



# EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS

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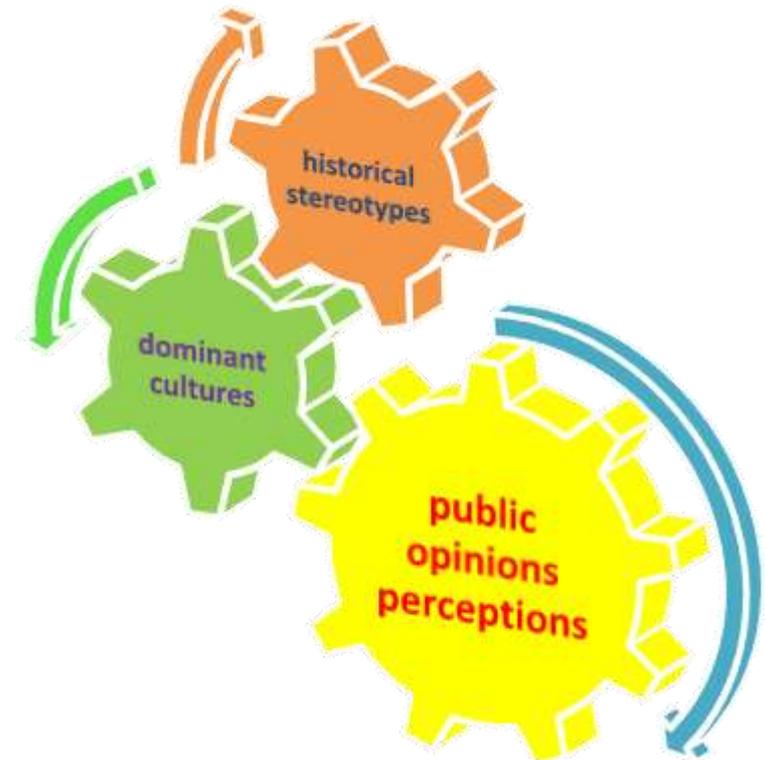
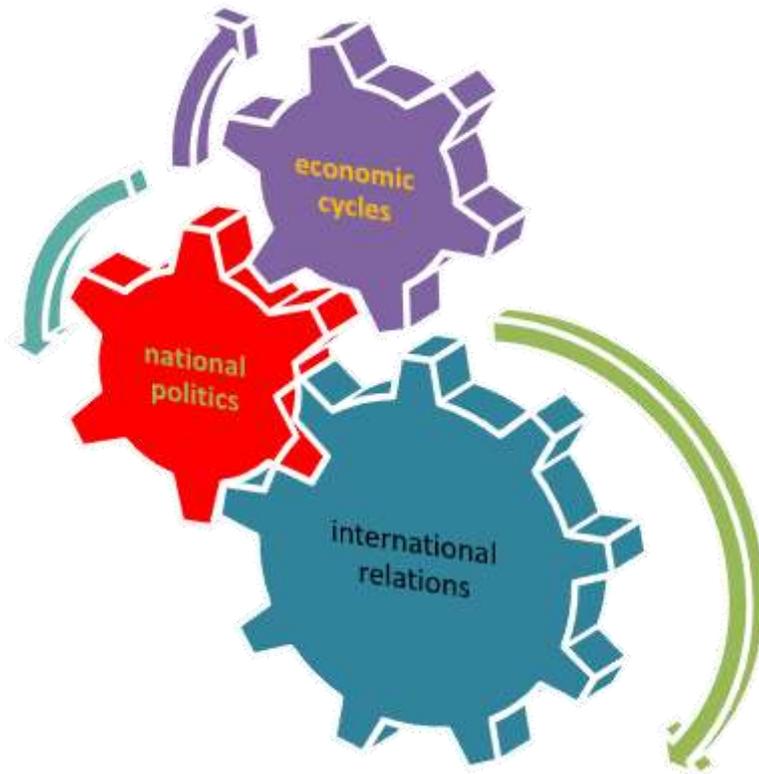
University of Rome Tor Vergata  
Global Governance  
a.y. 2020-21

