Éva Bóka: Development of the European Union Idea (The Main Historical Achievements Contributing to the Union Among European States)

Abstract

How could Europeans humanize power and achieve peace and union among the European countries? Which historical achievements contributed to the development of the Western system of liberties and the raising democracy among the European states? How did the idea of European union influence this development? The lecture searches the answers to these questions by looking at the ideas on a European union from the early modern period to the establishment of the supranational and intergovernmental union of states based on subsidiarity, multilevelism, and European law, as established by the Treaty of Maastricht, in 1992. It concentrates on the dichotomy federalism versus intergovernmentalism, and investigates the historical lessons for a Europe of tomorrow.

The lecture revives the famous historical projects, political essays, and memorandums supporting the idea of European union (Aristotle, Althusius, Vattel, Locke, Montesquieu, Kant, Tocqueville, Proudhon, Keynes, Coudenhove-Kalergi, Briand, Rougemont, Brugmans, Spinelli, Schuman, Monnet, or Delors); the famous treaties or constitutions of defense unions against conquest and colonization (the Swiss Confederation 1291, the Treaty of Utrecht, 1579; the American Declaration of Independence, 1776; the Constitution of the United States of America, 1787); the most important documents of the development of a Western system of liberties and the international law (the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789; the Swiss Constitution, 1848; The Covenant of the League of Nations, 1918; the Charter of the United Nations Organization, 1945; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) and the basic treaties of the European integration.

Lecture

Introduction: The main characteristics of the idea of European union

"Modern civilization has taken as its specific foundation the principle of liberty which says that man is not a mere instrument to be used by others but that every man must be an autonomous life centre."[1]

With these words started the Ventotene Manifesto, written in 1941 by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, the anti-Fascists activists. The Manifesto called for the creation of a steady federal state with the participation of everybody. It called for a democratic reform of social organization based on the principle of liberty and autonomy of persons and states. It emphasized that, in the future, the dividing line would be the fight for national power or for a solid international state, i.e. between intergovernmentalists and federalists. The authors warned that the fight for national power helped the reactionary forces.

The questions raise: where did this belief in the idea of European union come from? What historical achievements justify it? Why to protect the idea of European union?

The idea of European union has a long history. The famous anthology of Denis de Rougemont, a Swiss personal federalist political thinker, refers to about 28 centuries

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[1] Ernesto Rossi – Altiero Spinelli: *The Ventotene Manifesto*. Ventotene, 1941, The Altiero Spinelli Institute for Federalist Studies. 2. URL: www.cvce.eu, https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/316aa96c-e7ff-4b9e-b43a-958e96afbecc/publishable_en.pdf (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

(since Hesiod, 8th century B.C.) of Europe which were rich of projects on European unity.[2]

The idea of European union has ancient Greek mythological foundations represented by Europa, the Phoenician princess. According to the founder legend, European civilization is the product of the love of Europa and Zeus, who kidnapped her. This mythological story became the symbol of European unity, and the favorite theme for artists, painters, sculptors, writers, and thinkers. Europa appeared as a queen in the 16th century's maps and, later, as a symbol of liberty in the period of Europe's revolutions.

The idea of European union was a pluralist idea, with different political interpretations on how to cooperate among states and people. It was characterized by the dichotomy federalism versus intergovernmentalism.

In European international practice the organization of the World and Europe was strongly connected due to the European expansion worldwide.[3] The European principles were considered as universal.

European civilization has a double-faced cultural heritage, which was thriving for power, was expansive and violent, but was also lawful and peaceful. The antagonism of these two opposing facets contributed to the complex nature of European social history.

Supporters of a European union were usually part of the tradition of a law abiding and peaceful confederal or federal state organization. The idea of European union strongly connected to the peace policy, humanization of power, and the fight for liberty. However, power policy also used it for protecting authoritarian and domineering purposes.

The idea of European union was represented in political essays, peace projects, treaties on defense unions against conquests, and in legal documents on rights and liberty. They mirrored the development of the European system of liberties, as a fight of people for participation in state organization. All these played an important role in the gradual development of union among European states. European civilization was able to produce this historical achievement because Europe was characterized by diversity (different state forms, different cultures, languages), pluralism, discussions, differences in meaning, and the fight for liberty.[4]

The main achievements of the development of the idea of European union

European civilization, and the idea of European union, has ancient Greek political, Roman legal, and Christian religious moral bases.

