

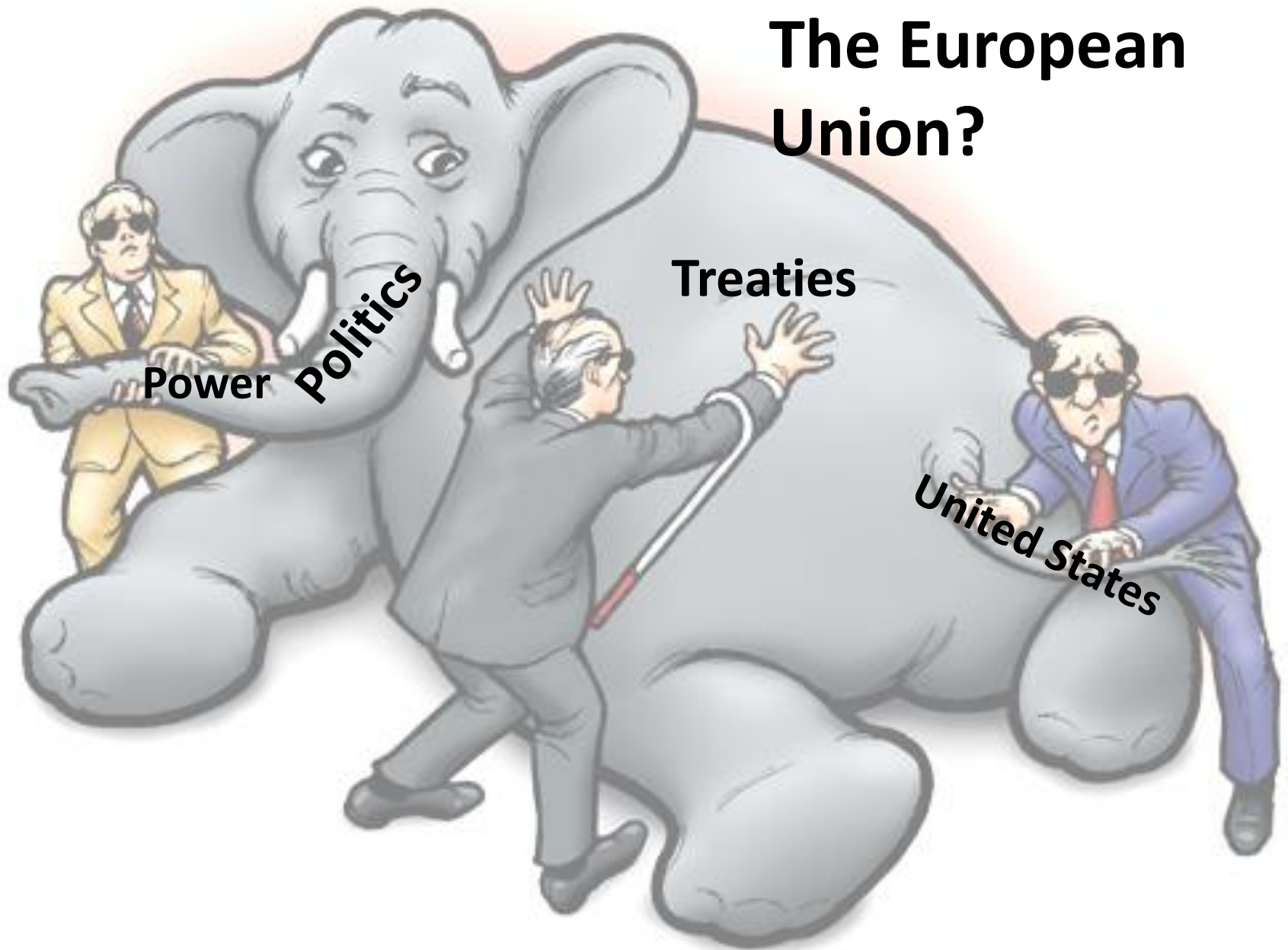
OLLI 2012 Europe's Destiny

Session II Integration and Recovery

Transformative innovation or Power Play “with a little help from our friends?”



The European Union?



