



Engineering European Unity

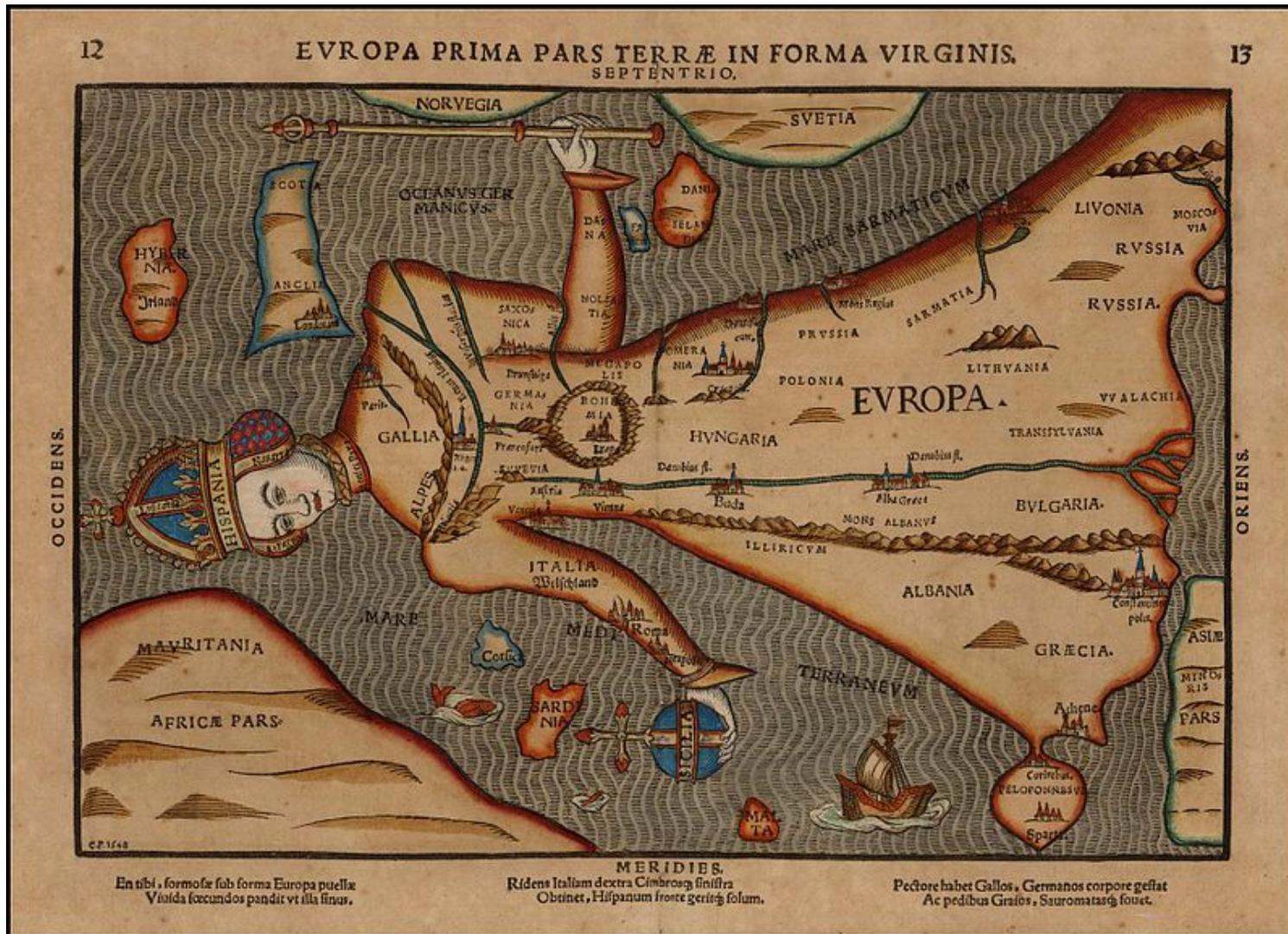
Éva Bóka



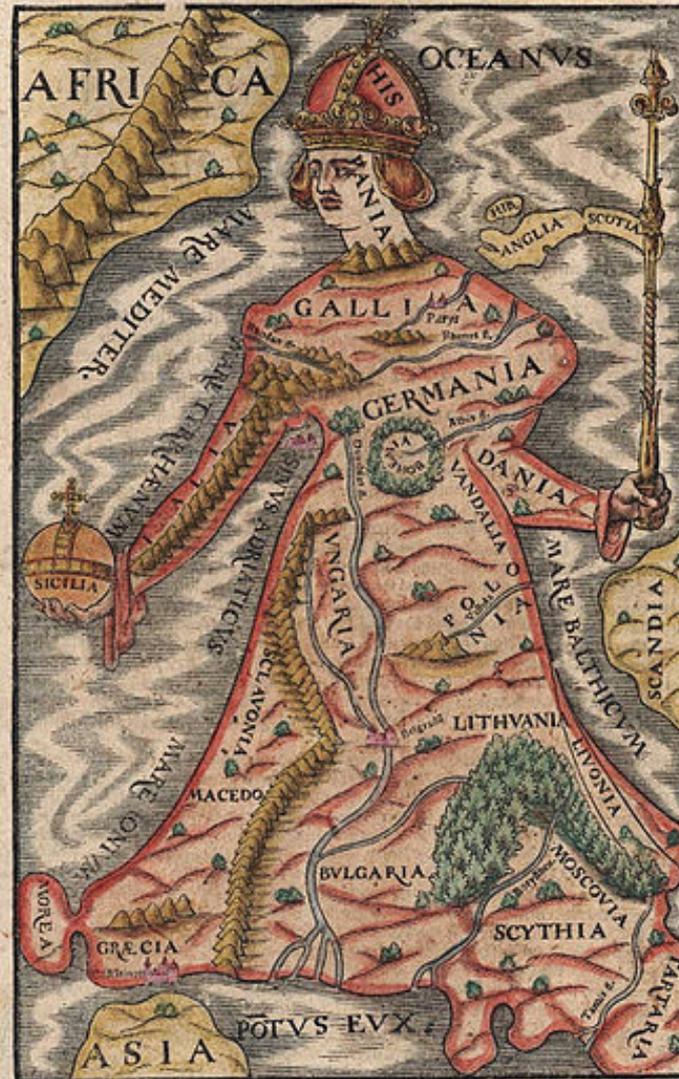
“Europa on the bull” (about 370-360 BC) Museum of Sannio (Wikimedia Commons)



