Development of the European Union Idea (The main historical achievements contributing to the union among European states)

Éva Bóka

The idea of a European union and humanization of power

- “Modern civilization has taken as its specific foundation the principle of liberty … every man must be an autonomous life centre”. (Spinelli – Rossi: Ventotene Manifesto, 1941)
- Call for a European union, with the participation of everybody, based on the principle of liberty and personal autonomy.

“Europa on the bull” (about 370-360 B.C.) Museum of Sannio (Wikimedia Commons)

Europa in a fresco at Pompeii (Wikimedia Commons)

The Rape of Europa by Titian (1562) (Wikimedia Commons)

Rembrandt, The Abduction of Europa, 1632 (Wikimedia Commons)

Abraham Ortelius, Map of Europe, 1595 (Wikimedia Commons)

Heinrich Bünting's map of Europe, 1582 (Wikimedia Commons)

Europa regina (Europa as a Queen) in Sebastian Münster's "Cosmographia", 1570 (Wikimedia Commons)

Europa, symbol of liberty. Monument Joseph Sec, 18th century, revolutionary period, Aix-en-Provence, France

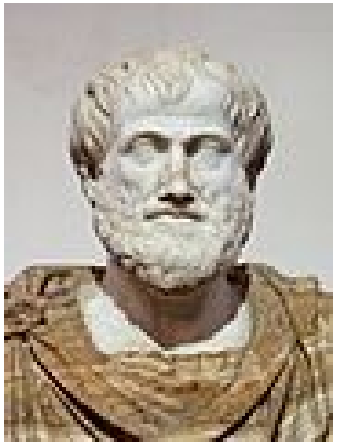
Location European Union (Wikimedia Commons)

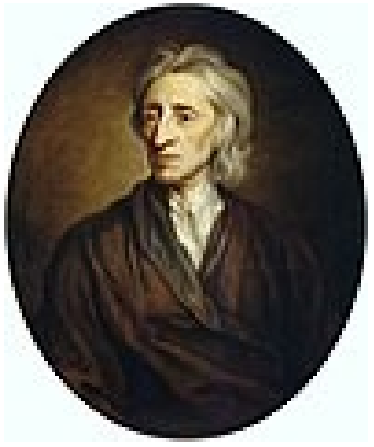
Flag of Europe (Wikimedia Commons)

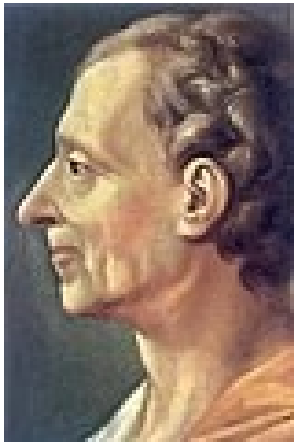
The main characteristics of the idea of the European union

- Pluralist idea on cooperation among persons, states, and unions of states
- Troubled European history
- Humanization of power, peace policy, fight for liberty
- Political essays, peace projects, treaties on defense unions, legal documents on rights and liberty
- Free thinking, discussions, differences in meaning, diversity

Federal republic, civil government







Development of the idea of the European union 1.

- Ancient Greek political, Roman legal, and Christian religious moral bases
- Greek Amphictyonic Council (court of arbitration)
- Aristotle (personal federalism)
- Respublica Christiana (Christian Commonwealth)
- Pierre Dubois, 1306 – European Council and court of arbitration

Development of the Idea of the European union 2.

- Defense unions
- 1. Against the Ottoman Empire (George Podiebrad, 1462-1464);
- 2. Against conquering (Old Confederation of the Swiss cantons, 1291, Union of Utrecht, 1579)
- The dilemma between Alhusius and Bodin
- Montesquieu – federal republic

Peace

Development of the idea of the European union 3.

Fight for rights and liberties (Magna Carta, 1215; Glorious Revolution, 1688); Locke (civil government)

