Strategies of Translating Political Texts with Particular Reference to English and Italian

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Abstract
The difference between Italian and English language and the variation in their cultures make the process of translating a real challenge. Because of the inherent differences between Italian language and English language, a perfect translation is impossible. It is the nature of languages. So many words in Italian have nuances, connotations, even literary echoes which their closest equivalent words in English do not have.
Thus, this paper aims at probing – by encountering the problems that a translator may encounter while translating political texts from Italian into English. For this purpose, we have chosen to translate into English the following chapter from Roman Prodi’s book entitled La Mia Visione Dei Fatti Cinque anni di governo in Europa. Throughout our paper, we have tried to demonstrate some translation problems that we have encountered while translating from Italian into English language.
Our translation will enable us to explore the potential strategies to overcome the lexico-grammatical differences between Italian and English language and to illustrate the linguistic reasoning behind translation. On a second level, we will discuss the various ways translator dealt with structural and lexical differences between the two languages English and Italian.

Keywords: Translation, Italian, English, Strategies

1. Introduction
1.1 The Source Text
These pages describe a political project pursued with determination and passion over a five-year period featuring many key events for Europe and the world, including the introduction of the single currency, the enlargement of the European Union to 25 countries, the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers, and the war in Iraq. In this account of his experience at the helm of the European Commission, Roman Prodi relates facts, emotions, and challenges to what he sees as of his efforts in favour of an ever stronger and more politically integrated Europe.

1.2 Italian and English
Italian belongs to the Romance family, which in turn is part of the large Indo-European language family. It therefore shares many features with other Romance languages such as French or Spanish. Native-Italian learners of English, a stress-timed language, face similar kinds of problems to those faced by native speakers of the other Romance languages, which are syllable-timed. Italian words are made up of the same 26 letters as employed by English, although the letters j, k, w, x and y are considered foreign and are only used in import words. Italian has 5 inflected tense forms: for the present, simple past, imperfect, future and conditional. The other tenses are formed with auxiliaries. The auxiliary do, however, has no equivalent in Italian, which leads to mistakes such as: What you do? or I no like German food.

Italian does not use the perfect tenses to make a connection to the present in the same way that English does. This results in problems such as: What will you do when you will leave school? or I live in Germany since 1999.

Shades of meaning, which are shown in English by varying the modal verb (must/should/ought to/might want to, etc.) are typically conveyed in Italian by an inflected form of the verb dovere (must). This often results in an overuse of must when Italians speak English.

In English the meaning of a clause is largely dependent on the order of words in it (typically Subject Verb Object). Italian, being a more inflected language, allows greater variations in word order. Furthermore, adjectives in Italian usually follow the noun, not precede it as in English.

Although both the definite and the indefinite article exist in both languages, their use often does not coincide. As a result it is common to hear sentences such as: Is he teacher? or The health is the most important in the life. The subject pronoun is not required in colloquial Italian, so learners may say sentences such as: Is impossible.
Italian and English share many words that are derived from Latin. This facilitates the acquisition of vocabulary, but comes with the associated problem of false friends. Here are some common examples. The Italian false friend comes first: *bravo* (good/clever) / *brave*; *editore* (publisher) / *editor*; *fame* (hunger) / *fame*; *libreria* (book shop) / *library*.

From a linguistic point of “you,” it is important to specify who the target audience will be, as Italian uses three different forms to address the readers or audience: the generic infinitive, the plural “voi,” used to be more direct, or the singular “tu,” which is used instead to give an informal tone to the writing.

It is also important to know that in Italian all nouns have a gender, and that articles and adjectives must agree with nouns in gender and number. Therefore, the translation of some English generic expressions such as “the device/s” requires more space in the Italian translation, “il dispositivo/i dispositivi,” which sometimes raises a problem when space limits are set.

3. Data Collection and Methodology

3.1 Data Collection

We have chosen part of Roman Prodi’s book “La Mia Visione Dei Fatti Cinque anni di governo in Europa”. We translated it in order to explore the difficulties and the gaps between Italian and English and to reveal the possible strategies that a translator may use to overcome these problems.