Europa in a fresco at Pompeii (Wikimedia Commons)



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



großen General Tafeln und in der neuen Tafel die allein Europam begreiff. Doch wann man ansehen will und darzu rechnen die großen Landschaften die gegen Mitternacht gehen solt wol die breite Europes überreffen die länge. Wie aber Ptolemæus Europam beschriben hat ist sein länge größer dann die breite. Das ist ein mal gewis das Europa ist ein trefflich fruchtbar und wol erbas

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



Map of Europe, by William Blaeu, 1630 (Wikimedia Commons)



Van Schagen's map of the world, 1689 World map – Amsterdam



Location European Union (Wikimedia Commons)



Flag of Europe (Wikimedia Commons)

The idea of European union and the 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 making a European union, with the participation of everybody, based on the principle of liberty and personal autonomy, as a way toward a new democratic and peaceful future after the Second World War.
- Where does this belief in the idea of European union come from? Which historical achievements justify it? Why can we believe in the idea of European Union?



Altiero Spinelli, Ventotene, 1941

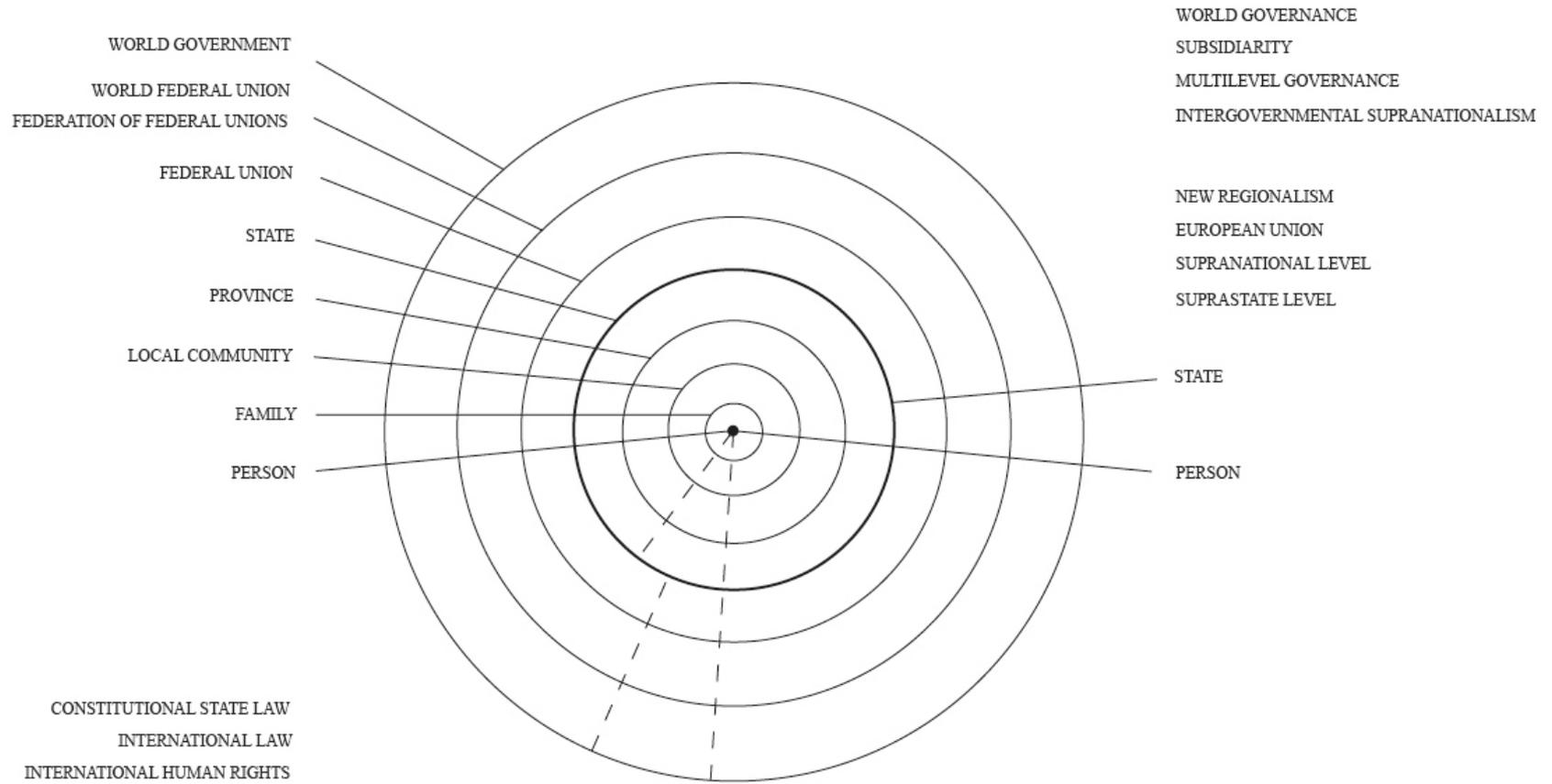
The main characteristics of the idea of European union

