

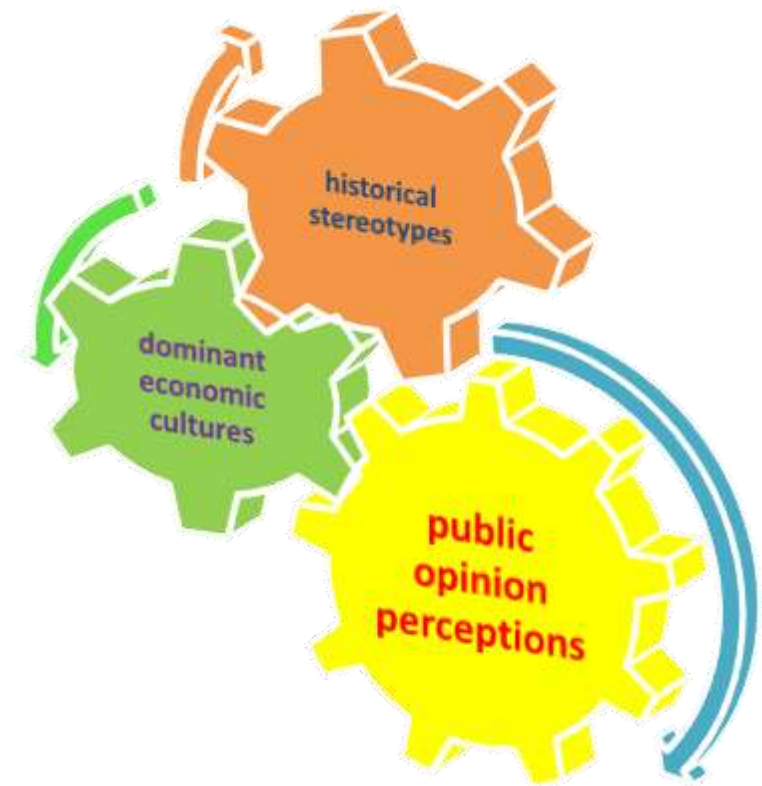
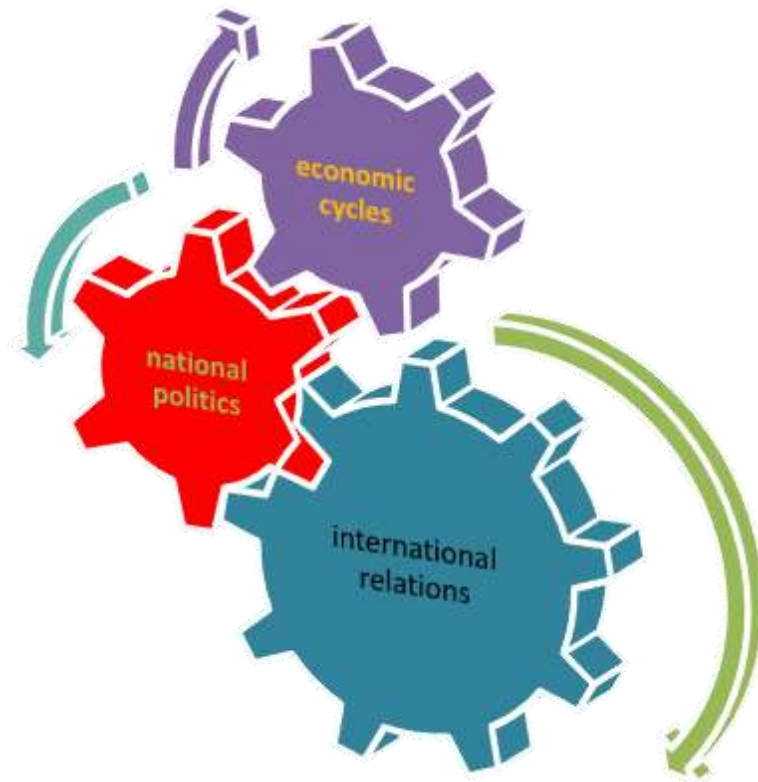


# The European Integration Process

Global History  
B.A. Global Governance  
University of Rome Tor Vergata  
a.y. 2020-21

# A very complicated mechanism

the history of European integration is not "just" the history of the treaties and its most important results (ECSC, EEC, EU)



