

EUROSTAR COURSE
KUBSU - Krasnodar-Russian Federation
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EUROPE – 1

Historical framework of European integration **Ideas and projects for a united Europe throughout history**

Why study History?

"History, which is our concern with the past, is born out of our preoccupation for the future"
José Ortega y Gasset, Madrid 1948

A - Premise for Historical Methodology

Before undertaking any interpretation of history, a clear definition of the methodology must be provided.

During these lectures we will be looking at four aspects of historical methodology

First aspect: the relationship between the object (the fact, the event) and the subject (the historian)

On the one hand, the truth of the facts must be established and, on the other, the historian needs to explain his ideas and theories regarding the facts he is analyzing.

In this particular case, it is inconceivable to study the History of European Integration if the research does not embrace the 'idea of Europe' throughout the centuries and the profound role that cultural and moral factors play in European history.

Second aspect: contrasting

The affirmation of the European idea owes much to an ongoing process of contrast and juxtaposition. A continuous redefining and reshaping process prompted by internal and external situations. We will be looking at the contrast between the Greek World (Hellenic) and the Asian world and the need for peace in face of the tragedy of war.

Third aspect: Complete reality (according to Ortega y Gasset) versus an Intelligible Historical Field (according to Toynbee)

By using the 'complete reality' method, the history of European integration forms part of the larger historical process of human civilization and is viewed as just a fraction of a much bigger whole.

By using the second method of an "intelligible historical field" proposed by Toynbee - which in this case applies to the history of ideas and European integration- space and time are the elements of reference. The idea behind the integration of Europe and the process itself are studied in all their transformations across space and time. This approach actually shows that the idea of Europe and the process of integration did not evolve in parallel processes. On the contrary, they experienced periods of boom and bust -in the spatial dimension- and of wealth and impoverishment in the temporal sphere.

Fourth aspect: analysis of the systems

The analysis of systems is an autonomous science and the tools it provides are of great use in historical research. This scientific discipline illuminates how society is composed in thousands of elements which are interconnected and interact with one another.

A society can evolve or involve, depending on the inter-relationship between some fundamental factors. When studying the history of the European community we will take into account four principal factors:

- a) political and institutional
- b) economic
- c) social
- d) cultural, ethical and religious

By analysing the systems we can understand to what degree the four factors have influenced the different historical phases of European integration.

B - The Idea of Europe throughout History

A Vision of Europe in Ancient Greece

The myth and the origins of the name 'Europa'. The geographical idea. The idea of civilization. The first rumblings of European policy.

The myth of 'Europa'

Europa was the daughter of the Phoenician King Agenore, an Asian and Semite. According to the myth, Zeus falls in love with the young Europa and transforms himself into a beautiful white bull with a human gaze. The bull approaches the young princess who is playing on the shore of Phoenicia with her maidens. Zeus manages to get Europa to climb into his saddle and then steals off with her across the Mediterranean to the island of Crete where he possesses her. Minos, the legendary king of Crete and father of Minoan culture, is born from the union of Europa and Zeus. The dawn of the first and oldest European civilization.

This myth illustrates the awareness and indebtedness the Greeks had towards the East, in particular to Asia and Egypt where King Agenore was from.

The legend continues with Cadmo, son of Agenore and brother of Europa, sent to Greece in search of his sister. He wanders throughout the islands looking for his sister and teaches the Greeks how to write and found new cities. This is a clear reference that the Greeks learned their alphabet from the Phoenicians.

The meaning of 'Europa'

'Europa' means West, the place where the sun sets. There are many theories regarding the origins of the name. The more valid ones point to a Semitic origin behind the word *ereb* or *ereb* meaning 'western'. The girl with large eyes (Greek *eurus* + *ops*) arrives in the land where the sun sets (in Mesopotamia *erebu* means sunset and *ereb* land of darkness). Another prevailing theory is that Europa is composed of three Hebrew words: *E* to indicate a happy marriage, *UR* to express excellence, *HOP* for hope. And there are those who see Europa as the definition Homer gave to Zeus as 'he who could see far away' (*eurus* = wide, *ops* = eye)

Europe as a Geographic Reality

According to Herodotus, the Greeks had divided the world into three parts: Europe, Asia and Libya (Africa). However, the borders of Europe were, and still are, a problem. Where does Europe start, where does it end? Much of the original confusion was due to scant geographical knowledge, but the fact remains that this vision of Europe (from *Ereb* meaning sunset, west) varies enormously. Aristotle and Hippocrates believed that geographical and territorial factors influenced the character and behaviour of people creating marked differences between Asia/East and Europe/West.

