

# L'Unione Europea e la società europea

Contributo del Polo Interregionale di Eccellenza  
Jean Monnet di Pavia  
al Rapporto González



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Interregionale di Eccellenza Jean Monnet di Pavia al Rapporto González

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## *Foreword*

The report that President González was asked to prepare concerns various issues. The European Union can develop social policies of crucial importance.

The approval of the Treaty of Lisbon has given Europe a Constitution. We can expect that for many years this Constitution will not change. During this time it is crucial to use the Treaty of Lisbon to develop the ties between Citizens and European institutions. This may help to shape a better-defined "European model", supported by wider consensus.

The relationship between institutions and society is a fundamental issue. This relationship acquires particular meaning when single States have international responsibilities that may affect internal choices.

The past experience of the United Kingdom and of the United States offers an interesting starting point for understanding the choices that Europe will face in forthcoming years.

The most important aspect concerns the higher degree of freedom that Europe has today in defining internal and international policies. Major Countries have never experienced before such freedom.

Between the two world wars, the United Kingdom played a leading role worldwide. This role became increasingly burdensome: too heavy to be supported by the resources of a single country.

The United Kingdom had to choose whether to privilege the maintenance of its international role (subtracting resources to the modernization of domestic economy and the balanced development of British society) or vice versa opt for internal objectives.

The United Kingdom has made the first choice, until the crucial choice of sacrificing all its resources to defeat Nazism and defend democracy. The British choice was motivated not only by Reason of State and the pride of the Nation, but even more by the values that have inspired resistance in all European countries.

Similar situation is looming today for the United States. The defence of their international role does not match with the scarcity of available resources: the choice is between this international goal and a balanced internal development of society. The debate now under way in the USA compares the health care reform and the commitment as international police force against terrorism in high-risk countries. The limited amount of available resources requires setting a hierarchy between these objectives. The United States have played a crucial role in defeating imperialism of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Stalinist Russia and Imperial Japan. The values that have inspired the assumption of such role in the international arena call for the development of internal policies aiming at the creation of a more cohesive society.

Europe will likely face similar choices in the near future. The European model is open to the world. Europe will not close its borders, neglecting to contribute to the development of freedom, of openness and solidarity throughout the world.

The González Report can face the task that has been assigned adopting a short term or a long-term perspective. In the short term problems and opportunities that will arise can be traced back to the links between citizens and European institutions.

These ties can be strengthened by policies that the Union will develop. To paraphrase a famous slogan of the Italian Risorgimento: "Once that Europe has been done, we have to build Europeans". The birth of a European model, supported by consensus, will act as powerful force for the creation of European Citizenship and Citizen. In the long term, it is inevitable that Europe will face the choice between domestic and international objectives.

The Lisbon Treaty provides for formation of a European army. Europe could face alternatives similar to those already experienced by the United Kingdom and the U.S.A, as mentioned above.

A link between choices of short-term and long-term choices always exists. Today Europe can assume short-term options already oriented towards the long term.

The example of the European army is emblematic. The debate, at European level, is on a new model of army, where civil society plays a role that is of equal importance of the role played by military forces. The European army can act as force of international police, and develop itself as aiding force in the pacification in countries in critical situations.

The new model of State that Europe has built in these 50 years can reassert itself and develop through European policies that will insist on its intern and on the international arena.

It is hard to believe that Europe will yield to the temptation to become a new “superpower” Country. It is more realistic to expect that it will be the Centre that will lead international integration, providing a model of State based on federalism and subsidiarity, towards the birth of the World federation.

The options concerning the future are in the hands of mankind. In this context, the Interregional Centre Jean Monnet of Pavia decided to submit to President González several essays that insist on the issues that the report will address.

The contributions of the Centre do not have a normative nature. The authors of each chapter have not outlined their personal vision, according to their personal values. These values have naturally influenced their contributions, which were aimed at understanding the possible alternatives and the implications of alternative choices. The aim was to identify how we can strengthen the model that Europe has already started to build along the history of the European integration process.

The contribution presented here is divided into three parts.

- a) The first chapter deals with the context within which lies the González Report; this as to define the boundaries of the Proposal that the Report will develop. All over the World, Europe is the area

that has developed at their highest degree the values of freedom, equality and solidarity. The Treaty of Lisbon can facilitate the institutionalization and spreading at Union level of the achievements of each Member State. The Charter of Fundamental Rights already indicates a possible path to be followed to affirm the value of European citizenship.

Federalism and subsidiarity are the fundamental values that constitute the basis of the European Union. They are the alternative to Globalization, which brings inequality and exploitation by the strongest over the weakest.

To design the future of Europe we must first understand the roots of the European model, age-old roots that have been renovated by the Age of Enlightenment and which today can still be innovated.