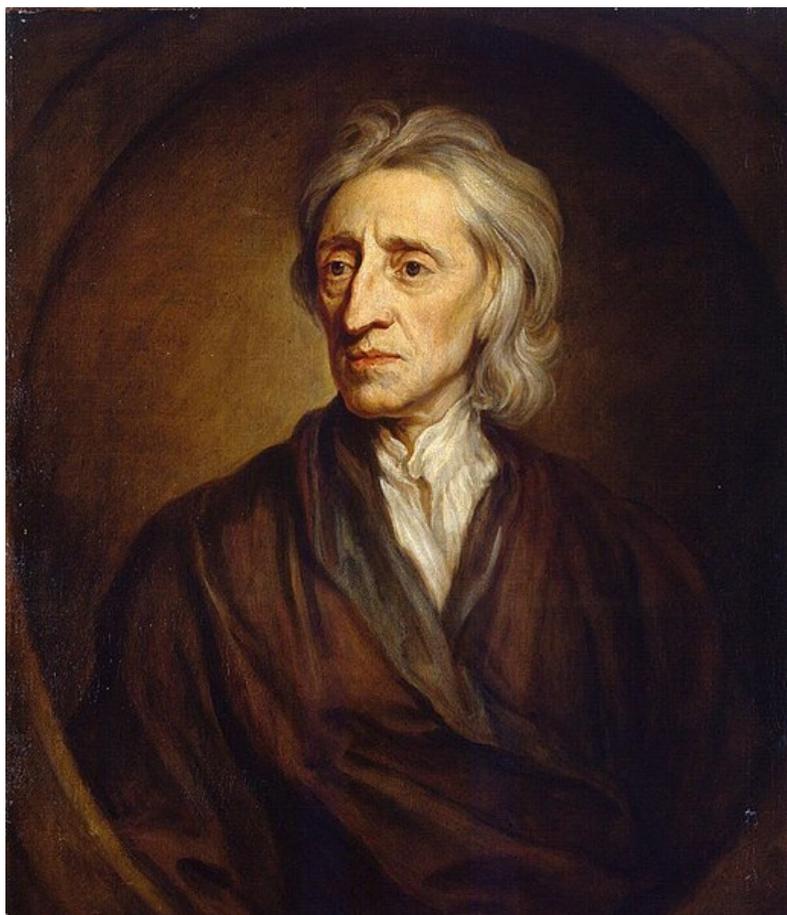
- Pluralist idea on cooperation among persons, states, and unions of states - troubled European history
 - Humanization of power, fight for freedom, and peace
 - Free thinking, discussions, difference of meaning, diversity, fight for freedom and participation in the organization of the state and the international relations
 - Political essays, peace projects, treaties on defense unions, legal documents on rights and liberty mirroring the development of the system of European liberties
- 

Development of the idea of European union 1.

- Ancient Greek political, Roman legal, and Christian religious moral bases
- Greek Amphictyones (court of arbitration); Aristotle (personal federalism)
- Respublica Christiana (Christian Commonwealth)
- Pierre Dubois, 1306 – European Council and court of arbitration
- 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)
- Althusius versus Bodin
- Fight for rights and liberty against absolutism and conquering (Magna Carta, 1215; The English Glorious Revolution, 1688 – Locke)







Development of the idea of European union 2.

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

Montesquieu – federal republic

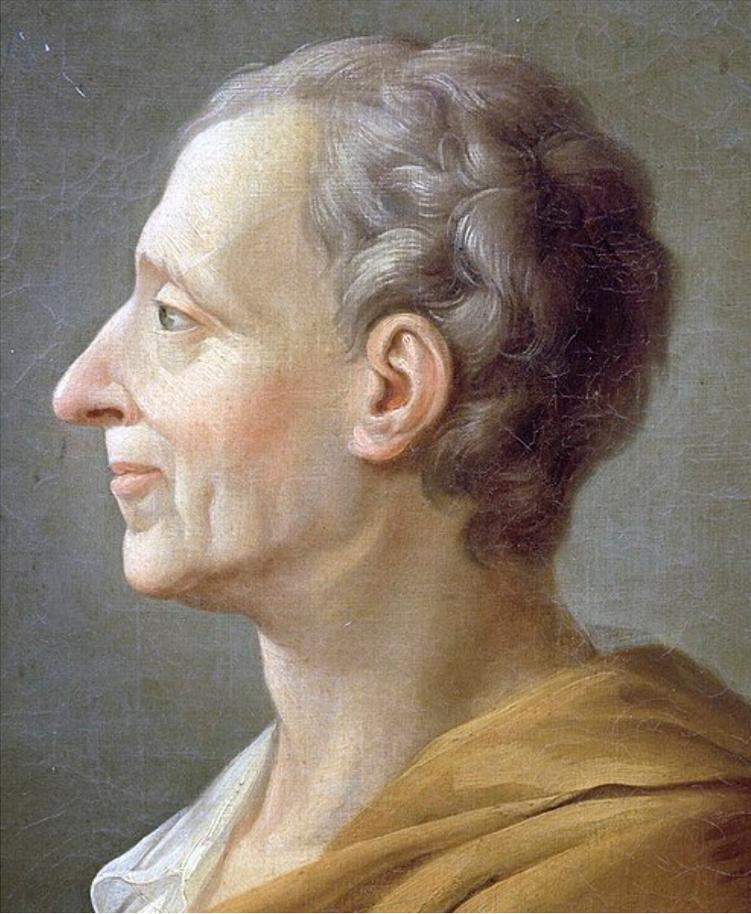
- The American Revolution (1765-1783)
- Declaration of Independence, 1776 (liberty)
- “That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”



Charles Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre (Abbot Saint-Pierre (1658-1743) (Wikimedia Commons)



Frederick Lamb's painting of William Penn (1644-1718) (Wikimedia Commons)