Europe: a vision of civilisation and contrasts among different civilisations

The Greeks drew a clear division between their world and the worlds which surrounded them. The world of Barbarians, of outsiders stood in contrast to the Greek world. In the 5th century B.C. after the bloody battles against the Persian kings at Thermopolis, Marathon and Salamina, a Greek conscience emerges which draws differences between the levels of civilisation in Europe and the carnage they have seen in Asia.

Europe is upheld as a paradigm of civilized habits and liberty, Asia as a continent of tyrants and slaves. A Greek would never kneel before other men. He had one master only and that was the law. An Asian bowed and kneeled to the tyrant in command and lets him be the master of his fate. Ancient Greeks fought their battles as free men against despots.

Europe: first draft for a political entity

The Greek writer Theopompus formulated a very precise political idea in the 4th century B.C. In fact Theopompus exhorts Macedonian King Philip to descend upon Greece and unite the battling Greeks for once and for all. He urges the King to promote a 'European' policy and organise a large European state.

Europe in Roman Times

An exclusively geographic idea

With the expansion of the Roman Empire, references to Europe become fewer and rarer. The very myth of Europa, taken and embellished by the Romans, loses its Greek significance and ends up in the verses of romantic poetry as represented by Ovid. The Roman Empire substitutes the limitations of Europe with the concept of ORBIS meaning world, universe. The name Europe is valid but used sporadically to describe geographical confines as in the writings of Strabone, Horace and Varrone.

Europe in the Middle Ages

Continent reunited under a Christian empire. First projects for federation

During the Middle Ages new and significant developments are recorded regarding Europe. The adjective 'European' goes beyond a geographical boundary and is used to describe the inhabitants of the continent by Isidoro Pacensis in the 8th century. The term European appears for the first time among the titles of an Imperial Collection belonging to Charlegmagne, King and Father of Europe. The first project to promote coordinated actions of the States of Europe -which call for new institutions to govern the whole continent- are promoted by Giorgio Podiobrad, King of Bohemia 1464. And we have the first explicit recognition of a true common 'homeland' with all the implications for civilization which this entails by Pope Pius II Piccolomini in 1458.

The Idea of Europe in the 16th Century

A recognition of cultural unity and the beginnings of a political balance

A new way of thinking was spreading around Europe during the Renaissance. The idea in vogue -which had emerged with the Humanists of the 15th century- was that Europe was characterized by a common heritage of cultural and moral values. In addition to the religious unity of the Middle Ages, the idea of a united cultural and moral Europe (Erasmus of Rotterdam) was a new pillar of European civilisation. Despite the continuous warring between factions and states and the Catholic unity being threatened by the Protestants, the idea had taken seed.

The idea of Europe was further enriched with the vision of Machiavelli, the Florentine politician whose idea of political equilibrium was a far stronger foundation for a common

European civilisation than Christianity. His definition of civilisation was political organisation. Machiavelli's Europe was marked by wars and continuous tension, a situation which, according to the politician, had to be reduced and contained. In order to limit the damage, the leaders of the different states should look to a political balance between themselves, a strong political system to be respected and upheld by all.

Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries

Projects for a confederate Europe. The Enlightenment and the European Republic of culture and civilisation. European Spirit. Spirit of the Nations. Debate concerning the idea of nationhood.

Projects designed to foster European unity and peace are underway in the 17th century. The "Grand Design" of Henri IV of France and his minister Sully (1608) is one example as is the project of the Englishman William Penn who founded Pennsylvania in America (1693). A century of grandiose projects.

