The European Union:

a possible federation for the future of the continent?

A retrospective analysis of the evolution of Europe according to the principles of the Schuman Declaration

Maëlle Celia Vanrell

Supervisor: Søren Dosenrode

Msc European Studies

Kroghstræde 3, 9220 Aalborg
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Abstract

The European Union is an ongoing economic experiment that has existed since the writing of the Declaration of Schuman in 1950. Numerous spectulations and perspectives exist when it comes to defining the essence of Europe, but one remarkable conflicting topic is whether or not it should be considered a political union.

By conducting a historical evaluation, this thesis will have the objective of identifying what is it about the structure and formation of the EU that has not tackled the problem of political integration just yet. In fact, the present time presents itself with compelling evidence that we are getting even further away from truly become a union beyond the economic context.

Moreover, the case of European integration is of special character, as it canno tbe compared to any similar political union. Its diversity and extended membership makes Europe pretty much "up-to-date" with the current globalised world system, yet it seems as though internally, divisions and different interpretations of what the direction of Europe should be could propose that Europe might have never truly be made for a federation.

In order to bring perspective into the case study, there will be a comparative approach of the United States.

The overal objective of this project is to identify what have been the characteristic limitations that Europe has suffered towards becoming a federation.

By analysis the key treaties, the political threats within the Union, as well as by comparing two case stdudies, the hypothesis stated in the introduction of this thesis will be attained deductively.

From a majorly theoretical framework, we will apply a simplified and consistent model of federation to the reality of the EU, with the hope of shedding some light into this constant battle between intergvernnmentalism and supranationalim.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the evolution of the European Union, the discussion on integration issues has become has led for even more relevance n the 21st Century. Solutions to issues on the European level have emerged along with the issues they have addressed, making the union what is considered a relatively successful political experiment. Given the international situation of the present time, it is fair to say that the EU has accurately adapted to a globalised model, given its supranational and intergovernmental nature.

The aim of the following thesis is to attempt to examine the way that the union has lived up to the wishes of its founding fathers of transforming it to its final aim: an established federation.
It seems that the current nationalistic tendencies in some member states have put the union at the spectrum of criticism and ultimately, scepticism, which has endangered the legitimacy of its power. It is important to remain aware that the discussion surrounding the relationship between member states and the institutions of the EU is a two-way problem. Without a full understanding of the politics of both national and supranational level, it would be erroneous to claim that the cause of such relationship lies only on one actor. Moreover, given the plurality of states within the union, to speak of member states on an equal level between them, would also further endanger the credibility and legitimacy of striking and compelling arguments that are so present nowadays.

Since the turn of the 21st Century, the EU has encountered numerous problems and that have encouraged me to question where are all these *political* obstacles coming from. The realtionship between citizens and governments has always generated curiosity in me and the European Union case is of particular relevance nowadays. As globalisation has become stronger, the idea of patriotism and nationalism have simoulataneously become puzzling. How is it possible, that in a world that is seemingly becoming more and more interconnected, there are still cases of states and regions that desire a return to a more Realist interpretation of world politics?
The unequal success in the development of a political structure alongside the establishment of economic relations in Europe has caused all sorts of obstacles to achieve what was ultimately desired by the founding fathers of the EU, and I shall attempt to identify how has regulation of integration influenced the current form of the union.

As it is famously recongised, the European Union was established after the second world war with the intention of securing peace among neighbouring countries and restoring them from the damages of the conflict. "As of 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community (began) to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace."[1] This was first acted upon by the Schuman Declaration by the founding states, which were primarily France, Germany, followed later on by Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. (The BENELUX countries)

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1 "The History Of The European Union - European Union - European Commission". 2018. *European Union*.

The context of the turn of the century has placed the discussion on the political character of Europe, since the major economic developments proved to have succeeded historically. Nowadays, the EU is faced with a very extensive group of member states to manage, and it seems as though they are not being managed *equally*. Famous for its motto "Unity in Diversity"[2], the EU distinguishes itself from another federation example such as the U.S, celebrating the plurality and cohesion coming from a shared history and values. Nevertheless, as I shall work around throughout my thesis, I believe that the motto itself remonstrates a certain level of underestimation for the context of political integration. "Unity in Diversity" sounds almost like an oxymoron when the essential tools to achieve unity are missing from the core structure of the EU. This is why I will include a brief comparison of the creation and definition of the United States, with the aim to determine what *lacks* in the EU that could promote closer similarities with the former.

The reason why I have chosen to focus on the context of integration, is because I believe it is the most relevant issue the EU is facing at the present time. One may argue that the core principles and aims have been achieved on an economic level. Interestingly enough, to deny the name of "political union" to the EU is a feature of common nature amongst diverse academics. Controversial as it may be, this view is nothing but natural when one understands the EU as an experiment.