Ancient Greeks organized the institution of Amphictyonic Council (about the 7th century B.C.), the assembly of the confederated Greek states. It functioned as a court of arbitration above the states.

The famous Greek philosopher, Aristotle, who is regarded as the father of the European political culture, was in favour of personal federalism in the polis organization. In his view, social organization started from bottom-up, from the persons and families. As a result of their association policy larger and larger communities (local community, village, province) were created. At the top of these associations the polis was self-

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2   Denis de Rougemont (1961): *Vingt huit siècles d'Europe. La conscience européenne à travers les texts, d'Hésiode a nos jours*. Payot, Paris

3   Charles Zorgbibe (2005): *Histoire de l'Union Européenne*. Fondation Robert Schuman, Albin Michel, Paris, 9.

4   Yukichi Fukuzawa (2008): The Origins of the Western Civilization. In: *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Columbia University Press, New York, 161.

sufficient, and sovereign.[5]

In the Middle Ages (around the 11th -13th centuries) the idea of European union appeared as the idea of a Respublica Christiana (or Christian Commonwealth). The community organizing principles of the Christian Church represented the autonomy principle (local autonomy and autonomy of peoples), and created a spiritual, cognitive and cultural unity in diversity.

With the separation of church and state, the secular states became sovereign. As a result of rivalry among princes Europe disintegrated into a collection of feudal, monarchical national states and national empires. They pursued bellicose territorial incorporation policies and colonization both inside and outside Europe. As an opposition to these policies different ideas came to the fore on how to humanize power, and mutually influenced each other. The most important ideas and legal documents contributing to the union among European states were the followings:

European council and a court of arbitration

Pierre Dubois, French jurist, advocated to the rulers of Europe, in 1306, to renew the idea of the Greek Amphictyonic Council, and organize a European council and a court of arbitration instead of wars.[6]

Defense unions

George Podiebrad, the King of Bohemia, suggested in 1462-64 to establish a federal council of European rulers and a court dealing with the common military and financial matters and conflict solving. In all other areas the cooperating countries would have remained sovereign.[7] He believed that, through this, they could defend themselves better against the Ottoman Empire.

However, the plan for a European defense union did not materialize. In the meantime, the Ottoman Empire became part of the European balance of power policy. European great powers were in expansion and in a position of power world wide. As a consequence, they did not have to organize a European defense union till the end of the Second World War.

The old Swiss cantons, in 1291, organized their confederal defense union (old Swiss Confederation) against the conquering ambitions of the Habsburg ruler.

The Dutch provinces, fighting for independence against the Spanish Habsburg invaders, elaborated the principles of an aristocratic federal defense union among the seven cooperating provinces in the *Treaty of the Union of Utrecht, 1579*[8]. The union was based on the sharing of their sovereignty in the field of defense and the necessary economic and financial cooperation. In all other fields the provinces remained sovereign.

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5   Aristotle (2000): *Politics*. Dover Publications, Inc., New York, Book I. 7.

6   Pierre Dubois (1891): *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*. Picard, Paris, URL: https://archive.org/ details/derecuperationet00dubouoft/page/iii (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

7   George Podiebrad (1964): Tractatus pacis toti Christianitati fiendae. In: *The Universal Peace Organization of King George of Bohemia. A Fifteenth Century Plan for World Peace, 1462-1464*. Ed. by V. Vanacek. Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, 71-82.

8   The Treaty of the Union, Eternal Alliance and Confederation Made in the Town of Utrecht by Countries and Their Towns and Members, 29 January 1579. In: E. H. Kossman (ed.) (1974): *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 165-173.