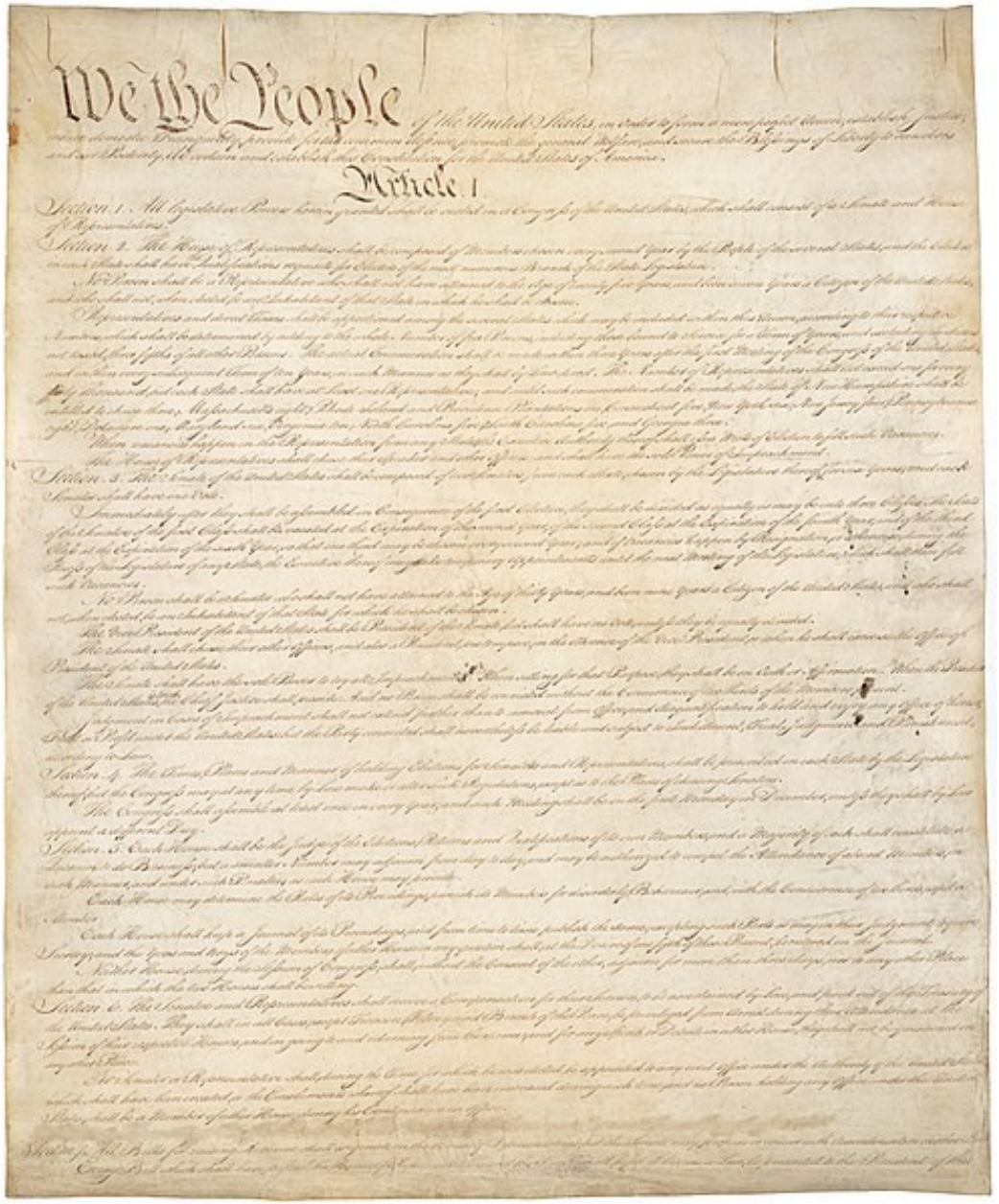
Peace projects (Erasmus, 1517; William Penn, 1693; Abbé de Saint-Pierre, 1713)

The American Revolution (1765-1783)

Declaration of Independence, 1776

“That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”

Horward Chandler Christy, Signing of the Constitution (Wikimedia Commons)



Constitution of the United States, U. S. National Archives (Wikimedia Commons)

Development of the idea of European union 4.

- Constitution of the United States of America, 1787 – federal republic under a president
- Self-determination, popular sovereignty, democracy, federalism; rejection of feudalism
- Bicameral Congress: House of Representatives (population), Senate (represent the states); co-decision procedure, separation of powers, federal government, Bill of Rights
- No, or very limited, voting rights for women, Native Americans, and African Americans

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) (Wikimedia Commons)

Tocqueville

- “Another form of society is afterwards discovered in which several states are fused into one with regard to certain common interests, although they remain distinct, or only confederate, with regard to all other concerns. In this case the central power acts directly upon the governed, whom it rules and judges in the same manner as a national government, but in a more limited circle. Evidently this is no longer a federal government, but an incomplete national government, which is neither exactly national nor exactly federal”. (Democracy in America)

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 (Wikimedia Commons)

Development of the idea of the European union 5.

- Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens of 1789
- Article 1. “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights”.
- Article 3. “The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation”.
- Human civil rights document

Development of the idea of the European union 6.

- French Revolution (1789-1799)
- Abolishing absolutism and feudalism
- Self-determination, popular sovereignty, democracy
- Plebiscite, unitary nation state, no federal republic
- Colonization and centralization policy of the ancient regime continued
- Immanuel Kant: Perpetual Peace, 1795 – Foedus pacificum
- Saint-Simon – Thierry: On the Reorganization of the European Society, 1815

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) (Wikimedia Commons)
On Perpetual Peace, 1795

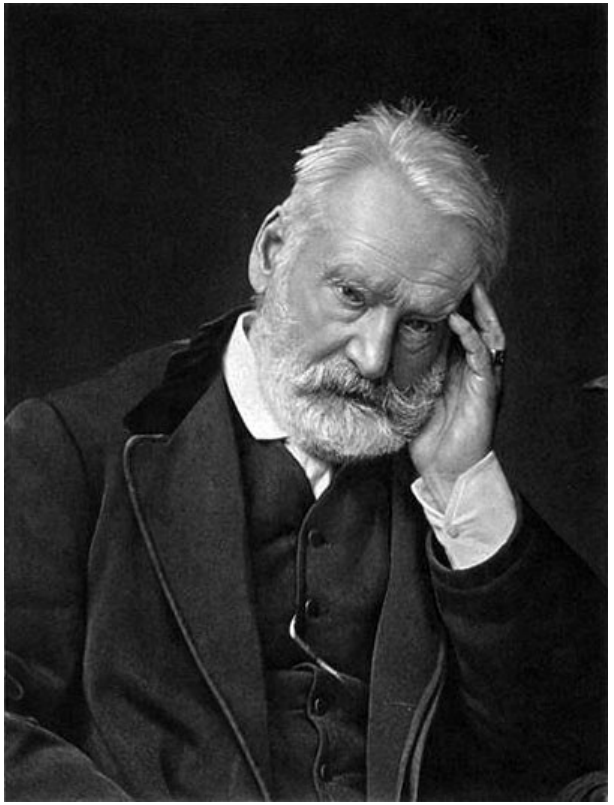
Claude-Henri de Saint Simon (1760-1825) (Wikimedia Commons)
On the Reorganization of European Society, 1814
(English type bicameral European parliament)

Development of the idea of the European union 7.