The academic approach and understanding of the EU has been very fragmented into different disciplines that attempted to explain its essence and raison d'etre, which has resulted in a path closer to the truth that it may seem.

The foundations of the EU were clear: to prevent potential conflicts between neighbouring countries by unifying them it what would ultimately look like a federation. As history has progressed, the union has come very far in terms of economic structures within the globalised world., for example, by directing towards a common market designed under the "Four Freedoms" granted to the member states. However, parallelally to its economic evolution, the EU has not succeeded at forming an organised political union affecting equally to all its member states. Issues regarding the way the latter are meant to be integrated are debated – both from a national point of view, as well as from the institutional entities of the union. These times of uncertainty has led to a further disengagement from the people towards their hierarchy, and the symptoms can be witnessed more and more on many levels of governance. This can easily be observed by examining the societal aspects of the EU – by examining the public opinion and its relationship with the institutional power in the analysis chapter, I aim to show what is missing in the union that could explain the disengagement problem. In order to do so, I intend to determine what are the areas of interest withing society regarding EU problems.

In order to avoid a personally biased approach, I will conduct my analysis following two important considerations. On the one hand, I intend to apply the chosen theories and the principles drawn from

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2 "The EU Motto - European Union - European Commission". 2018. *European Union*.

them in order to address the topic on an objective manner, strictly from a theoretical point of view. This of course already suggest that the theories used have been subject to my own research and understanding on federalism, causing the data to be subjected to a small interpretation of the broader spectrum. Moreover, the majoritarian theoretical approach will inevitably lead to philosophical outcomes, confirming my previous statement regarding the plurality of academic research and theories that exist about the EU's federalist nature.

On the other hand, however, my intend is to ultimately respond to the problem formulation as if it were of interest to the founding fathers. I wish to draw back on the intentions and aims when the union was established and apply them to the current situation in the hope that I can find what has prevented us from reaching those aims.

Hence, by reflecting on the original federal framework that was wished for the EU by its founding fathers, and by examining a theoretical background on federalism, my aim is to answer the following questions that would lead to my ultimate problem formulation for this thesis:

PROBLEM FORMULATION

"what are the limitations that the EU has faced throughout its evolution at becoming an established federation?"

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

"What constitutes a federation that would be theoretically applicable to the case of Europe"

"How exclusive are the obstacles towards a federation to the European Union?
Is there an essential similarity on a national level?"

"Does economic integration accurately lead to political integration?" (spillover)

"Why does Europe not count with a codified constitution that could laid down the foundations of the supranational and intergovernmental agreements?"

"How does the U.S. compare to the EU? And what can that reveal us about the latter?"

2. METHODOLOGY

Hypothesis and methods

This thesis will consist in a much deeper theoretical approach than any other method. The reasoning behind this is that our hypothesis requires enough conceptual background in order to assess our argument *critically.*

As I have introduced at the beginning of my work, our aim is to identify the reasons why Europe has not succeeded at becoming an established federation, as it was desired by the founding fathers in the Declaration of Schuman of 1950. As a result, and in order to avoid opinionated bias, I have chosen to use the ideas set in the declaration itself as the theoretical grounds for what the direction of the Europe *should* look like. Consequently, this implies that the founding fathers' words would be the guidance when it comes to identifying those reasons, or more appropriately in this case, "obstacles".

Nevertheless, this will not be the only perspective or approach that I will use in the path towards assessing the incapacity of Europe towards a federation, nor should it imply that the founding fathers' words are to be taken as absolute. On the contrary, my intention in this thesis is to consider various approaches that address different factors of relevance.

Besides the Schuman Declaration, I will use the theoretical work of Michael Burgess to design a model of federation. With this in mind, and as I shall develop in the theoretical chapter, I believe that by establishing a "guide" of what a characterizes a federation, an easier understanding of Europe's failures will be obtained, as well as a gateway to the discussion on whether those failures could be a blessing in disguise.

In addition to this model of federation, I will also conduct a historical evolution of the building of Europe since the end of WW2, with the aim of pinpointing the key moments in policy-making (or in this case, the creation of treaties) failed at pushing Europe towards successful political integration. By conducting a policy analysis on the main treaties, I intend to identify the motivations and interests wished for by the member states, as well as to understand the reluctance of others, and consequently find the evidences for the obstacles.

Moreover, document analysis will also be of primordial importance for this thesis, as a big proportion of my research consists in works from theorists, economists and political scientists that have studied the problems of European integration, as well as discussed the federalist nature of the institution.