Today's Menu

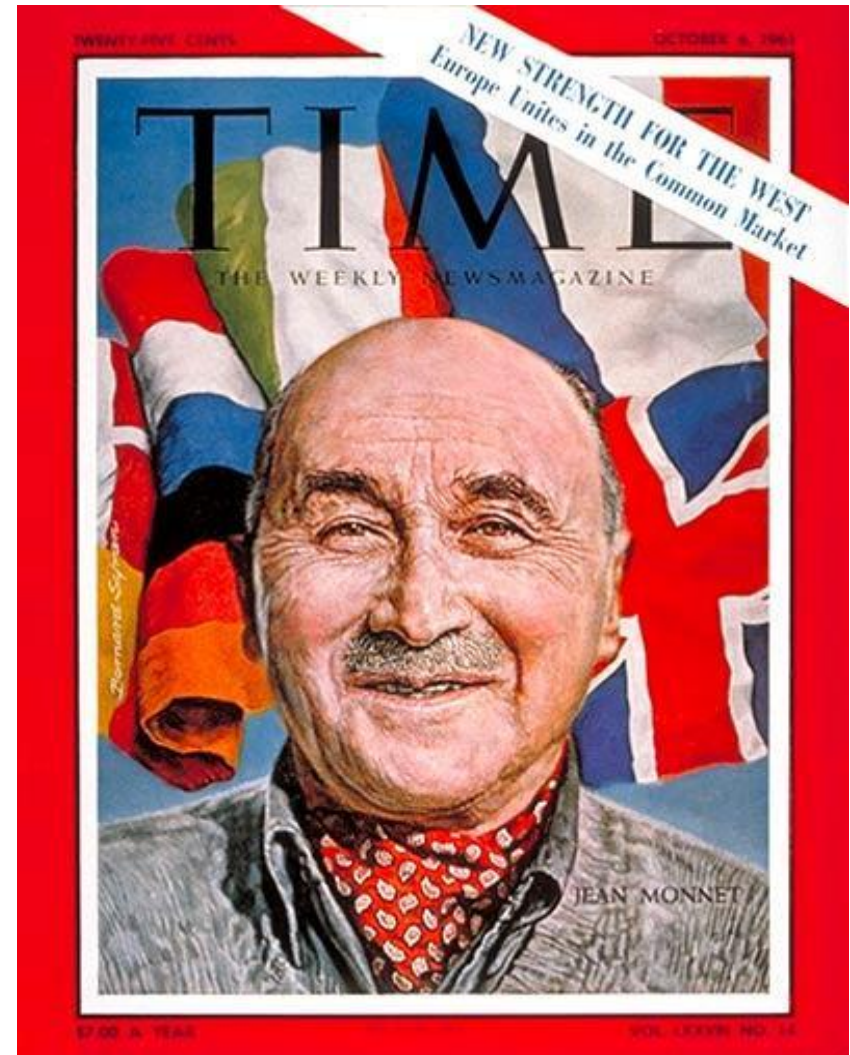
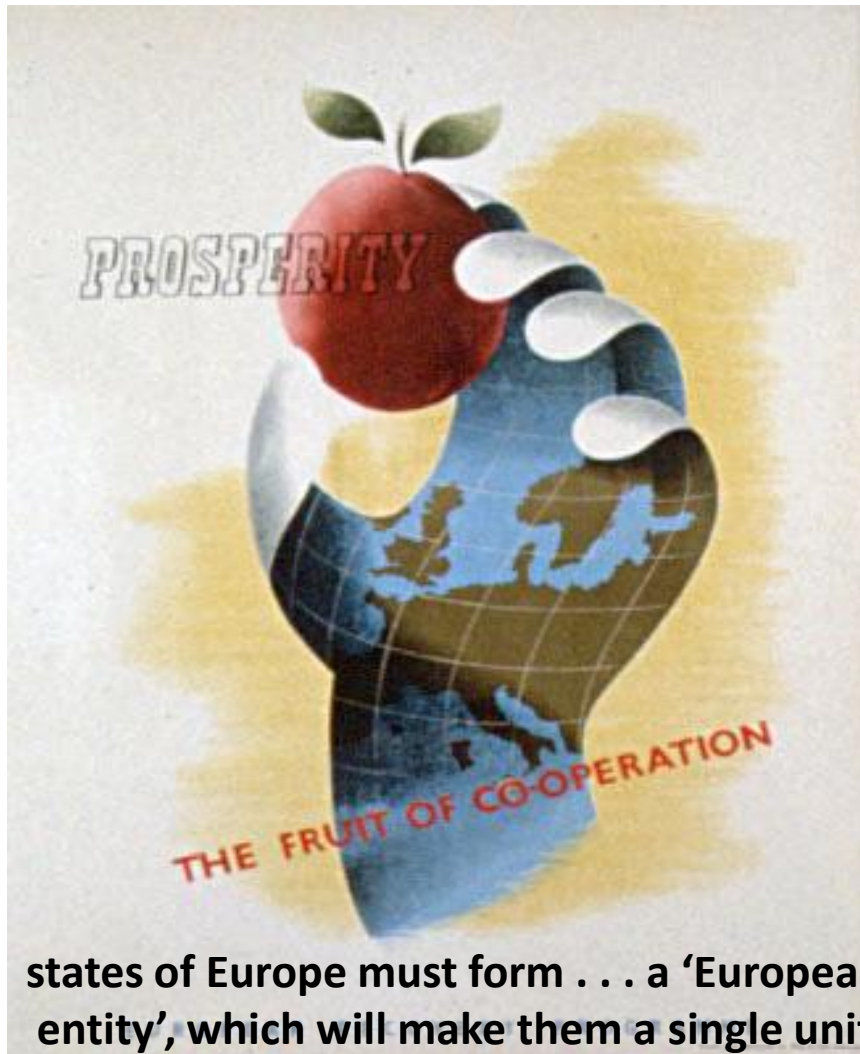
- **Myth or Reality?** The EU is transformative innovation: a “**superstate**” that cannot be (easily) undone
 - What is a state? What is a superstate?
 - What characteristics of a state does the EU possess?
- **Myth or Reality?** The EU is nothing but a **set of bargains** that depend on shifting power
 - Integration depended entirely on the US and the Cold War
 - Need to “tie down” Germany
 - A new empire dominated by France?
 - Or dominated by Germany?
 - Or by China?

