

Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa e il “quartetto inconciliabile”

Secondo Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa era impossibile, per la Comunità Europea, perseguire ad un tempo la piena libertà degli scambi commerciali, la completa mobilità dei capitali, la stabilità dei tassi di cambio e la totale autonomia nazionale nella condotta delle politiche monetarie.

Il Comitato Delors

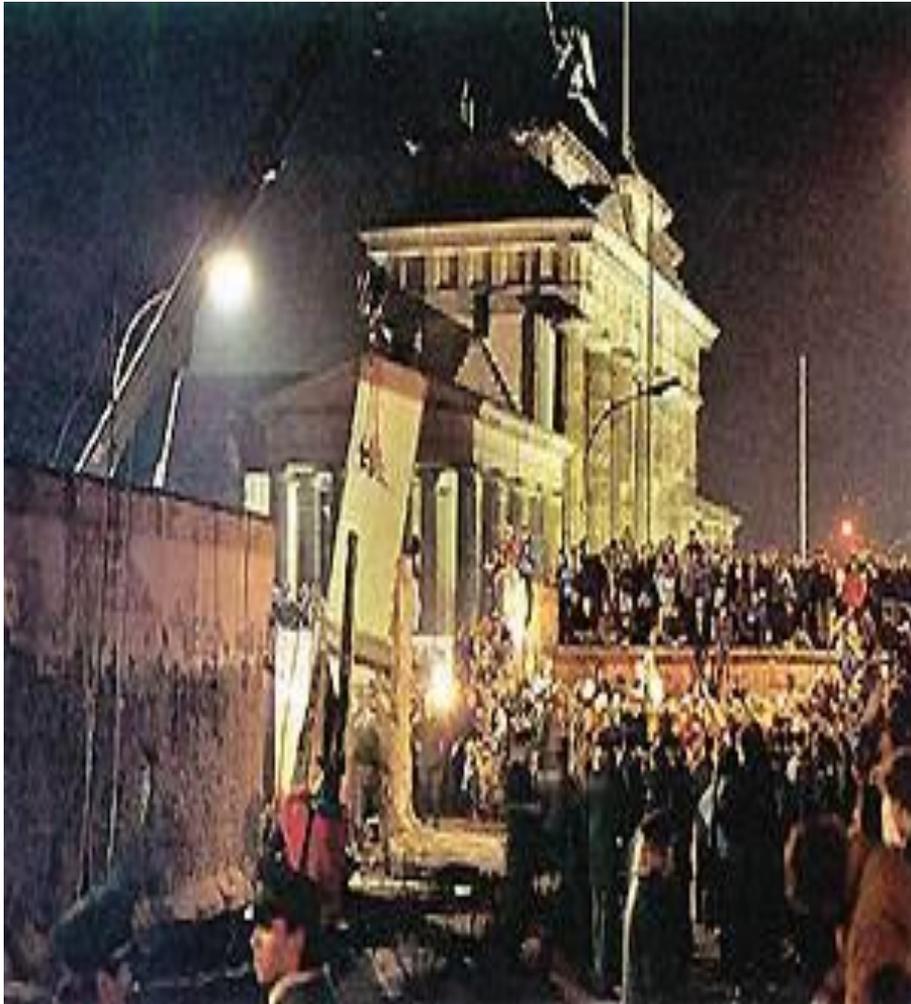
Delors (Chair) + i governatori delle banche centrali (Bundesbank, Banca d'Italia, Banque de France, The Bank of England, Banco de España.....) + 2 commissari + 3 esperti indipendenti