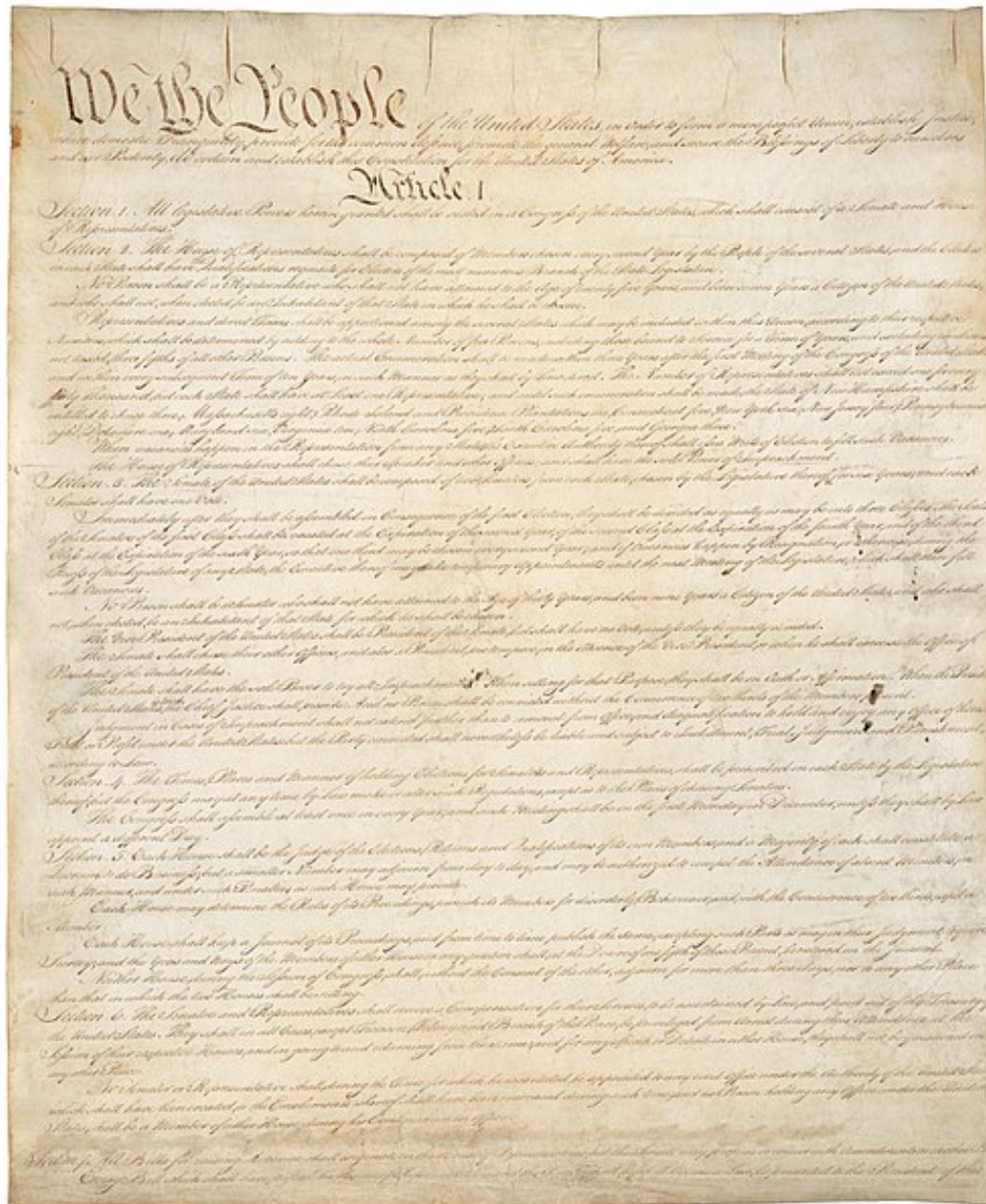




Howard Chandler Christy, Signing of the Constitution (Wikimedia Commons)

Development of the idea of European union 3.

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



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



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)

Development of the idea of European union 4.

- Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens, 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
- (https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp)



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

Development of the idea of European union 5.

- French Revolution (1789-1799)
- Abolishing absolutism and feudalism
- Self-determination, popular sovereignty, democracy
- Plebiscite, unitary nation state, no federal republic, no minority protection (Girondins versus Jacobins)
- Colonization and the centralization policy of the ancient regime continued
- Immanuel Kant: Perpetual Peace, 1795 – Foedus pacificum (permanent world federal union among similar republican sovereign states; legal harmonization; cosmopolitan morality)

Development of the idea of European union 6.

- Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, 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) under President (1 year, no power)
- Federal council was the collective head of the state



The principles of European (Western) system of liberties

- The separation of powers
- Representative Parliament created by general elections
- 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. In: Democracy, Revolution, Self-determination, New York, 1991, 467.)
- International relations: Democracy among states based on the same democratic internal and external principles

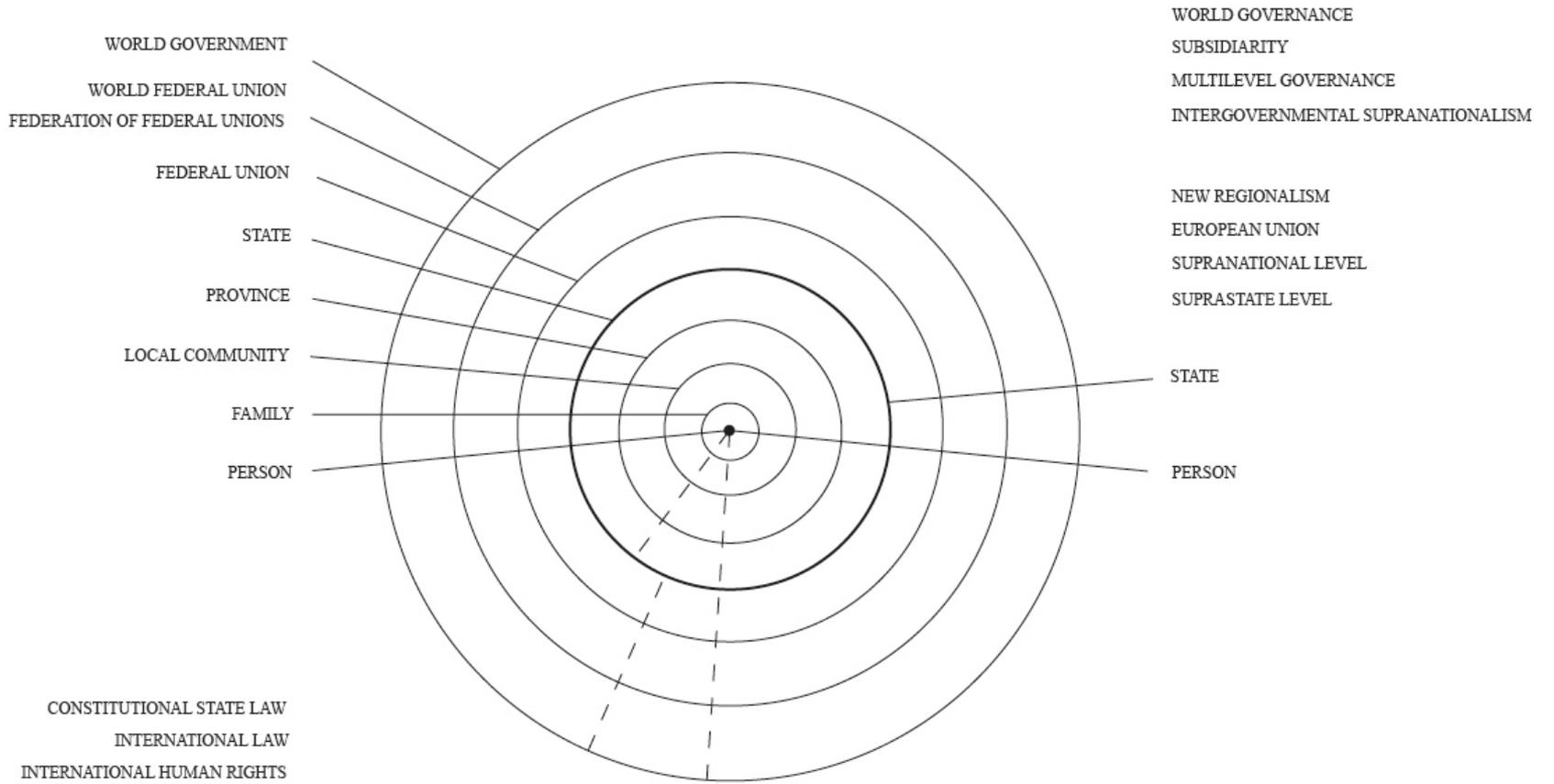
Personal federalism, democracy, popular sovereignty, federalism