“We must build a kind of United States of Europe.”



- Churchill: “Nationalism Causes War”
 - Loyalty, civil religion, core values, definer of identity
- Only a supranational “United States of Europe” would make Europe peaceful, free, and Happy
- Instigated a “movement for European Unity” 1947

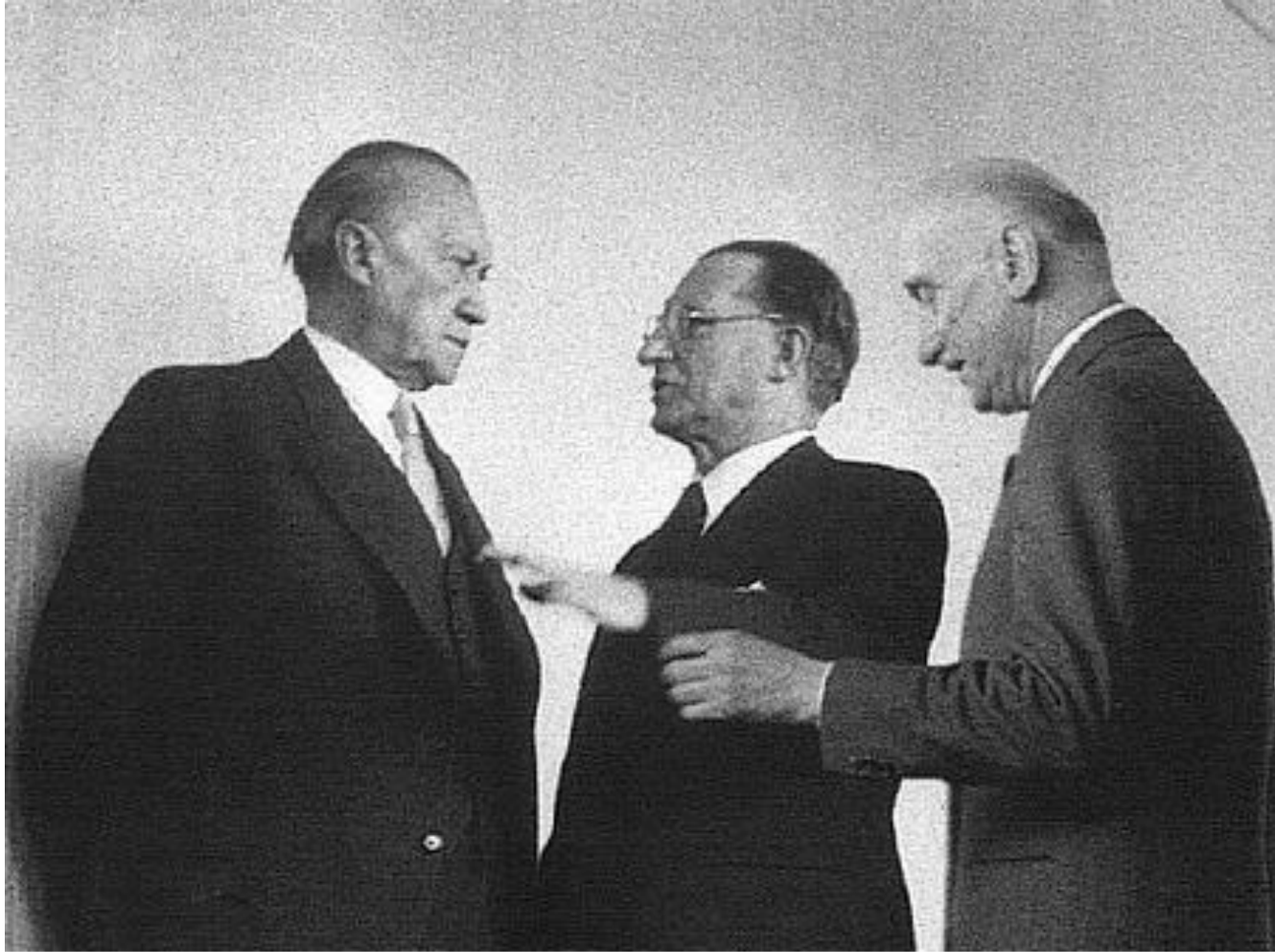
Jean Monnet's Vision



Monnet's reasoning on how nationalism could be overcome:

- Delegate some **economic** power to central institutions (not political power)
- Fuse economies so they become interdependent
 - Interdependence prevents war
 - Creates bigger, more efficient markets
- Obstacles: Few countries will want to give up national power.
- Start small and expand later....
- Gradually nationalism will be overcome

Coal and Steel: A Modest Beginning



*Jean Monnet and other leaders with
the first "European" ingot of steel*



Treaty of Rome: Creation of the EEC

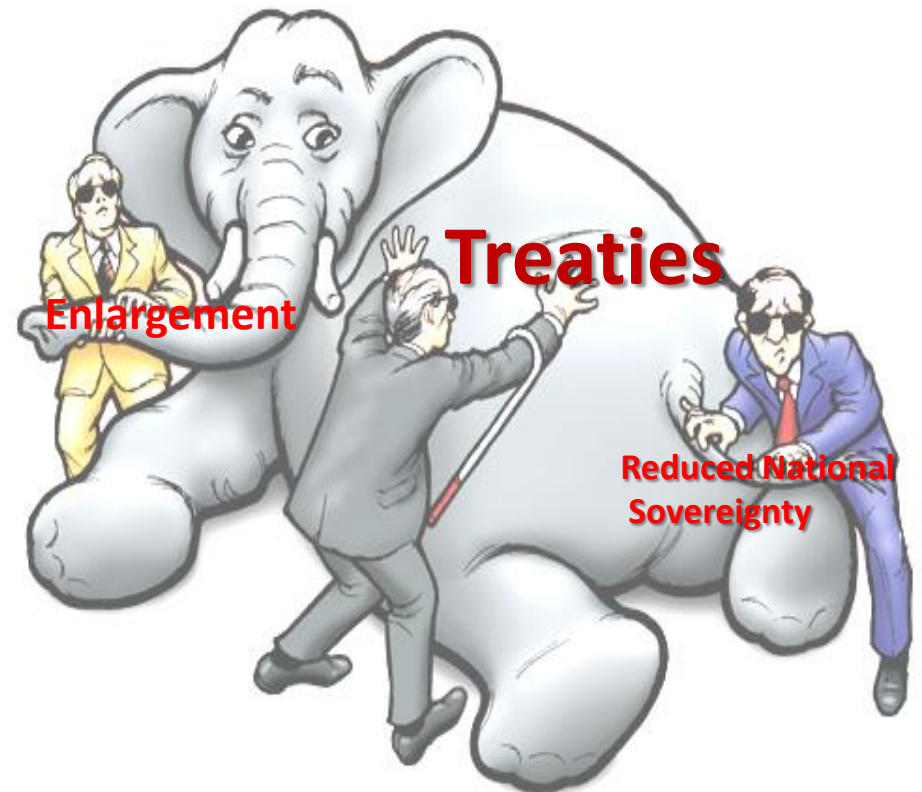
- European Economies growing but trade impeded.
- Tariffs removed...trade quadrupled
- Institutions strengthened
- ECJs jurisdiction expanded.....EU Law became national law!





A Story of The Creation of a "superstate" Growing Power told in treaties, enlargement, usurping of national sovereignty

- **Steel and Coal Community**: Paris 1951
(expired 2002)
- **European Economic Community**: Rome 1957
- **Schengen Agreement** 1985
- **Single European Act (1987)**: achieving the Internal Market
- **"The Maastricht Treaty" (1992)**: Treaty on European Union -
- **Treaty of Amsterdam (1997)**: visa, asylum, immigration integration
- **Treaty of Lisbon (2009)**: institutional reform



Governing more and more territory....