In order to draw back to my hypothesis, and therefore attempt to answer my problem formulation, I will also use a deductive approach. Since my basis for what Europe should look like consists in the wishes of the founding fathers, my hypothesis is in essence that Europe will never become a federation so long as there is no strong political union and incentives that would drive to reach its

goal. By assessing the treaties, the historical evolution, the studies of experts on the before-mentioned issues, and with a comparative input with the case of the US, my objective is to *prove* that the wishes established in the Schuman Declaration reflects the ideological framework for Europe in the following stages: a clash of intergovernmental ism and supranationalism.

Document discourse analysis – the European Treaties

My decision to approach and examine some key elements of European treaties due to the fact that they are the ultimately legally binding documents or frameworks that exist for the functioning of the institutions as well as the definition of the unions themselves. Document analysis is relevant here when it comes to exploring the contents of the treaties to be explored. This type of method is a qualitative type of research involving 'interpretation' of the documents[3].The aim of analysing documents such as treaties is to generate 'meaning', and therefore make assessments (which I will further develop when introducing the relevance of critical approach). Document analysis englobes three main types of subject-matter.[4] These are Public Records, which are official and defining of an organisation; personal documents, which consist in 'first-person accounts' of an individual; and then there is physical evidence, consisting in 'artifacts' such as "flyers, posters, agendas, handbooks, and training materials".[5] In this case the treaties of Europe that I have chosen to consider are more like the first of these categories. Treaties are formal agreements for the functioning and definition of an organization, or in this case, a political/economic institution such as ESCE, EEC, and later on, EU. With this said, I have chosen to focus on the following treaties, that will be analysed in chronological order (further development of this will be addressed in the historical analysis subchapter) and which will be reccuringly applied to our federation model.

- The Declaration of Schuman, given the fact that it was the starting point of discussions for unifying Europe after WW2. This document reflects the wishes of the founding fathers and it will become important to assess it in order to identify the core motivations behind establishing the ESCS.

- The Treaty of Paris and the establishment of the ESCS. This is the first *union* ever created and therefore, the basis for the following ones. Inspired by the Schuman Treaty, I shall expose the features of this Treaty and of the ESCS always tracing back to the requisites chosen of a federation model.

- The Treaties of Rome. This, as the most extensive part of the treaties analysis, has been chosen given the long evolution it is part of, and given the changes and adaptations that it addressed Europe towards what it is today.

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3 Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. Qualitative Research Journal, 9(2), 27-40. doi:10.3316/QRJ0902027

4O'Leary, Z. (2014). The essential guide to doing your research project (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
5An Introduction To Document Analysis – Research Methodology In Education" 2018)

- The Treaty of the EU, for the core reason that it was the moment the EEC became the European Union. This factor makes it of interest for discussion given the intended objectives of turning Europe into a *political union.*

With document analysis, as I have stated before, comes interpretation from the writer. Alas, the same happens when it comes to analysing discourse. In this context, discourse analysis will have an important role, since the treaties often have a *tone* that depending on it, could have at least an academic influence on the way the European studies are conducted. For example, as we will argue multiple times throughout the thesis, there are numerous disagreements on whether or not should the EU today be considered a *political union.* This is problematic if we consider that the founding treaties of the ESCS, the EEC and the EU consisted in big proportion to promote the idea of becoming more politically integrated.

Moreover, discourse analysis will also come helpful in understanding the opposing attitudes from some members throughout the building of the European Union. Most specifically, in the way that national sovereignty devolution has a strong meaning for some countries (as we shall see from the "empty chair" crisis and the recent intensification of euroscepticism).

Historical analysis and comparative approach

In order to express the relevance of tracking down the historical evolution of the EU, I shall use the Marxist methodology of "historical materialism". This theory of history is "centered around the idea that forms of society rise and fall as they further (...)". Marx believed that historical events and circumstances are the responsible for the rise of ideas. The highlighting point of the theory consist on "the notion of functional explanation (also sometimes called 'consequence explanation')".[6] This approach refers to the idea that "the economic structure does indeed develop the productive forces".[7] When applying this notion to my approach of the evolution of European integration, I intend to identify how it was the economic situation of the post-war scenario that ultimately lead to the establishment of communities. Moreover, and as we shall expect to discover in the analysis of the treaties, the wishes of the founding fathers in the Declaration of Schuman were for Europe to be made gradually, achievement after achievement. In fact, the changes in the treaties and the resulting adaptations to the globalised world will also help us determine if Europe has indeed developed in the way that it was desired.

Overall, the intention of using historical materialism to explain the obstacles that Europe has faced at becoming a federation is to express how predictions might have been overestimated, and not adaptations were not accurately created for the purposes to be achieved.