- Constitution of the Swiss Confederation of 1848
- Federal republic under the Federal Council
- Bicameral Federal Assembly composed of the Council of the States (citizens of the cantons) and the National Council (citizens of the federation); Federal Council (government), President (1 year, no power)
- Federal council was the collective head of the state

Development of the idea of the European union 8.

- “The noble has gone down the social ladder, and the commoner has gone up; the one descends as the other rises. Every half century brings them nearer to each other, and they will soon meet” (Tocqueville: Democracy in America, 1835-1840)
- The old regime was losing power; gradual participation of more and more social classes in the shaping of states
- Tocqueville: The Old Regime and the Revolution, 1856



Victor Hugo (1802-1885) (Wikimedia Commons)

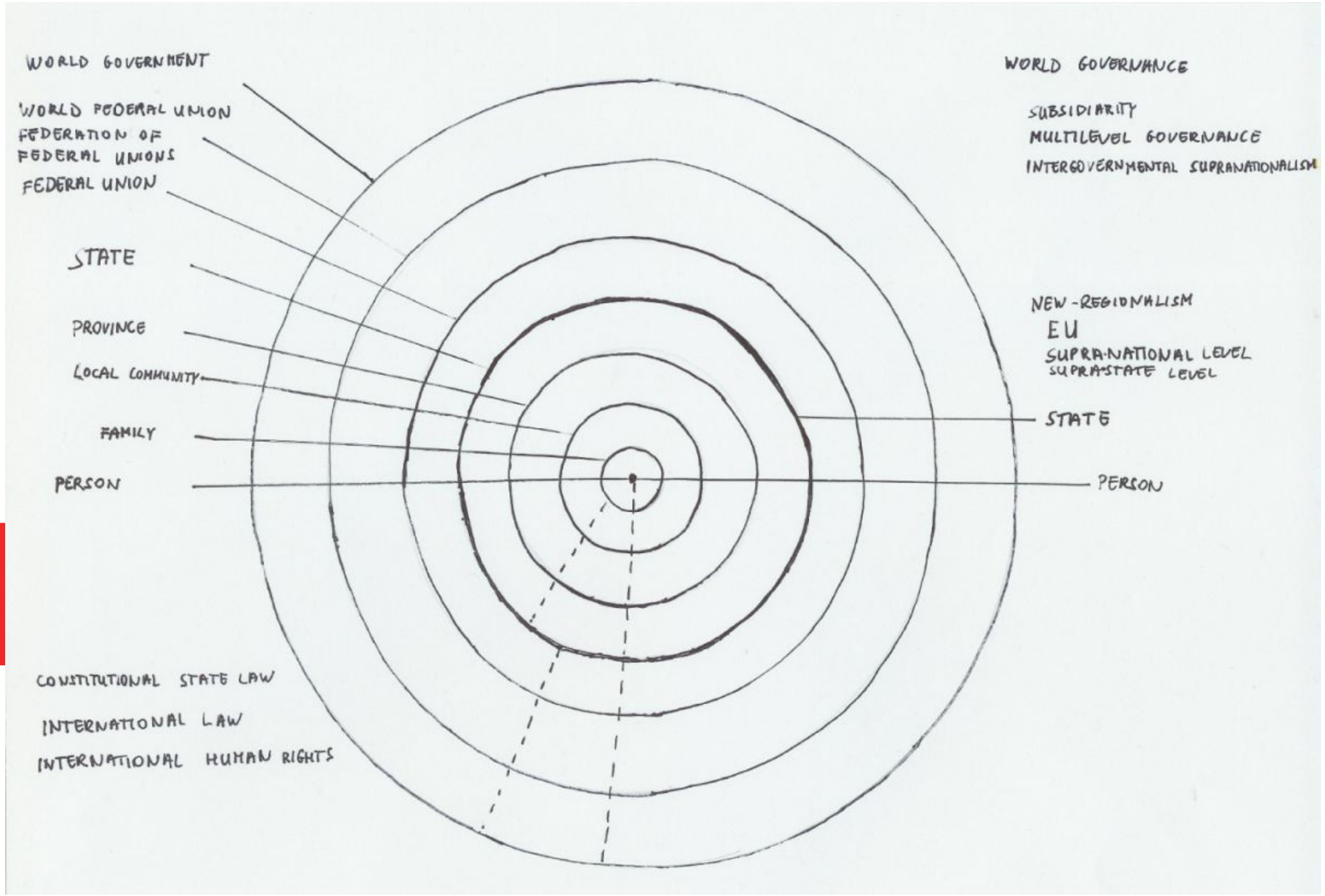
Victor Hugo

- International Peace Congress, Paris, 1849
- United States of Europe
- “A day will come when France, you Russia, you Italy, you England, you Germany, you all nations of the continent, without losing your distinct qualities and your glorious individuality, you will merge into a superior unity and you will constitute European fraternity”
- (Denis de Rougemont: Vingt huit siècles d’Europe, Payot, Paris, 255. English translation by C. Seth and R. von Kulessa)

The principles of the European (Western) system of liberties

Representative Parliament created by general elections

- Separation of powers
- Executive branch that is either responsible to the Parliament elected by the people for a specific length of time, or subject to popular recall
- Judiciary independent of the executive branch
- Free press; freedom of thinking, assembly and other civic rights
- Extensive local autonomy
- (István Bibó: Reflections on the Social development of Europe, 1971-1972).
- International relations: Democracy among states