# WWII: a global war and the bloodiest conflict in history

Almost **85.000.000** deaths,  
of which 25.000.000  
soldiers and 60.000.000  
civilian victims



# How could Europe avoid new wars?

Nationalism was blamed responsible for the wars: Europeanism was considered the solution, both in the Federalist vision and in the Functionalism (sector by sector approach)

Marxist-Leninist approach:  
capitalism was responsible  
for the two world wars >>>  
communism was the  
solution

Blaming Germany

# 1941: Manifesto of Ventotene

In 1941 Spinelli, Rossi and Colorni, three Italian politicians, imprisoned since they opposed to the fascist regime, wrote a Manifesto to promote European unification.

In the Manifesto the responsibility for the tragic World War II was attributed to nationalistic policies.

According to the Manifesto European Countries could live in peace only devolving their sovereignty to a European Federation.

It was an extraordinary utopia !





# **New ideas emerged in different European Countries aiming at building gradual forms of European integration for peace and prosperity...**



**Konrad Adenauer (Germany)**



**Alcide De Gasperi (Italy)**



**Winston Churchill (UK)**



**Robert Schuman (France)**



**Jean Monnet (France)**

# The Cold War



# The Western world

- Multilateralism
- New international organizations (UN Conference, 1945; North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949; Council of Europe, 1949; European Convention on Human Rights, 1950)
- Monetary settlements (Bretton Woods system, 1944; European Payments Union, 1950) and developmental agencies (World Bank, IMF, 1944)
- The Marshall Plan and OEEC (1948)



# Rebuilding Europe

Since 1945 European people was engaged in rebuilding houses, plants, roads, schools

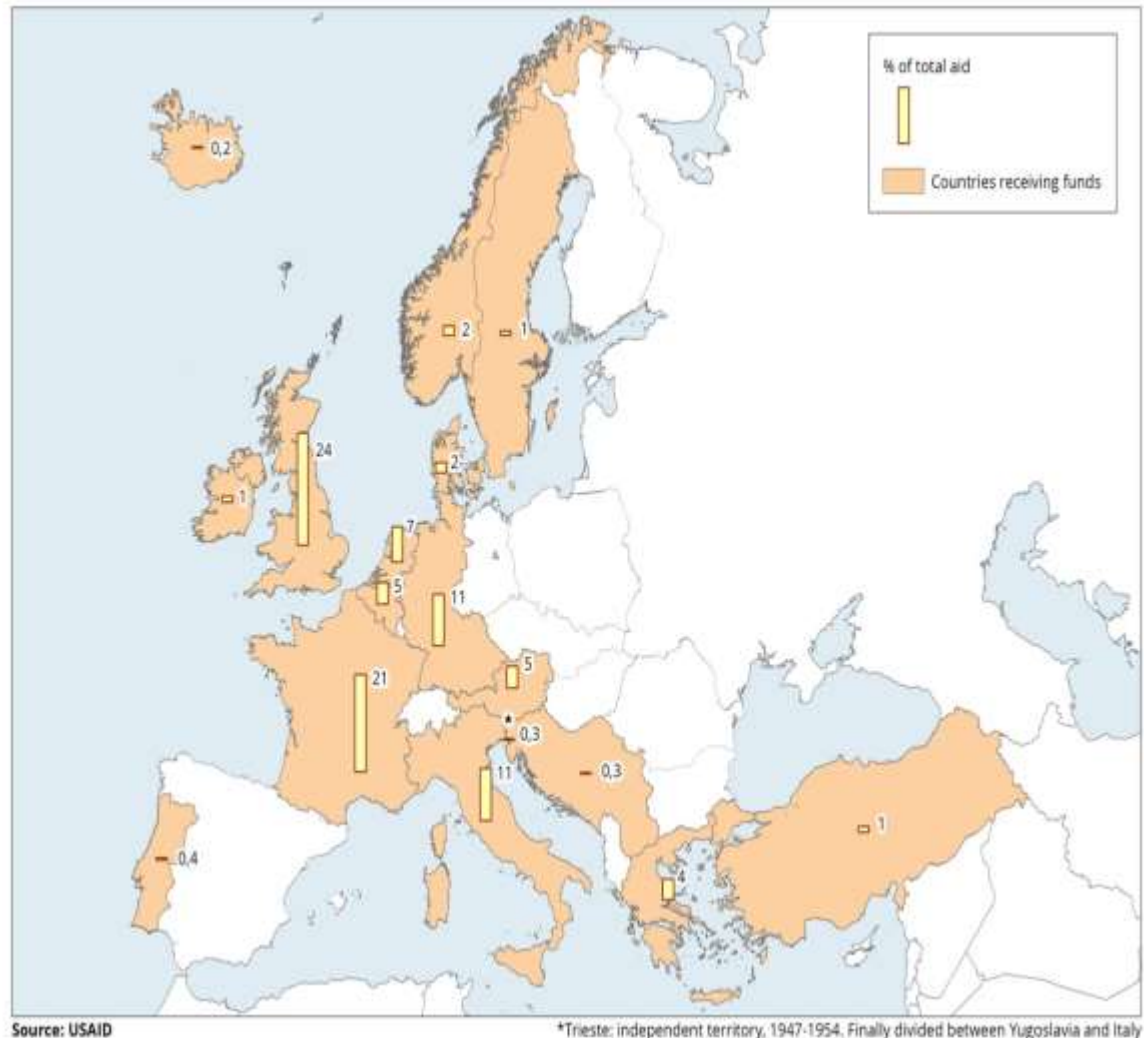
In 1948 the United States of America launched the Marshall Plan in response to the fact tha western Europe was still suffering (famine, unemployment, lack of infrastructures)