The Union of Utrecht made steps in the direction of the unification of the economic policy: the provinces had common financial policy, they had to agree in the exchange rate of their currencies, and they could not levy arbitrarily tax. The Union of Utrecht was not only a defense union but it was also an economic union representing the concept of a custom and financial union. The union established, in The Hague, the assembly of the union, as central institution, with legislative function. It was composed of the representatives of the participating provinces, and headed by the stadhouder ("state holder") with executive function. The draft laws were sent to the participating provinces for approval. The assembly of the union dealt with the foreign policy, warfare and related finances. The provinces delegated unequal number of representatives to the assembly, but each province had one vote. The decisions were unanimous in the most important questions, otherwise the majority vote was used. The treaty on the union could be amended with the consent of the allies.[9] The creators of the Union of Utrecht used the words union, confederation or alliance. This showed that they were uncertain how to name the union.

The institutional structure of the Dutch aristocratic federal union started the discussions about the close (complete) or loose (partial) union among states.

Differentiation between confederation and federation

Johannes Althusius, German jurist and Calvinist political thinker, proved, in his essay *Politica* published in 1614, that the sharing of sovereignty was possible in bottom-up personalist federalist states.[10] He differentiated between partial confederation and complete confederation, depending on the sharing of sovereignty. He could transcend the ruling idea of Jean Bodin on the indivisibility of the sovereignty of the monarch.

Montesquieu, the famous French thinker of Enlightenment, elaborated the theory of federal republic based on sharing of sovereignty.[11] His model can be explained as a voluntary association of sovereign states, which, through the treaty among themselves, renounced their sovereignty in certain fields for the benefice of common institutions.[12]

However, in European history, till the *Schuman Declaration*, 1950, the Bodinian concept of an authoritarian sovereign state, and the indivisibility of sovereignty dominated over the ideas of Althusius, except for the Swiss Confederation.

Fight for rights and liberty

The fight for rights and liberty started with the English barons, who received rights from the English king in the Magna Carta, in 1215. The English Glorious Revolution, in 1688, was a parliamentary fight for rights. Its achievements included the abolition of the absolute power of the king, and the establishment of a constitutional representative monarchy with a bicameral system (House of Commons and House of Lords). The monarch was subordinated to the law established by the Parliament.

It was John Locke who elaborated the principles of civil government for constitutional

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9 The provinces had their own provincial assembly where citizens, merchants, bankers, the delegates of the cities and religious communities assembled. It was led by the provincial stadhouder.

10 Johannes Althusius (1995): *Politica*. Liberty Fund Inc. Indianapolis, Indiana, 89-90. URL: https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/althusius-politica (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

11 Montesquieu (1979): *De l'esprit des lois*. Vol. I., livre IX., Chapitre I, GF Flammarion, Paris, 265.

12 Maurice Croisat (2010): *Le fédéralisme en Europe*. Paris, Montchrestien, 13.

monarchy. He represented the direction of gradual enlarging the rights of the individuals.

Peace projects

Erasmus, with his *Complaint of Peace* published in 1517, started the concept of peace policy.13 In his essay, the Christian humanist philosopher of the Renaissance argued against war. His appeal for peace was continued by European peace projects, among them the most famous were written by William Penn and Abbé de Saint-Pierre.

William Penn, English nobleman, writer, Quaker, and the founder of Pennsylvania, proposed a modern solution in his political essay, in 1693.14 He suggested to adopt the principles of civil government (as described by Locke) in the organization of interstate relations above the states. His proposition was to create constitutional states (law states), to establish a European council, parliament, court of justice, and to draft the law of European federation; to secure the equality of the participating states by the voting system (one vote to each states). He rejected territorial conquest as unlawful, and proposed disarmament.

At the time of the war of the Spanish Succession and the peace negotiations in Utrecht (1713-1715) Abbé de Saint-Pierre, French abbot, proposed the European rulers to convene a congress, in The Hague15 with the aim to conclude a basic treaty on alliance and to establish a European council. The council was to deal with matters within its competences, and the member states should remain sovereign in all other matters. Sanctions would be used against the violators of the agreement. He also suggested the creation of an economic and trade union. He was also in favour of a disarmament.

William Penn, Abbé de Saint-Pierre and the Treaty of Utrecht had a great influence on the American founding fathers, on Kant's eternal peace project, and on the founding fathers of the European Union.