1951

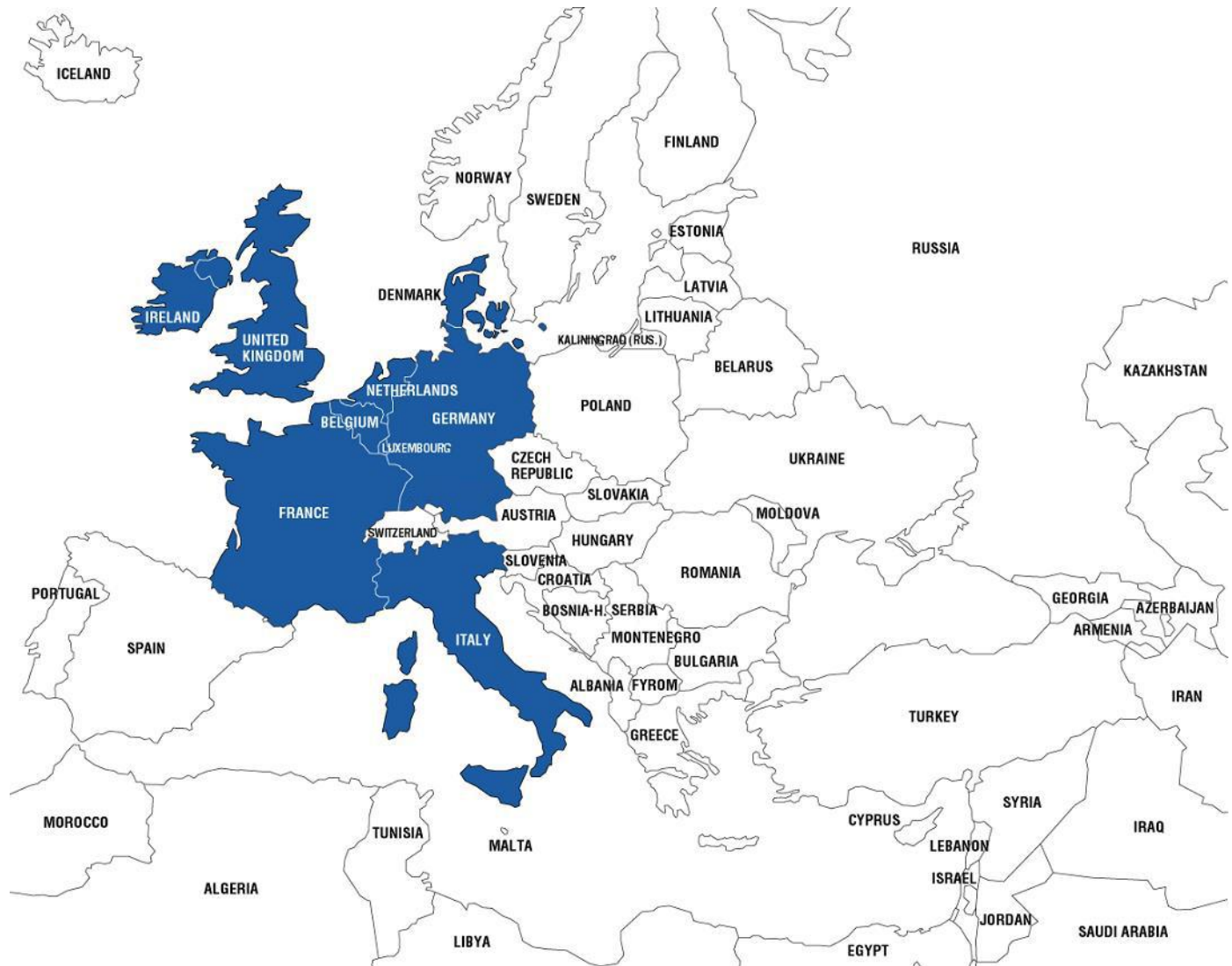
Founding Members

Belgium
France
Germany
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands



1973

Denmark
Ireland
United Kingdom



1981

Greece



1986

Portugal
Spain



**November
1989**