USA wanted to:

- ❑ help Europeans in recover economies >> political stability
- ❑ open European markets for American products
- ❑ exert their political influence against USSR.

It was the Cold War Era

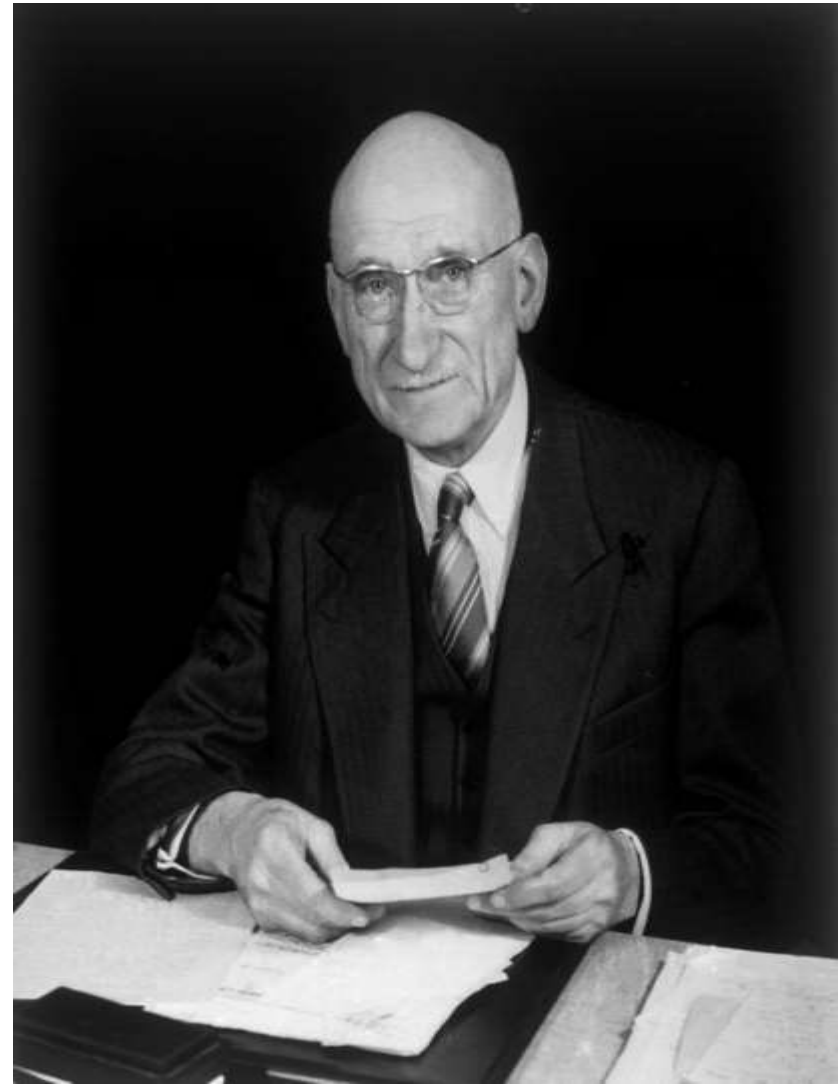
DISTRIBUTION OF THE MARSHALL PLAN FUNDS IN EUROPE, 1948 - 1951