WORLD GOVERNMENT
WORLD FEDERAL UNION
FEDERATION OF FEDERAL UNIONS
FEDERAL UNION
STATE
PROVINCE
LOCAL COMMUNITY
FAMILY
PERSON
CONSTITUTIONAL STATE LAW
INTERNATIONAL LAW
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS
WORLD GOVERNANCE
SUBSIDIARITY
MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE
INTERGOVERNMENTAL SUPRANATIONALISM
NEW-REGIONALISM
EU
SUPRA-NATIONAL LEVEL
SUPRA-STATE LEVEL
STATE
PERSON

Personal federalism, democracy, popular sovereignty

- Personal federalism is the idea corresponding to the concepts of democracy and popular sovereignty
- Bottom-up association policy of free and autonomous persons in all those fields of life which demand common organization
- Transfer of common fields toward larger – provincial, state, and regional – units directed by the principle of multilevelism and subsidiarity

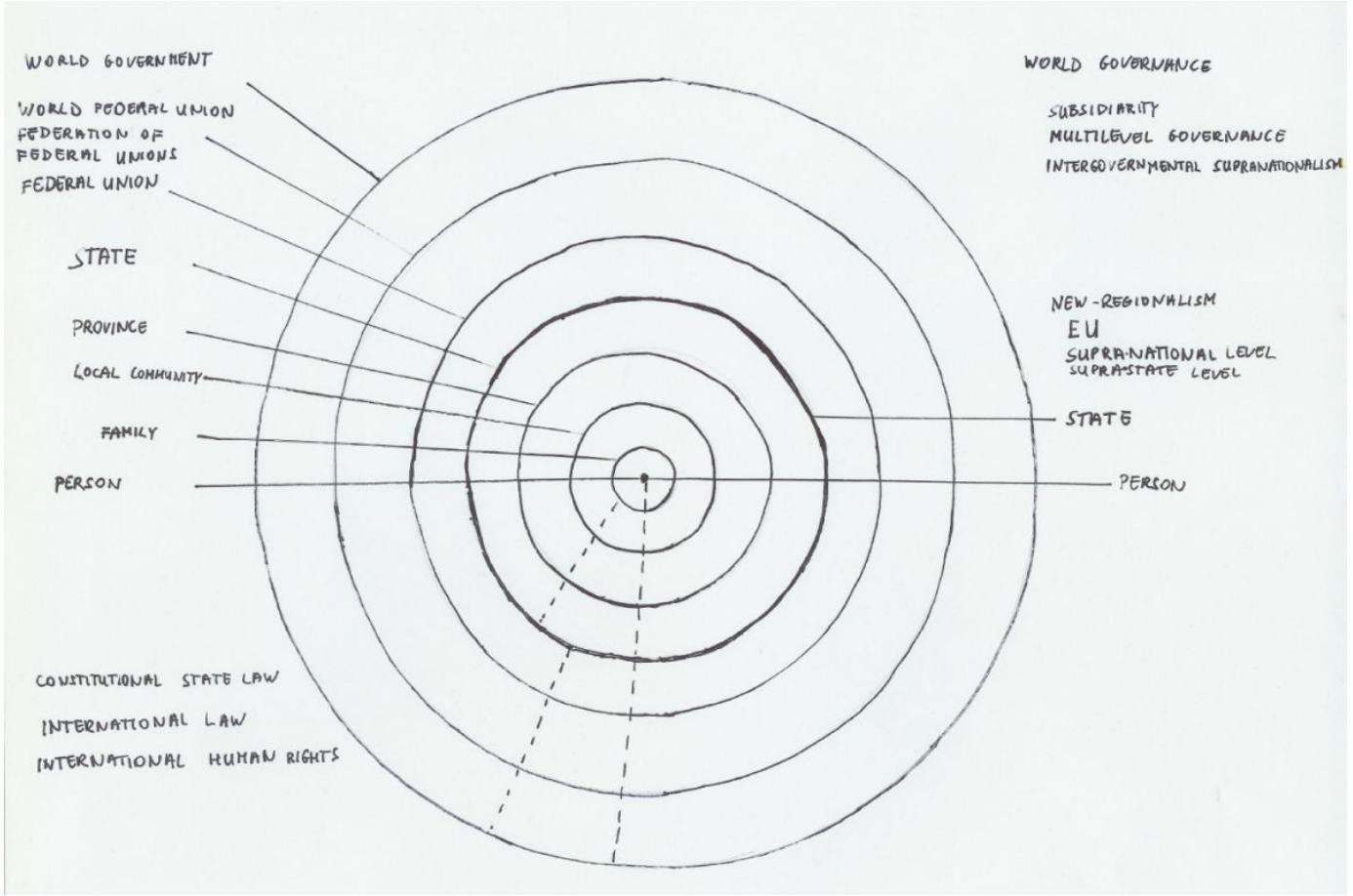
How could the Europeans realize the ideas of the system of liberties?

- No colonization policy according to the system of liberties
- Strong retrograde power of the old authoritarian and centralizing past
- Authoritarian, nationalist nation states and national empires
- New wave of colonization, imperialism; center-periphery system of rich and poor countries; exploitation of the world; corrupt business mentality
- First World War, world economic crisis, Second World War

Totalitarian states

- Hopeless misery in Europe, people did not know what to do, how to continue the revolutionary process of democratization
- Totalitarian states (Fascism, National Socialism; Communist dictatorship) embraced the idea of European United States

Peaceful World Federation



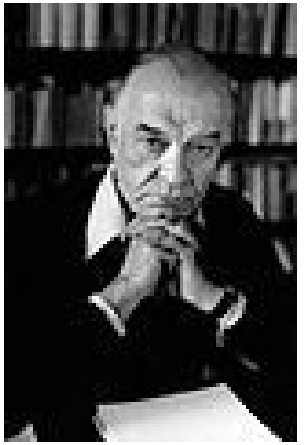
The idea of democratic European union opposing totalitarian states