**Lesson April 16th**



# A very complicated mechanism

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



# 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

UK didn't take part in the first years. It established a free trade area (EFTA) with other European Countries



# Opportunities and challenges of the economic integration during the Golden Age 1955-1970

- Industrial growth (car, appliances)
- New model of consumption (TV, holidays)
- Welfare State
- Science and technology
- «*Modernity*»



# New institutions

## WHY ?

- **ASSEMBLY [EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT]**
  - **COUNCIL**
  - **COMMISSION**
  - **COURT OF JUSTICE.**
  - **EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE (EESC)**
- The rationalist approach: delegating.
  - The neo-functional approach: spillover.
  - The intergovernmental approach: the calculation of benefits and costs.

# The 60s: successes and obstacles

## 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

- Conflicts between supranational European institutions and national member States
- Difficult transition to qualified majority voting
- Conflicts about the use of funds
- In 1965 France refused the proposal of the President Hallstein to finance the CAP from EEC own resources and announced that it would not attend Council meetings. Hence the crisis of the empty chair takes its name ...



# Two main challenges

Supranationalism

vs

Intergovernmentalism

Market economy

vs

State intervention in the  
economy

Decision making process

Competition – industrial policy

- Different actors (national governments, political parties, business groups, USA...)
- Arm wrestling between various forces