# 9th May 1950 : Schuman Declaration: the beginnings of cooperation

The plan launched by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman inspired by the idea of the French entrepreneur Jean Monnet

1. a Community to manage together coal and steel, two crucial goods
2. Pooling coal and steel production would make war between historic rivals France and Germany "not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible". Since none could on its own make the weapons of war to turn against the other, as in the past
3. Europe has to be built step by step through concrete achievements creating a de facto solidarity



**1951: Treaty of Paris**  
**European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)**  
**The ECSC was the first international organization**  
**to be based on the principles of supranationalism**



# EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

*It aimed to "contribute to the expansion of the economy, the development of employment and the improvement of the standard of living" of its citizen*

## SIX FOUNDING MEMBERS:

West Germany, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg

The **High Authority (9 members)**: executive body which governed the Community. The members were to pledge not to represent their national interest but took an oath to defend the general interests of the Community.

>>> *Supranational dimension*

❖ No trade tariffs

❖ Regulations of prices



# The try and failure of a European Defence Community (1950-54)

- NATO (april 1949) intergovernmental military alliance between North American and European countries for a system of collective defence
- Korean War (june 1950)
- USA called for the rearmament of West Germany **BUT** European Countries were worried about
- French Ministry Pleven proposed a Plan for a European Defence Community (1950)
- The EDC (Treaty signed in 1952) would have established a European army, with common budget, institutions and corps (divided into national components)
- **BUT** in 1954 the very French Parliament rejected the Treaty !



# 1955: Messina Conference: Back to economic sectorial integration



# 1957: Treaty of Rome



**The birth of the European Economic Community  
and the European Atomic Energy Community**

# EEC: An ambitious project

- freedom of movement for goods, persons and services
- procedures to co-ordinate the economic policies of the Member States
- common agricultural policy (established in 1962 to protect EEC farmers from agricultural imports )
- the plan for a common policy in the sphere of transports
- a system ensuring that competition in the common market is not distorted
- legal convergence among members States
- the establishment of a European Investment Bank to fund projects



# Two main challenges

Supranationalism

vs

Intergovernmentalism

Market economy

vs

State intervention in the  
economy



1968





# A SUCCESS STORY

## ECONOMIC SUCCESS

- By July 1968 all tariffs and trade barriers were removed
- Between 1958 and 1968 trade among the EEC's members quadrupled in value
- In 1961, 1967 and 1969 UK knocked to European Community door.....

## POLITICAL TENSIONS:

**1965: Empty Chair Crisis:** French President De Gaulle contested:

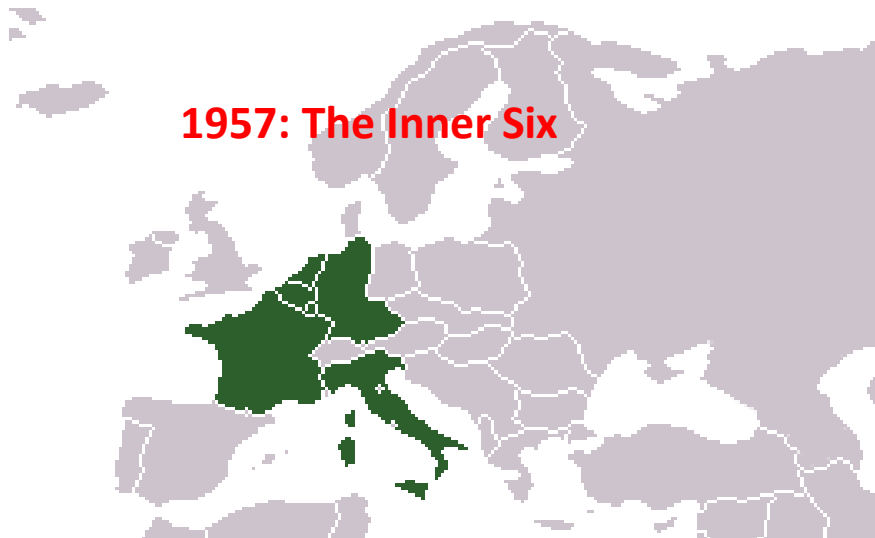
- supranationalism (decision taking process from unanimity to majority)
- use of funds
- veto to UK application