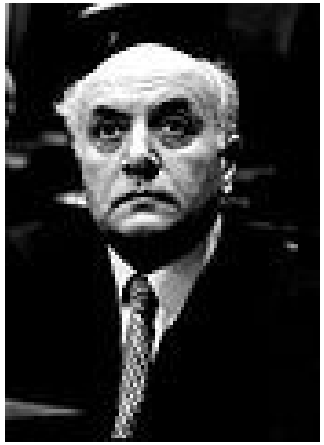
- Keynes: The end of laissez-faire, 1926
- Functional economic cooperation (International Steel Carter, 1926)
- Paneuropean Movement, Coudenhove-Kalergi
- Briand plan, 1929-1930
- Personal federalists, L'Ordre Nouveau
- Resistance Movement, Ventotene Manifesto, 1941
- Reviving the idea of peaceful world federation
- The United Nations Organization, 1945, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

Congress of Europe, Ridderzaal, The Hague, 9 May 1948

(National Archives – Wiki Sources)

European federalists





The Hague Congress, May 1948, and the scenarios for Europe's future

Reconstruction of Western Europe with the American aid (April 1948)

Scenario 1. Constitutional federalism - European bicameral parliamentary federation (USE)

Scenario 2. Integral federalism – gradual federalist construction

Scenario 3. Intergovernmental Europe - council-type, supranational agencies, gradualism

Scenario 4. Functionalist economic sectoral cooperation

History of European integration 1.

1. Council of Europe, 1949 – intergovernmentalist (scenario 3)

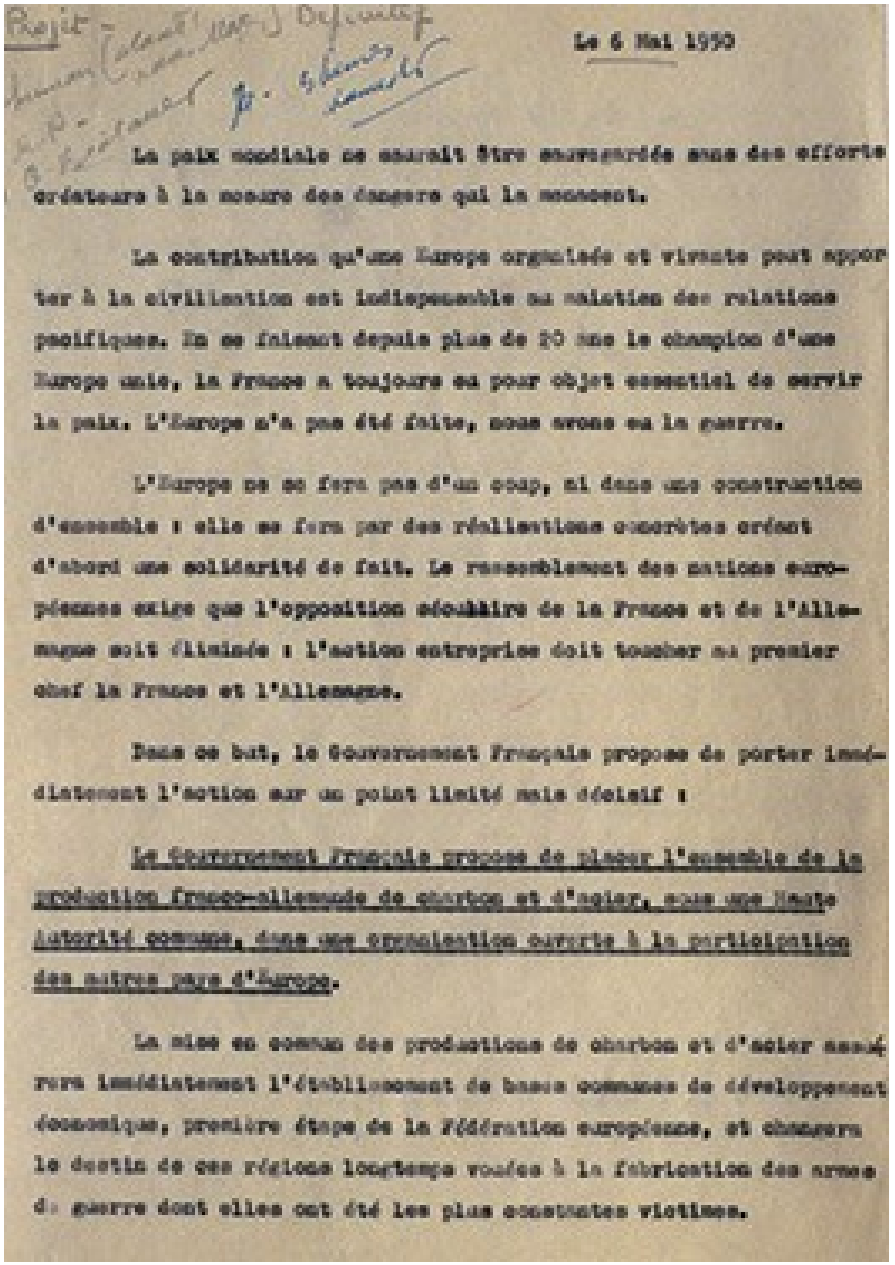
2. Schuman Declaration, 1950; ECSC, 1951 – sectoral functionalist (scenario 4)

3. EDC, 1952 - functionalist (scenario 4); EPC, 1953 – federalist (scenario 1, 2)

4. EDC and EPC were rejected in 1954 (scenario 3)

5. EEC - intergovernmentalist (scenario 3); Euratom – sectoral functionalist (scenario 4)

Schuman Declaration, 1950 (Wikimedia Commons)



Le 6 Mai 1950

La paix mondiale ne saurait être sauvegardée sans des efforts créateurs à la mesure des dangers qui la menacent.