Federal republic under president – A democratic defense union against British colonization

Based on all the aforementioned ideas and legal documents, the American founding fathers, fighting for independence and liberty against the British colonization, rejected feudalism and created a new state, a federal republic under a president. They have chosen liberty as the basic principle for the organization of the state. The famous *Declaration of Independence, 1776* (written by Jefferson) expressed it as follows:

> "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."16

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13 Erasmus: *The Complaint of Peace,* 1517. URL: https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/erasmus-the-complaint-of-peace (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

14 William Penn (1983): *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of a European Diet, Parliament or Estates.* United Nations Library, Geneva. Series F. Sources on the History of International Organization. G. Olms Publishers, Hildesheim; URL: https://archive.org/details/anessaytowardsp00penngoog/page/n3 (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

15 Abbé de Saint-Pierre (1713): *Projet de Paix Perpetuelle,* Utrecht. URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k105087z (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

16 Declaration of Independence, 1776. *The Avalon Project, Yale University* URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/declare.asp (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

On the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, the 55 delegates of the 13 states drafted the *Constitution of the United States of America* of 1787. It rejected feudalism and feudal privileges, established a federal republic under president based on democracy, popular sovereignty and federalism. What they created could transcend and reform both, the aristocratic Union of Utrecht, and the English Parliament. The key idea was popular sovereignty through the establishment of a bicameral representative parliamentary federal republic. They used the model of the English bicameral parliament, but the House of Lords was changed for the Senate, representing the interests of the states. The House of Representatives represented the interests of the citizens having voting right. The most important historical achievements toward a democratic union of states were the followings: Federal government; bicameral Congress (Parliament) composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate, representing the American people as citizens of the federation and of the states; precise description of the rights and responsibilities of the states and the federal government; separation of legislative, executive and judiciary powers; checks and balances through co-decision procedures. The Constitution was enlarged by the *Bill of Rights* (the first 10 amendments) protecting individual liberty, justice and restricting the power of the federal government, with the aim to safeguard the autonomy of the states. However, it was a democracy of those having voting rights based on wealth. Women, Native Americans, and the African Americans were excluded. Racism and slavery remained alive in the social organization. The U.S. also pursued an expansive policy.

This new democratic state, i.e., the United States of America representing liberty and federalism, had a strong influence in Europe. The idea of a United States of Europe became a watchword inspiring European history. It meant a challenge for the believers in the idea of European union, including the founding fathers of the EU.

Tocqueville, French liberal thinker, summarized the essence of this challenge as follows:

> "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; but the new word which ought to express this novel thing does not yet exist."[17]

Unitary nation state

Under the influence of the American Revolution the French Revolutionaries started the fight against the absolute rule of the king in the name of liberty. They drafted the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* of 1789. It declared

> "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights (Art. 1.). … The principle

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[17] Alexis de Tocqueville (1990): *Democracy in America*. The Henry Reeve text as revisited by Francis Bowen, now further corrected and edited with introduction, editorial notes, and bibliographies by Phillips Bradley. Vol. I. Vintage Books Edition, A Division of Random House INC., New York, 158-159; URL: https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/tocqueville-democracy-in-america-historical-critical-edition-4-vols-lf-ed-2010 (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. (Art. 3.)" 18

It was a human rights document, ensuring the right for protection against discrimination, right to legal defense; right to safety; individual rights, like privacy, freedom of thought, speech, press, assembly, movement, and religion. It is regarded as a major achievement of European history.

The French Revolution (1789-1799) established, through plebiscite, a unitary nation state with a unicameral national assembly as legislator. Despite the enthusiasm about American democracy, it did not create a federal republic. Colonization and the centralization policy of the ancient regime continued. The Revolution could not realize the planned social revolution based on the principles of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. But the new principles of democracy and popular sovereignty were present in social organization as an opposition to the centralized authoritarian state.

In the period of the French Revolution, Immanuel Kant, in his essay on *Perpetual Peace*, 179519 proposed the idea of a permanent world federal union among sovereign states (foedus pacificum), based on international law and legal harmonization among similar republican states, without sharing state sovereignty. In his view this international organization would be in harmony with the principles of the Declaration of 1789.