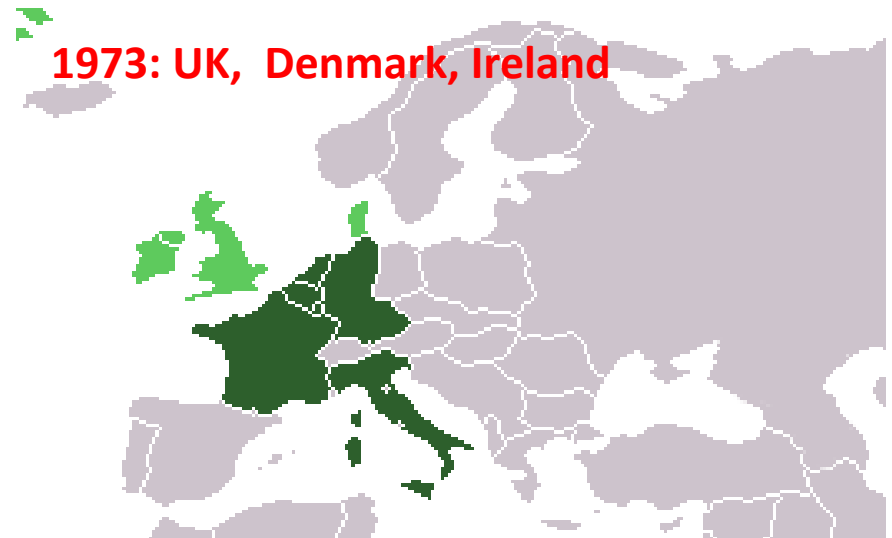
# 1973: The first enlargement UK, Denmark, Ireland



**1957: The Inner Six**



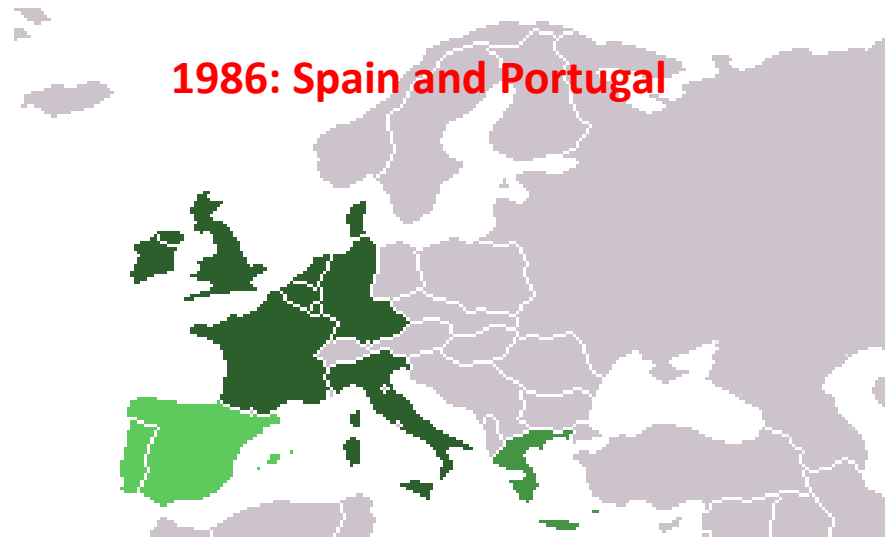
**1973: UK, Denmark, Ireland**



**1981: Greece**



**1986: Spain and Portugal**



# The Decolonisation Era and the Crisis of the 70s

1973 and 1979 oil shocks !

Huge abrupt rise in oil prices !

New powerful Countries  
emerging in the Middle East



USA defeat in Vietnam  
War (1955-75) >>  
crisis of US\$ >>end  
of the Bretton  
Woods monetary  
system

**Europe in deep economic and  
social crisis.**

Terrorism in Europe !