- Personal federalism: to democracy and popular sovereignty corresponding basic idea; placing autonomous persons and their associations in the centre of world organization
- Bottom-up association policy of free and autonomous persons, and by them created communities in all those fields of life which demanded common organization
- Transfer of common fields toward larger – provincial, state, and regional – units directed by the principle of multilevelism and subsidiarity
- Proudhon

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865)

- Criticism of colonization, the unitary nation state, the Italian and German unity
- Expansive authoritarian national monarchies and empires are not able to establish federation





Tocqueville on the old regime

- Tocqueville: Democracy in America
- “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”
- The old regime was in losing power, and gradual participation of more and more social classes and persons in the shaping of the states and the international relations
- The Old regime and the Revolution – survival of the centralizing system of the old order



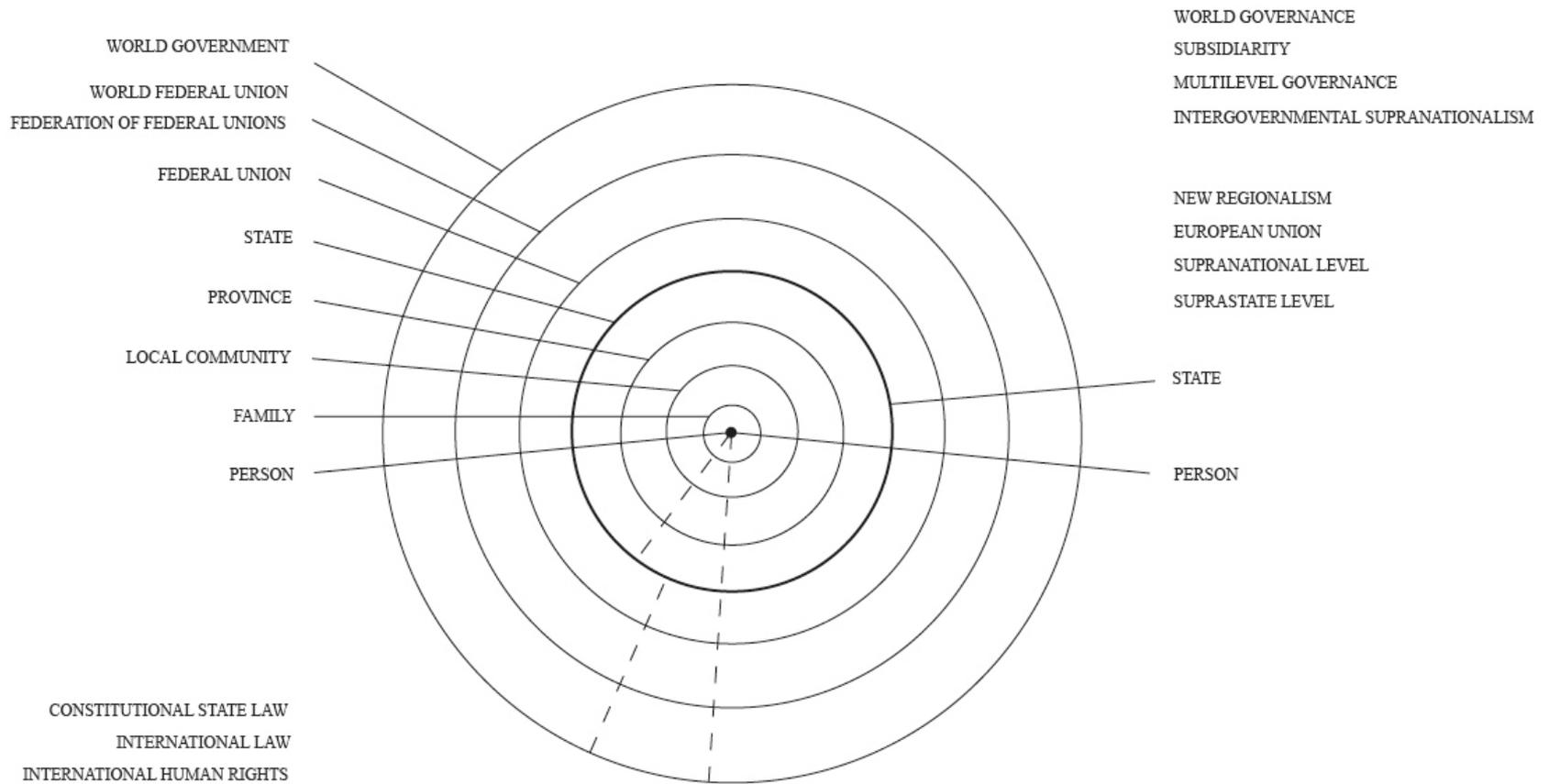
How could Europeans realize the ideas of the system of liberties?