English type bicameral parliamentary Europe

After the Napoleonic wars Count Saint-Simon and Augustin Thierry submitted their plan to the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, on the reorganization of Europe as a bicameral parliamentarian union.20 Their project opened a new phase in the history of the projects on European union because it could transcend the classical council type Europe by proposing a parliamentary European union composed of similar national parliaments. It followed the English bicameral parliamentary system, and not the American one. The European parliament was to be composed of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers. I.e, a House of States (Senate) did not replace the House of Peers, as opposed to the American federal union. The novelty was that the representatives of the old elite and the elected representatives of people could discuss how to shape the state. A constitutional hereditary monarch was to be at the top of the European union, acting as a president. He was to be responsible for the establishment of the European parliament. The European parliament should deal with the enterprises having public utility, with the common market, and with colonization.

The conservative monarchs and governments were not at all in favour of such a change. They wanted to preserve the traditional monarchical diplomacy, based on the balance of power policy, negotiations, and bargains among themselves. They were more

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18 First article of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, 1789. The Avalon Project, Yale Law School, URL: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

19 Immanuel Kant (1795): *Perpetual Peace*. A Philosophical Essay, 1795. URL: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/50922?msg=welcome_stranger (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

20 M. le Comte de Saint-Simon - A. Thierry (1925): *De la réorganisation de la société européenne ou de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale*. Par M. le Comte de Saint-Simon et par Alfred Thierry, son élève (octobre 1814). Publié avec une introduction et des notes par Alfred Pereire. Les Presses Françaises, Paris, 43-53. URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k83331f/f4.image (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

in favour of a council-type 'Concert of Europe' and wanted to safeguard their power.

Federal union under federal council

In Europe only the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation established, in 1848, a modern federal republic under a bicameral federal council. The American Constitution influenced it, but the Swiss citizens and cantons did not want a strong presidential system. Instead, they established a bicameral Federal Assembly (Bundesversammlung), as legislative body. It was composed of the Council of the States (Standerath) and the National Council (Nationalrath). The Council of the States represented the interests of the citizens as citizens of their own cantons, and the National Council represented the interests of the citizens as the citizens of the Swiss Confederation. At the head of the Confederation stood the Federal Council under the leadership of the President (Bundespresident). The Federal Council had seven members and represented the countries' executive branch. The President was elected for one year and had no power. The Federal Council was the collective head of the state.

European social revolution, United States of Europe

The above mentioned historical achievements in the field of state and international organization showed the tendency of gradual enlargement of the rights of people for a participation in the organization of the state, and for a representation of their interests. Tocqueville, French liberal political thinker expressed this as follows:

> "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."[21]

But, in the middle of the 19th century, after the defeat of European revolutions, he had to realize that Europe was not organized from bottom up, like the United States. The retrograde force of the ancient regime's centralization policy was very strong. This made it difficult to realize democratic modernization. [22]

The 'spring of nations' inspired the faith in the idea of a European United States. A series of International Peace Congresses were organized between 1843 and 1853, where the representatives of peace societies met. In 1849, at the Paris conference, the pacifist French novelist, Victor Hugo used the term European United States and called for a European assembly. He said:

> "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".[23]

The development of the European (Western) system of liberties, i.e. the basic principles of democracy, popular sovereignty, and federalism, was the most important

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21 Alexis de Tocqueville (1990): *Democracy in America*. Op. cit. 6.

22 Alexis de Tocqueville: *The Old Regime and the Revolution*. URL: https://archive.org/details/oldregimeandrev00tocqgoog/page/n6 (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

23 Denis de Rougemont (1961): *Vingt huit siècles d'Europe.* op. cit. 255. For the English translation see: Seth, Catriona - Rotraud von Kulessa (eds.) (2017): *The Idea of Europe: Enlightenment Perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2017, 3. URL: https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0123 (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

historical achievement of all these struggles for peace, liberty and the humanization of power. This historical achievement highly contributed to the union among European states.

The European (Western) system of liberties corresponding to the state and international organization

The most important internal and external principles of the European (Western) system of liberties corresponding to state and international organization were the followings:

Representative parliament created by general elections, elected by the people for a specific length of time; separation of powers; executive branch that is either responsible to the parliament, or subject to popular recall; judiciary power independent of the executive branch; free press; freedom of conscience, assembly and other civic rights; extensive local autonomy.[24]

In the field of international policy the idea was to establish democracy among the states, based on a supranational (i.e., "above" the state) parliamentary representative system following the principles of the system of liberties. These principles were valid in the case of the democratic union of states, too.