3.2 Methodology

Our analysis will focus on the strategies that the translator followed while translating. We mainly relied on Malone’s model (1988), Newmark (1988) and Vinay and Darbelnet (1995). Indeed, Malone provides a list of 9 strategies the translator can apply in translating at the lexicogrammatical and structural level. We can now look at examples of strategies used by the translator while translating the text. In each example, the source-language word/expression which represents a translation problem is underlined.

4. Translation strategy

It is not uncommon for many people to think of translation as a one-stage process; it starts with translating the first segment of a text, be it a word, a phrase, a sentence, a number of sentences, or a paragraph and ends with the last segment. In this way, translation is viewed as a mechanical exercise which involves the transfer of meaning between two languages in small, successive doses. The lack of dynamism in this orientation may result in many translational mishaps such disconnectedness, unnaturalness, and at worst, communication breakdowns, among other things. In this case, the prospective translator is expected to follow a set of translation strategies and principles.

According to Krings (1986: 18) translation strategy is “[…] a translator’s potentially conscious plans for solving concrete translation problems in the frame work of a concrete translation task”. Venuti (1998: 240) points out that translation strategies “[…] involve the basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be translated and developing a method to translate it”.

4.1 Reordering

According to Malone (1988: 65), “[…] reordering (Rd; AB → BA), is whereby one or more target elements appear in a position different from that of the source text, is the only trajection lacking a converse and hence also a generic”. Moreover, Malone(1988: 65) states that the tighter the morphosyntactic bond between two source elements, the less likely it is that reordering in the target text will become a critical conscious issue for the translator.

On his part, Taylor (1998: 48), when illustrating Malone’s model, states that reordering “[…] is self-explanatory and refers to basic comparative syntax: it has no counterpart, being in itself reciprocal in nature”. At its simplest, it requires the translator to operate basic inversion procedures with adjective-noun and verb-object positioning. As illustration, let us consider the following examples:

**Example One:**

ST: Mi sembrava questo un modo per dare ai cittadini gli strumenti indispensabili per *sentirsi parte di un corpo nuovo*.

TT: It seemed to me that this was the way to give citizens the necessary tools to feel part of the *new body*.

**Example Two:**

ST: darci delle *linee guida comuni* in materia di accoglienza all'interno dello spazio Schengen dei cittadini degli Stati non membri.
TT: to give ourselves common guidelines regarding the reception – within the Schengen space, of citizens of non Member States within Schengen.

4.2 Convergence and divergence
Malone (1988: 17) defines convergence as the trajectory whereby two or more distinct source text elements may each be mapped onto one, whereas divergence holds where an element of the source text may be mapped onto any of two or more alternatives in the target text. Malone (1988: 17) points out that translation from English into other languages require divergent trajectory of you, while translation in the opposite direction will often occasion convergence. Taylor (1998: 47-48) points out that convergence represents “[…] the many-to-one formula”, whereas divergence “[…] the one-to-one relationship associated with equation is replaced by a rapport of one to many”. In other words, the translator is expected to choose a suitable term from a more or less extended range of alternatives. As illustration, let us consider the following examples:

Example Three:

ST: la «sicurezza» non doveva più limitarsi alla repressione della criminalità, ma doveva essere intesa come un mezzo per raggiungere la libertà.
TT: security was no longer to be confined to the repression of crime, but had to be understood as a mean to achieve freedom.

In the above example the Italian verb ‘raggiungere’ means catch up; attain, achieve, reach, arrive, arrive at, get to, get; fetch, catch, obtain. In this case the translator has to choose a suitable term from a potential range of alternatives.

4.3 Diffusion and condensation

[…] diffusion is the trajectory whereby a source group AB is, in any of a variety of ways, unpacked or spread out into a more loosely organized target counterpart, a situation to be symbolized A Æ B → A\|B. The inverse trajectory is condensation, whereby a source string is again in any of variety of ways, more tightly bound or packed together in the target; A\|B → A Æ B. (Malone: 1988: 18).