La contribution qu'une Europe organisée et vivante peut apporter à la civilisation est indispensable au maintien des relations pacifiques. En se faisant depuis plus de 20 ans le champion d'une Europe unie, la France a toujours eu pour objet essentiel de servir la paix. L'Europe n'a pas été faite, nous avons eu la guerre.

L'Europe ne se fera pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble : elle se fera par des réalisations concrètes créant d'abord une solidarité de fait. Le rassemblement des nations européennes exige que l'opposition séculaire de la France et de l'Allemagne soit éliminée : l'action entreprise doit toucher au premier chef la France et l'Allemagne.

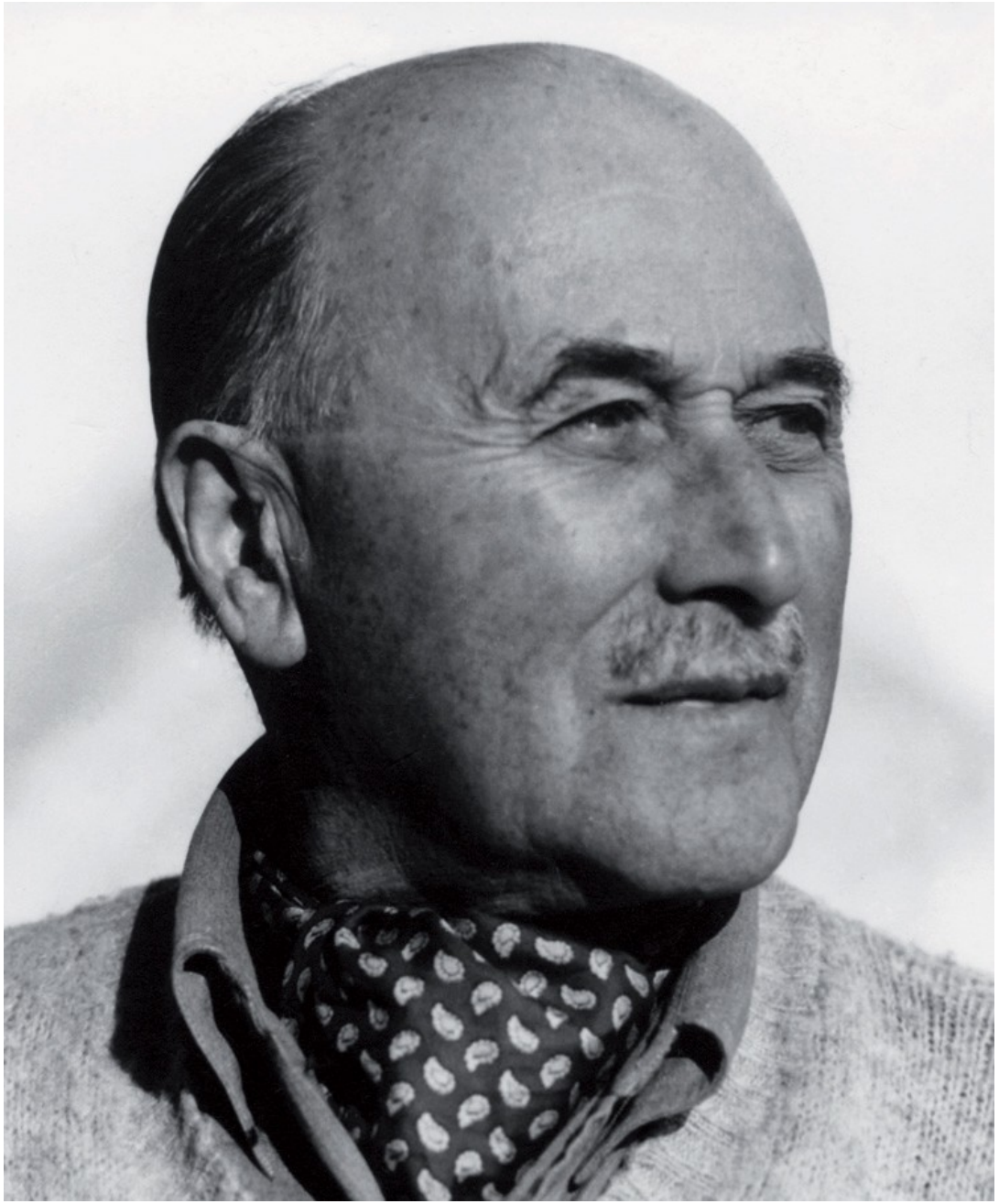
Dans ce but, le Gouvernement Français propose de porter immédiatement l'action sur un point limité mais décisif :

Le Gouvernement Français propose de placer l'ensemble de la production franco-allemande de charbon et d'acier, sous une Haute Autorité commune, dans une organisation ouverte à la participation des autres pays d'Europe.

La mise en commun des productions de charbon et d'acier assurera immédiatement l'établissement de bases communes de développement économique, première étape de la Fédération européenne, et changera le destin de ces régions longtemps vouées à la fabrication des armes de guerre dont elles ont été les plus constantes victimes.