In addition to the historical study of the creation of European treaties, I will also introduce a brief comparative approach to another federation, with the case of the United States. As with Europe, I

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6   Karl Marx (Stanford Encyclopedia Of Philosophy), 2018
7   Idem.

will expose the roots of the creation of the US, and present the important role of the constitution. This, along with examples of similarities and differences with the European system and history, I shall aim to further illustrate the reasons why European integration towards a federation still results so far-reaching.

"Comparison is a fundamental tool for analysis. It sharpens our power of description, and plays a central role in concept-formation by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and contrasts among cases."[8] By exploring the essence of the US federation, it will become illustratively evident what may be missing in the case of Europe, which in its turn *aims* at achieving features that the US already counts with. In this "case-study" approach, and combined with the application of my model of federation, I ultimately aim to establish a framework that will help me understand my main case (Europe).

QUALITATIVE DEDUCTIVE METHODOLOGY

The reasoning method I have primarily used to address my problem formulation is a deductive approach. Stated in my introduction, I have begun my research with an established hypothesis that I will through my analysis attempt to support or contradict. Ultimately, however, the "last word" belongs to the ideas and wishes stated in the Declaration of Schuman, apart from a minor conclusive discussion from my part.

As I am applying a reasonable sense of criticism to my data (the treaties, and the evolution of European integration), my study will therefore be of qualitative style. I am not trying to determine any essential numerical factors. Instead, I am conducting a rather philosophical journey of research that questions meanings, discourses, policies and actions with the aim of identifying the "features" or qualities that explain the subject-reality. "Qualitative research is a process of naturalistic inquiry that seeks in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural setting".[9] Its normative approach, therefore, becomes essential at determining reasons, rather than merely explaining phenomena.

Finally, the use of qualitative and deductive methods of reasoning requires a constant interaction from the researcher that forces the analytical and critical approach. By questioning, comparing, defining and maintaining flexibility, I am at reaching the end of a hypothesis and a problem formulation without losing the theoretical framework established in the chapter below.

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8   O'Leary, Zina. 2014. *The Essential Guide To Doing Your Research Project*.m chapter 5m by David Collier, page 106.

9   "What Is Qualitative Research? - | University Of Utah". 2018. *Nursing.Utah.Edu*.

3. Theory

As I have already introduced in the previous chapter, the theoretical approach in this thesis is of utmost importance. Given the plurality of interpretations of Europe, it is impossible not to consider one vision as the basis for the critical approach on the treaties. This is the reason why I have decided to use the ideas and objectives presented in the Declaration of Schuman of 1950. Moreover, the mere fact that I am addressing *conceptual* analysis, such as the very discussion on federalism, requires a strong heretical framework. To conceptualise and criticise is, as a matter of fact, to study the political theory, which is in its turn the philosophy of politics.

This chapter will be fragmented into smaller subsections dedicated to each theory that I have used for the analysis of my data, as well as an introductory conceptual section with all the definitions needed in order to be clear throughout the discussion.
Finally, a model of a federation will be presented, which is drawn from a multiple theoretical approaches. In addition to this, I will expose the relevance and importance of a constitution for a successful political union, which will also result useful when comparing the European case to the United States'.

CONCEPTS – DEFINITIONS – (3-5 pages)

As exposed before, the plurality of interpretations of European federalism is what ultimately leads to unclarity and uncertainty. In order to preserve coherence throughout my thesis, I will present below a list of key concepts followed by definitions. This will be the understanding of concepts that shall be followed throughout the theoretical and analysis chapters, and as a result all sorts of abstract and misguided uses of such concepts will be avoided. Moreover, there will be a particular emphasis on the concepts of Supranationalism, Intergovernmentalism and federalism, as they are the key theoretical approaches used for this paper.

- *Political Union* – According to the Oxford Dictionary, it is "a relationship with a political basis; specifically a joining of two or more nations or other political entities under one government; an alliance between states, a federal union."[10]
  As we can see from this definition, the idea of federalism is stated as a feature of what is considered a political union. This suggests that in order to have a political union, more than one state is included. Examples of political unions would include the U.S.S.R.

- *European Union* – "an association of European nations formed in 1993 for the purpose of achieving political and economic integration. Incorporating the European   Community, the European Union's member states are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In 2016 the United Kingdom

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10   "Political Union | Definition Of Political Union In US English By Oxford Dictionaries". 2018. *Oxford Dictionaries | English*.

voted by referendum to withdraw from membership in the European Union."[11] This definition is specially relevant because it illustrates one of the key factors on the discussion in this paper. It was precisely when the union acquired the title of "European Union" in 1993 thanks to the Single Market, that the structure became significantly enlarged. The four freedoms were achieved by the Single Market, and the collapse of Communism led path to a closer union with Eastern Europe. With these developments, the Union also became more complex and difficult to integrate, as it shall be discussed in the analysis.