In other words, as Taylor (1998: 56) puts it, diffusion and condensation “[…] are concerned with the phenomenon of linguistically slacking or tightening source text expressions for the text version, that is, providing more or less elaboration”. As illustration, let us consider the following examples:

Example Four:

ST: Figlie di questi principi furono tutte le misure che decidemmo di intraprendere.
TT: Each and every measure that we decided to undertake can be said to have issued from these principles.

The above example illustrates the strategy of diffusion the translator opted for while translating in order to produce a smooth readable translation. As can be seen the source text is expanded but no extra information is added.

Example Five:

ST: il progetto europeo rimase un punto di riferimento e una ragione di speranza.

TT: The European project remained a benchmark and a reason for hope.

The above example illustrates a very interesting use of the strategy of condensation. As can be seen the target text expression benchmark is more linguistically economic than the source text expression punto di riferimento. English is generally reputed to be more succinct than Italian, though often this is more a question of stylistics than linguistics. To illustrate more, consider the following example:
Example Six:

ST: il mio collegio si impegnò a farla diventare comunque il metro di paragone per ogni sua azione futura.

TT: my colleague committed to having it nonetheless become a yardstick for all future action.

Once again, the source text expression *il metro do paragone* was translated into a more economical *yardstick*. To illustrate more, let us consider the following example:

Example Seven:

ST: Ricordo che mi chiamò il presidente Vaclav Havel e che con lui decidemmo di visitare di persona le zone colpite dalle alluvioni.

TT: I remember that I called President Vaclav Havel, and we decided to visit personally the areas affected by the floods.

As we can see in the above example that the two personal pronouns *io* and *lui* contracted into *we*.

4.4 Recognized Translation

In this strategy, the translator is supposed to use the accepted term in translating the official institution terms. Newmark (1988: 89) points out that “[…] you should normally use the official or the generally accepted translation of any institutional term”. It also should be noted that it is not good if you make your own title for the official institutional terms and make its short explanation. As Newmark (1988: 89) says: “[…] it is not good giving it your own title or even a brief explanation; nothing but the accepted term will do”. As illustration, let us consider the following examples:

Example Eight:
ST: Carta dei diritti fondamentali.
TT: Charter of fundamental rights.

Example Nine:
ST: Carta dell'Organizzazione internazionale del lavoro.
TT: Charter of the International Labour Organization.

4.5 Transposition

According to Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 36), transposition “[…] involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message”. In other words, transpositions or shifts involve a change in the grammar from source language to target language, i.e. change from singular to plural, change of a source language verb to a target language noun, etc. As illustration, let us consider the following example:

Example Ten:

ST: Dopo che a Nizza i rappresentanti degli Stati membri esitarono a inserire a pieno titolo questa Carta nei trattati.
TT: After Nice and the hesitation of the representatives of the Member States to officially include this Charter among EU treaties.

As can be seen the Italian verb *esitarono* was translated into noun *hesitation* in the English target text.

Conclusion

The difference between Italian and English language and the variation in their cultures make the process of translating a real challenge. Throughout our paper, we have tried to demonstrate some translation problems that we have encounter while translating from Italian into English language.

On a first level, our translation has enabled us to explore the potential strategies to overcome the lexicogrammatical differences between Italian and English language and to illustrate the linguistic reasoning behind translation. On a second level, we have endeavored to discuss the various ways translator dealt with structural and lexical differences between the two languages English and Italian.

It seems necessary for an acceptable translation to produce the effects on the target text readers as those created by the original work on its readers. The translator should never lose sight of the fact that s/he is communicating a message from one language to another.
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Appendix
The translated text that was translated by the researcher from Italian into English

5. Ready citizens for the future

Our democracies are experiencing an ever-more obvious state of fatigue. They are having difficulties in resisting the pressures coming from organized special interest groups, difficulties in preventing the media from being transformed from instruments for the control of the exercise of power into instruments used to influence and dominate politics and the entire society. They are also having difficulty in responding to the call for participation coming from those who cannot find the means to make their voices heard and for whom the elections are not enough any more.

Rediscovering the profound meaning of the concept of citizenship is, in my opinion, the remedy to these dilemmas.

