

Europe in Search of Unity in Diversity

Course Description

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| Academic Year: 2010/2011 |
| Lecturer: Éva Bóka, PhD, ISES Foundation |
| Credits: 5 |
| Content: |
| <p>The course investigates how European (Western and Central European) federalist political thinkers, believing in the idea of a peaceful world federation, developed personalism, multilevelism, and subsidiarity as means of protecting diversity in Europe during the 19th and 20th century, and in opposition to anti-federalist conservative power policies and classical liberal capitalist market economy expansion. It emphasises the role of József Eötvös who rethought the ideas of Tocqueville and Proudhon, and can be regarded as the first “manager of diversity” in Europe. The course includes a description on the Pan-European Movement that elaborated the federalist ideas on personalist federalism and multilevelism. It also deals with the European integration as manager of diversity: more precisely it investigates how the EU, as an intergovernmental and supranational new regional union of states based on multilevelism and subsidiarity, protects diversity (“unity in diversity”), and how this can influence new regionalism in the world. Finally, the course compares European federalist theories and practices with those of some important Asian thinkers – who studied, analysed and criticised European modernity, and European universalism – like Gandhi, K'ang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Deng Xiaoping, Lee Kuan Yew.</p> <p>The course concentrates on, and discusses the following question: Can personalism, subsidiarity (autonomy) and multilevelism – as state and international organization principles – protect unity in all areas where cooperation is necessary?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Introduction: the idea and model of peaceful world federation2. European federalism in opposition to wars and power policy<ol style="list-style-type: none">2.1. Federalists in opposition to anti-federalists in a modernising Europe (Althusius versus Bodin; Hobbes, Kant, Tocqueville, Proudhon)2.2. Eötvös as the first manager of diversity in Europe2.3. Linguistic-cultural federalist visions in Central Europe2.4. The Pan-European Movement in defence of European civilization (Coudenhove-Kalergi)2.5. Renewing the international and European state organization after the Second World War3. European integration and managing unity in diversity<ol style="list-style-type: none">3.1. Federalist élan in Europe (Coudenhove-Kalergi, Spinelli, Monnet)3.2. The federalist and intergovernmentalist compromise (De Gaulle, Hallstein, Spinelli, Delors) |

- 3.3. EU as a new type federalist and confederalist union of states based on multilevelism and subsidiarity (The Treaty on European Union, 1992)
- 3.4. The Treaty of Lisbon and managing diversity
- 3.5. Enlargement and the dilemma of Europeanization: the case of Central and Eastern Europe
- 3.6. In search of future alternatives for the EU as a new regional union
- 4. The EU-model and the world
- 5. New regionalism
 - 5.1. New regionalism and diversity (ASEAN, ASEM, SAARC)
- 6. Asian thinkers on European state and international organization (Gandhi, K'ang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Deng Xiaoping, Lee Kuan Yew)
- 7. Outlook: toward a world union of peace as unity in diversity

Bibliography:

Mandatory Readings:

Bóka Éva (2010): *Europe in Search of Unity in Diversity*. ISES Füzetek. 14. Társadalomtudományok és Európa-Tanulmányok Intézete. Szombathely-Kőszeg, <http://www.ises.hu/ises/publikaciok>

Bóka Éva (2009): The Europe-China Dialogue in a Historical Perspective. *Grotius*, <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=FDWKZS>

Recommended Readings:

Aristotle (1962): *Politics*. Clarendon Press, Oxford

Hamilton, Alexander - James Madison - John Jay (1987): *The Federalist Papers*. Pinguin Books, Harmondsworth

The Federalist Papers. Internet: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp

Constitution of the United States, Internet: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/usconst.asp

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789, Internet: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp

Kant, Immanuel (1991): *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. In: *Kant Political Writings*. Edited by H. Reiss, translated by H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Kant: *Perpetual Peace*, 1795. Internet: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

Tocqueville, Alexis de (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. 1. Vintage Books Edition, A Division of Random House

INC., New York. Internet: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html

Eötvös József (1996): *The Dominant Ideas of the Nineteenth Century and Their Impact on the State*. Social Science Monographs, Boulder, CO., Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, NJ., Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York

Bóka Éva (2007): *Hungarian Thinkers in Search of European Identity*. Grotius, <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=DJUNCB>

Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard Nicolaus (1939): *Europe must unite*. Paneuropa Editions Ltd, Glarus (Switzerland)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. Internet: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

Brownlie, Ian (ed) (1995): *Basic Documents in International Law*. Clarendon Press, Oxford

Burgess, Michael (2000): *Federalism and European Union: The Building of Europe, 1950-2000*. Routledge, London

Nelsen, Brent F. - Alexander C-G. Stubb (eds.) (1994; 2004): *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, London

Harryvan, A. G. - J. van der Harst (eds.) (1997): *Documents on European Union*. Macmillan Press LTD., London

Bieber, R. - J.P. - Jacqué - J.H.H. Weiler (eds.) (1985): *An Ever Closer Union. A Critical Analysis of the Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union*. Office for Official Publications of European Communities, Luxembourg; Draft Treaty establishing the European Union, 1984 available on-line: <http://www.spinellisfootsteps.info/treaty/index.html>

EU Treaties. Internet: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm>

Treaty on European Union, 1992. Internet: <http://eur-ex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html>

Treaty of Lisbon, 2007. Internet: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:SOM:EN:HTML>

Berend, Iván T. (2009): *From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Telo, Mario (ed.) (2007): *European Union and New Regionalism. Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post Hegemonic Era*. Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot, Hampshire

Bóka Éva (2007): *The Idea of Subsidiarity in the European Federalist Thought*. Grotius, <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=ECICWF>

Bóka Éva (2008): Rethinking European Supranationalism in a Historical Perspective. *Grotius*, <http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=TJCVQS>

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1997): *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*. Edited by Anthony J. Parel. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1970): *Gandhi Essential Writings*. Selected and edited by V. V. Ramana Muti. Gandhi Peace Foundation, Kapur Printing Press, New Delhi

K'ang You-wei (1958): *Ta t'ung Shu (The Book of Universal Commonwealth or Book of Great Unity)*. *The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. Translated from the Chinese with introduction and notes by Laurence G. Thompson. George Unwin LTD, London

Sun Yat-sen (ca. 1960): The Three Principles of the People, San Min Chu I by Sun Yat-sen. In: Sun Yat-sen – Chiang Kai-shek (ca. 1960): *The Three Principles of the People, San Min Chu I by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with two Supplementary Chapters* 1. National Fecundity, Social Welfare and Education. 2. Health and Happiness by President Chiang Kai-shek. China Publishing CO. Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, 1-212.

Fukuzawa Yukichi: Encouragement of Learning. In: Fukuzawa Yukichi (2007): *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Translated by Eiichi Kiyooka. Columbia University Press, New York, 448-445.

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1969): *An Encouragement of Learning*. Monumenta Nipponica Monographs. Sophia University, Tokyo

Deng Xiaoping (1984): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-82)*. Foreign Language Press, Beijing

Sie Kok Hwa, Brigitte (1997): *Singapore, a Modern Asian City-State. Relationship Between Cultural and Economic Development*. Proefschrift, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, Nijmegen

Didactic method: lecture, seminar, group discussion

Examination method:

Didactic support tools: power point presentations, hand-outs, films, etc

Teaching language: English