La Bundesbank e l'Euro



Karl Otto Pohl, presidente della
Buba dal 1980 al 1991

Novembre 1989: crolla il muro di Berlino, cadono i regimi comunisti

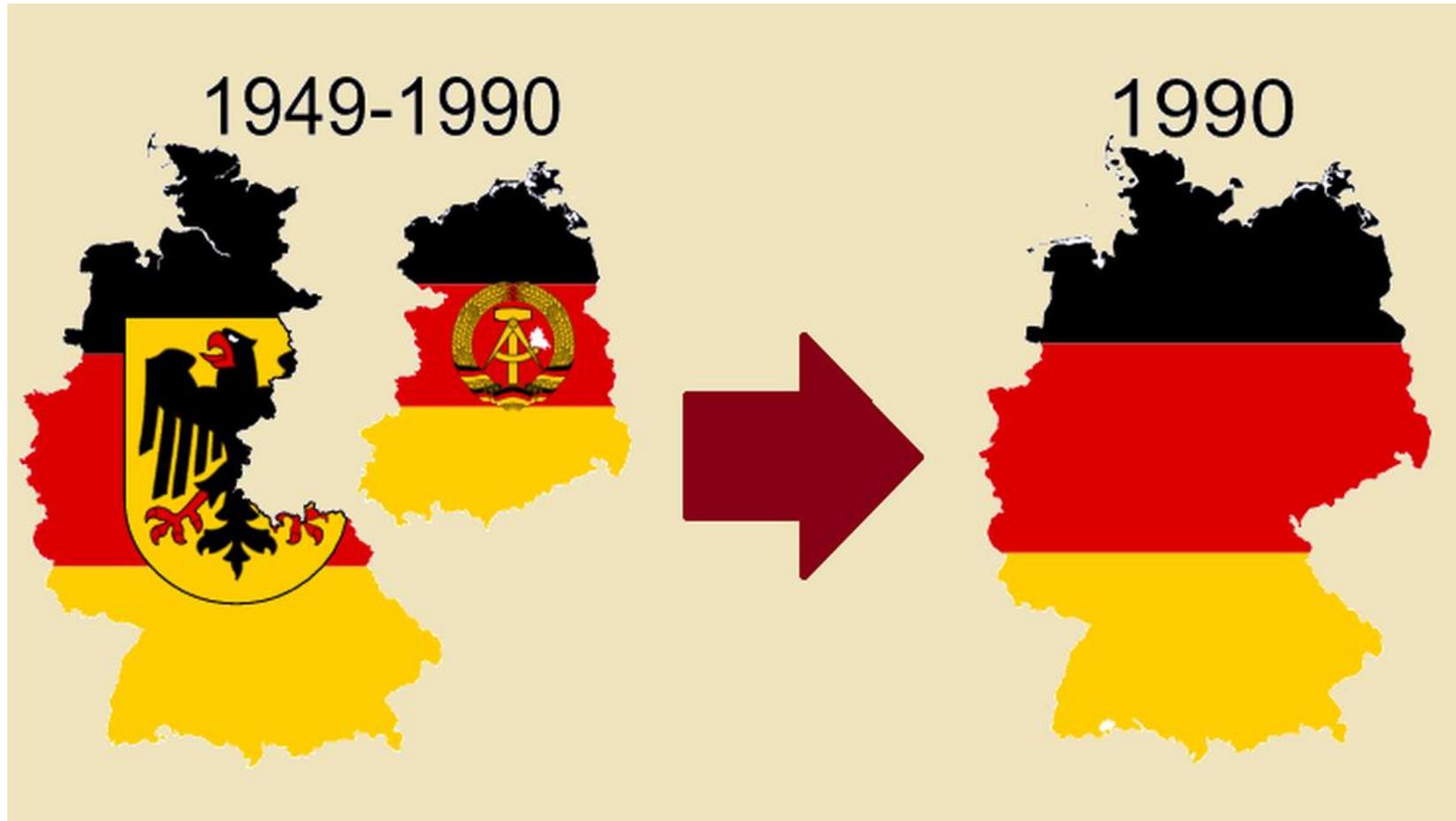


- 1961: il governo della Repubblica Democratica Tedesca fa erigere lungo la linea di frontiera un muro che impedisce qualsiasi passaggio.
- 1961-1989: il muro diventa nell'immaginario popolare il simbolo della Guerra fredda e della contrapposizione dei blocchi Est-Ovest.

Il crollo del muro, la nuova «questione tedesca» e le dramatis personae (per il futuro dell'Europa)



La riunificazione tedesca (1990)



Gli anni Novanta: un mondo nuovo

- Riunificazione tedesca
- Fine della “guerra fredda”
- Prima guerra del Golfo 1990-91
- Disgregazione e guerre nella ex-Jugoslavia

Il trattato di Maastricht (1992)