In fact, citizenship implies a sense of belonging to a community of being a part of the body politic. Through this sense of belonging, one can rediscover the pleasures of participation and, so regain control of events and transformations that impact our lives. The significance of this is obvious: it is difficult to think that someone would really be willing to expend the energy necessary to come to agreement with another person unless they share their world view. That is why the concept of citizenship is
closely related to a key value for the history of Italy's integration, that of solidarity.

Recalling my five years at the head of the European Commission, it is not by chance that one of the moments in which I certainly felt a European citizen was in the aftermath of the severe floods that struck Germany, Czech Republic, Hungary, and other countries in central and Eastern Europe. It was the summer of 2003. I remember that president Vaclav Havel called me, and we decided to visit personally the areas affected by the floods. The media continued to show the images of Prague, but we knew that it was necessary to give a signal to those villages and to those people who were not living in the city. We had to go where the suffering was more intense. This was important to show the Czech citizens that joining the European family, meant becoming members of a community based on solidarity. And it was necessary to move quickly to ensure that the Union was not perceived as a slow bureaucratic machine cut off from its citizens.

I went with the German Foreign Minister Fischer to Dresden and to neighboring areas. We found the same images and the same stories that we had met in the Czech Republic. We held a special session in Berlin during which we took important decisions to authorize a flexible use of structural funds, grant a special aid to farmers, and simplify the procedures of reconstructing and granting state aid. Shortly afterwards, the Commission would present a genuine European project to handle such major disasters.

I read these gestures in a simple way with being aware of the message that they were able to bring: the solidarity of all European citizens with the Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and Austrians who were hit by a huge natural disaster, a solidarity that didn't take into account the borders of these countries, a solidarity that was simply given and became stronger.

This message of friendship between peoples, and comparable others written on different occasions were noted in my diary and imprinted in my memory, cultivate
impressed in my memory, nourish my idea of Europe. A Europe that goes beyond a single market, beyond an European government and even a plain European policy. My idea is that of an open European society which is something we tried to work on in Brussels, by working on the issues that are most felt by the Europeans and most closely affect their daily lives. If there is a message that I would like all to grasp, it is that the European Union exists for the good of its citizens and it is the citizens of Europe who must shape the future of Europe.

We can make Europe transparent and democratically reliable only by fully involving the civil society and its citizens in political development. This is the only way new generations ready for the future can be created and grow.

Preparing citizens for the future and responding positively to their needs has meant, among other things, devoting a lot of effort in building a space of freedom and security, the creation of initiatives that would give rise to genuine European democratic innovation, to genuinely cutting-edge environmental and health policies, to the reform of agriculture and fishing policies, and finally an innovative networking project capable of making of a smaller Europe, one at the same time larger and closer. It seemed to me that this was the way to give citizens the necessary tools to feel part of the new body.

1. A freer and safer Europe

I have always been convinced that the word *liberty* had to acquire, within the European context, a meaning much wider than that denoting the freedom of movement within the space of the Union. With the word *liberty*, we
needed to keep in mind that the goal of 'Europe' was – and still remains – that of creating a space in which every citizen can live in peace and prosperity. Accordingly, from the moment I took office, dividing responsibilities up between the commissioners for the five years of my mandate, I wanted to give a special significance to this concept by creating a new portfolio focusing on justice and internal affairs, entrust it to my Portuguese colleague Antonio Vitorino.

With the Treaty of Amsterdam, which came into force in 1999 and was revised in Nice in 2001, the Commission acquired for the first time the right, alongside that of the Member States, to propose initiatives in criminal sphere, a domain that was until then completely outside the community's jurisdiction. Vitorino and I were thoroughly determined to exploit these opportunities. The idea was to lay down the foundations of the site of 'common house' which would be open but at the same time also protected and governed by the sole rule of law. Within this space of liberty, security and justice, as Vitorino often repeated, security was no longer to be confined to the repression of crime, but had to be understood as a mean to achieve freedom. The right of security and the security of rights had to proceed on parallel in the Europe being constructed.