The idea of personal federalism corresponded to the concepts of democracy and popular sovereignty. It meant a bottom up association policy of free and autonomous persons, and (by the persons created) states in all those fields of life which demanded common organization. This association policy was based on the transfer of common fields toward larger - provincial, state, and regional - units directed by the principle of subsidiarity and multilevelism.

The diagram below shows the idea of personal federalism, corresponding to democracy and popular sovereignty, on the figure of peaceful world federation.

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[24] István Bibó (1991): Reflections on the Social Development of Europe (1971-1972). In: *Democracy, Revolution, Self-determination. Selected Writings*. Edited by Károly Nagy. Translation by András Boros-Kazai. Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 467.

The figure of peaceful world federation

Free and autonomous persons (families) are in the center, who create different associations in all those areas of life which they can not manage alone, by transferring these common concerns toward larger units: local community, province or state. Different levels of cooperation can develop around the persons in different circles. The state is the first level which is self-supporting and sovereign. States could also continue this association policy and transfer to the supra-state (supranational) level common (exclusive) fields, and so create regional unions, with federal governments (like US, Switzerland), or open governance of supranational and intergovernmental multilevel unions like in the case of the EU. The essential thing is multilevelism and subsidiarity: the sharing of national (state) sovereignty in all those fields where common management is necessary; and organize them in a governance (government or governance) form, and remain autonomous in all other fields (practicing intergovernmental cooperation).

The founding fathers of the European Union, Coudenhove-Kalergi, Denis de Rougemont, Spinelli, Schuman, Jean Monnet, Adenauer, de Gasperi, or Delors all believed in the idea of personal federalism and peaceful world federation. The realization of these ideas in the European state practice after the Second World War was their challenge.

How could Europeans realize the system of liberties in the state and international organization?

Europeans, except the Swiss Confederation, were not successful in the realization of the system of liberties until the end of the Second World War. Proudhon, French federalist thinker, drew the conclusion that authoritarian, centralized nation states and national empires were not able to create European union. Only bottom-up personalist federal states could do that.[25]

The development of the system of liberties slowed down in the second half of the 19th century, which turned into a crisis in the first half of the 20th century. The most important causes were the followings:

There was no colonization policy following the system of liberties; European states were not organized bottom up but, rather, remained centralized; the authoritarian centralization policy of the retrograde old forces could survive and deformed the democratization process; the laissez-faire liberal capitalist expansion and colonization strengthened the fight for power and colonies. A fictive, center-periphery global economic system developed, which ignored the livelihood of the people. Immoral business mentality contributed to a world economic crisis. The hopeless misery helped dictators to come into power. Nationalism, extreme nationalism, in some European countries totalitarian Fascist and National Socialist directions rejecting the parliamentary democracy, showed the crisis of the system of liberties. Communists opposed capitalism, and were for the collective ownership of people, under the centralized leadership of the Communist Party. People did not know what to do, how to continue the revolutionary process to be able to participate in the shaping of the states and the international relations.

Opposition in the name of democratic European union

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25 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1959): Du principe fédératif et oeuvres diverses sur les problèmes politiques européens. In: *Oeuvres completes de P. J. Proudhon*. Librairie Marcel Rivière, Paris, 321-322.

Four political directions were competing in a struggle for a European United States between the two World Wars: Democracy, Communism, Fascism and National Socialism. The Communists as well as the National Socialists did embrace the idea of the United States of Europe. Communists were for a European United States of Workers and Peasants, continuing the revolutionary fight for participation of people in the state.[26] National Socialists wanted to unite Europe under Hitler's racial nationalist rule.[27]

The democratic opposition continued the fight, in the name of the idea of democratic European union to safeguard the principles of the system of liberties, against the laissez-faire liberal economic expansion, Fascism, National Socialism and Communism. The most important among them were the Paneuropean Movement, led by Coudenhove-Kalergi, the Briand Memorandum, the personal federalist L'Ordre Nouveau and Esprit group, the Resistance Movement, and the aforementioned Ventotene Manifesto of 1941. All of them believed in personal federalism and the idea of a peaceful world federation. All of them were in favor of a European federal union inspired by the American or the Swiss examples. Economists emphasized the necessity to end the laissez-faire liberal capitalism (Keynes), and start functional, sectoral cooperation. It is in this spirit that Emile Mayrisch, the Luxembourgian industrialist and businessman, established the International Steel Carter in 1926, in which Germany, France, Belgium and Luxembourg cooperated. It was regarded as the example for the European Coal and Steel Community which started the supranational European economic integration process, in 1951.