The Age of Enlightenment spread across the continent and the writings of the French abbot Saint Pierre (1713) "Project for Enduring Peace" were well known. Voltaire and Rousseau are even more explicit and speak of "our Europe" and "Europe as a common nation". The real challenge is to organise a European Republic. According to Voltaire, this Republic already existed at street level but needed to be upheld by the ruling classes.

Rousseau was in favour of a confederation of states but warned that nations would lose their original character and all Europeans would become homogenous. This defence of nationalistic traits would later be exalted by the Romantics. An exaltation that would inevitably affirm the supremacy of one nation over another as seen in the writings of Novalis, Schiller and Fichte in Germany and Guizot, De Maistre in France and Mazzini and Gioberti in Italy.

Europe in the 19th century

European unification under Napoleon. The new political balance of power. The evolution of nation.

Europe is united under Napoleon's brief reign. An unprecedented experience since the times of Charlemagne. France is at the centre and the master plan is for all new European states to gravitate around the universal monarch: Napoleon.

Another novelty is the reaction of states to Napoleon's vision. Napoleon is defeated and the Congress of Vienna and a new European system defined with Metternich. The system rests on the basis of political checks and balances. It is a balance between states based on the legitimacy of the old dynasties and their right to reign. The people have no voice.

A third novelty during the 19th century is the spread of independence uprisings across the continent promoting an idea of nation as opposed to an idea of Europe. The vision of Europe is quickly lost in the heady realms of liberty, independence and nation which will eventually degenerate into a desperate sense of nationalism leading to colonial conquests and WW1.

Saint Simon defended the European project along with the writers Hugo and Renan.

Europe at the turn of the 20th century

Tragedy of WW1 and the failed attempt at Europe in the 30's.

By the turn of the last century, any ideals of a united Europe had been wiped out. Any sensation of belonging to a unique geopolitical, economic and social reality was gone - culminating in WW1.

It was only after the tragedy of WW1 that the idea of a common Europe re-emerged. The Austrian Coudenhove Kalergi promoted a political movement called Paneuropa. In 1929 the French Prime Minister Aristide Briand presented the Society of Nations a project for a unified Europe. Initially accepted by all, the project was eventually abandoned. The lesson of WW1 had not taught anything; the last chance for European unity before another world war.



LANDMARK DATES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

1945-1957 The Creation

1948	Europe Congress at The Hague. Organisation for European Economic Cooperation OEEC
1949	Council of Europe
1950	Schuman declaration. Pleven Plan for European Army
1951	European Coal and Steel Community ECSC established
1953	Political European Community approved by assembly of ECSC and marks the creation of a two chamber Parliament and a community government
1954	Failure of the European Defence Community EDC. Creation of the Western European Union WEU with task of defence and security
1955	Messina meeting to rekindle Europe after failure of EDC
1957	Treaty of Rome. Creation of European Economic Community EEC and European Atomic Energy Community EURATOM. Europe of Six: France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Luxembourg

1957-1973 Starting Up

1959	Progressive abolition of custom duties and quotas within EEC
1960	European Free Trade Association EFTA promoted by Sweden and supported by UK. 10 countries outside of the EEC participate. Creation of European Social Fund.
1961	Summit conference on political cooperation. Fouchet Plan presented. Britain, Ireland and Denmark apply to join the European Communities and three neutral countries Austria, Switzerland and Sweden seek association
1962	Common Agricultural Policy CAP created. Failure of Fouchet Plan
1963	French veto UK's entry into EEC. French-German treaty. Turkey given associate agreement
1964	The European Court of Justice holds that Community law overrules national law

1965	French breaks off the negotiations on financing the Common Agricultural Policy. French government recalls its permanent representative. The "empty chair" policy halts community proceedings for almost a year.
1966	Luxemburg proposes a compromise to solve political stalemate. Retention of unanimity vote in Council decisions
1967	The Commission signs the final Act of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade GATT multi-lateral negotiations Kennedy Round. First time EC signs an international agreement. France boycotts UK's application again
1968	Customs union enters into force. Remaining customs duties in intra-Community trade are abolished 18 months ahead of what was scheduled in the Rome Treaty and the Custom Tariff is introduced to replace national customs duties in trade with the rest of the world
1969	Summit meeting held at The Hague to confirm willingness to move towards a genuine economic and monetary union and the enlargement of the Community
1970	Werner Plan for Economic and Monetary Union
1973	UK, Ireland and Denmark join the European Communities