Looking back today to what Europe has managed to accomplish in these fields in five years, I feel proud of the achievements and the foundations laid down for those who have been called to continue and expand on our work. Our main objectives were: to make justice more accessible to European citizens, to open up the Union, ever more evenly, to those who request asylum, to give ourselves common guidelines regarding the reception – within the Schengen space, of citizens of non Member States, to reinforce police cooperation and controls at external borders and finally, to make mutual recognition the cornerstone and a key principle in judiciary sphere. Each and every measure that we decided to undertake can be said to have issued from these principles.
As a first step, we actively supported the creation of ‘Eurojust’; the European Office for Judicial Cooperation aimed at facilitating the work of the various national judiciaries in combating the most serious forms of international and organized crime. This was a success, although it was evident that the Commission was much better at foresight than the national capitals were, as indeed has often happened in the history of European unification. In fact, we were thinking of creating a unique genuine European public prosecutor to protect the Community's interests, particularly its financial interests: an idea that must be launched again, but that still does not have enough support.

We then looked for a fundamental initiative which would be able to define all the obligations and opportunities European citizenship entails: the Charter of fundamental rights. The initiative had already been proposed before my arrival in Brussels, but it was during the first year of our mandate that the Convention delegated to draft the text performed its task. For the first time, The Charter brought together, in a unique single text all the rights that were scattered over various international cooperation treaties, such as United Nations and the Council of Europe's Conventions, or the Charter of the International Labour Organization. The charter added, alongside the classical civil and political rights that had already been protected in the constitutions of the single Member States, social and economic rights and also those that the very process of European integration had sanctioned as common European values. These included the right to privacy, to consumer protection and to good administration.

After Nice and the hesitation of the representatives of the Member States to officially include this Charter among EU treaties, despite recognizing its symbolic value, my constituency committed to having it nonetheless become a yardstick for all future action. From the solemn proclamation of the Charter on, on our initiative, each community act related to citizenship or to the fundamental
rights of Europeans carries with it an obligation: respect the “rights […] and the principles recognized in particular by the Charter of fundamental rights of European Union”.

Later, and alongside these first initiatives, the new urgency that arose after the attack on the Twin Towers led Europe to focus on security issue. The date of September 11 will be marked in history as a day of infamy. However, as a reaction to this infamy, in a sad and difficult context which followed on a massacre and would precede a war, the European project remained a benchmark and a reason for hope.

As I said a month after the attack, our course had to be informed by solid principles, not only in consideration of our own stability but of the stability of the entire planet. First, we had to avoid falling into the trap of the clash between civilizations, and to realize that the similarities between different cultures surpass the differences. At the same time, there was a need to demonstrate absolute solidarity with the United States while continuing to promote our own understanding - multilateral and non-discriminatory - of international politics.

It was essential to ensure that things did not go in the opposite direction. Fear and the perception of a physical threat could have aggravated the conflicts and cause serious political divergences between Member States, and consequently trigger a retreat to the national level. I believe that our response was very positive. In terms of justice, police cooperation, the fight against crime, etc., the attack of September 11 added conviction to the initiatives that we had already taken and gave impetus to new proposals.

The judiciary is one of the traditional powers of the national State. It has always been a symbol of sovereignty and one of the criteria that define its very existence, given that it defines the space, the territory, within which it exercises its control its ‘domain’. Judicial and police activities can only be enforced where the State is sovereign, not going beyond its borders. This is a huge limitation, especially if we consider the transnational
dimension that crime has now reached: in a paradoxical situation in which on the one hand we have the freedom of movement, even for criminals, and on the other obstacles, strings and more strings, attached to the actions of police and examining magistrates. For five years I worked with my fellow commissioners and with other European institutions to ensure that national borders no longer constituted a barrier, an obstacle to protecting the security of our citizens.

The European arrest warrant which was approved by the European Council in June 2002, finally removed many of the obstacles to the cooperation between the national police forces. With the introduction of this measure, two major innovations were introduced into the legal systems of the single Member States: firstly, the abolition of the precondition of double conviction, typical of conventions between nations for the extradition of criminals. Then, and perhaps more importantly, it meant the possibility to establish direct relations between the judicial authorities of different countries.