EEC unable to find common  
response to the energy crisis

**EUROSCLEROSIS !**

# THE CRISIS OF THE 70s:

## THE RESPONSE OF EUROPE

- 1972: The “Snake in the tunnel”: the first attempt of European monetary cooperation of containing exchange fluctuations between different European currencies
- 1975: The "discovery" of the Regions: the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund)
- 1975: Lomé Convention: trade and aid agreement between EEC / ACP (African, Caribbean, Pacific Countries)
- 1979: direct election of the European Parliament
- 1979: European Monetary System: European Currency Unit



1963: Yaoundé Convention

1975: Lomé Convention

A solution for the controversial  
relationship with Africa ?



1979: European Parliament first direct election





# THE RELAUNCH OF THE 80s

1984: the **Esprit Programme**, the first in R & D in information technologies

1984: a Parliamentary Committee led by Spinelli envisaged a new Treaty

1985: **EC White Paper**: Completing the internal market (279 measures to set up by 1992)

1986: **Single European Act**

1987: **Erasmus Programme**

*European Commission **White Papers** are documents containing proposals for action in a specific area. In some cases, they follow on from a Green Paper published to launch a consultation process at EU level.*

*The purpose of a White Paper is to launch a debate with the public, stakeholders, the European Parliament and the Council in order to arrive at a political consensus. The Commission's 1985 White Paper on the completion of the internal market is an example of a blueprint that was adopted by the Council and resulted in the adoption of wide-ranging legislation in this field.*

# The Single European Act (1986)

## Main goal:

Boosting European integration process: SEA as powerful as a Treaty

- It reformed decision-making procedure (extension of qualified majority voting)
- It enhanced the powers of Commission and Parliament
- It established the goal of the Internal Market within 1992 (removing trade barriers; increasing harmonisation and competitiveness among Member countries)
- Social policies for cohesion (European social model)
- Environmental concerns
- A perspective on European Foreign Policy

# Supranationalism vs. National States

## PRO- MORE EUROPE

1985-95: French politician Jacques Delors, President of EEC Commission



## AGAINST MORE EUROPE:

Margaret Thatcher, UK Prime Minister (1979-90)





# After 1989...the end of history?

## Towards the European Union in a global world

- The Tiananmen Square massacre (june 1989)
- The fall of the Berlin Wall (november 1989)
- The German reunification (1990)
- The collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe (1991 onward)
- The recovery of the European economies





**February 1992: Maastricht Treaty**

# The Maastricht Treaty

Signed by 12 Countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom),

it established the European Union, thus enabling the stabilization of political tensions within Europe at the end of the Cold War, and integrated a unified Germany into the EU

Based on 3 pillars:

1. SEA
2. Common foreign and security policy (CFSP)
3. Cooperation for Justice and Home Affairs

>>> **POLITICAL RELEVANCE**

❖ It laid the foundations for the European Monetary Union, introduced the euro and the criteria that Countries must meet to join the euro (inflation <1,5%; government deficit/GNP < 3%; public debt/GNP < 60%; interest rates < 2%; exchange rate) EMU >>> **ECONOMIC RELEVANCE**

➤ European social model (1994 White paper on Social Policy): includes democracy and individual rights, free collective bargaining, the market economy, equal opportunities for all, social protection and solidarity. The model is based on the conviction that economic progress and social progress are inseparable. >>> **SOCIAL RELEVANCE**

[https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf)

<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:11992M/TXT&from=EN>

# THE CHALLENGING 90s

**1992: Maastricht Treaty:** EU, single currency, Common foreign and security policy (CFSP), Cooperation for Justice and Home Affairs)

**1993: achievement of EU Single Market:** 4 freedoms (people, goods, services and capital)

**1995: Schengen area:** free movement without passport

**1997 Amsterdam Treaty:** institutional reform; international role of the EU; employment and citizens' rights

## **1995 Schengen Agreement : freedom of movement**

- No police or customs checks at borders between most EU countries
- Controls strengthened at the EU's external borders
- More cooperation between police from different EU countries
- Buy and bring back any goods for personal use when you travel between EU countries