- *Realism* – "Realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflicting side. (…) Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power."[12] This term would merely become useful at understanding the concept of neo-fucntionalism, which will often be the basis for our theoretical argumentation.

- *Neofunctionalism* – This theory, alongside with intergovernmentalism, is highlighted theory of EU integration. It is based on Ernst B. Haas and Leon Lindberg. The main factor of this theory is the concept of spillover, which consists in "the situations when an initial decision by governments t place a sector under the authority of central institutions creates pressures to extend the authority of the institutions into neighbouring areas of policy".[13]

  ○ Intergovernmentalism – Within the theoretical context of neo-fucntionalism, we ought to highlight intergovernmentalism with regards to European integration. This theory was suggested by Stanley Hoffman, and it is *"both* a theory of integration and a method of decision-making in international organizations, that allows states to cooperate in specific fields while retaining their sovereignty."[14] This theory and concept has a relevance in this discussion since integration is the key area of study I have chosen to explore. This approach ultimately indicates that decisions about integration are up to the member states, and it was particularly welcomed by Charles de Gaulle[15], as I will demonstrate in the discussion on the Empty Chair crisis of 1965. In this case of Europe the Council of the European Union would be the suitable example of intergovernmentalism, as it "consists of national government ministers, elected by their nationally democratically accountable governments, and must, consequently, be viewed as a mainly intergovernmental body."[16] This institution is, in other words, the gathering of national ministers chosen by their country to represent them in matters that will be addressed *intergovernmentally*, I.e accounting all members, by including the President of the Commission, the President of the European Council, and the Heads of States of the Governments of Member states.

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11 "The Definition Of European Union". 2018. *Www.Dictionary.Com*.
12 "Political Realism In International Relations (Stanford Encyclopedia Of Philosophy)". 2018. *Plato.Stanford.Edu*.
13 "Neo-Functionalism Explains The Integration Of The European Union". 2018. *International Debate Education Association*.
14 "Intergovernmentalism - Oxford Reference". 2018. *Oxfordreference.Com*.
15 French president from January 8, 1959 – April 28, 1969
16 "The European Union: Supranational Or Intergovernmental?". 2018. *Medium*.

- *Supranationalism* – "outside or beyond the authority of one national government, as a project or policy that is planned and controlled by a group of nations."[17] The EU is by definition a body ruled in a combination of intergovernmental methods, as well as supranational institutions. These are the Parliament and the Council of the European Union. The principle of subsidiarity, which was introduced in the Maastrcht Treaty with the aim of balancing intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, "states that the EU can only take actions when it is most relevant for it to do so."**[18]**

- *Confederation* – "A system of government or administration in which two or more distinct political units keep their separate identity but transfer specified powers to a higher authority for reasons of convenience, mutual security, or efficiency"**[19]**

- *Federalism* – Federalism is essentially the theory of federal principles. These are of the division of power between members and institutions. As opposed to federation, which consists in the system in its form (I.e the object), while federalism is the "idea" behind it, the theory, or in other words, the philosophy of those principles. For example, it is possible to find systems inspired in federalism without them being federations per se. This becomes relevant for the EU since conceptual misguidance can often be the roots of definition issues.

- *EU Regulation* – A "regulation" is a binding legislative act. It must be applied in its entirety across the EU.[20] Ultimately, the existence of such binding contracts is the proof that the European Union requires a political structure, a logistical system beyond the economic union. The study of this field is generally dominated by two main theories, which will both be defined and used further along: intergovernmentalism and supranationalism.

- *Political integration* "The meaning of integration in a political sense, could be identified with uniting, unifying, organizing in a group of two or more units. On the other side it represents "centralization"[21] Conditions for political integration are, thus, the following:
  - Establishing unified law frame,
  - Creating common institutions,
  - Developing decision-making[22].

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17 "The Definition Of Supranationalism". 2018. *Www.Dictionary.Com*.
18"Introducing The European Union: Between Supranationalism And Intergovernmentalism". 2018.
19"Extension: Is The EU A Federation Or A Confederation? - EU Learning". 2018. *Carleton.Ca*.
20 "Regulations, Directives And Other Acts - European Union - European Commission". 2018. *European Union*. https://europa.eu/european-union/eu-law/legal-acts_en.
21Hoppe, Hans-Hermann. 2007. *Democracy - The God That Failed*. New Brunswick, NJ [u.a.]: Transaction Publ.
22Ilievski, Nikola Lj. 2015. "The Concept Of Political Integration: The Perspectives Of Neofunctionalist Theory". *E-Jlia.Com*. http://e-jlia.com/papers/34928593_vol1_num1_pap4.pdf.

