

# The Theory and Practice of European Integration

Syllabus

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**Aim:** To introduce the students to the history of European integration theories and practices, and to the special literature of the European Studies in English.

## 1. Introduction: The political ideological history of European unity.

The history of the international relations and of international law (1306-2003).

The classical idea of world-federalism and the principle of personalism.

The influence of international law, of human rights, and of the idea of self-determination on the theory and practice of the European integration.

See: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/constpap.htm>;

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>

## 2. The theories and the legal practice of European integration in historical context

### 2.1. Integration theories, 1923-1949

Forms of unions of European states. The American (1787) and the Swiss (1848) constitutions as examples.

See: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

The importance of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789.

The historical phenomenon of the nation state and the problems of nationalism.

The federalism of the Pan European Movement (1923-1948), and of the Movement of Resistance.

See Federal Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

The principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and their role in the legal development of European unity. See: <http://www.un.org/overview/rights.html>

<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/ch-cont.htm>

The organisations and institutions of the unionist Western Europe under British influence (1945-1949).

The Congress of The Hague, and after.

The Council of Europe. See: <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/001.htm>

#### 1. Classical constitutional federalism (1923-1948)

1. Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi: *Panuropa*. Paneuropa Verlag, Wien, 1926.
2. Aristide Briand: Mémoire sur l'organisation d'un régime d'Union fédérale européenne. Paris, le 1er mai 1930. In: A. Fleury (éd.): *Le Plan Briand d'Union fédérale*. Peter Lang, Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt/M., New York, Paris, Wien, 1998. 569-582. See Federalist Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>
3. Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi: *Kommen die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa?* Paneuropa Verlag A.G. Glarus, 1938. 103-113. In English: *Europe must unite*. Paneuropa Verlag, Genève, 1939. See Federal Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>
4. Altiero Spinelli – Ernesto Rossi : The Ventotene Manifesto, 1941. Documents on the History of European Integration. 1. Continental Plans for European Union, 1939-1945. Ed.: Walter Lipgens. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1985. 471-484; Déclaration des résistances européennes, juillet 1944. In: Jean-Pierre Gouzy: *Les Pionniers de l'Europe Communautaire*, Centre de Recherches Européennes, Lausanne, 1968. 153-155.
5. Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi: Memorandum on the Organization of a European Parliament. 27 January 1947. In: Walter Lipgens and Wilfried Loth: *Documents on the History of European Integration*. 4. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 1991. 122-123.

6. Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi: Appeal to all Europeans, 28 April 1947. In: Walter Lipgens and Wilfried Loth: *Documents on the History of European Integration*. 4. 123-124.
7. Das Paneuropa-Projekt für die Schaffung eines Europäischen Bundesstaates (1951). In: *Europa. Dokumente zur Frage der Europäischen Einigung*. Verlag Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, Bonn, 1953. 297.
8. Vorentwurf einer europäischen Bundesverfassung, unterbreitet durch das Verfassungskomitee für die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa. Strassburg, 6. Mai. 1951. In: *Europa. Dokumente zur Frage der Europäischen Einigung*. 298-300.
9. See Federalist and Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

## **2. Unionism**

10. Winston S. Churchill: Speeches on Europe. In: *W. S. Churchill. His Complete Speeches*. 7-8. Ed.: Robert Rhodes James. R.R. Bowker Company, New York and London, 1974.  
<http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

## **3. The new European federalism after 1945**

11. Denis de Rougemont: "The Federalist Attitude" 26 August 1947. In: W. Lipgens and Wilfried Loth: *Documents on the History of European Integration*. 4. 23-27.
12. Hendrik Brugmans: Fundamentals of European Federalism. 27 August 1947. In: W. Lipgens and Wilfried Loth: *Documents on the History of European Integration*. 4. 28-34.
13. Denis de Rougemont: *The Meaning of Europe*. Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd. London, 1965. 63-66.

## **4. Functionalism**

14. David Mitrany: *A Working Peace System. An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. Epilogue. National Peace Council, London, 1946. 62-64.
15. David Mitrany: The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional? (1965) In: *Functionalism. Theory and Practice in International Relations*. Eds. A. J. R. Groom and Paul Taylor. University of London Press Ltd. 1975. (The Federal fallacy 60-64. The Functional Alternative, 64-72).

### **2.2. The new supranational European integration policy.**

The European supranational institutions and law. Europe's first constitution (1953). The federalists' failure. The unfinished union.