The European model can form the basis on which to build a sustainable development, open to international cooperation. The European model has several dimensions: historical, economic, social, legal and institutional. The essays presented in this first part deal with these different issues, in the belief that the coherence between them is an essential requirement that the González Report will have to meet.

- b) In the second part of the contribution of the Interregional Jean Monnet Centre of Pavia considers how participation can be developed, starting from the goals already achieved by the European integration process. Agencies are a reality with a high still not completely developed potential. Territorial governance can be improved in all areas, to confront economic, social, cultural and political (institutional) issues.

The Jean Monnet Action has created a new generation of European students; this experience can be innovated and replicated to create a new generation of civil servant and public operators able to support the construction of a new Europe.

- c) The increased participation that can be pursued in innovative ways (as outlined in the second part) requires specific actions and

policies, able to provide solutions to priority problems of citizens. We have to understand how to involve the whole Society, with innovative solutions, in the process of European integration.

Some intervention policies analyzed in this part relate to fiscal federalism; the chances that small and medium enterprises can grasp; research; energy policy and welfare state in its overall size and its specific component of healthcare.

There are several possibilities for designing policy interventions. The case studies here developed offer methodological reflections that can be extended to other areas of intervention.

This presentation does not aspire to seize a unique message out of our Contribution. The overall Contribution is animated by a shared objective and is divided into individual contributions that do not necessarily promote coincident views.

The authors have embraced the European model, which aspires to create synergies between different traditions, as to fertilize one each other.

We publish below the summaries of the different contributions: the reader will find here the essential content of each chapter.

The authors express their gratitude to President González for the heavy burden that he has agreed to assume and declare to be at full disposal for further development of their contribution.

Pavia, 4<sup>th</sup> March 2010

Dario Velo

## ***Summaries***

### **L'Unione Europea e la società europea**

*Daniela Felisini, Dario Velo*

The European Society is the one that has been mostly able to enforce the values of freedom, equality and solidarity. Two visions coexist today, at world level. On one side lay post-modern culture, laissez-faire, globalization. This point of view denies the importance of institutions. On the other side lays a vision based on federalism, subsidiarity, new humanism and liberalism. The European model is based on this second point of view. Europe is building a new model of state, of society and economy. We must understand the roots of the European model that develops the concept of modernity brought by the Age of Enlightenment. Once that the Lisbon Treaty has come into force, we have to strengthen all the components of the European model, in order to increase the consensus and to guide other areas of the world towards ever-increasing democracy.

### **Il futuro dell'Europa**

*Giuseppe Usai*

The development of the European integration process, and more in general the future of Europe, depend on the citizens' wills and capacities, particularly of those who are directly involved in the process. It's absolutely necessary a wide involvement of all the European people so to make them conscious of the need of a higher level of integration. In order to guarantee the future of Europe and of the integration process it is necessary that all the promoters commit themselves to this object in an organized and coordinated way so to express properly their will and to involve also all the civil society.

**Le agenzie europee.  
Un nuovo strumento di *governance* per l'Unione**

*Vincenzo Salvatore*

The rapid proliferation of European Agencies, accompanied by the gradual transfer of decision-making powers to the Regulatory Agencies, has led, due to the lack of a common paradigm, to a mixed framework, characterized by deep differences and inconsistencies. It is necessary to rethink their role, in terms of institutional model, in order to ensure management efficiency and respect of the principles of democracy and good governance. The entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty has contributed to overcome a series of reserves that have arisen in the recent years, related to the legitimacy of the role of Agencies in the European Union legal system and to the profiles of judicial protection to acts adopted by them. The recognition of the Agencies operated by the Treaty of Lisbon raises them to a constituent element of the Union. In this context the lack of an organic discipline and the heterogeneity of organizational models is likely to place the agencies, originally planned as a support for the Commission's executive, in a paradoxical position closer to the interests of national authorities than to those of the Union. It must be considered the impact, in policy terms, of the role of the Agencies in the integration process and in comparison to other European institutions, aiming at a system of multilevel governance in which the Regulatory Agencies can play a crucial role.

**Le autonomie locali dell'Unione Europea:  
possibili interventi a favore di una *governance* territoriale multilivello**

*Fabio Zucca*

The question of a Europe of regions and local autonomies is highly topical today. Moreover, the negative effects of the globalization challenge can only be managed by creating a true European power – the United States of Europe – while also providing for strong involvement by the

territories. Political as well as historical reflections on the role of the local authorities thus highlight the need to democratize the Committee of Regions, transforming the latter into a second-level elective body, adopting planning and financing measures that directly involve the regional and local authorities, and allocating supplementary resources in the area of territorial cooperation by adopting innovative methods of governance, such as European territorial agreements directly involving the municipalities. Finally, the European Union must put into play a widespread information and training policy in favor of the local administrators in order that the latter can more fully participate in governing the Union.