**1997: Amsterdam Treaty:** institutional reform;  
international role of the EU; employment and citizens' rights

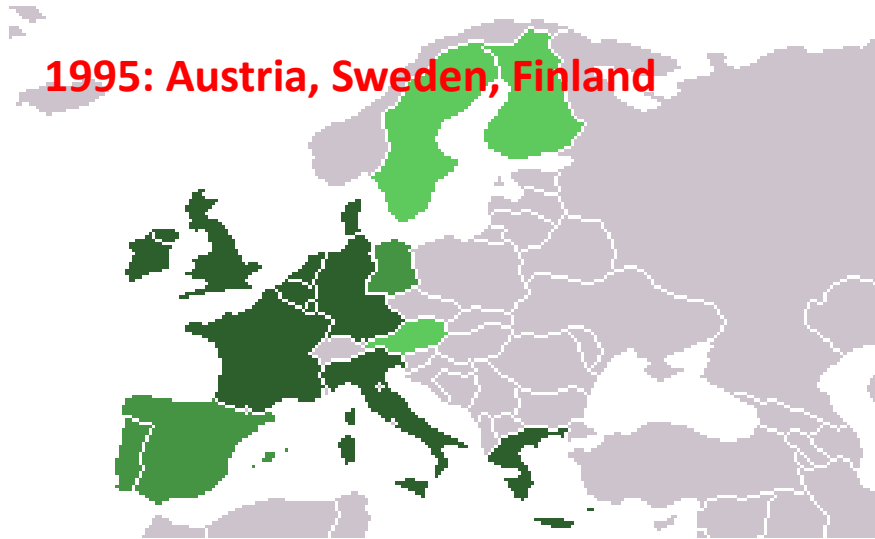


# 2001 Nizza Treaty: the challenge of enlargement

- reform the functioning of the institutions and the decision-making process (foreseen enlargement);
- enhanced cooperation (advanced cooperation in specific fields involving only some member Countries)