**Fall of the
Berlin Wall
sets the
stage for
unifying
Europe and
EU
enlargement**



1995

Austria
Finland
Sweden



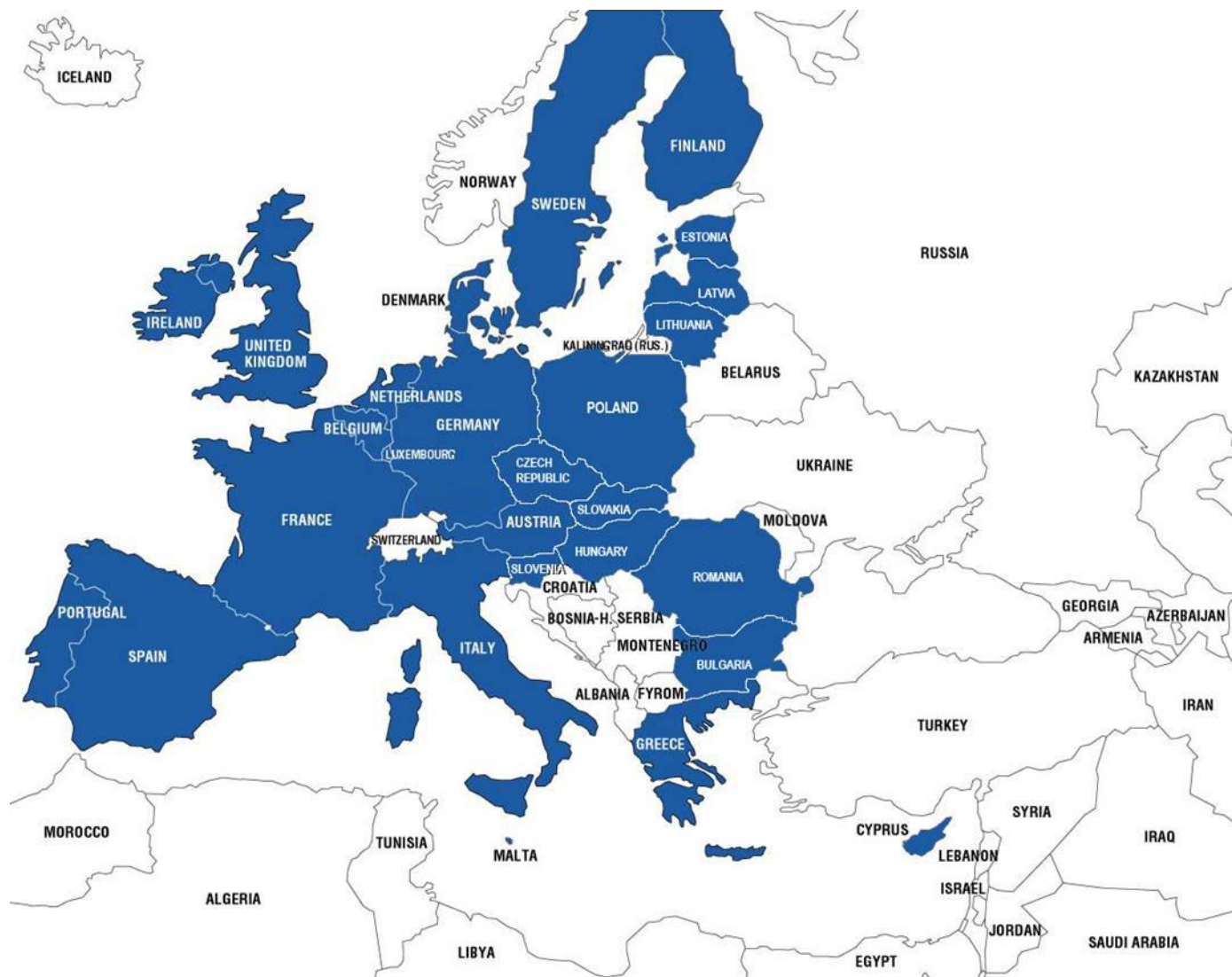
2004

Cyprus
Czech Republic
Estonia
Hungary
Latvia
Lithuania
Malta
Poland
Slovakia
Slovenia