**1968: A huge success !**



**1973: The first enlargement  
UK, Denmark, Ireland**



**1957: The Inner Six**



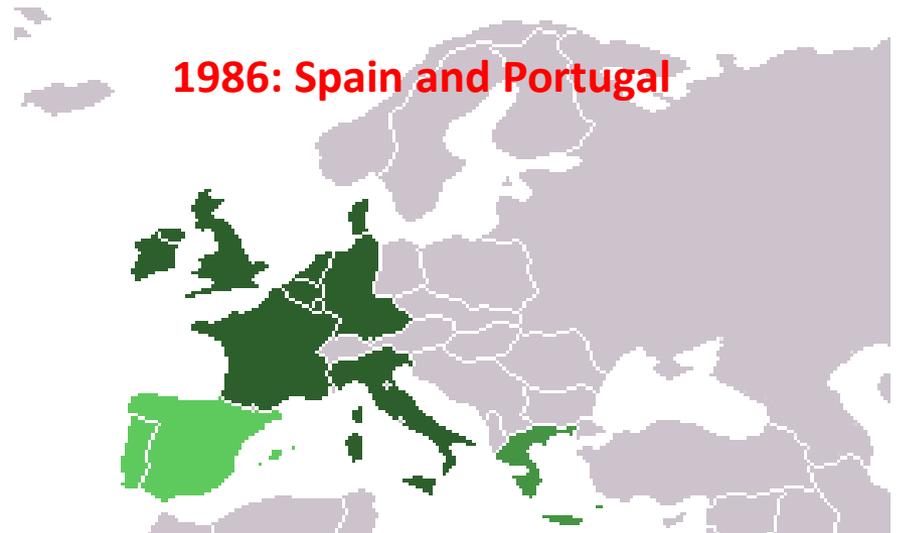
**1973: UK, Denmark, Ireland**



**1981: Greece**



**1986: Spain and Portugal**

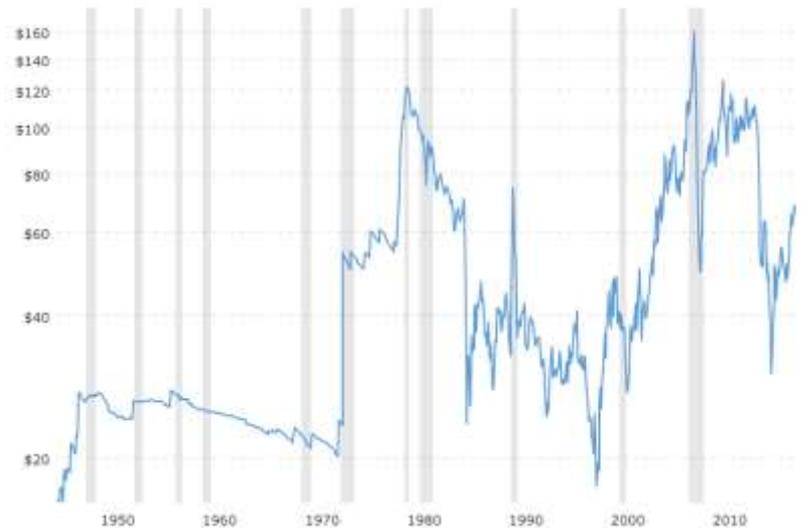


# The Decolonisation Era and the Crisis of the 70s

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\$ and of  
the Bretton Woods  
monetary system

>>>

Monetary instability

**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



1979: European Parliament first direct election



# THE RELAUNCH OF THE 80s

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

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

1986: **Single European Act**:

1987: **Erasmus Programme**

# The Single European Act (1986)

1984 Parliamentary Committee led by Spinelli envisaging a new Treaty

1985: White Paper on the Internal Market

1985: Milan Council

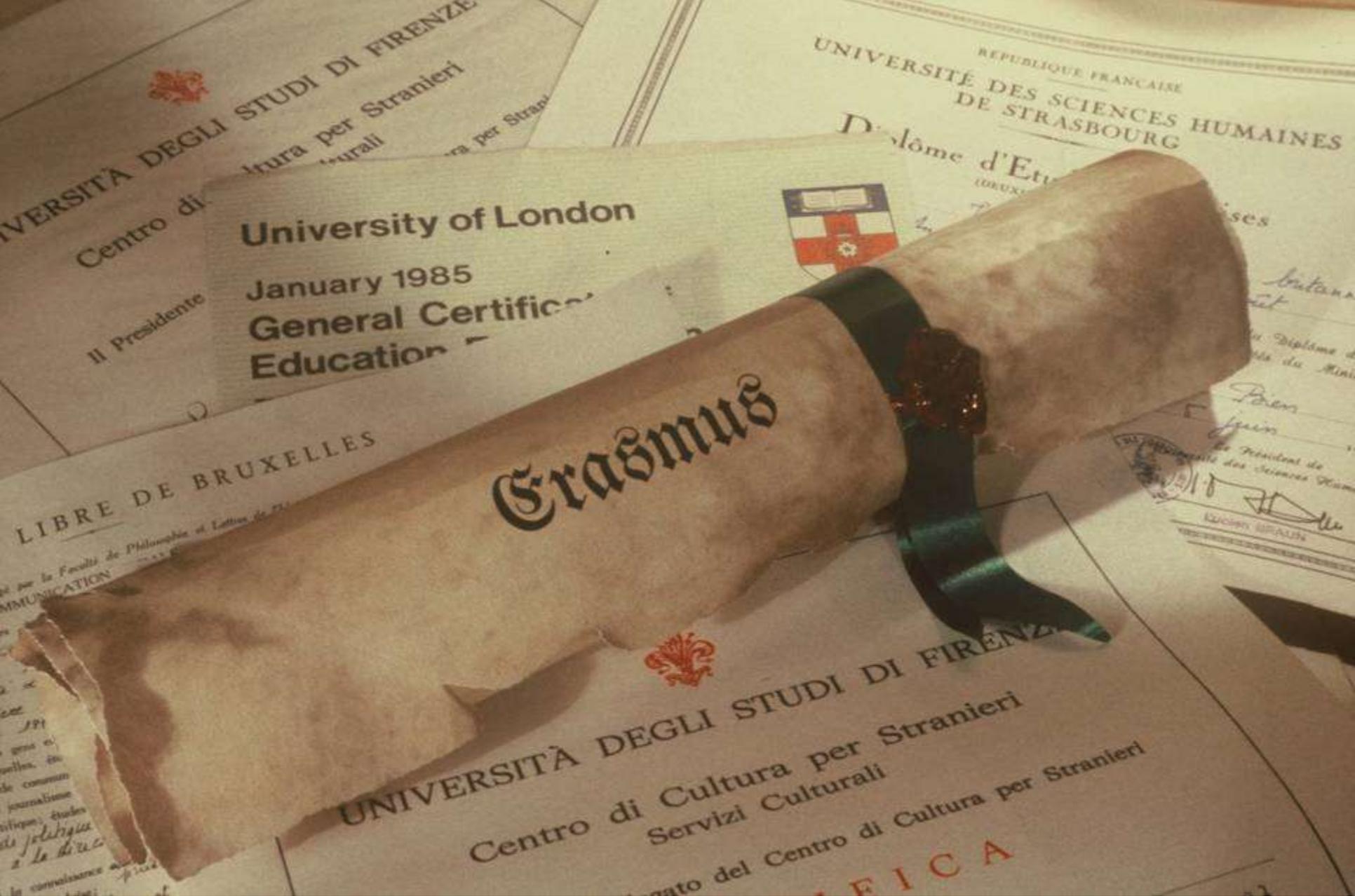
## Main goal:

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 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

*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.*



**1987: the Erasmus Programme, a success story**

# 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/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/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:  
Travelling in Europe  
without passport

- 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

**1995: Austria, Sweden, Finland**



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



**2007: Romania, Bulgaria**



**2013:  
Croatia**



**BUT 2020  
BREXIT**



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

**2001: Nizza Treaty: 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)**



# 2002: A currency for Europe

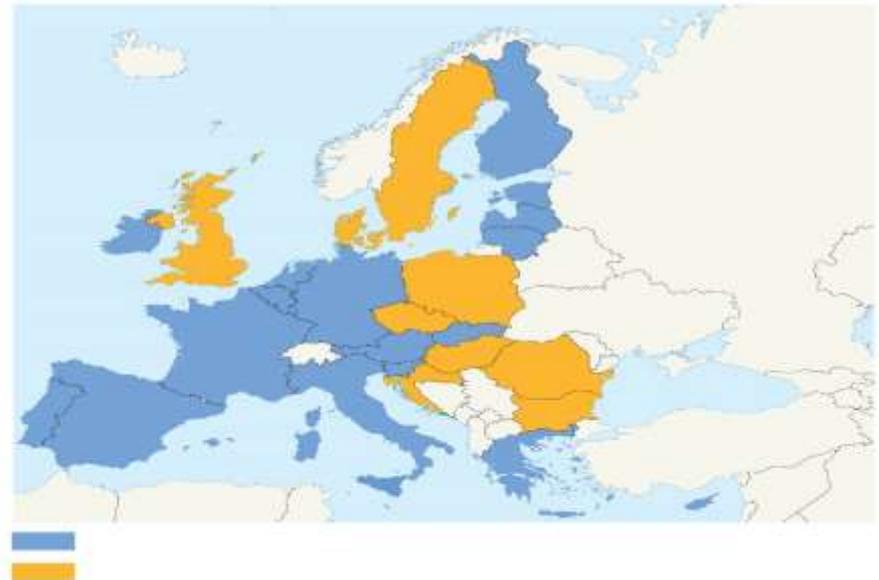


# EURO OR NOT EURO ?

- **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 contained part of the results of the unsuccessful Convention on the Future of Europe (2001-2003, formally European Convention) which drafted the *Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe* (2004)

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 int



# What about EU future ?

- The **Conference on the Future of Europe** is a political body enabled in the end of 2019 in order to elaborate on the future of EU through new agreements, or amendments to the existing ones, during 2020–2022
- **An interinstitutional mandate:** The Conference consists of the European Parliament (leading role?), the Commission and the Council
- **A bottom-up process:** it should also involve citizens
- **A very wide mandate:** The Conference should address all issues at stake to guide the future of Europe with a view to making the EU more united and sovereign - such as Europe's role in the world and its security/defence, neighborhood, digitalisation, climate change, migration, fight against inequalities, our “social market economy” model (including social rights, industrial and innovation policy, trade, EMU, competitiveness), the rule of law and European values
- Macron initiative but joined with Germany. *Franco-German Axis*: Phase 2 focusing on policy priorities should be launched in mid-2020 (German EU presidency) and be closed in early 2022 (French presidency)
- ***How will it ends ?***