## **5. Functionalist-federalism**

16. *La Déclaration du 9 Mai 1950*.  
[www.robertschuman.org](http://www.robertschuman.org)
17. Robert Schuman: *Pour l'Europe*. Nagel, Paris, 2000.
18. Jean Monnet: *Mémoires*. Fayard, Paris, 1976. 348-353; 490-493. 449.
19. Jean Monnet: A Ferment of Change. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 1. (1) 1962. 203-211.
20. The aims and institutions of the European Coal and Steel Community:  
<http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>
21. The Pléven Plan. Paris, 24. October 1950. In: A. G. Harryvan and J. van der Harst: *Documents on European Union*. Macmillan Press LTD. London, 1997. 65-69. See Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>
22. Draft Treaty Embodying the Statute of the European Community. 1953. In: R. R. Bowie and C. J. Friedrich (Eds.): *Studies in Federalism*. Little, Brown and Co. 1954. Appendix II. 828-853. See Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

### **2.3 The spill-over in working: the European Economic Community and Euratom. Debates on the ideas of Jean Monnet on European integration. Neo-functionalism**

23. The aims and institutions of the European Economic Community: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>  
*Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community and Connected Documents*. Publishing Services of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1962.
24. The aims and institutions of the EURATOM: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>
25. Neo-functionalism: Ernst Haas: International Integration: The European and the Universal Process. In: Michael Hodges (ed.): *European Integration. Selected Readings*. Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972. 91-107.
26. Leon N. Lindberg: Political Integration: Definition and Hypotheses. In: Brent F. Nelsen – Alexander C. G. Stubb (eds.): *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London, 1994. 99-123.

#### **2.4 Theory emerging from practice**

The influence of supranationalism on the development of European integration theories (1958-1986).

De Gaulle and the European authority.

De Gaulle versus Hallstein

Supranationalism in the intergovernmental Europe.

Federalist reforms in the intergovernmental Europe.

#### **6. Classical European confederalism**

27. Charles de Gaulle: L'Europe. In: *Mémoires d'espoir*. Plon, Paris, 1970. 173- 177, 181-183, 205 - 207.
  28. Margaret Thatcher: The European Family of Nations. Speech. Bruges, 1988. In: *The Eurosceptical Reader*. Ed. Martin Holmes. Macmillan Press LTD, London, 1996; St. Martin's Press, Inc. New York, 1996. 88-96.
- See Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

#### **7. In defense of democratic supranational institutions**

29. Walter Hallstein: *Europe in the Making*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1972. 57-84; 84-102; 292-327.
30. Leo Tindemans: *European Union. Report by Mr. Leo Tindemans to the European Council*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1976.
31. Altiero Spinelli: The European Adventure. In: Altiero Spinelli: *The European Adventure. Tasks for the Enlarged Community*. Charles Knight & CO LTD, London, 1972. 1-17.
32. Altiero Spinelli: A Model for Development of the Institutions of the Community. In: Spinelli: *The European Adventure*. 167-183.
33. *An Ever Closer Union. A Critical Analysis of the Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union*. Eds.: R. Bieber, J.P. Jacqué, J.H.H. Weiler. Office for Official Publications of European Communities, Luxembourg, 1985.

#### **8. Federalism of nation states: the Delors-debate**

34. Jacques Delors: Réconcilier l'idéal et la nécessité. Devant le Collège d'Europe à Bruges, le 17 octobre 1989. In: Jacques Delors: *Le Nouveau Concert Européen*. Editions Odile Jacob, Paris, 1992. 322-338.
35. Jacques Delors : Le principe de subsidiarité. In : J. Delors : *Le Nouveau Concert*. 163-176.
36. Jacques Delors: Economic and monetary union and relaunching the construction of Europe. In: *Report on economic and monetary union in the European Community*. Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1989. 63-67.
37. *The Single European Act*. Council of the European Communities, Brussels, 1986. See: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>

#### **9. Intergovernmentalism**

38. Andrew Moravcsik: Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in European Community. *International Organization*. 45. 1991. 1.
39. Andrew Moravcsik: Preferences and Power In: The European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31. 4. 1993, 480-483, 496-517, 517-519.

#### **10. Neo-federalism**

40. John Pinder: *European Community. The Building of a Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991. 217-218.
41. John Pinder: The New European Federalism. The Idea and Achievements. In: *Comparative Federalism and Federation*. Eds: Michael Burgess and Alain G. Gagnon. Harvester Wheatsheaf, London, 1993. 62-64.

### **2.5. The European Union. The Treaty on the European Union (1992) and the principles of European law.**

The institutions of the European Union. The European Council.  
The “democratic deficit”.