- No colonization policy according to the system of liberties
- Strong retrograde power of the old authoritarian and centralizing past; old and new merged; misusing the democratic ideas
- France, unification of the Italian peninsula and Germany (Bismarck)
- Authoritarian, nationalist nation states and national empires
- New wave of colonization, imperialism; centre-periphery system of rich and poor countries; exploitation of the world; corrupt business mentality
- First World War, world economic crisis, Second World War
- New Deal in the US, 1933-36
- Hopeless misery in Europe, people did not know what to do, how to continue the revolutionary process of democratization



The idea of a democratic European union opposing nationalism

- Totalitarian states (fascism, national socialism; communist dictatorship)
- Defense of the system of liberties with the help of the idea of European union:
- Keynes: The end of laissez-faire, 1926; functionalist (con)federalism
- Functional economic cooperation (International Steel Carter), 1926
- Paneuropean Movement, Coudenhove-Kalergi
- Briand plan, 1929-1930
- Integral (personal) federalists, L'Ordre Nouveau
- Resistance Movement, Spinelli, Ventotene Manifesto, 1941
- Reviving the idea of peaceful world federation and of European union as part of it
- United Nations, 1945, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948
- New Europe - reform of social organization, federalist revolution





Constitutional Federalist

- European Federalist Movement led by Spinelli
- (American Constitution, The Federalist Papers)
- European Constituent Assembly, elected by the people, framing the constitution – political union
- Immediate establishment of federal political institutions and a federal government directly responsible to European citizens
- Social reform and decentralization start automatically



Personal or Integral Federalist

- Rougemont, Brugmans, Marc (Proudhon)
- Union of European Federalists led by Brugmans
- Nonconformism
- No political union, no constitutional federalism, persons (“living forces”) and groups federating gradually on their own initiative
- Gradualism, functional supranational institutions representing what the integration could achieve
- (Integral = composed of constituent parts)



European Parliamentary Federalist

- European Parliamentary Union led by Coudenhove-Kalergi
- Swiss-type constitutional federal union under a federal government established through a European constituent assembly
- The parliaments and parliamentarians of Europe have to take the lead in the battle for Europe.



Congress of Europe, Ridderzaal, The Hague, 9 May 1948
(National Archives – Wiki Sources)



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

Reconstruction of Europe with the Marshall aid (1947, April 1948)

End colonization

Federalist reform (federalist directions: constitutional federalist and integral federalist)

- Scenario 1. European constitutional parliamentary federation
- Scenario 2. Personal (integral) federalism – gradual federalist reform
- Scenario 3. Intergovernmental functionalist Europe (council-type)
- Scenario 4. Federalist functionalist economic sectoral cooperation
- The Council of Europe, 1948 (intergovernmentalist, transnational consultative Parliamentary Assembly, no federalist social renewal)



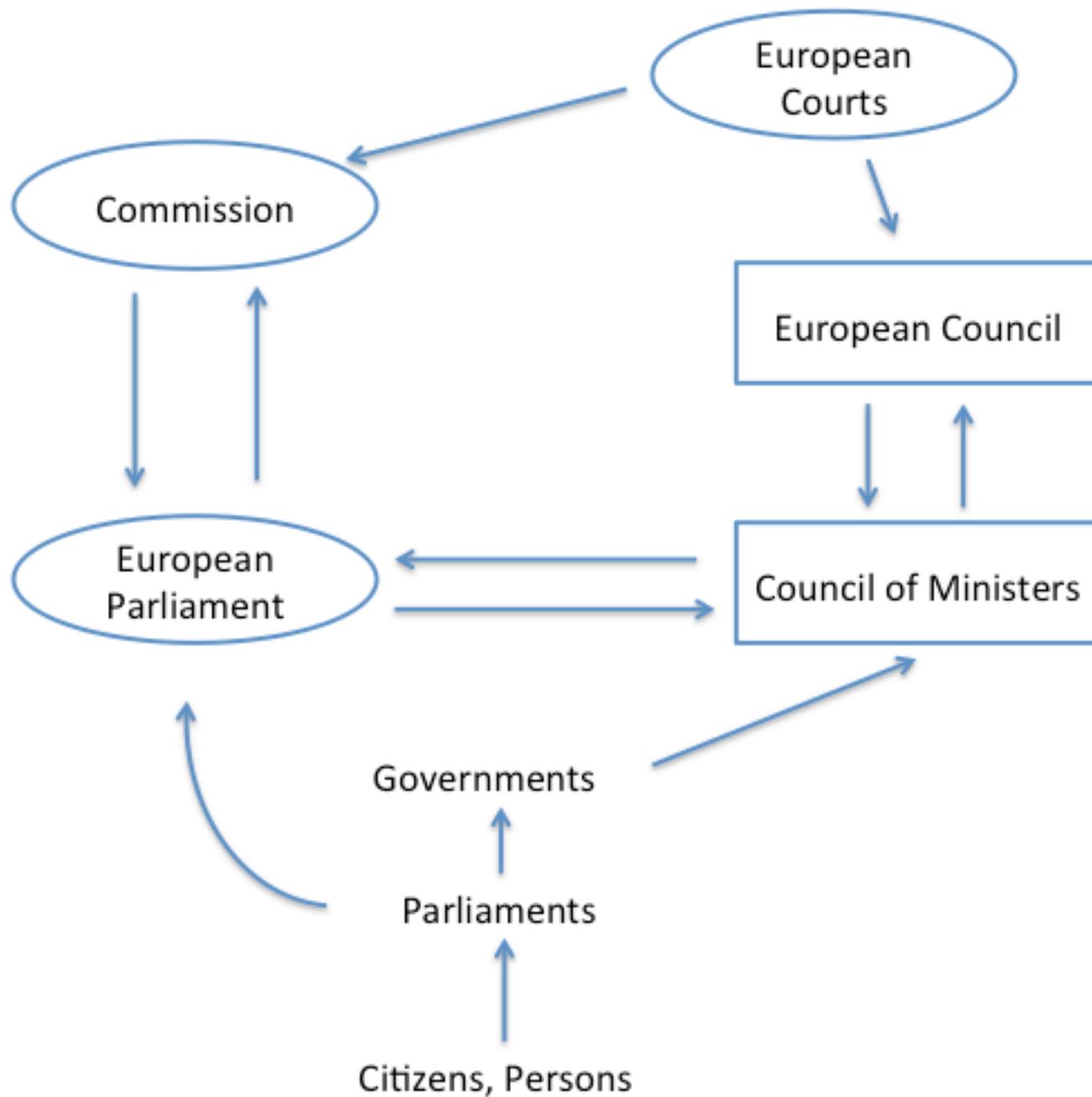
The history of the European integration

- 1. Scenario 3. Council of Europe, 1949 – intergovernmentalist functionalist
- 2. Scenario 4. ECSC, 1951 – Federalist functionalist sectoral
- 3. Scenario 4.,1-3. EDC, 1952, EPC, 1953 – Federalist functionalist
- 4. Scenario 3. EEC, and scenario 4. Euratom
- 5. Scenario 3. De Gaulle, Luxembourg Compromise, 1966
- 6. Scenario 2. Rougemont, personalist federalist regionalism
- 7. Scenario 1.,2.,4. Spinelli, federalist parliamentary reform
- 8. Scenario 3. and 4. – Treaty of Maastricht, 1992 (EMU, Single Market)