Anthony Burgess // Monnet // The Schuman Declaration

I have chosen to use to the works of Michael Burgess in order to theorise about federalism as he applies his idea on the case of Europe. His 2000 "Federalism and European Union" shows a retrospective approach on post-war Europe with the aim of "restoring the importance of federalism to the building of Europe"[23]It is a fact that the general interpretations and studies of Europe have often been of a neofunctionalist or Intergovernmentalist nature, and Burgess intended to contribute in a normative way to these approaches to the context of EU integration and expansion .

Similarly to Burgess' method, this thesis will also count with a historical evolution approach that will facilitate the understanding of the current situation in Europe, as well as aiming to address the problem formulation – to find out **what**, **how**, and **when** did the Union significantly failed at becoming the federation wished for by its founding members. This will be further developed in the analysis chapter on the historical evolution of the European Union.

As I have already exposed in the previous sub chapter, the Schuman Declaration has an overall undertone that indicates its ultimate aim of establishing a federal Europe. In many ways, this had lead to an alternative connotation of a union compared to the classical Economic Determinism Innovative as this may appear, it may have been precisely what failed in Monnet's plans for Europe. If we observe the current situation in Europe, regarding integration, it is safe to say that peaceful integration has not been as simple as the founders might have predicted, and perhaps the same plurality and diversity that is so positively associated with the EU, might be the cause of why Europe will never successfully become a federal state.
Nevertheless, there is also been enough development since the end of World War II that the Schuman declaration might have not predicted inaccurately of.

Besides Monnet, Burgess draws great importance on the ideas of Spinelli. In this case, the latter believed in a revolutionary approach, differing from Monet's idea that evolution would ultimately lead to a positive development regarding Europe's potential of becoming a federation.

THE SCHUMAN DECLARATION

• *"World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it."*

• *"Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity."*

• *"The pooling of coal and steel production... will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims."[24]*

The decision of using the Schuman Declaration as the ideological basis for the discussion on this thesis comes from the realisation that the European Union is an ongoing project: an economic

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23Burgess, Michael. 1998. *Federalism And European Union*. London: Routledge.
24 Appendix 4

experiment that had been established by a handful of representatives by only five big and powerful countries. Their goal was clear. There was an urgent need to tackle with the post-war situation and reassemble each neighbouring country into a peaceful end. Evidently, this has proven to be successful – after all, there has been no conflicts within Europe since the establishment of the EU, and after a devastating first half of the 20st Century, the preservation of peace is something the founding fathers would be proud of. Nevertheless, recent events (especially since the beginning of the 12st Century, as it will be exposed in the historical context chapter), that suggests that perhaps the results of original plans for the EU might be further away than predicted. The relationship between the institutions and the member states has become more complicated and more complex. Identity problems have led to a threatening disengagement between citizens and the EU, to the point that we can observe rising nationalist movements, as well as other eurosceptic tendencies.

My preoccupation consists in, therefore, on what could have been the reason for the EU to *fail* in its political organisation, but I did not wish to approach this question by using my own personal judgment. I believed by exploring the founding fathers' definition of "federal Europe" and ultimately what the idea of a federation consisted in, and applying those ideas to the development of the EU, perhaps I could find the common ground and determine what *failed*, according to the ideas layed down on the Declaration of Schuman.

As we can appreciate in the following statement taken directly from the declaration per se[25]:

•By pooling basic production and by instituting a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and other member countries, this proposal will lead to the realization of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace.

It is easily observable that the FF strongly believed in Federation to be the key for peacekeeping. Interestingly enough, however, it is emphasised in the same statement that a hierarchy consisting in two specially mentioned members (France and Germany) is to be in charge of decision-making. This, evidently, is a result of the establishment of economic relationships designed to help restore the damages of the wars. As we shall discuss in the analysis chapter, it is this very hierarchical structure originating from the first member states that has contributed significantly in the fragile identity crises and disunion between member states, citizens, and the "federal government".