United Nations Organization and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

After the Second World War the idea of peaceful world federation revived. The United Nations was established, in 1945, replacing the League of Nations that had failed to function as a conflict solving international organization. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was declared in 1948. It rejected colonization, slavery and nationalism. The UN was an intergovernmental organization but represented the idea of supranational coordinating agencies. A European union was imagined as regional part of it.

What could the European integration process achieve in the field of democracy among states?

The Hague Congress, 1948

There was a federalist enthusiasm in Europe after the Second World War, based on the idea of a peaceful world federation. At the Hague Congress, in 1948, which dealt with the future of Europe, the following scenarios were outlined:

1. European bicameral parliamentary federation (European United States) established immediately after the war, through a constitutional assembly, elected by the people. This is what the constitutional federalists, led by Spinelli, wanted. The same was the goal of Coudenhove-Kalergi's European Parliamentary Union.

2. Gradual establishment of a parliamentary federation. This was the aim of the integral federalists (Rougemont, Brugmans, Delors).

3. Intergovernmental Europe coordinated by functional supranational agencies. This is what the intergovernmentalists wanted (Churchill, De Gaulle).

[26] Trotsky, Leon (1923): *Is the Time Ripe for the Slogan: 'The United States of Europe'?* A Discussion Article, June, 1923. URL: https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1923/06/europe.htm (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

[27] Joachim von Ribbentrop: European confederation. 21 March 1943. In: Walter Lipgens (1985): *Documents on the History of European Integration*. Vol. I. Continental Plans for European Union 1939-1945. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 122-127.

4. Functionalist economic sectoral cooperation. This was the purpose of the economic functionalists.

These different scenarios, under discussions and mutually influencing on another shaped the history of the European integration.

The Council of Europe, 1949

The former European states were reconstructed with an American aid, which meant that a fundamental democratic social reconstruction, favoured by the federalists, was not necessary.

In 1949, the Council of Europe was established as an intergovernmental cooperation. The problem was (despite its great importance) that intergovernmentalism alone, without federalism, was not able to transcend the old policy of fight for power among sovereign nation states. The Council of Europe could not become a union securing peace. It could not initiate the democratic social and institutional reform changing the old international policy. For a democratic Europe a parliamentary European union was necessary with federalist and intergovernmentalist opposition.

Schuman Declaration, 1950 and the European Coal and Steel Community, 1951

The Schuman Declaration of 1950 continued the fight for a European federation.[28] It represented functionalist sectoral economic cooperation in the field of the coal and steel production. (scenario 4) The so called Monnet-method achieved the establishment of the supranational European Coal and Steel Community, in1951, with supranational (High Authority, Common Assembly, Court of Justice) and intergovernmental (Council of Ministers) institutions above the states, in one institutional structure. It used the idea of a parliamentary and council-type system together. The new method was based on spillover. The expectation was that more and more common fields would be dealt by the supranational institutions and so the system would gradually develop further on its own pace. (scenario 4)

As the following step Jean Monnet, and the French premier, René Pleven proposed to establish a supranational European Defense Community continuing the institutional example of the ECSC. It meant a common federal European army led by a European Minister for Defence and endowed with a common budget. It would be placed under the supreme command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).[29] (scenario 4)

Seeing the difficulties of the creation of a common European army, in the lack of a common European authority, constitutional federalists, led by Spinelli, proposed the establishment of a bicameral parliamentary European Political Community and a European Executive Council cooperating with the Council of National Ministers. The European Parliament was to be composed of the People's Chamber and the Senate.[30] (scenario 1, 2)

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[28] The Schuman Declaration, Paris, 9 May 1950. URL: https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/ the_schuman_declaration_paris_9_may_1950-en-9cc6ac38-32f5-4c0a-a337-9a8ae4d5740f.html (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