European Union

- Treaty of Lisbon, 2007 – Common, shared and supported competences; it represents a transnational multilevel democracy based on subsidiarity and multilevelism, and the dichotomy of intergovernmentalism versus federalism. The EU is open to further personalist federalist reform.
- EU is an intergovernmentalist functionalist and federalist functionalist supranational union of nation states based on subsidiarity and multilevelism with a democratic deficit.





Federalist functionalism

- Democratic social organization philosophy and method
- Persons are in the center, personal principle (popular sovereignty), associations, transfer of fields, competences
- Bottom-up internal and external democracy in the framework of the Western system of liberties (bicameral parliamentary union with government or open democratic institutions)
- Division of the federal parliamentary governance of the common competences and the state competences in one institutional structure
- Subsidiarity
- Multilevelism



Intergovernmentalist functionalism

- States and national governments are in the centre, and they are the actors
- Recognition of the importance of institutionalization based on the lowest common denominator, and under governmental control
- Intergovernmental negotiated decisions in supranational independent institutions
- Subsidiarity (nationalist interpretation)
- Multilevelism (nationalist interpretation)



Functionalism

- Cooperation between different functions of the states
- Linking authority to a specific activity (function), and breaking it away from the cooperating states' sovereignty, and organizing these functions in the framework of supranational institutions
- Intergovernmentalist functionalism (A. Moravcsik)
- Federalist functionalism (J. Monnet)



Subsidiarity

- To entrust common institutions only with those powers which “they may carry out more satisfactorily than the states acting independently”. (Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union (Spinelli draft), 1984.



Conservative Intergovernmentalism

- Nationalism
- Euroscepticism
- Criticism of the EU (too elitist, bureaucratic, undermines the nation state)
- “European Family of Nations” (M. Thatcher)
- Intergovernmental agreements and bargaining
- Denial of the importance of supranational institutions



Future scenarios based on history

1. Nationalism would cause the collapse of the EU, and its disappearance as global player in the world economy and politics. Collapse of supranationalism; trading union of sovereign nation states; classical intergovernmental methods, including fight for power, and wars.
2. Intergovernmentalist functionalism would mean a politically divided, weak, but economically strong EU facing permanent insecurity as for its institutional state.
3. Federalist functionalism (supranationalism, subsidiarity and multilevelism) could result in the emergence of a new democratic union of states, respecting the autonomy of the member states, and solving the democratic deficit. It could represent a completely new and democratic answer to the new economic and political challenges of globalization.