2007

Bulgaria
Romania



Candidate Countries

Croatia

Former Yugoslav
Republic of Macedonia

Turkey

Potential Candidate Countries

Albania

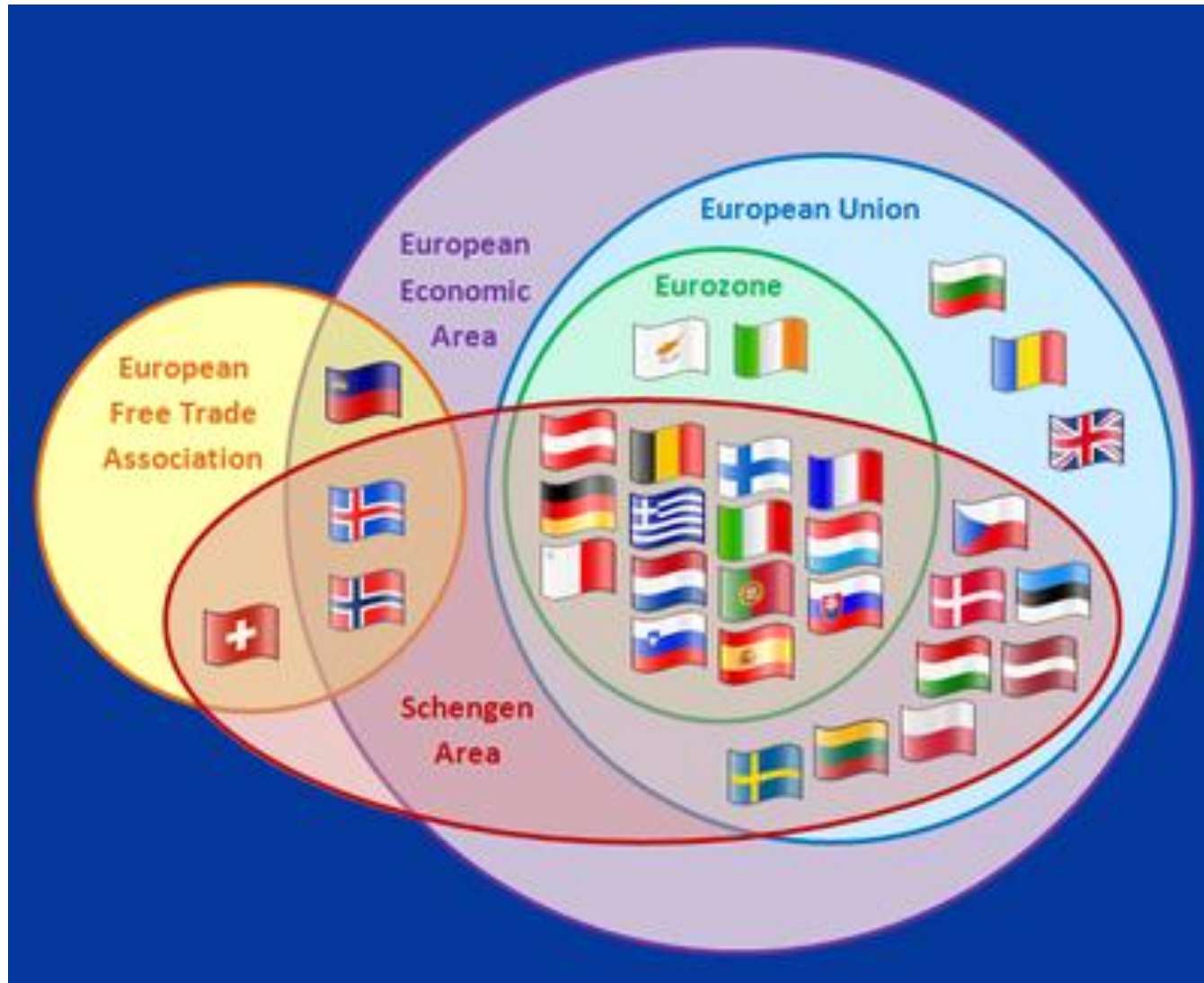
Bosnia & Herzegovina

Montenegro

Serbia including Kosovo
under UN Security Council
Resolution 1244



Growing Institutional Complexity



Is the EU is Becoming a “Superstate?”

- What makes a State?
 - Government over a defined territory
 - Common symbols
 - Common traditions
 - Common language
 - Common military
 - Common currency
 - identity /culture
- What makes a “superstate?”
 - A regional body with the characteristics of a state

A Common Government?



*European Commission President
José Manuel Barroso*

EU Institutions

European Commission

- 27 Commissioners, representing the European perspective, each responsible for a specific policy area.
- EU's executive branch proposes legislation, manages Union's day-to-day business and budget, and enforces rules.
- Negotiates trade agreements and manages Europe's multilateral development cooperation.

Council of the European Union

- EU's main decision-making body, comprised of ministers of 27 Member States, representing Member State's point of view.
- Decides on foreign policy issues.
- Council presidency rotates among Member States every six months.



European Parliament in session

EU Institutions

European Parliament

- Voice of European citizens – members elected for five-year terms.
- With the Council, passes EU laws and adopts EU budgets.
- Approves EU Commissioners.

European Court of Justice

- Highest EU judicial authority.
- Ensures all EU laws are interpreted and applied correctly and uniformly.



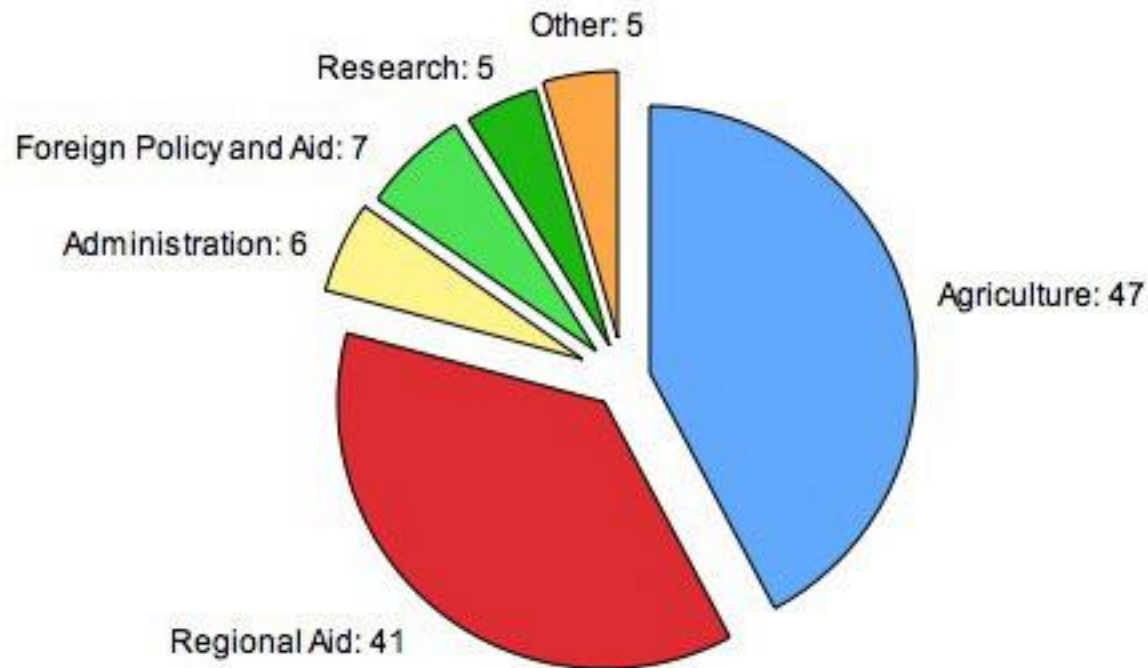


The euro was introduced in 1999

European Central Bank

- The European Central Bank (ECB) is the central bank for Europe's single currency, the euro.
- The ECB's main task is to maintain the euro's purchasing power and thus price stability in the euro area.
- The euro area comprises the 15 European Union countries that have introduced the euro since 1999.
- The ECB operates independently from Member State governments.



