperation in chosen domains. As was done for the Schengen area or the euro, this can build on the shared EU27 framework and requires a clarification of rights and responsibilities. The status of other Member States is preserved, and they retain the possibility to join those doing more over time.

By 2025, this means:

A group of Member States decides to cooperate much closer on defence matters, making use of the existing legal possibilities. This includes a strong common research and industrial base, joint procurement, more integrated capabilities and enhanced military readiness for joint missions abroad.

Several countries move ahead in security and justice matters. They decide to strengthen cooperation between police forces and intelligence services. They exchange all information in the fight against organised crime and terrorism related activities. Thanks to a joint public prosecutor’s office, they collectively investigate fraud, money laundering and the trafficking of drugs and weapons. They decide to go further in creating a common justice area in civil matters.

A group of countries, including the euro area and possibly a few others, chooses to work much closer notably on taxation and social matters. Greater harmonisation of tax rules and rates reduces com-

pliance costs and limits tax evasion. Agreed social standards provide certainty for business and contribute to improved working conditions. Industrial cooperation is strengthened in a number of cutting edge technologies, products and services, and rules on their usage are developed collectively.

Further progress is made at 27 to strengthen the single market and reinforce its four freedoms. Relations with third countries, including trade, remain managed at EU level on behalf of all Member States.

Pros and cons:

The unity of the EU at 27 is preserved while further cooperation is made possible for those who want. Citizens' rights derived from EU law start to vary depending on whether or not they live in a country that has chosen to do more. Questions arise about the transparency and accountability of the different layers of decision-making. The gap between expectations and delivery starts to close in the countries that want and choose to do more.

Scenario 4: Doing less more efficiently

THE EUROPEAN UNION FOCUSES ON DELIVERING MORE AND FASTER IN SELECTED POLICY AREAS, WHILE DOING LESS ELSEWHERE.

Why and how?

In a scenario where there is a consensus on the need to better tackle certain priorities together, the EU27 decides to focus its attention and limited resources on a reduced number of areas.

As a result, the EU27 is able to act much quicker and more decisively in its chosen priority areas. For these policies, stronger tools are given to the EU27 to directly implement and enforce collective decisions, as it does today in competition policy or for banking supervision. Elsewhere, the EU27 stops acting or does less.

In choosing its new priorities, the EU27 seeks to better align promises, expectations and delivery. A typical example of recent mismatch is the car emissions scandal where the EU is widely expected to protect consumers from cheating manufacturers but has no powers or tools to do so in a direct and visible manner.

By 2025, this means:

The EU27 steps up its work in fields such as innovation, trade, security, migration, the management of borders and defence. It develops new rules and enforcement tools to deepen the single market in key new areas. It focuses on excellence in R&D and invests in new EU-wide projects to support decarbonisation and digitisation.

Typical examples include further cooperation on space, high-tech clusters and the completion of regional energy hubs. The EU27 is able to decide quickly to negotiate and conclude trade deals. Cooperation between police and judicial authorities on terrorism-related issues is systematic and facilitated by a common European Counter-terrorism Agency.

The European Border and Coast Guard fully takes over the management of external borders. All asylum claims are processed by a single European Asylum Agency. Joint defence capacities are established.

Conversely, the EU27 stops acting or does less in domains where it is perceived as having more limited added value, or as being unable to deliver on promises. This includes areas such as regional development, public health, or parts of employment and social policy not directly related to the functioning of the single market.

State aid control is further delegated to national authorities. New standards for consumer protection, the environment and health and safety at work move away from detailed harmonisation towards a strict minimum. More flexibility is left to Member States to experiment in certain areas. However, for those domains regulated at EU level, greater enforcement powers ensure full compliance.

Elsewhere, steps continue to be taken to consolidate the euro area and ensure the stability of the common currency. The EU's

weight in the world changes in line with its recalibrated responsibilities.

Pros and cons:

Ultimately, a clearer division of responsibilities helps European citizens to better understand what is handled at EU27, national and regional level. This helps to close the gap between promise and delivery, even if expectations remain unmet in certain domains. Citizens' rights derived from EU law are strengthened in areas where we choose to do more and reduced elsewhere. To start with, the EU27 has real difficulty in agreeing which areas it should prioritise or where it should do less.

Scenario 5: Doing much more together

THE EUROPEAN UNION DECIDES TO DO MUCH MORE TOGETHER ACROSS ALL POLICY AREAS.

Why and how?

In a scenario where there is consensus that neither the EU27 as it is, nor European countries on their own, are well-equipped enough to face the challenges of the day, Member States decide to share more power, resources and decision-making across the board.

As a result, cooperation between all Member States goes further than ever before in all domains. Similarly, the euro area is strengthened with the clear understanding that whatever is beneficial for countries sharing the common currency is also beneficial for all. Decisions are agreed faster at European level and are rapidly enforced.

By 2025, this means:

On the international scene, Europe speaks and acts as one in trade and is represented by one seat in most international fora. The European Parliament has the final say on international trade agree-

ments. Defence and security are prioritised. In full complementarity with NATO, a European Defence Union is created. Cooperation in security matters is routine. The EU27 continues to lead the global fight against climate change and strengthens its role as the world's largest humanitarian and development aid donor.

The EU's broad-ranging foreign policy leads it to reinforce its joint approach on migration. Closer partnerships and increased investment in Europe's neighbourhood and beyond help to create economic opportunities, manage regular migration and tackle irregular channels.