1974-1984

Consolidation

1974	Creation of European Council
1975	Regional Community Policy. Convention at Lome on collaboration of 46 countries in Africa, Caribbean and Pacific ACP. Conference on Security and military Cooperation in Europe CSCE which will become the Organisation for Safety and Cooperation in Europe OSCE in 1994
1979	First European Parliament elections by direct universal suffrage
1981	Greece becomes the 10th member of the EC
1984	Parliament approves draft Treaty on the establishment of the European Union

1986	Single European Act modifying treaty of Rome is signed in Luxembourg and The Hague. Spain and Portugal join EC
1989	Delors plan for economic and monetary union. Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms for workers signed
1992	The Treaty on the European Union is signed in Maastricht. Creation of European Union. An agreement on the European Economic Area signed in Porto.
1993	EUROCORP, a French-German brigade of 40,000 men form part of the future nucleus of European army. EUROFORCE and EUROMARFORCE will join forces providing land and sea protection in a joint effort between France, Italy, Spain and Portugal to face threats from South
1995	Austria, Finland and Sweden become members of the European Union
1997	Amsterdam Treaty. Pact for stability and growth is created establishing heavy financial fines for those states which do not respect the budget
1998	Negotiations for expanding to Eastern Europe. Member States adopting single currency appoint the president and other members of the Executive Board of the ECB European Central Bank
1999	Final phase of economic and monetary union. The euro is officially launched. Helsinki council on future of European army and a corps of 60,000 men to be made operative in 2003
2000	Nice European Council proclaim Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. EU-Russia summit to reinforce bilateral ties, especially in energy sector
2001	European Council held in Laeken paves the way for major reform and plans convention for forthcoming Intergovernmental Conference and creates a convention for rewriting treaties
2002	EURO currency enters into circulation in 12 participating Member States
2003	10 new member states. Romania and Bulgaria will join in 2007
2004	Treaty of Rome for a new European constitution
2005	France and Holland reject ratification of the Constitutional Treaty

FOREIGN EVENTS AS REFERENCE POINTS

1945-1957

1945	Creation of the United Nations and constitution of European Federalists Union
1946	Churchill talks about Europe at Zurich university and calls for a 'kind of United States of Europe'. UK foresees a supporting role but not as an active member
1947	Cold War begins
1948	Western Union Treaty (Brussels treaty) between UK, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands for political, economic, and military cooperation as a defensive pact after events in Soviet orbit countries: Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Berlin. Marshall Plan. USSR rejects offer to participate on Marshall Plan. UN approves universal declaration of human rights
1949	Signature of North Atlantic Treaty NATO
1950	Korean and Indochina wars
1953	Stalin dies. Armistice in Korea. French defeated in Indochina
1955	Warsaw Pact promoted by USSR
1956	Invasion of Hungary. Suez crisis

1957-1973

1958	De Gaulle is president of France. Birth of V Republic
1960	OCSE. Kennedy elected president USA
1961	Berlin Wall
1966	De Gaulle withdraws France from NATO
1969	De Gaulle retires
1971	American president Nixon suspends conversion of dollar into gold. Signals end of monetary system created in 1944 at Bretton Wood
1973	Kippour War. OPEC increases price of petrol four fold. Economic crisis for industrialised countries in Europe

1974-1984

1975	Vietnam over
1978	John Paul II elected Pope
1979	Thatcher elected British prime minister
1980	Reagan elected president USA. Trade union Solidarnosc Poland
1981	Mitterand president of France
1982	Kohl chancellor of Germany

1985-2005

1985	Gorbachev secretary of PCUS
1989	Berlin wall falls

1990	German reunification
1991	USSR dissolves along with Warsaw Pact. Civil war in Yugoslavia. War in Iraq
2001	Terrorist attack twin trade towers in NY. War in Afghanistan
2003	War in Iraq