Cohesion Funds.....Paying for a Common European identity

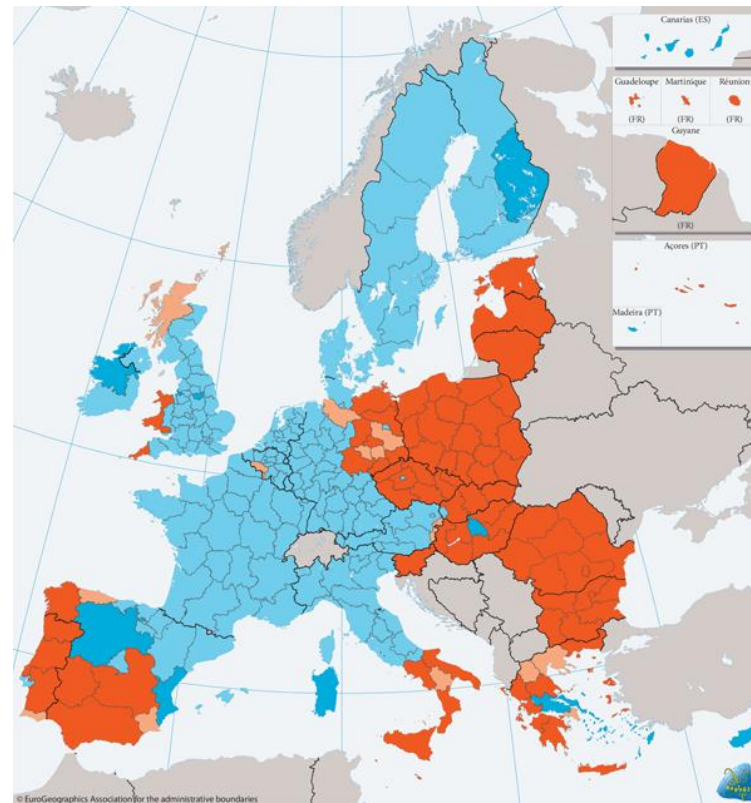


Common European Identity : the EU cohesion policy

2007-2013: €347 billion invested for infrastructure, business, environment and training of workers for less well-off regions or citizens

- Regional fund
- Social fund
- Cohesion fund

-  Convergence objective: regions with GDP per capita under 75% of the EU average. 81.5% of the funds are spent on this objective.
-  Regional competitiveness and employment objective.



Common symbol.....



EU Anthem

Ode to Joy

5

Arranged by Kellie Brown

Andante

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Cello

mf

6

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

11

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

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Common Currency



European Identity: European Passport



So can we call the EU a “superstate?”

- Government over a defined territory
- Common symbols
- Common traditions
- Common military
- Common currency
- identity /culture

Myth or Reality?

The EU is nothing but a series of bargains between separate countries that can and probably will be undone. Its rise was dependent solely on the United States

Destruction in Europe



Homelessness



Destruction of Roads, Bridges, Railways

Goods were produced but could not
be transported



Rise of Communist Parties

- Wartime resistance
- After the war, Communist parties did well
- Socialists also won elections
- This worried the U.S.— who supported anti-Left parties in Europe



The Cold War begins: The Truman Doctrine



"support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities by outside pressures."

In this context: who would Rescue Europe?

- Europe could not be written off...
- The US or USSR?
- **Europeans didn't want either one!**
- But they were weak!



The Marshall Plan: A U.S. bid for Western Europe

- Aid for the European export industries, housing, transport, construction, food....
- And center-right political parties
- Dividing trade Unions



A new look at European Cooperation



Schuman Plan and the ECSC : The beginning of a new French “consensual” Empire?

- The Cold War Heats up
 - Prague coup
 - Agreement on a West German state (including coal and steel producing areas)
 - Berlin blockade
 - Plans for NATO
- Germany would need to be “tied down”
- Britain stood aloof
- France as Europe’s de facto leader
- ECSC as France’s “consensual empire?”
- The ECSC actually did very little..... (but France got to dominate Germ



Jean Monnet and other leaders with the first “European” ingot of steel

Treaty of Rome: Creation of the EEC

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- Europe's dependence on German Economic Power...
- The US was defending Europe
- The EEC was created;
 - Britain demurred but feared German dominance of the continent
 - Germany did not dare to offend France;
 - France wanted the rest of Europe to pay French farm subsidies



Is Germany now the driver of the Franco-German engine of integration?



The Elephant in the room: crisis expose essential weakness? Déjà vu All Over Again.....



EU Institutions: More or less powerful than member states?

- European Parliament
- ECB
- Cohesion Fund: Does it really foster a “European identity” or is it just too much bureaucracy?
- Foreign Policy : We will deal with this next week.