Of course, the application also implied obstacles, but I have never thought that this could justify a country which in a climate of terrorists threats to the European continent, effectively and voluntarily delayed adoption of the decision, in order to limit the list of crimes to which the mandate was to be applied, in order to exclude from that list corruption and money-laundering specifically. As a man who believes in Europe, and one who is proud to be Italian, it was a real shock for me to see Italy obstructing the adoption of the decision of the European arrest warrant for reasons that had little to do with politics, Europe, or even national interest.

Given the Italian position, the other Member States and my constituency could do nothing else but decide to go ahead in any case and examine the hypothesis of having recourse to the mechanism of ‘enhanced cooperation’. It was only this action which convinced Berlusconi’s government to sign the compromise reached by all the other Member States. There was a record delay of sixteen...
months before our country adopted the arrest warrant and the irregular content of the law activating adoption was another error.

Recently, EU freedom, security and justice have been advanced by various innovative mechanisms. The beginning of the millennium witnessed of the EU’s coordinated attempts at suppressing international crime in all its aspects: from the struggle against organized crime to that against child pornography, drug trafficking, and even the trafficking of human beings. But that is not all. Indeed, it is quite interesting to note how the urgency of the security issue has not totally supplanted in the past few years, efforts to safeguard the rights of European and non-European citizens by means of Directives concerning asylum, refugees, family reunification and visas.

Finally, a concluding thought on this issue has a broader political scope that explains the reason behind my firm desire to bring Europe under legal control on a continental scale.

The importance of our operations is reflected in the fact that the internal security of a State has become in the last decade an ever more crucial weapon in election campaigns. As long as the penalties are getting worse, immigration quotas are being reduced, and the special security schemes related to crime remain the prey of the electoral game, Europe will be forced to move on slowly. That is why we should learn to respond to short-sighted digressions in the areas of security, justice and liberty with much more courage and speed.

2. Young and dynamic Europe

A new institution was inserted in the Community Treaties in 1993, European citizenship: above all a great political objective and an extremely important concept that must become a pillar of European democracy and of the political union which must eventually be achieved. In order to achieve this, however, it will not be sufficient to assure the implementation of the admittedly vital provisions in the treaties related to the right to vote in municipal and European elections, of EU citizens residing...
in a Member State different from their own, or the right to petition the European Parliament, or that of diplomatic and consular protection outside the Union. In order to make this EU political Union a real factor in achieving integration, we must move in the areas of greatest interest to Europeans, areas that affect their daily lives and allowing them not only to vote, but also – and above all- to participate in the first person in the process of European Union. We must make sure that Europe comes into the homes of the Europeans and that Europeans feel that Europe is their home.

In the first stage of the process of constructing the European Community, the goal of economic integration has portato a concentrare gli sforzi sull'integrazione negativa. Si trattava di eliminare gli ostacoli alla libera circolazione, di rimuovere le barriere al commercio e di aprire alla concorrenza alcuni settori, come le telecomunicazioni, i servizi postali, i trasporti o l'energia. Si trattava di liberalizzare in maniera controllata per dare un impulso decisivo alla modernizzazione e all'interconnessione di questi settori, aumentando il numero dei concorrenti e diminuendo i prezzi. Qualcosa di fondamentale, senza dubbio, a favore dei cittadini, ma non ancora sufficiente perché i cittadini toccassero con mano i vantaggi dell'Europa. Come ha detto con un'espressione assai efficace Jacques Delors: «Non ci si può innamorare di un mercato unico!». Così, proprio a partire dai servizi d'interesse generale lanciammo un nuovo dibattito sull'integrazione. Tali servizi sono, infatti, un tratto fondamentale del modello europeo di società per garantire la coesione sociale e territoriale.

Pensammo di partire con una nuova, ampia consultazione su scala europea confluita poi nel Libro verde del 2003. I quasi trecento contributi ricevuti, rappresentativi di un ampio spettro di organizzazioni e opinioni, sono espressione di realtà europee molto diverse tra loro, provenendo dai governi e parlamenti nazionali, così come dalle chiese e dai partiti politici, passando attraverso le Ong, gli stessi fornitori dei servizi e i sindacati. Da tutti questi contributi emersero un ampio consenso in merito all'importanza fondamentale di questi servizi e insieme la priorità che i cittadini attribuivano alla
unions. A large consensus regarding the fundamental importance of these services emerged from the sum total of these suggestions, together with the emphasis that EU citizens place on their improvement.