Within the EU27, there is a strong focus and ambition to complete the single market in the field of energy, digital and services. Thanks to joint investment in innovation and research, several European "Silicon Valleys" emerge to host clusters of venture capitalists, start-ups, large companies and research centers. Fully integrated capital markets help mobilise finance for SMEs and major infrastructure projects across the EU.

Within the euro area, but also for those Member States wishing to join, there is much greater coordination on fiscal, social and taxation matters, as well as European supervision of financial services. Additional EU financial support is made available to boost economic development and respond to shocks at regional, sectoral and national level.

Pros and cons:

There is far greater and quicker decision-making at EU level. Citizens have more rights derived directly from EU law. However, there is the risk of alienating parts of society which feel that the EU lacks legitimacy or has taken too much power away from national authorities.

Appendix 4
The Rome Declaration
25 March 2017

Declaration of the leaders of 27 member states and of the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission

We, the Leaders of 27 Member States and of EU institutions, take pride in the achievements of the European Union: the construction of European unity is a bold, far-sighted endeavour. Sixty years ago, recovering from the tragedy of two world wars, we decided to bond together and rebuild our continent from its ashes. We have built a unique Union with common institutions and strong values, a community of peace, freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law, a major economic power with unparalleled levels of social protection and welfare.

European unity started as the dream of a few, it became the hope of the many. Then Europe became one again. Today, we are united and stronger: hundreds of millions of people across Europe benefit from living in an enlarged Union that has overcome the old divides.

The European Union is facing unprecedented challenges, both global and domestic: regional conflicts, terrorism, growing migratory pressures, protectionism and social and economic inequalities. Together, we are determined to address the challenges of a rapidly changing world and to offer to our citizens both security and new opportunities.

We will make the European Union stronger and more resilient, through even greater unity and solidarity amongst us and the respect of common rules. Unity is both a necessity and our free choice. Taken individually, we would be side-lined by global dynamics. Standing together is our best chance to influence them, and to defend our common interests and values. We will act together, at different paces

and intensity where necessary, while moving in the same direction, as we have done in the past, in line with the Treaties and keeping the door open to those who want to join later. Our Union is undivided and indivisible.

In the ten years to come we want a Union that is safe and secure, prosperous, competitive, sustainable and socially responsible, and with the will and capacity of playing a key role in the world and of shaping globalisation. We want a Union where citizens have new opportunities for cultural and social development and economic growth. We want a Union which remains open to those European countries that respect our values and are committed to promoting them.

In these times of change, and aware of the concerns of our citizens, we commit to the Rome Agenda, and pledge to work towards:

1. A safe and secure Europe: a Union where all citizens feel safe and can move freely, where our external borders are secured, with an efficient, responsible and sustainable migration policy, respecting international norms; a Europe determined to fight terrorism and organised crime.

2. A prosperous and sustainable Europe: a Union which creates growth and jobs; a Union where a strong, connected and developing Single Market, embracing technological transformation, and a stable and further strengthened single currency open avenues for growth, cohesion, competitiveness, innovation and exchange, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises; a Union promoting sustained and sustainable growth, through investment, structural reforms and working towards completing the Economic and Monetary Union; a Union where economies converge; a Union where energy is secure and affordable and the environment clean and safe.

3. A social Europe: a Union which, based on sustainable growth, promotes economic and social progress as well as cohesion and convergence, while upholding the integrity of the internal market; a Union taking into account the diversity of national systems and the key role of social partners; a Union which promotes equality between women and men as well as rights and equal opportunities for all; a Union which fights unemployment, discrimination, social exclusion and poverty; a Union where young people receive the best edu-

cation and training and can study and find jobs across the continent; a Union which preserves our cultural heritage and promotes cultural diversity.

4. A stronger Europe on the global scene: a Union further developing existing partnerships, building new ones and promoting stability and prosperity in its immediate neighbourhood to the east and south, but also in the Middle East and across Africa and globally; a Union ready to take more responsibilities and to assist in creating a more competitive and integrated defence industry; a Union committed to strengthening its common security and defence, also in cooperation and complementarity with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, taking into account national circumstances and legal commitments; a Union engaged in the United Nations and standing for a rules-based multilateral system, proud of its values and protective of its people, promoting free and fair trade and a positive global climate policy.

We will pursue these objectives, firm in the belief that Europe's future lies in our own hands and that the European Union is the best instrument to achieve our objectives. We pledge to listen and respond to the concerns expressed by our citizens and will engage with our national parliaments. We will work together at the level that makes a real difference, be it the European Union, national, regional, or local, and in a spirit of trust and loyal cooperation, both among Members States and between them and the EU institutions, in line with the principle of subsidiarity. We will allow for the necessary room for manoeuvre at the various levels to strengthen Europe's innovation and growth potential. We want the Union to be big on big issues and small on small ones. We will promote a democratic, effective and transparent decision-making process and better delivery.

We as Leaders, working together within the European Council and among our institutions, will ensure that today's agenda is implemented, so as to become tomorrow's reality. We have united for the better. Europe is our common future.

Composition: Embassy of Italy, Sofia – May 2017

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome (March 24, 1957) the Italian Embassy in Sofia in collaboration with the Italian Cultural Institute of Sofia organised a Round Table. “*The Treaties of Rome: the EU is 60 years old, is it too young or too old?*” was the provocative title chosen for the Round Table that took place on March 10, 2017 at the University of Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski.

The four panelists, invited for the event, Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo, Solomon Passy, Ingrid Shikova, and Ognian Zlatev, offered different approaches regarding the evolution of the European integration process, which led to a lively and constructive debate with the audience.

Their interesting interventions have been collected in this publication.

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