### **Formazione permanente e mobilità del personale degli enti locali per la formazione di un'identità europea delle pubbliche amministrazioni**

*Massimo Bianchi*

Local Public Administrations could play a relevant role in the building of a strongest European identity. This issue derives not only from their capability to be directly in touch with citizens but also because they represent the culture of service delivered from the bottom. This means that Europe has to facilitate the Life Long Learning of Managers and Staff of local administrations with programs of temporary mobility and learning. As the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission recommended some years ago, initiatives like the PLOTEUS portal for learning opportunities, work in this direction but for a more effectiveness of this strategy is necessary a strongest policy of incentives and facilities and a clear framework similar to experienced Tempus and Leonardo programs for Universities and Research.

## **Nuove linee di intervento in materia di Beni Culturali storici nell'Unione Europea**

*Massimo Montella*

The goals of European cohesion, sustainable development of territories by the exploiting and conservation of cultural heritage and vocational training directed towards employment, properly pursued through the European programmes that involve cultural historical heritage, rarely have been achieved so far in a complete satisfactory way. This is because of lack of dotational and performance standard and of guidelines valid for all the E.U. countries. In application of these standard it will be possible to draft optimal intervention projects and to make comparison so to ensure the effective opportunities for grant funding (and exercise the necessary checks later on). Therefore it appears a priority and preliminary step to draw up such technical legislation, that concerns various elements (cultural institutions, restoration, precautionary conservation, etc.). A second step would be dedicated to encourage the application of these principles, if possible with specific directives and also with effective encouragement and discouragement measures and finally with qualification or certification programs of stakeholders. Such legislation would assure the fundamental requirement of European cohesion by ensuring, in all EU countries and to all European citizens, cultural services, on one hand, and restoration and preservation of heritage activities, on the other hand, characterized by uniform and high quality. Concerning the allocation of resources between the various destinations, particularly attention should be reserved to the implementation of methods and tools with which ensure the precautionary conservation activities for the cultural heritage. These activities should be developed according to the territory scale, in a continuous way, through the ordinary administration and in close agreement with what is already in force in the European context concerning the sustainable development (VIA, ECOLABEL, EMAS, Convenzione Europea per il Paesaggio, ecc.).

## **Federalismo fiscale e politica di stabilizzazione nell'Unione Europea**

*Alberto Majocchi*

The model of stabilization policy drawn up in the Maastricht Treaty displays significant innovations, but it also has a serious shortcoming. The model is important because it does not transfer stabilization policy in its entirety to the European level, but leaves responsibility for it to national governments, merely stating that the European level should ensure the coordination of national economic policies. It thus seeks to avert the risk of asynchrony in stabilization policies – whereby one country adopts an expansionary policy while another country pursues a restrictive one – and uses the multilateral surveillance mechanism to steer national economic policies towards convergent objectives. This therefore appears to be a significant deviation from Oates's theoretical model. The European experience does not deem it necessary to transfer the direct management of stabilization policy to the supranational level. Stabilization policy is in fact managed by member-states, although its coordination is to be ensured at the supranational level. The shortcoming consists in the fact that coordination must be ensured by the Council of Ministers, where decisions on fiscal policy are subject to the rule of unanimity. And this rule can guarantee neither the democracy nor the efficiency of decisions. Hence at European level also decisions on fiscal matters should be taken by majority vote in the future - and no longer unanimously -, in accordance with the rules of democratic federalism. However, this outcome is still very distant, even after the innovations ensued from ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. If the European Union will be able to generalize the rule that decisions are taken by majority vote and will have the power to oblige the Member States to comply with the decisions taken at the European level, important innovation may come about in the management of stabilization policy, in that it will be predominantly ruled by member-states through the coordination method, and coordination will be effective to the extent that European decisions will be complied with. Also without direct intervention through the Euro-

pean budget, and therefore with the limited resources available at present, there will be neither the current time delays nor the current inefficiencies; and an embryonic common economic policy will finally be in place, rather than a mere sum of national policies. Obviously, once the federal stage has been reached, and when the European budget is of adequate size, European resources will efficaciously supplement national resources in the management of stabilization policy, thereby heightening its efficiency.