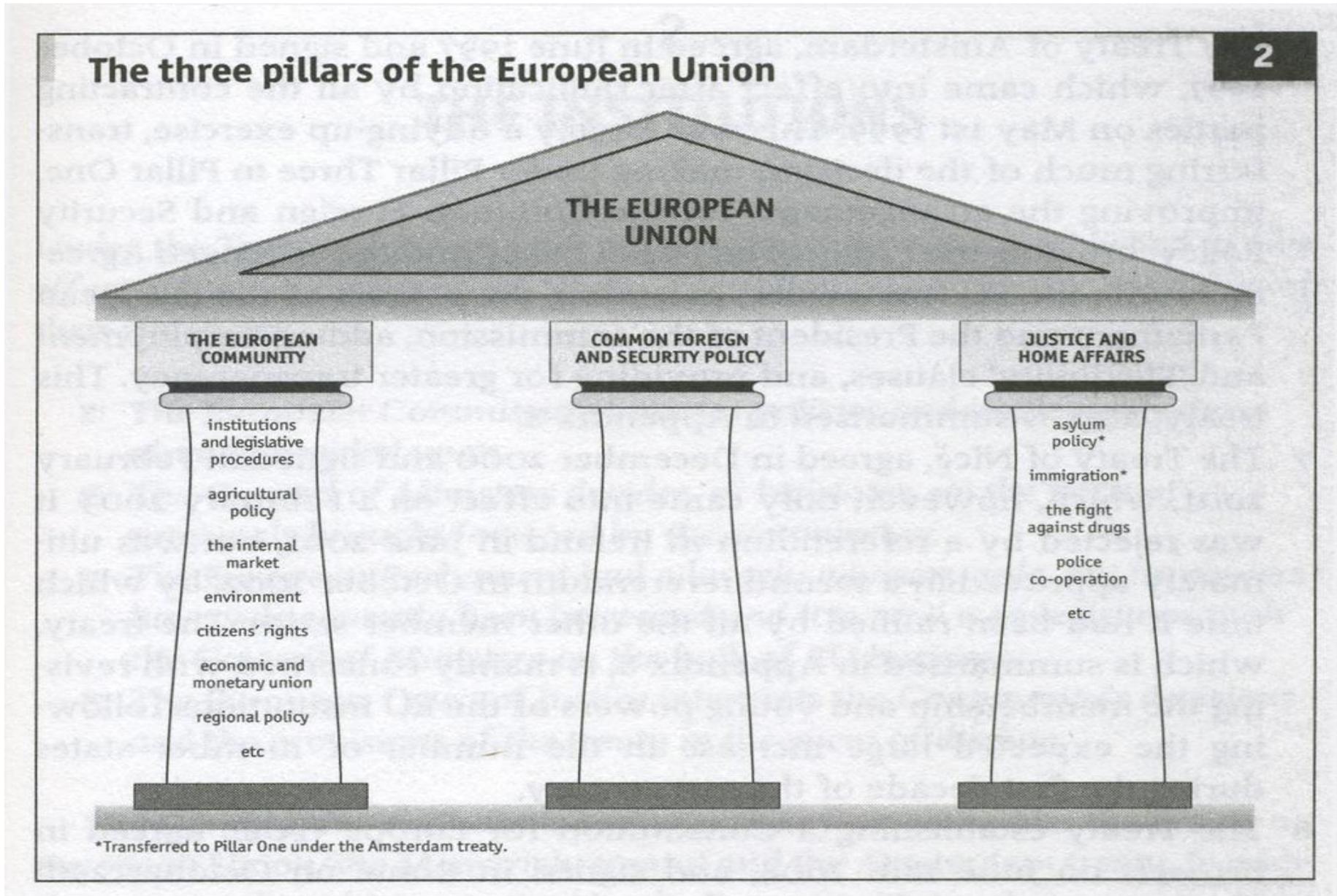


Bild Zeitung, *“The End of D-Mark”*



" Nella città olandese di Maastricht, ieri, si sentiva il suono, piuttosto sommesso, di una campana funebre. Suonava per il simbolo della prosperità tedesca, del miracolo economico tedesco."

Criteri di convergenza di Maastricht

- **Debito interno** non superiore al 60% del PIL.
- **Deficit annuale** non oltre il 3% PIL.
- **Inflazione** entro l'1,5% della media dei tre migliori Stati membri.
- Una **moneta stabile** per almeno due anni all'interno dello SME.
- **Tasso d'interesse a lungo termine** non più del 2% della media dei tre migliori Stati membri.
- Il Trattato concedeva una certa flessibilità agli Stati che si fossero avvicinati, pur senza raggiungerli, ai criteri del 3% per il deficit e del 60% per il debito.