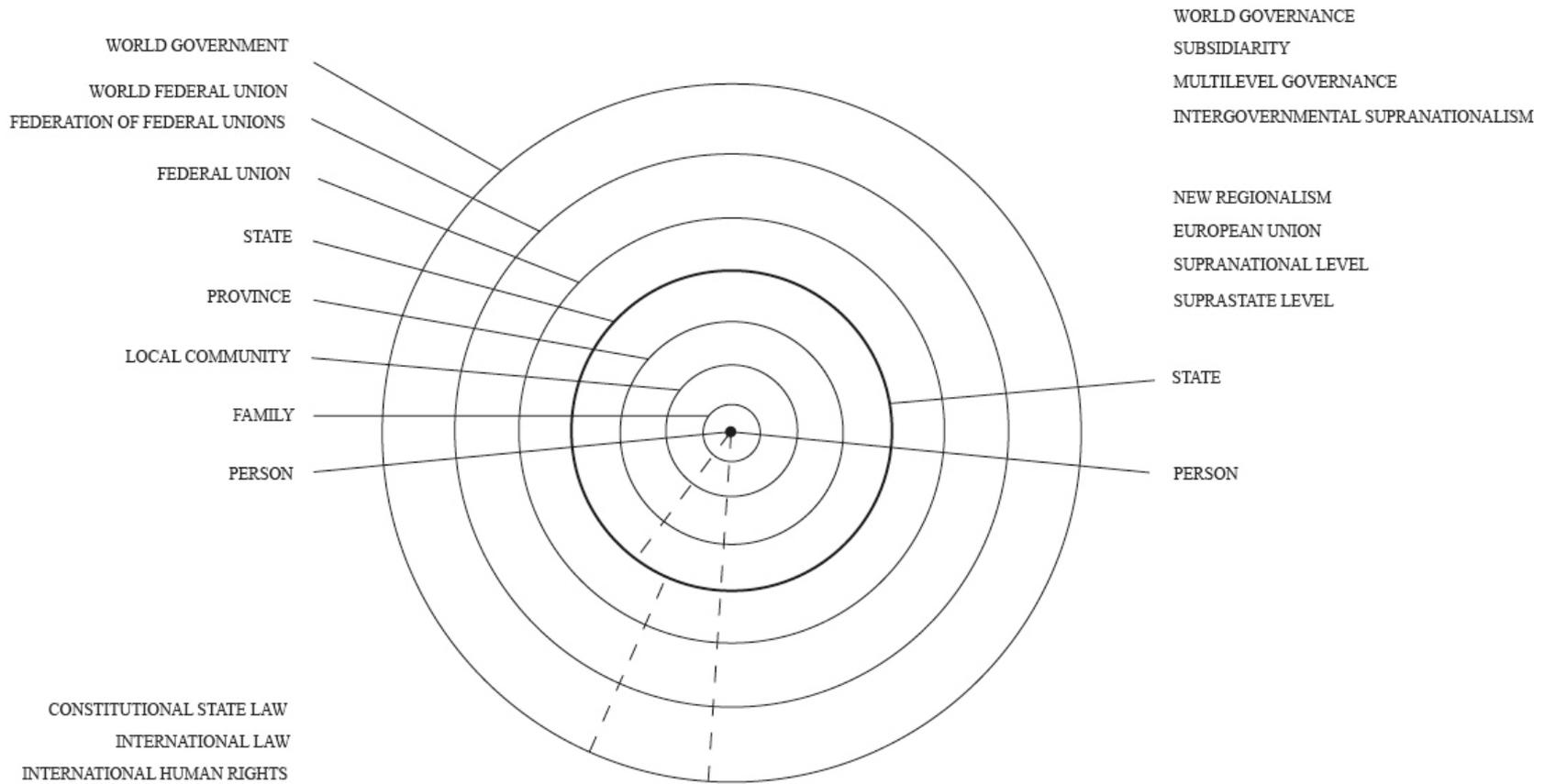


Europe's future

“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)

Europe's future is in personal federalism, subsidiarity and multilevelism.





The EU model and the World

- Yes and no
- Yes – EU's transnational multilevel democracy based on subsidiarity and multilevelism and the dichotomy of intergovernmentalism versus federalism
- No – cultural differences; differences in modernization
- Yes – the states world-wide adopted the elements of the European democracy (system of liberties, nation state, federalism)
- No – differences in modernity, democratization, human rights

Modernization

- Industrialization
- The emergence of a liberal capitalist world system
- The necessary reforms of state and international organization
- The formation of an ideology of democratization and human rights



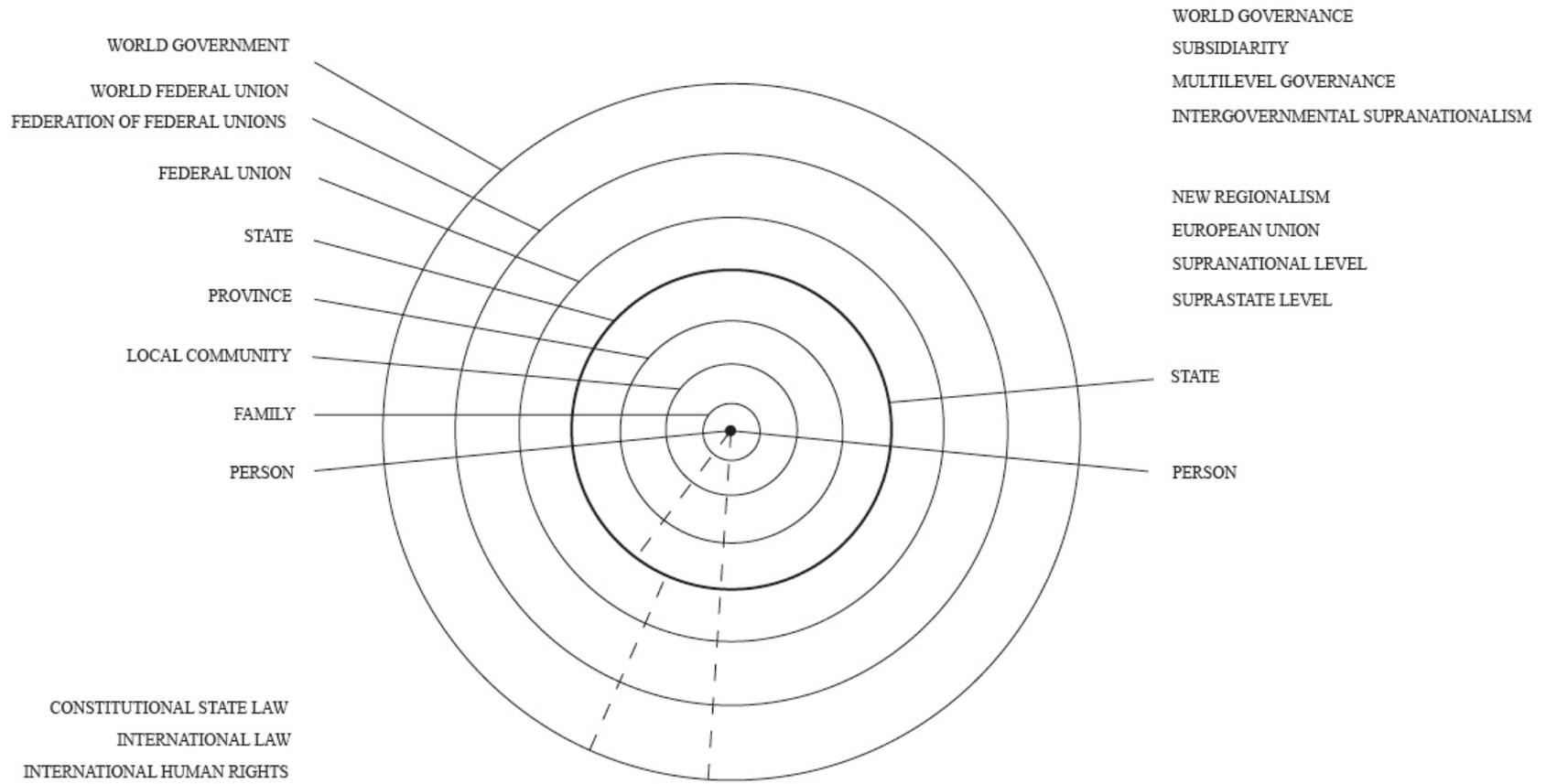
The EU-model and the world

- India – Gandhi, Nehru
- Africa – Nkrumah, Nyerere
- Japan- Fukuzawa
- China – K'ang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping



EU-model and the United Nations

- New regionalism (continental) – multilevelism and subsidiarity
- In the UN structure multilevelism and subsidiarity should be realized
- Economy, finances, trade, communication, environmental protection, protection against epidemics (pandemics), migration should be organized following the principle of multilevel governance and subsidiarity in the framework of the Economic and Social Council of the UN.



Recommended literature

- The presentation slides, the text of the lecture and recommended on-line literature can be found on my website:
- <http://www.eva-boka.name>
- The figure of the peaceful world federation: https://www.eva-boka.name/test/Boka_Eva_abra.jpg



Thank you for your attention!