Moving on to further claims on the declaration, if seems like Monet's ideal of gradualism has a strong value in the idea of Europe. He believed that "there (would) be no peace in Europe, if the states are reconstituted on the basis of national sovereignty. The countries of Europe are too small to grantee their peoples the necessary prosperity and social development. The European states must constitute themselves into a federation..."[26] Again, this uncertain approach as to how should those countries organise themselves into a federation is confirmed in the situation of Europe today when it comes to the case of integration. More of this will be examined in the analysis, but at this point it

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25 Appendix 4
26 During a meeting of the French Committee of National Liberation on 5th of August 1943, European Commission. n.d. "Jean Monnet: The Unifying Force Behind The Birth Of The European Union."

is important to note that regardless of the blurred lines in the plans towards a federation, the Declaration of Schuman was presented by Monnet and aimed at placing "all German-French production of coal and steel under one High Authority" (europa doc). Ideally, if the two most powerful countries were leading the production of such resources, then future war conflicts would be successfully prevented. With the support of Germany, The Netherlands, Luxemburg and Belgiun, this is how the ECSC was established.

Reading from the official statement by the (EUROPA REF) concerning the ideology and political work by Monet, it appears that there is little information on what has actually caused the failure of his plan. It is stated that it was after the failure in 1954 to create a "European Defence Community"[27] that Monet decided to found the "Action Committee for the United States of Europe". This Committee "was set up to revive the spirit of European integration and became one of the main driving forces behind many of the developments in European integration such as the creation of the Common Market, the European Monetary System, the summits of the European Council and election to the European Parliament by universal suffrage·" (EUROPA DOC).

As a matter of fact, there was a proposition of establishing a common defense system for Europe by Monet himself. The threat of communism at the spark of the Korean war had led to the plan of "creating a European Army, with the eventual involvement of German units"[28]. This type of development would suggest that Europe would finally be under a single political Authority.

Alas, this plan was not particularly welcomed by the French National Assembly, who rejected the proposal in August of 1954.

Both the proposal and the response to it can be interpreted from a classic Realist point of view. It is not entirely surprising that the post-war scenario was still present (and arguably, still is), and the manifestation of scepticisms and discontent from one of the strongest and most important countries of the union suggests that a political union was not as plausible as it may seem. This rejection, however, did not prevent Monet from trying to shift away the attention to this "direct" and supranational approach and opted more for a *diplomatic* and intergovernmental one. In many ways, the creation of such economic relationships and structures was believed by the co-founder that would inevitably lead to successful political union.

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27   Further developed in the analysis chapter (page 24 and 25)
28   "The Failure Of The European Defence Community (EDC) - From The Messina Conference To The Rome Treaties (EEC And EAEC) - CVCE Website". 2018. *Cvce.Eu*. https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/1c8aa583-8ec5-41c4-9ad8-73674ea7f4a7/bd191c42-0f53-4ec0-a60a-c53c72c747c2.

MODEL OF FEDERATION

In order to identify the federal features of the European Union, I have gathered the highlighting theoretical assumptions explored previously into a simplified framework of what I will consider to define a federation. This model, therefore, will serve as guidance for my analysis on the obstacles of Europe at becoming a federation.

- Federation – perceived as a too for political organisation, whereas *federalism* refers to the process leading to such form.[29]

- A governance system strongly based on a separation of powers, combining self and shared rule under a constitutional contract.[30]

As we can see, the major coinciding idea above is that a federation is a political union that works in a combination of shared and self-rule.

According to Michael Burgess' concept of Bunderstreue[31] (federal alliance) members of a federation should:
- provide support and help to each other, promoting *unity,*
- consult on issues of common interest,
- participate in common governance,
- adapt to intergovernmental structures,
- Keep peace among member,

Drawing from the theoretical considerations exposed below, I have gathered the following list of "features" that define my basic model of a federation:

1. Division of powers (which are laid down by the constitution) – coming hand in hand with supranationalism, submitting member states to a position where sovereignty has to be devolved with the aim of govern as a whole.

2. A supreme constitution – to expose and legally bind the principles wished for by the founders.

3. A Human Rights Bill – to procure equality and a positive life standard for the members of the federation.

4. Dual citizenship – to unify member states on an identity ground, without threatening to dismiss national identity.

29Gagnon, Alain-G, S. Keil, and S. Mueller. 2015. *Understanding Federalism And Federation*. Farmham; Ashgate.
30"Federalism (Stanford Encyclopedia Of Philosophy)". 2018. *Plato.Stanford.Edu*.
31 Burgess, M. (2003) *Federalism and Federation*, in M, Cini; *European Union Politcs (pp 65-75)*

5. Equality of member states – to ensure all member states can feel a sense of belonging to the federation with the same and consequently act as a whole.

6. Special role of the judiciary – to ensure neutrality and an external watchtower that will make sure the principles laid down in the constitution are being pursued.

7. Bicameral legislature – again, to ensure law-making is done by a combination of different political power relations, always in a democratic nature.