#### **11. Debates on the European Union**

42. *Treaty on European Union*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. Luxembourg, 1992. See: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>
43. Alan W. Cafruny and Glenda G. Rosenthal (eds.): *The State of the European Community. 2. The Maastricht Debates and Beyond*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, 1993. 19-35, 35-53, 195-209, 265-285, 285-303, 303-321.
44. See Historical Documents: <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

#### **12. The Fischer-debate**

45. From confederacy to federation: thoughts on the finality of European integration. Speech by Joschka Fischer at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 12 May 2000. In: *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity? Responses to Joschka Fischer*. Eds.: Christian Joerges, Yves Mény & H.H. Weiler. European University Institute, Florence, 2000. 19-31. See: [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/2\\_aktuel/index.htm](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/2_aktuel/index.htm)
46. *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity? Responses to Joschka Fischer*. Eds.: Christian Joerges, Yves Mény & H.H. Weiler. European University Institute, Florence, 2000. 1-5. 45-61, 99-113, 119-124. 125-138, 235-247. (Parts) See: <http://www.iue.it/RSC/symposium/>; <http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/JeanMonnet/papers/00/symp.html>

### **2.7. Integrating the theories and practices**

#### **13. Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2003**

*Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe. Submitted to the European Council Meeting in Thessaloniki. 20. June 2003*. Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2003. See: <http://european-convention.eu.int/default.asp?lang=Eu>; <http://european-convention.eu.int/http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/constit.html>

### **2.8 The place of Europe in the world**

#### **14. Europe and globalization**

See: <http://www.polity.co.uk/global>

47. Kevin H. O'Rourke: Europe and the Causes of Globalization, 1790-2000. In: *Europe and Globalization*. Ed.: Henryk Kierzkowski. Palgrave, Macmillan, New York, 2002. 64-86.
48. Marcelo G. Kohen: Europe and the Standardization of the Law: Past and Present. In: *Europe and Globalization*. 87-103.
49. André Liebich: Nationalizing the Globe, Globalizing the Nation. In: *Europe and Globalization*. 104-113.
50. Albert Breton and Heinrich Ursprung: Globalization, Competitive Governments, and Constitutional Choice in Europe. In: *Europe and Globalization*. 274-301.
51. The Global Transformations Reader. An Introduction to the Globalization Debate. Ed.: David Held and Anthony McGrew. Polity, Cambridge, 2002. 37.

## **2.9. Democratic federalism, democratic supranational institutions, and the necessary reforms in Europe. The future of the EU**

### **15. Summary**

#### **Literature:**

Ben Rosamond: *Theories of European Integration*. St. Martin's Press Inc. New York, 2000.  
 Brent F. Nelsen - Alexander C-G. Stubb (eds.): *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Eds.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London. 1994; 2004.  
 A.G. Harryvan and J. van der Harst: *Documents on European Union*. Macmillan Press LTD., London, 1997.  
 The basic treaties of the European integration (ECSC, EURATOM, EEC, SEA, TEU, TA, TN):  
<http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>  
 A Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2003:  
<http://european-convention.eu.int/default.asp?lang=Eu>  
<http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/constit.html>

#### **Websites:**

Documents on constitutional development:  
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/constpap.htm>

Internet Modern History Sourcebook:  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>

Basic documents of international law:  
<http://www.un.org/overview/rights.html>  
<http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/ch-cont.htm>

Human rights:  
<http://www.un.org>  
<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

EU History Site:  
<http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl>

Documents on the history of the European idea:  
<http://civiseuropaeus.org/idea/index.htm>

Globalization theories:  
<http://www.polity.co.uk/global>

Documents on the history of European integration:

The Statute of the Council of Europe:

<http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/001.htm>

The basic treaties of the European integration (ECSC, EURATOM, EEC, SEA, TEU, TA, TN):

<http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties>

ECSC: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties/en/entoc29.htm>

EURATOM: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties/en/entoc38.htm>

EEC: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties/en/entoc05.htm>

Treaty on European Union, Maastricht, 1992: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties/en/entoc01.htm>

Single European Act: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/treaties/en/entoc113.htm>

<http://europa.eu.int/en/record/mt/top.html>

Treaty of Amsterdam: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/amst./en/>;

<http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/amsterdam.html>

Treaty of Nice: <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/nice.html>

Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, 2003:

<http://european-convention.eu.int/default.asp?lang=Eu>

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EU informations:

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<http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement>

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<http://www.jeanmonnet.net/main5.html>

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The Fischer-debate:

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Fischer's speech:

[http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/2\\_aktuel/index.htm](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/2_aktuel/index.htm)