The next step was the elaboration of the White Paper of 2004 that put together all of the proposals that the Commission, from then on, intended to pursue. The documents contained some fundamental guiding principles. We had insisted on the necessity of allowing national authorities to organize services, taking the interests of citizens into full account and preserving the principle of subsidiary. We had strongly affirmed the importance of providing public services in open and competitive markets. We had clarified the necessity of ensuring social cohesion and universal access, maintaining a high level of quality and safety and protecting the rights of consumers and users. Finally, we had confirmed the need to respect the diversity of services and situations as well as to increase transparency and to guarantee greater legal certainty.

On the basis of these principles and guidelines, the real work begun. New proposals were presented on state aid as a compensation for the obligation to offer services in problematic areas, measures that better facilitated and regulated the systematization of public-private partnership, by simplifying the procedures related to assignment of contracts and making them more transparent. Finally, these were measures - on the level of social and health services - smoothed the transfer of rights as the introduction of the European health card which entitles every citizen to receive basic medical services in any Member State without the need to present any type of additional certification.

Nowhere else in the world and never before has it been possible to reconcile the amount of freedom and economic and social security that we have in Europe today. The example of the conditions in which the American health system finds itself is perhaps the easiest one to offer, but it is also the one that provides the measure...
of uniqueness and, I believe, the primacy of our way of doing things. We call it the European social model. It is as a careful balancing act that puts together the dynamism of market forces, social justice and human dignity. In this sphere, no one has ever managed to do better than us.

But there is one element that we should keep in mind; because of the competitive pressures related to globalization in order to continue benefiting from such a system, there is a need to reform it. To freedom and security, we need to add the ability to be flexible. We have already moved in this direction during my mandate, even though many of the measures needed to implement these requirements remain in the hands of national governments.

There is one thing, however, that we could have done in Brussels. We could have tried to educate the citizens who are potentially better equipped to absorb ideas such as dynamism, openness to novelty, and the capacity to accept challenges, those who should have the sustainability of the European social model more at heart – i.e. the young people of Europe.

Once I had arrived in Brussels, I realized immediately that a European youth policy simply did not exist. I considered this absence as a great opportunity. It was particularly clear to me that, despite the young in Europe being able to ‘live’ Europe daily in a way that no generation before has it, through studying, working, or traveling, the EU to them was something very far off and Brussels was often made to coincide with the negative effects of globalization, rather than one of the few, perhaps the only possible response to this phenomenon. I discussed this issue a great deal with Viviane Reding, to whom I had entrusted the portfolio of education, and with the various youth organizations that asked vociferously for a strong policy proposal from the High Commission. Our first response was the White Paper entitled A New Impetus for European youth. It outlined some basic strategic guidelines for the support and encouragement of national initiatives.

We worked a good deal on the information young people were getting on European policy, education,
sull’inserimento della dimensione giovanile nelle altre politiche europee, come quelle per l’occupazione, la lotta contro il razzismo e la xenofobia, la salute e la prevenzione dei rischi, l’ambiente o la parità tra i sessi. Durante un colloquio a Venezia, nel 2002, con l’amico George Papandreou, nacque l’idea di un servizio civile europeo. In seguito decidemmo di rafforzare il servizio volontario europeo e di proporre la messa in rete dei servizi civili nazionali, laddove esistevano, aprendoli all’Europa attraverso la cooperazione, gli scambi e la mobilità. Lanciammo l’idea della creazione di un Corpo di giovani volontari europei, che, se realizzato, potrebbe dare un contributo importantissimo alla realizzazione di una cittadinanza europea più sentita e partecipata e allo sviluppo di un’identità comune. Ancora una volta un’idea semplice per un’azione grande: facilitare incontri, dialoghi e scambi tra i popoli europei.