I criteri scelti e la rigida calendarizzazione delle date indicava il prevalere di un modello rigido, di ispirazione «tedesca»

La BCE e il sistema decisionale

Negoziati di Maastricht: modello pienamente indipendente della Bundesbank versus dipendenza dall'autorità politica della Francia. L'Italia sostiene il modello tedesco.

Risultato dello “scontro” tra Germania e Francia: BCE totalmente indipendente. La BCE non può, al pari delle banche centrali nazionali dell'Eurosistema e dei membri dei rispettivi organi decisionali, sollecitare o accettare istruzioni da organismi esterni. Tutte le istituzioni dell'UE e i governi degli Stati membri devono rispettare questo principio.

Il peso della storia: “ossessione” dei tedeschi verso l'inflazione, che colpisce la Germania dopo la fine della I guerra mondiale

Ratifiche del Trattato di Maastricht e crisi del Sistema monetario europeo:

- **Estate-Autunno 1992**: crisi del Sistema monetario europeo. La Germania rifiuta di abbassare i propri tassi di interesse. Scontro fra Norman Lamont (Cancelliere dello Scacchiere GB) e Schlesinger a Bath.
- **Mercoledì nero 16 Settembre 1992**: la sterlina, la lira e la peseta colpite da speculazione escono dallo Sme. Il franco francese si salva.
- **Tempesta politica in GB**: la sterlina si svaluta del 20% sul marco. Il governo Major sotto attacco dagli euroscettici.
- **Luglio 1993**: nuova crisi dello Sme. La Bundesbank si rifiuta ancora di abbassare i tassi. Crollo del franco francese, sostenuto però dalla Bundesbank. Le fasce di fluttuazione dello SME allargate al 15%.

François Mitterrand, 3 settembre 1992, TF1

«È il Consiglio europeo, sono i dodici Capi di Stato e di governo, vale a dire i politici eletti a suffragio universale che decideranno [la politica monetaria]. Non saranno i «saggi» o i tecnici della Banca centrale [europea]. I tecnici della banca centrale sono incaricati di applicare nel campo monetario le decisioni del Consiglio europeo, prese dai dodici Capi di Stato e di governo, vale a dire dai politici che rappresentano i loro popoli».

Ratifica di Maastricht e crisi dello Sme: entra in scena l'euroscetticismo

- Referendum danese: 2 giugno 1992 bocciato il trattato con un'esigua maggioranza.
- Referendum francese (Settembre 1992): vince il sì di strettissima misura. Ondata di anti germanesimo.
- La ratifica contrastata in Francia, Danimarca e Gran Bretagna)
- -----
- Un'Europa «tedesca», «germanizzata»
- Maastricht “approfondisce” i vincoli tra Stati membri (e i loro cittadini) e l'UE.
- Fine della guerra fredda; la CEE era parte della costruzione di un Occidente anticomunista – l'Europa non «protegge» più i propri cittadini

2004/2007 l'Europa si "riunifica"

Unione Europea
In rosso: allargamento 2004



La conclusione del quinto allargamento...



La Convenzione europea e la «costituzione europea»

La Convenzione europea aveva questi obiettivi:

le modalità per stabilire e mantenere una più precisa delimitazione delle competenze tra l'Unione europea e gli Stati membri, che rispecchi il principio di sussidiarietà;

lo status della Carta dei diritti fondamentali, proclamata a Nizza;

una semplificazione dei trattati al fine di renderli più chiari e meglio comprensibili senza modificarne la sostanza;

il ruolo dei Parlamenti nazionali nell'architettura europea;

migliorare e continuare a garantire la legittimità democratica e la trasparenza dell'Unione e delle sue Istituzioni, per avvicinarle maggiormente ai cittadini degli Stati membri.