Schuman Declaration © Association Jean Monnet

Robert Schuman (1886-1963) © Bundesarchiv Bild, Wikimedia Commons

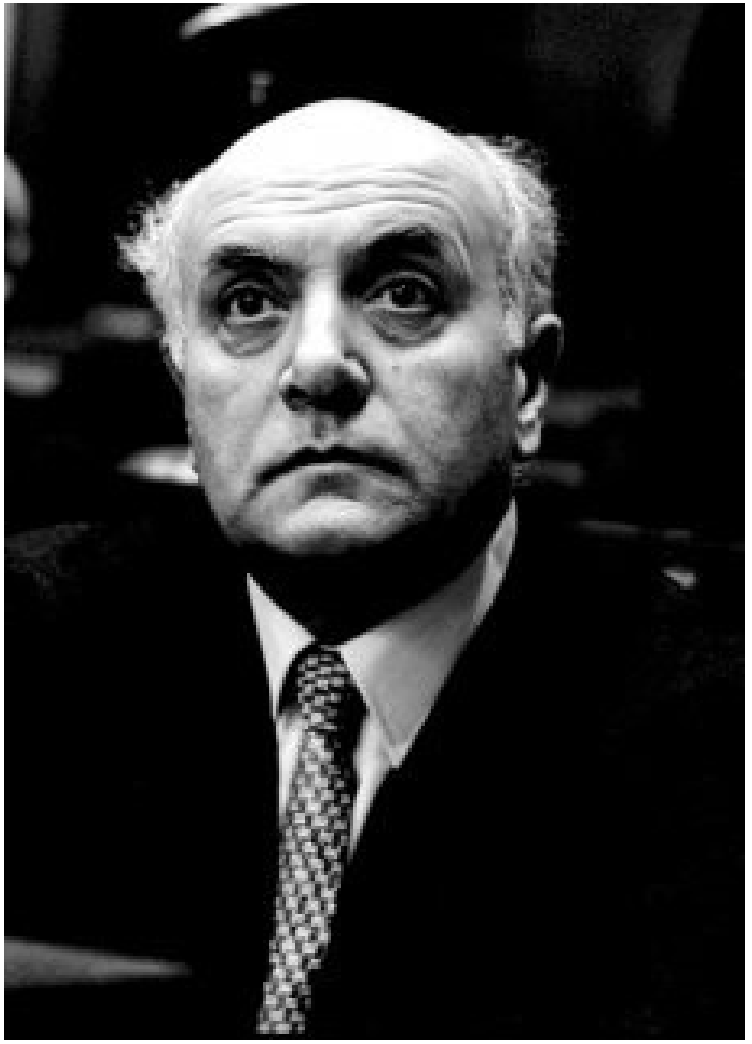


Jean Monnet (1888-1979) © Association Jean Monnet

History of European integration 2.

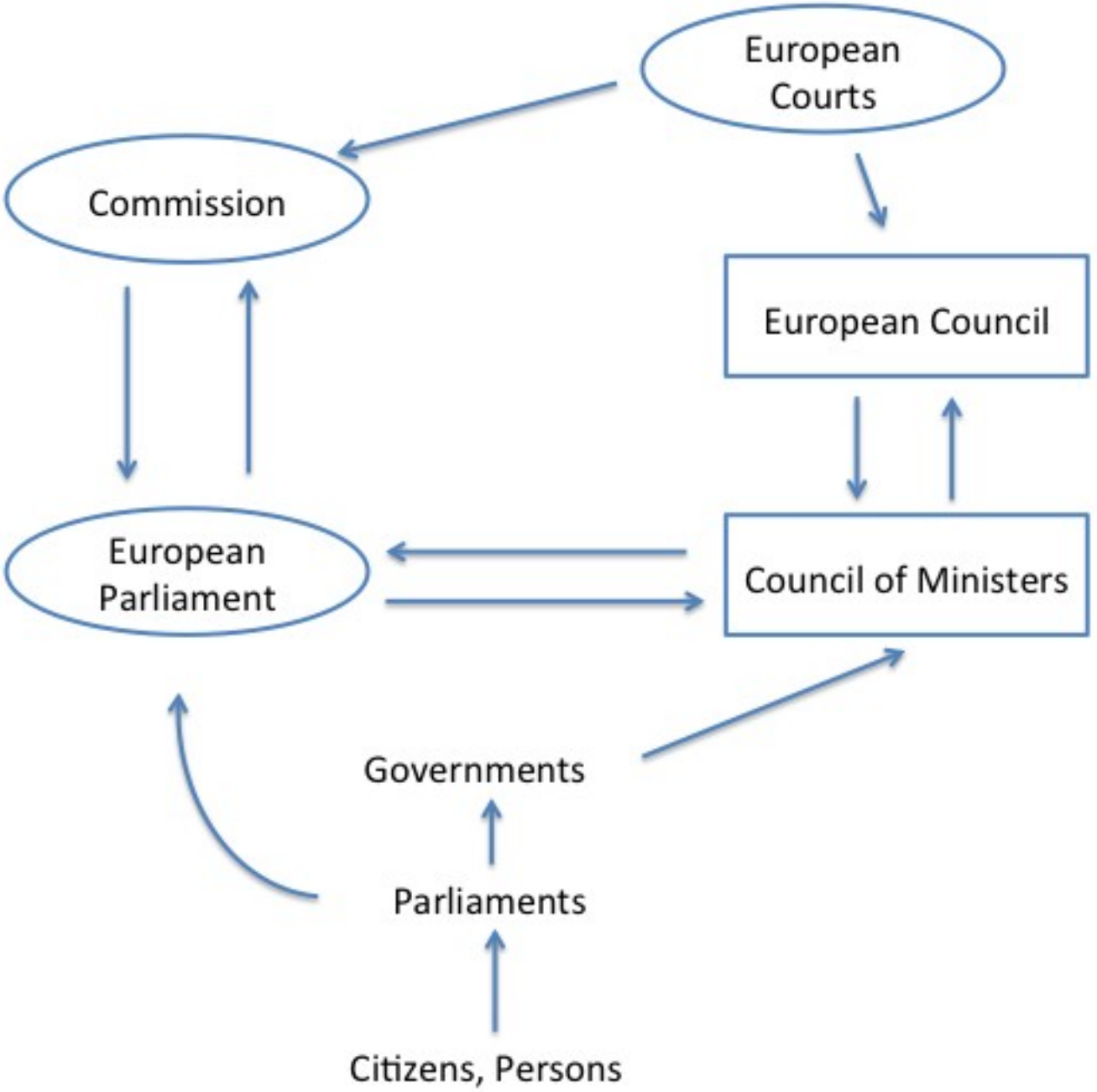
- De Gaulle, Luxembourg Compromise, 1966 – intergovernmentalist (scenario 3)
- 7. Spinelli reform – a constitutional federalist compromise (scenario 1, 2, 4)
- 8. Delors – an integral federalist compromise (scenario 2,3, 4)
- 9. Treaty of Maastricht, 1992 (EMU, Single Market) – intergovernmentalist with federalist elements (scenario 3 open to 2, 4)

Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970) (Wikimedia Commons)



Altiero Spinelli (1907-1986) (Wikimedia Commons)

Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission (1985-1995) (Wikimedia Commons)


European Courts
Commission
European Council
European Parliament
Council of Ministers
Governments
Parliaments
Citizens, Persons

European Union

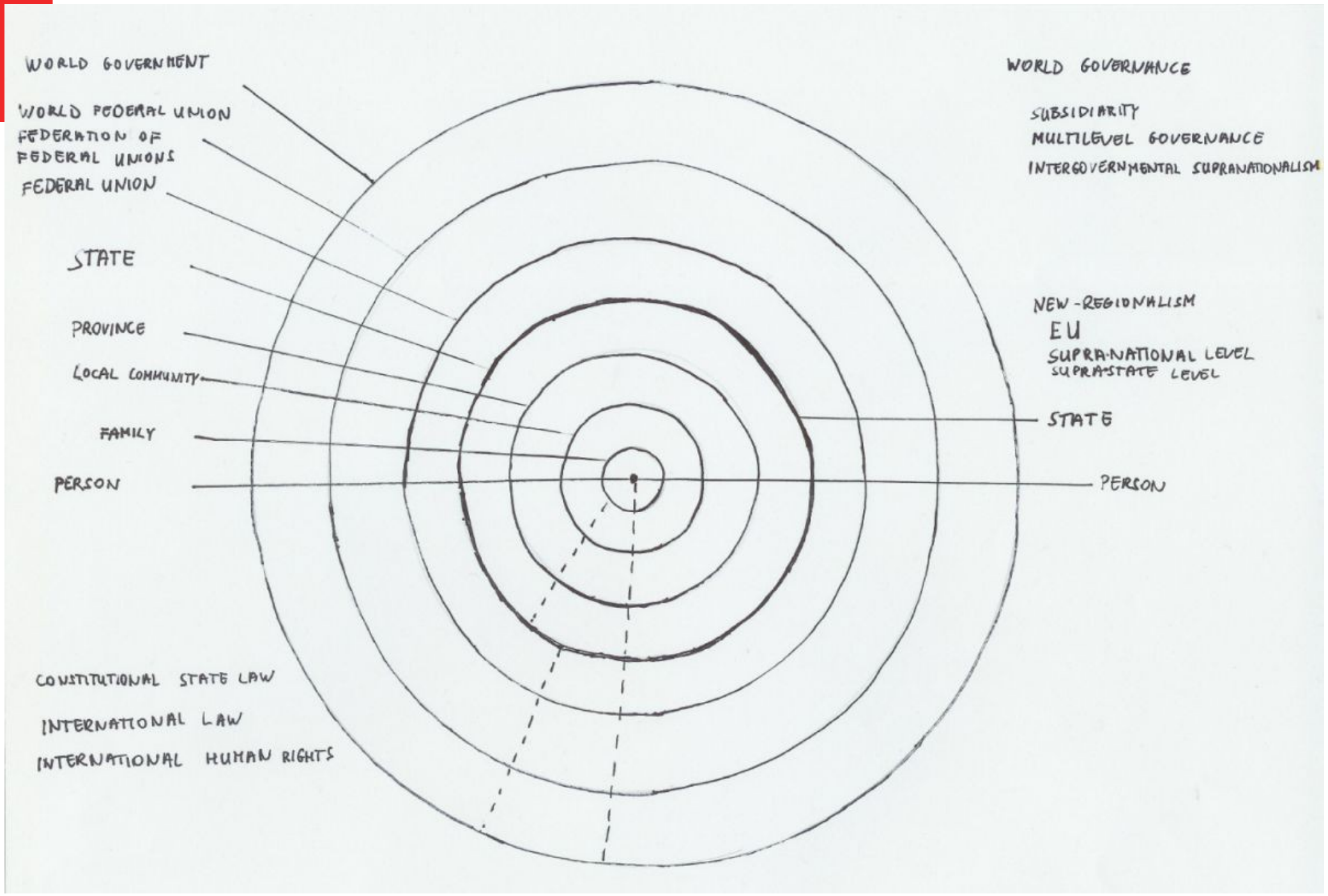
- EU is an intergovernmental and supranational union of nation states based on subsidiarity and multilevelism with a democratic deficit
- Historical product of compromises on an originally federalist goal for the benefit of the intergovernmentalists
- Council-type union

Europe of Tomorrow: Five Scenarios for Our Future

- Perhaps the 5th scenario “Doing much more together” would be the best. (Common foreign policy and defense union; economic, financial and fiscal union; strengthened Single Market; common asylum policy, border management, and counter terrorism).

Europe’s future

- Europe’s future is bottom-up personal federalist association policy.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Thank you for your attention!