[29] The Plan for an EDC. URL: https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/ 803b2430-7d1c-4e7b-9101-47415702fc8e/29a4e81c-c7b6-4622-915e-3b09649747b8 (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

[30] Draft Treaty Embodying the Statute of the European Community (10 March 1953). URL: https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/ 6 5 5 0 4 3 0 e - 9 8 c 0 - 4 4 4 1 - 8 a 6 0 - e c 7 c 0 0 1 c 3 5 7 b / Resources#807979a3-4147-427e-86b9-565a0b917d4f_en&overlay (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

Both, the European Defense Community and the bicameral European Political Community were rejected. (scenario 3)

Treaties of Rome, 1957 – European Economic Community and Euratom

After the defeat of the federalist European union, in 1954, intergovernmentalism (scenario 3) together with sectoral functionalism (scenario 4) came into action. The intergovernmental European Economic Community, and the functionalist Euratom were established. The *Treaty on the Economic Community,* proposed, in 1957, the establishment of a customs union; the creation of a single market for goods, labor, services and capital; common agriculture and transport policy, the making of a social fund, and it established the European Commission. It emphasized social policy in accordance with the concept of welfare state and social policy. It created the European Social Fund, which financed employment, and economic and social cohesion. There was an opening toward people through the social policy. (scenario 3, 4)

In 1966, Charles de Gaulle, the French president, succeeded to establish, with the Luxembourg Compromise, the veto right of the Council, thereby avoiding the Commission to become a European government. As a result, the Council and the meetings of the Heads of State or Government could dominate the shaping of the European Community. The democratic deficit stabilized. The governments used the supranational institutions (Parliament, Commission) to negotiate and bargain on common areas of concern and cooperated on the level of the lowest common denominator. (scenario 3)

Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union, 1984

In 1984, Spinelli restarted the supranational European integration in the framework of the European Parliament with the *Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union*[31]. He fought for the removal of the veto right and the emancipation of the Parliament with the Council in the co-decision procedure. His goal was to achieve a bicameral parliamentary Europe through the fight for equal rights. At the same time he supported the gradual transfer of competences to the supranational level. He proposed the principle of subsidiarity to create a democratic European policy with two main oppositional groups, the federalists and the intergovernmentalists. (scenario 1, 2, 4)

Delors continued the federalist reform. He was in favor a gradual shaping of a Europe of Nation States and People, but rejected the establishment of a federal government. He also favored subsidiarity. As a federalist political tactic he proposed the followings: to continue the supranational economic policy of the founding fathers; to diminish the veto right; to establish the single market; to realize the economic and monetary union; to gradually transfer the necessary powers from the nation state's level to the supranational level and thereby enlarge the fields of supranational cooperation. The European Union was established in 1992 on these bases. (scenario 2, 4)

Treaty of Maastricht, 1992 – European Union

What the European integration could achieve in the *Treaty of Maastricht*, 1992 was an intergovernmental and supranational union of nation states based on subsidiarity and multilevelism with a democratic deficit. The road remained open to federalist reforms and constitutionalism. (scenario 3, but open to 2, 4)

The EU reflects the centuries old fight for humanization of power and peace in the European civilization. In essence it can be regarded as a historical product of

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[31] Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union, 1984 (Spinelli-draft). URL: https:// www.cvce.eu/en/obj/draft_treaty_establishing_the_european_union_14_february_1984- en-0c1f92e8-db44-4408-b569-c464cc1e73c9.html (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)

compromises between the federalists and intergovernmentalists on the aim of a federalist Europe (the United States of Europe) for the benefit of the intergovernmentalists.

Europe of Tomorrow: Five Scenarios for Our Future

Perhaps the 5th scenario is the best "Doing much more together" (common foreign policy and defense union; economic, financial and fiscal union; strengthened Single Market; common asylum policy, border management, and counter terrorism).32 Economic, financial and fiscal union in the area of defense are necessary parts of a defense union. The same is true for a common asylum policy, border management, and counter terrorism.

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32 *White Paper on the Future of Europe. Reflections and Scenarios for the EU 27 by 2025*. European Commission, Brussels, 2017. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/white_paper_on_the_future_of_europe_en.pdf (Retrieved: 10.09.2019)