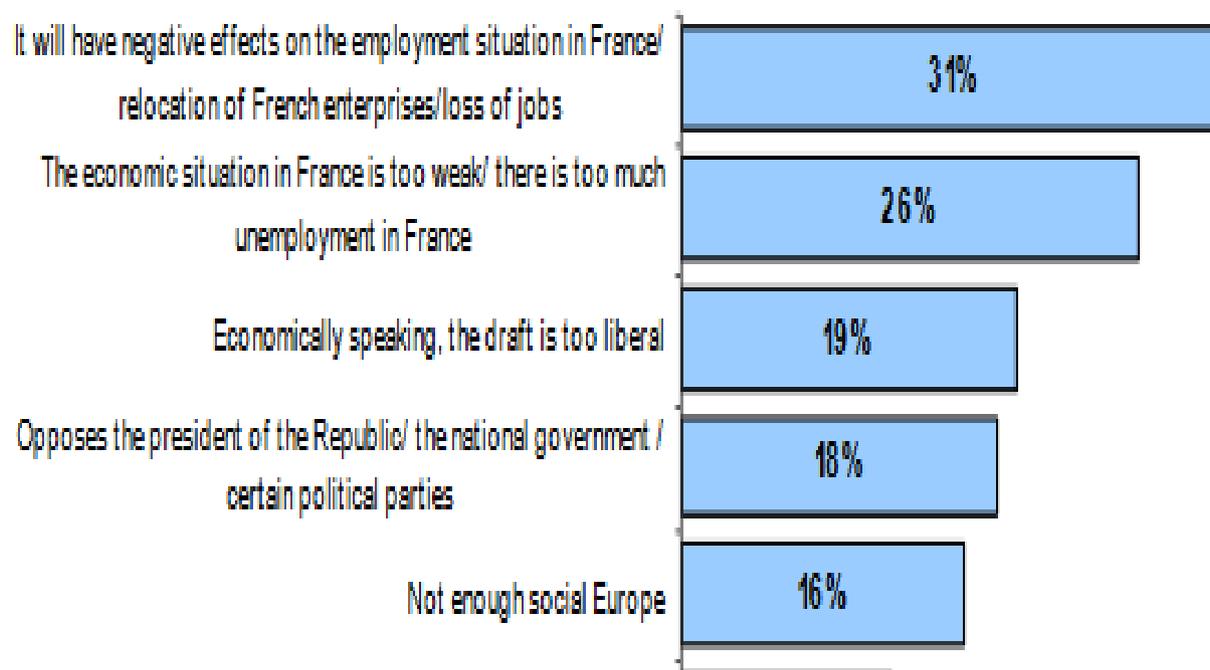
I referendum in Francia e nei Paesi Bassi (2005)

Francia: 54.7% contrari - 45.3% favorevoli;
percentuale di votanti: 69.3%

Paesi Bassi: 61.5% contrari – 38.6% favorevoli;
percentuale di votanti: 63.3%

Le prime cinque motivazioni dei cittadini francesi contrari al trattato costituzionale (referendum maggio 2005) – «Flash Eurobarometer», giugno 2005

What are all the reasons why you voted « No » at the referendum on the European Constitution?



Le ratifiche in alcuni parlamenti

Lituania: 84 voti a favore, 4 contrari. 3 astensioni

Ungheria: 323 voti a favore, 12 contrari, 8 astenuti

Slovenia: 79 voti a favore, 4 contrari:.

Italia (Camera dei deputati): 436 favorevoli, 28 contrari, 5 astensioni

Austria (Camera alta) approvato per "alzata di mano" con un voto contrario

Grecia: 268 voti a favore, 17 contrari, 15 astensioni

Germania (Bundestag): 569 voti favorevoli, 23 contrari, 2 astensioni

Spagna (Congresso dei deputati): 311 voti a favore 19 contrari, nessun astenuto

Il trattato del Lisbona (1° dicembre 2009)