**I *cluster* tecnologici in Europa: forme innovative di *partnership* pubblico-privato a sostegno dell'innovazione**

*Enrica Pavione*

In the present historical phase, all industrialized countries are affording the need to sustain the growth and the modernization of the national economic systems, relaunching the competitiveness of the enterprises on the international markets. In this context, it assumes increasing importance the capability of the enterprises to produce innovation and knowledge, in order to acquire a sustainable competitive advantage in the long period. This explains the increasing role that today is recognized to sectors characterized by an elevated contents of innovation, in consideration of their traditional character science-based and of the evolution of the competitive environment, in a framework of globalization and push acceleration of the innovative dynamics. The temporal horizon of long period that in such sectors characterizes the productive process, the necessity of huge investments in research and development, the connected high level of entrepreneurial and financial risks, imply the need to aggregate a number of economic actors, both public and private, around innovative clusters, in order to foster knowledge creation, mobilize huge resources and skills and share risks and costs related to the exploitation of scientific and technological opportunities. In particular, the relations between enterprises, institutions, university

and research centres around to innovative projects, appears critical factor of success.

In the most important European experiences, the public actor plays a strategic role in the promotion and development of innovative clusters. Thus, the recent experiences of innovative clusters may represent a privileged laboratory of primary interest for identifying long-term strategic solutions, open to contributions from all players and all sector. This perspective assigns to public institutions, at the European and national level, a strategic role to guide the economic development, in a long term perspective, functional modernization and advancement of the integration process in the perspective of the Economic Union.

***Small Business Act, competitività e innovazione:  
le opportunità per le Pmi nel quadro di una politica industriale e della  
ricerca di respiro europeo***

*Roberta Pezzetti*

All European countries are today facing the need to re-launch the economic and social development and to support the modernization of the system, in a context of market globalization and increasing interdependence of the economic systems. This need is further complicated by the economic crisis that has affected all countries. The institutional and political debate on the issues of growth and competitiveness of the European economic system reflects this need and favours the emergence of a broader consensus as regard the urgent need to develop a long-term European strategy, in order to sustain the system's ability to produce innovation and knowledge, giving impetus to economic development and new force to the Lisbon strategy. On one side, central is the ability to define a common European industrial policy in order to support the development of large industrial projects and innovative knowledge-based initiatives in the strategic sectors of the economy; on the other, to aggregate around them all the actors of the economic and

research system, in a context of renewed public-private relations. The traditional structure of European economy, with more than 23 million SMEs, requires the European Union and national governments to focus on growth and competitiveness of these actors, creating the conditions for fostering birth, supporting development and enhancing their capacity for innovation. The EU enlargement towards Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean Countries feeds the need for a common industrial policy, open to the SMEs' contribution, in order to re-launch the minor entrepreneurship, the growth of the local economic systems and the employment in a framework of social cohesion. In this context, the recent adoption by the European Commission of the Small Business Act offers Europe the opportunity to develop an integrated and systemic approach to issues of development and competitiveness of smaller firms. This perspective assigns to public institutions, both at European and national level, a strategic role to guide the economic development, in a long term perspective, functional to the modernization and the advancement of the integration process in the perspective of the Economic Union.

### **La politica energetica europea e il problema delle infrastrutture di trasporto**

*Laura Bottinelli*

The energy issue directly affects all European citizens on their life quality and contributing, in a strategic way, to the constant development of the economic and productive system. Such importance suggests the need to identify innovative methods of intervention, by the European Community institutions, that, focusing on the energy sector support, contribute to better meet the needs expressed by citizens, improving, in this way, the social cohesion. A critical element on which to base this process of revival of the European Energy Policy is represented by the management of transport infrastructures. Because of the structural shortage of indigenous energy sources the main Euro-

pean countries depend significantly from imports to meet their own internal energy demand. The security of supply, and the associate adequacy of transport infrastructures, therefore represent a strategic elements to ensure to all the European citizens an improvement of their own life quality and a continuous development of the economic and productive system as a whole.

### **Verso un nuovo modello socio-economico europeo competitivo e coeso**

*Silvia Bruzzi*

The paper aims at contributing to the debate on the future prospects of the European socio-economic model, now in the middle of a deep crisis, both in terms of economic competitiveness and social sustainability. Starting from the analysis of the main features of the capitalistic models developed in the second half of the Twentieth Century, this essay aims at highlighting the opportunities that the current phase of the European integration process offers to establish a new socio-economic model that is both competitive and cohesive and can contribute effectively to the definition of a new global geopolitical order.

### **Un Mercato Unico Europeo per la sanità e il settore farmaceutico**

*Francesco Velo*

The healthcare sector and the pharmaceutical sector have not developed themselves homogeneously in European countries. Different policy choices have been undertaken for the two sectors. The health sector has experienced a continuous intervention by single countries (even when coordinated at European level) that aimed at maintaining control within State borders. The pharmaceutical sector has achieved, conversely, a greater European dimension, thanks to private industrial initiatives but in the absence of public intervention guidance. These trends