Sul fronte dell’istruzione, quando si pensa ai giovani e all’Europa, si pensa al programma Erasmus, una delle più grandi intuizioni del processo di integrazione e insieme una delle possibilità più concrete di realizzare l’Europa unita, nelle menti e nella maniera di vivere e di fare le cose. Erasmus è un pezzo dell’Europa della libertà perché allarga l’orizzonte ed espande le possibilità offerte ai giovani europei, dando loro molte più chance di avere successo e di realizzarsi di quante potrebbe offrirne ciascun paese da solo.

Sono passati tre anni da quando celebrammo il milionesimo studente senza confini e ricordo che fu proprio questo il pensiero che feci: un milione di giovani europei hanno capito che quell’Europa che troppe volte diamo per scontata bisogna invece volerla, bisogna andare a cercarla, per approfittare a pieno delle opportunità che ci offre. Fu questa l’occasione in cui decidemmo di darci un obiettivo, arrivare a 3 milioni di studenti Erasmus entro il 2010, e in cui pensammo di lanciare il programma Erasmus Mundus, per allargare l’esperienza fatta in Europa a tutto il mondo, rafforzando tra l’altro la capacità di attrazione delle università europee oltre che favorendo la mobilità di continuing education courses and mobility, and inserting a dimension more tailored to their needs into other EU policies such as employment, fight against racism and xenophobia, health and risk prevention, the environment or gender quality. During an interview in Venice in 2002 with my friend George Papandreou, the idea of a European civil service was born. Later, we decided to strengthen the European voluntary service and to propose a network of national civil services, where they were already in place, opening them up to Europe through cooperation, exchange, and mobility. We launched the idea of creating a body of young European volunteers which, if realized, could make a very important contribution to arriving at a European citizenship which more truly felt and shared, and even to the development of a common identity. Once again, a simple idea aimed at momentous action: facilitating meetings, dialogues, and exchanges between the European peoples.

In terms of education, when we think of young people and Europe; we think of Erasmus program: one of the greatest intuitions in the process of integration and also one of the most concrete opportunities of realizing a United Europe in the minds and in the manner of living and of doing things. Erasmus is a piece of the Europe freedom, because it widens the horizons and enlarges opportunities for young Europeans. It gives them more chances to succeed, and to realize themselves than any one country alone could offer.

Three years have passed since the celebration of ‘A million students without borders’, and I remember that this was exactly the thought I had: a million young Europeans understood that the Europe we too often take for granted must be instead desired, sought for, in order to fully enjoy the opportunities it gives us. This was the occasion on which we decided to give ourselves a goal: to have 3 million students in Erasmus by 2010. At this point, we also thought of launching the Erasmus Mundus program to extend the experience of Europe to the world, thus strengthening the appeal of European universities, besides
The following words have been attributed to Jean Monnet: “If I had to rebuild Europe, I would start with its culture”. It seems that the quote is a fake, and indeed, fifty years ago, economic integration and Schuman-style ‘de facto’ solidarity\(^5\) were the only ways to bring the peoples of Europe closer together. Today, however, especially in face of certain ghastly intergovernmental resurgences and a certain provincial populism, one feels a strong need to

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\(^5\) Robert Schuman, one of the EU’s founding fathers, said in 1950, “Europe will neither happen in one go, nor as a whole construct: it will happen through concrete achievements, first by creating a de facto solidarity.” [http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/moscovici3/English](http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/moscovici3/English)
avanzare con l'integrazione, completando la dimensione economica con quella sociale e politica. È importante quindi che l'istruzione e la cultura acquistino un ruolo centrale per dare un senso veramente concreto e attivo alla cittadinanza europea. Quello di cui abbiamo bisogno oggi, in definitiva, è di riprendere il falso storico di Monnet consapevoli della verità dei nostri tempi.

proceed once again with integration, completing its economic, social and political dimensions. It is, therefore, important that the education and culture acquire a crucial role to provide a truly concrete and dynamic meaning to European citizenship. What we need today, ultimately, is to reappropriate that ersatz quotation from Monnet, aware of the truth of our time.
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