La crisi del 2008 e l'“esplosione” dell'euroscetticismo

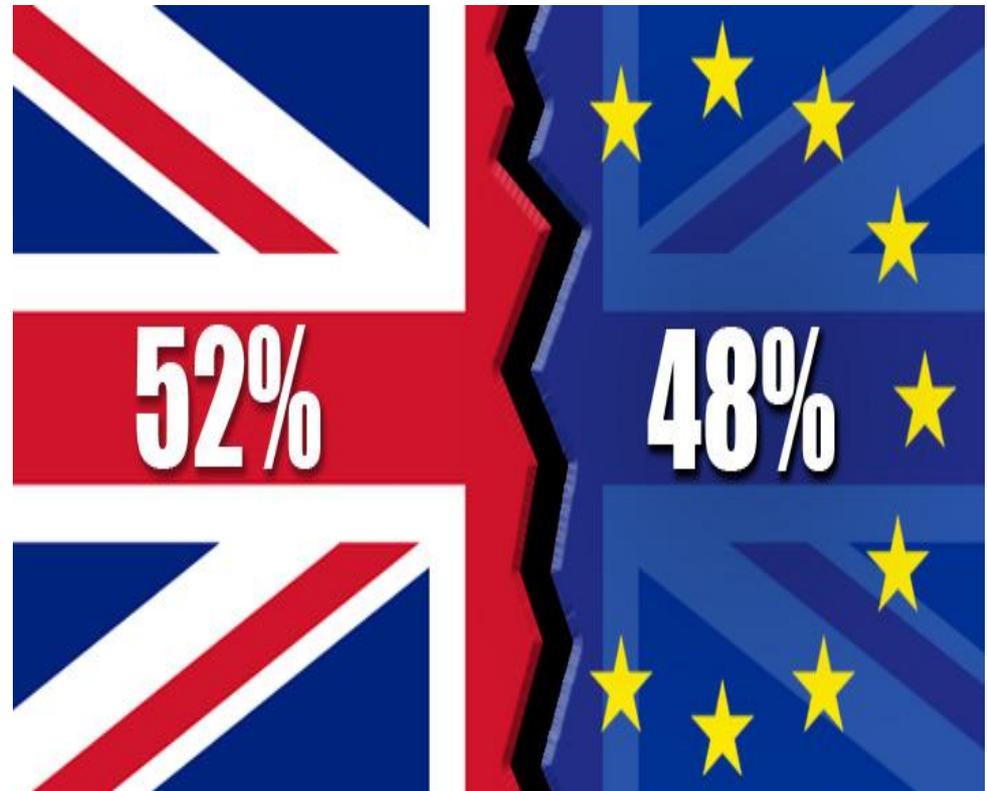
Decline in Support for the European Project

	<i>Economic integration strengthened economy</i>			<i>Favorable of EU</i>		
	2012	2013	Change	2012	2013	Change
	%	%		%	%	
<i>Germany</i>	59	54	-5	68	60	-8
Britain	30	26	-4	45	43	-2
France	36	22	-14	60	41	-19
Italy	22	11	-11	59	58	-1
Spain	46	37	-9	60	46	-14
Greece	18	11	-7	37	33	-4
Poland	48	41	-7	69	68	-1
Czech Rep.	31	29	-2	34	38	+4
MEDIAN	34	28	-6	60	45	-15

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q9f & Q31.



Brexit



Let's Take Back Control

-  **Our Money** – Give the NHS millions more every week
-  **Our Economy** – Create new jobs with new trade deals
-  **Our Borders** – A new points-based immigration system
-  **Our Security** – Deport dangerous foreign criminals
-  **Our Taxes** – Cut VAT on household energy bills
-  Vote Leave, take back control on 23 June

Ooh là là! Sex, intrigue and great hair in Versailles

TV & Radio, page 24



Great Scot Erratic Murray edges into Paris semi

Sport, page 8

The Daily Telegraph NATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Gove says European justice system means he can't keep out suspects as Leave camp focuses on immigration

'EU rules expose UK to terror'

TELEGRAPH CAMPAIGN Border security

By Peter Dombinick and Kate McCann

MICHAEL GOVE has claimed that as Justice Secretary he has been forced to allow terror suspects to enter Britain because European Union rules left him powerless to intervene.

Mr Gove said that he had "experienced frustration" at Britain's "inability to refuse entry to those with a criminal record and even those who are suspected of terrorist links".

His comments will intensify the debate over Britain's porous borders, as the Home Office faces criticism for lax security along the coastline that is allowing people smugglers to bring in migrants by sea.

David Cameron today prepares to take part in his first debate of the referendum campaign, during which he is likely to face the question about Britain's control over its borders.

In August the Daily Telegraph began a Border Security campaign, which has led to senior police and counter-terrorism figures calling for a review of border controls.

Setting out his vision for Britain outside the EU, Mr Gove says that in the days after a Brexit, the Government would pass "emergency measures to curb the bad influence" of the European Court of Justice.

"As Justice Secretary, I have experienced the frustration at our inability to refuse entry to those with a criminal record and even some who are suspected of terrorist links," Mr Gove said in a published essay about a Brexit.

The Justice Secretary is likely to come under pressure to address the claim in the coming days as the issue of immigration dominates the increasingly feverish referendum campaign.

It came as it emerged that criminal gangs are using more than a dozen ports on Britain's coastline to smuggle hundreds of migrants into the UK.

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Boris Johnson is flanked by Prit Patel and Michael Gove as he makes a speech in Preston, Lancs, in front of the Vote Leave battle bus yesterday

ter, said that an Australian-style points immigration system advocated by Mr Gove would lead to retaliation from the EU that could make it harder for British citizens to live and work on the Continent.