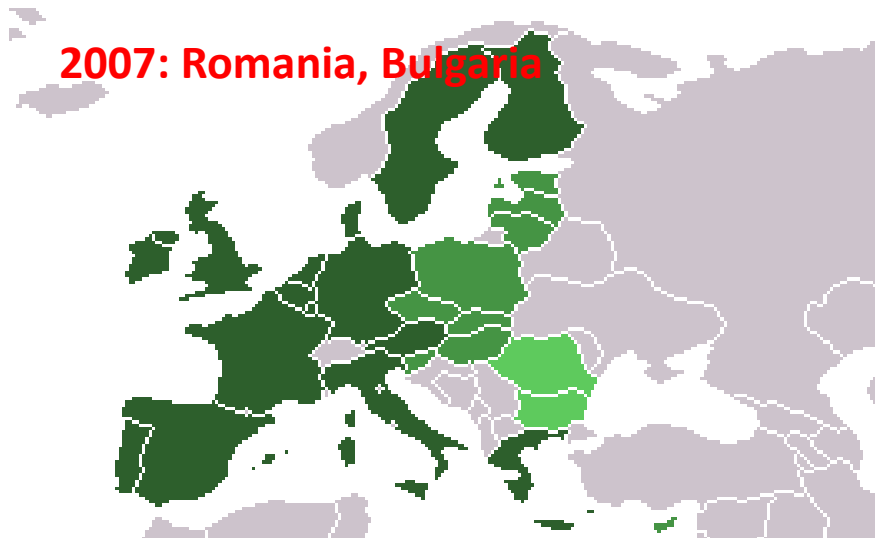
**1995: Austria, Sweden, Finland**



**2004: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia**

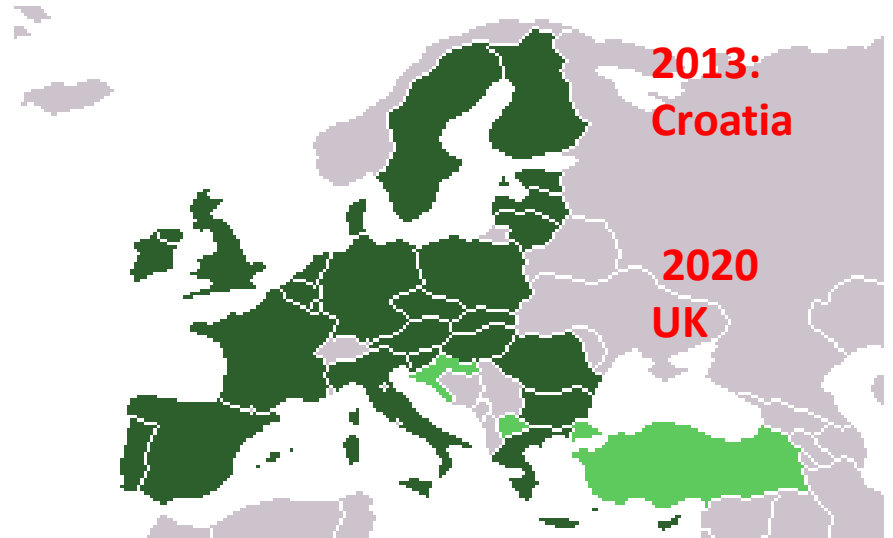


**2007: Romania, Bulgaria**



**2013:  
Croatia**

**2020  
UK**



# 2002: A currency for Europe



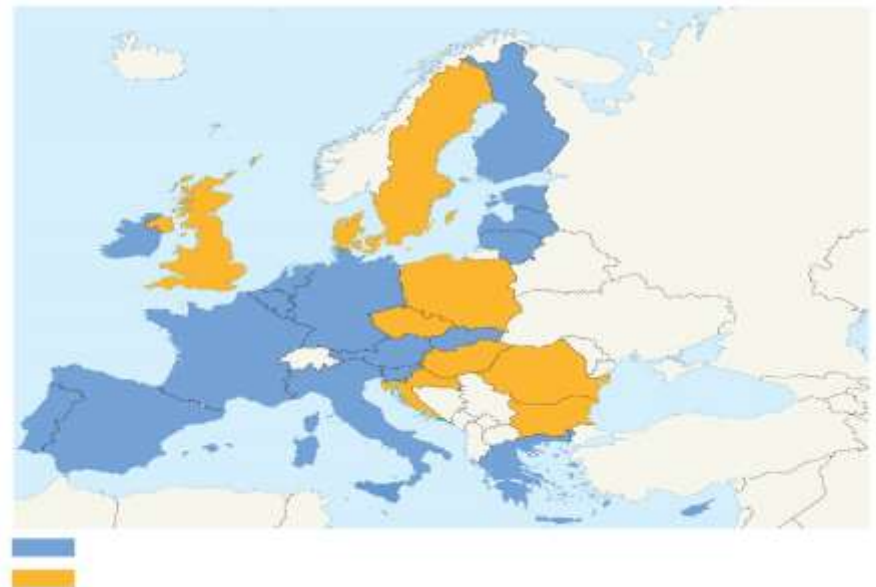


# EURO OR NOT EURO ?

- **Members of the European Union using the euro**
- Austria
- Belgium
- Cyprus
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Greece
- Ireland
- Italy
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Luxembourg
- Malta
- The Netherlands
- Portugal
- Slovakia
- Slovenia
- Spain

## **Members of the European Union not using the euro**

Bulgaria  
Croatia  
Czech Republic  
Denmark  
Hungary  
Poland  
Romania  
Sweden  
United Kingdom



# 2007:Lisbon Treaty

**It strengthened the role of EP and of the European Council**

**It established the President of the European Council and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy**

**It introduced new policies in energy and research fields**





# Endogenous elements of crisis

According to some commentators the last 15 years went from bad to worse for the European Union and its 28 (now 27) member states:

2005, two of its founding members (France and the Netherlands) rejected the project of constitutional treaty that was aiming towards a United States of Europe

2008, the Eurozone-crisis nearly brought the EU on the brink of collapse

2016-2020: Brexit: for the first time a country leaves the Union; while everywhere forces inspired by nationalism and populism attack the EU, contesting the very idea of European cooperation and integration.

*Do these elements mean the slow, inevitable decline of the European Union?*

*Or EU will find answers able to drive European cooperation forward?*

# Exogenous challenges

- Complex relationship with USA (trade skirmishes, crisis of NATO)
- Conflictual relationship with Russia
- And with China?
- Terrorism
- Migration
- Environmental problems
- Pandemic

***Those elements challenge EU to reshape its global economic role, to reorganize its defence and security system, to cope with the crucial environmental problem***