In his essay, which is published by Portland, a communications consultancy, Mr Gove said that Mr Cameron's campaign is "making up Project Fear" and that they would be surprised by the prevailing "calm and stability" and "sense of optimism" in the event of a Brexit vote.

On the campaign trail in Preston, Lancashire, yesterday, where he appeared with Boris Johnson and Prit Patel on the Vote Leave battle bus, Mr Gove criticised Mr Cameron for failings on immigration.

In comments that will anger Downing Street, he said a Brexit vote would "liberate" Mr Cameron and allow him to control the number of foreigners coming to the UK.

Before the election, the Tories had a target of reducing net migration to below 100,000. However, figures last week disclosed that net migration has risen to 330,000, the second highest level on record.

"The only way he can fulfil that pledge is by leaving the EU," said Mr Gove.

"It's the Prime Minister who sets policy, he will set policy on June 23 but we just want to liberate him to be able to fulfil the manifesto pledge we all stood on."

"It is straightforwardly the case that we cannot control our borders in the Continent on Page 8."

Allister Heath, Page 14
Julian Sumart, Page 15
Ed Sheeran, Page 15

Sturgeon refuses to say whether murdered boy had state guardian

By Assian Crabb
SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENT
NICOLA STURGEON has refused to say whether the tragic toddler Liam Fee had a so-called named person amid claims that the controversial "state guardian" scheme failed to save him.

From the end of August, the Scottish Government will give one million people under 18 a named person to look after their welfare and act as a single point of contact for any concerns.

and abusing two other boys in their care.

The sadistic pair attacked Liam at their home in Thornton in Fife, in an area where the local authority has been running a pilot version of the named person scheme since 2009.

From the end of August, the Scottish Government will give one million people under 18 a named person to look after their welfare and act as a single point of contact for any concerns.

Critics claim it is a snooper's charter that will undermine the role of parents and take resources away from children like Liam who most need help.

Opponents have been highly critical of the scheme, but the First Minister warned against "trying to make political points" over his killing.

Liam somehow slipped through the net despite the fact that concerns were Continued on Page 2

Brexit campaign are making it up as they go along, says Osborne

By Peter Dombinick
POLITICAL EDITOR

GEORGE OSBORNE today accuses the Remain campaign of leaving the European Union of "untested and unworkable proposals" than those currently being put forward by the British government.

Mr Osborne said that the Remain campaign wants to refocus the argument on the economy after days of questions from Brexit-supporting ministers on immigration.

The letter criticises Vote Leave for advocating polling out of the single market. The comments will be interpreted as a direct attack on Mr Gove and Mr Johnson. However, sources insisted it was not a "blue-on-blue attack" but directed at the whole of the Leave campaign.

Mr Osborne and Lord Darling ask the Brexit campaign to answer five questions, including whether they can "assure the British public that the new jobs Commission on Page 5"

and Boris Johnson, suggesting they have "no economic case" that may pave the way for new criminal bombings.

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New inquest for Birmingham bomb victims

NEWS

A coroner has ordered fresh inquests into the deaths of the 21 victims of the Birmingham pub bombings, in a move that may pave the way for new criminal bombings.

Birmingham's coroner said police apparently failed to act on tip-offs that said terrorists were to bomb two pubs in Birmingham in November 1974.

Page 10

Paedophile spent decade abusing children in Asia

WORLD

One of Britain's most prolific paedophiles is facing life in jail for raping and sexually abusing children in southeast Asia for almost a decade.

Richard Huckle, 50, a former grammar school boy from Ashford in Kent, targeted poor communities in Malaysia and Cambodia, where he systematically abused boys and girls as young as six months old.

Page 13

Mortgage rates drop to their lowest level

NEWS

Mortgage rates fell to their lowest level ever in April, according to the Bank of England, as the average borrower paid just 2.1 per cent on a new mortgage.

Mortgage rates fell as forecasts for an interest rate rise by the Bank were pushed back, after some of the best mortgage deals on offer were scrapped earlier in the year.

Page 2

Allister Heath

COMMENT

Staying in is a far greater leap than voting to leave

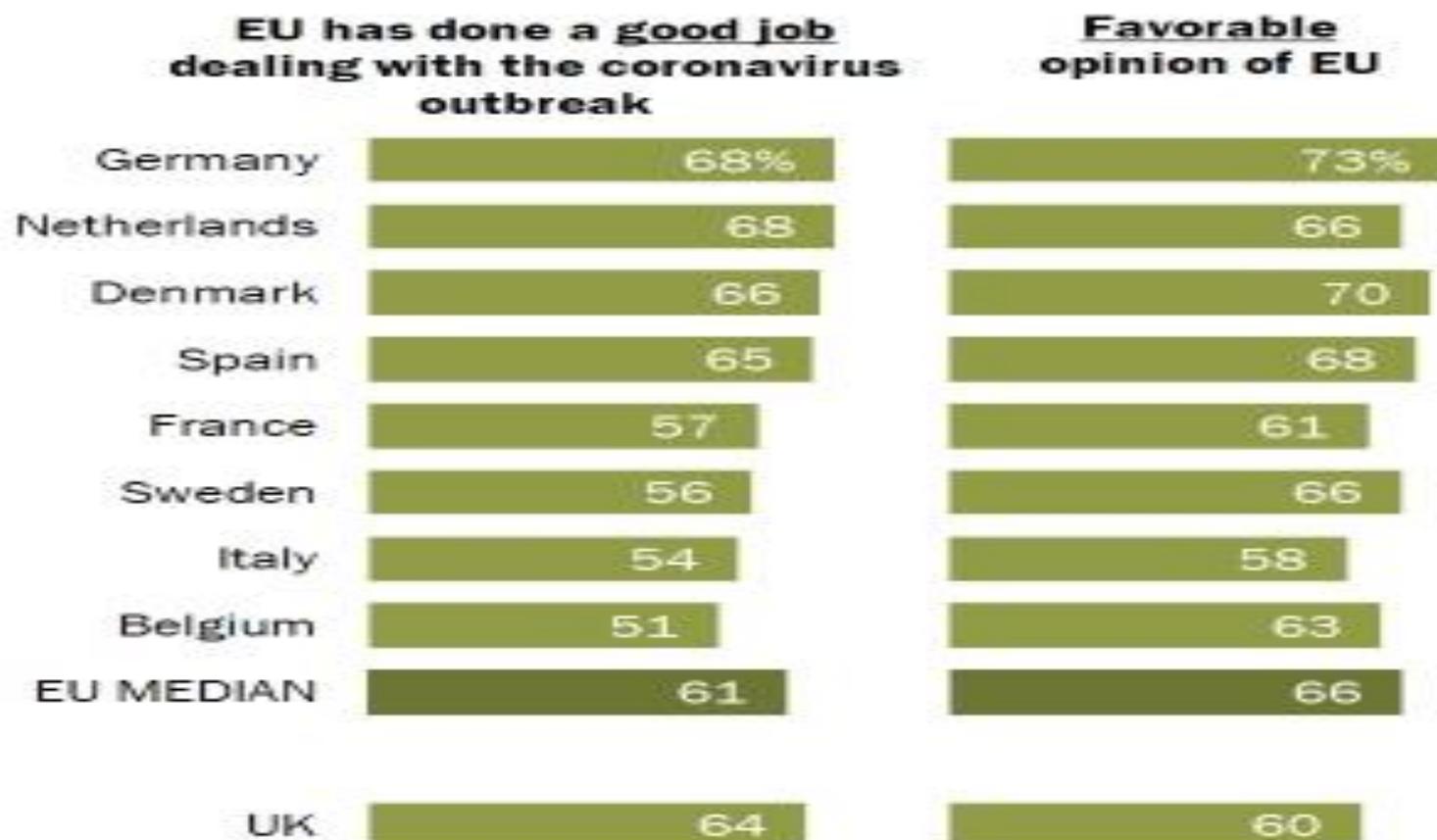
Page 16

Page 17

PATEK PHILIPPE GENEVE. Begin your own tradition. Annual Calendar Ref. 5396R. TARRATT. 23-25 Market Street Leicester LE1 6QR. Tel: (0116) 255 4634 Fax: (0116) 255 4632 E-mail: enquiries@tarratt.co.uk www.tarratt.co.uk

NEWS BRIEFING. Puzzles 16, Obituaries 23, TV listings 25, Weather 27. MATT IS AWAY. 0208 9307 1235. 97703071236641

In the summer, most had positive views of the EU and its response to COVID-19



Source: Summer 2020 Global Attitudes Survey conducted June 10-Aug. 3, 2020. Q8d & 10d.

"Majorities in the European Union Have Favorable Views of the Bloc"

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