It is therefore established for the purpose of this thesis that a federation oughts to a) consist in a strong **political union**, b) a cooperative relationship between members of the federal alliance and c) abide to the set legal basis and structures characterized by a division of powers and equality between members.
Complementing this federal requirements is the creation of a constitution, which as we shall discuss in the comparative approach to the US in the analysis chapter, plays an important role in defining the country and its political direction.

CONSTITUTION

A successfully established federation requires a constitution that lays down the how power and decision is divided and managed, as well as how member states' sovereignty is to be devolved.
I will use the role of constitutions in federations with more emphasis in the analysis when discussing the Treaties of Rome, as well as to illustrate the comparison with the case of the United States.

First of all, a constitution is defined as:

   1.
"the system of fundamental **principles** according to which a nation, state, corporation, or the like, is governed"

   2.
"the document embodying these principles".[32]

Therefore, an accurate way of understanding the direct and the symbolic role of a constitution, would be by approaching it as a "codified" model of governance, that holds together the politics of a *group.*
For example, as opposed to the U.S., the United Kingdom does not count with a solid documented constitution that is to be referred to in all matters of governance. Instead, their constitution is "uncodified", in the for of a conjunct of treaties and constitutional entries that makes governance more flexible.[33] As a result, a strong executive power figure (the Prime Minister, in this case) is

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32   "The Definition Of Constitution". 2018. *Www.Dictionary.Com*.
33"Britains And Americas Constitution In Comparison". 2013. *Lawteacher.Net*.

required to accurately apply those principles. In the same logic, therefore, the United States' president could arguably be perceived to have little executive power in the country as a whole. The federal nature of the U.S, alongside with the supporting strong role of the Constitution is effective enough, leading to the president to consequently have more influence in international relations.

In the case of the European Union, as I will aim of demonstrating, constitutional ism does not seem to relatively succeed. Nevertheless, "the European constitutional tradition has brought over time the rights-based polity, setting out the institutional framework and affirming judicial benchmarks for 'good' practice to guide policy-makers and governance."[34]

In all essence, overall, constitutional ism is the path towards definition and conception. Unfortunately, the pursuing of constitutional ism in Europe did not go further than the idea for European in the 1920s. With the establishment of the SECS, and the resulting failure of creating a common defense policy as well as a common political community, the reliance on a formal constitution was eventually abandoned.

34O'Neill, Michael. 2011. *The Struggle For The European Constitution*. London: Routledge. Page 35

4. ANALYSIS

In order to examine what have been the obstacles for the EU at becoming a federation, I have chosen to explore four main areas of the evolution and formation of the union. As we can see from the structure below, the approach is of a chronological order. This is due to the fact that the EU is in essence, an ever-changing and evolving political and economic experiment, and it is of key interest to identify the contexts in which laws and policies have affected the current features of this political body.

First, I shall expose the core origin of the union through the Schuman Declaration and the establishment of the ESCS. This will become helpful in oder to understand the initial motivations and ideas that were wished by the founding fathers. As I have already stated, this will be the ideological basis for the idea of a federation. This will be reinforced by a comparison between Europe and the US, with the hope that it will shed some light in some key differences and similarities that could illustrate the limitations of the former.

Secondly, I have chosen to present the Treaty of Rome, since it counts with a constitutional nature. With the help of my theoretical approach on constitutionality, I aim to identify the weaknesses and strengths of this milestone of EU evolution, that influence the federalist character of it.

Thirdly, I shall discuss what might be the most significant *political* development of the union: the Treaty of the EU. This coincides with the time when the biggest enlargement was developed, leading inevitably to the current management issues given the magnitude of the union. Besides, the mere fact that this treaty granted the union with the name of "European Union" results as useful when it comes to assessing the political nature and features of it, as well as the debate on European identity altogether.

Finally, I wish to assess the current scenario and issues faced by the EU. The most important factor I will expose is the rising power of nationalist tendencies and ideologies amongst member states. As this new wave of nationalism is an essential crisis of politics in the union, I found it relevant to apply a comparison to a previous important crisis (the

1. Historical context

The European Union originates from a series of developments in the realms of economic integration. Following from two devastating wars, there was a desperate need to recover socially, economically and politically with the aim of preventing further conflicts. These agreements, though essentially economically motivated, have led to the present time with complex political structures. These in their turn have been at the spectrum of countless debate and definition issues, given the uncertain nature of the union itself. Should it be considered a political and social union? Or should

it be strictly an economic market with politics being a simple tool to manage it? As with every EU discussion, academics and politicians have failed to agree on these matters overtime.

In order to understand this clash of ideas, I shall expose below an analysis of the historical evolution of the EU, with key emphasis on the establishment of the ECSC (Treaty of Paris), the Treaty of Rome (given its constitutional nature) and finally, the Treaty of the EU. This context will present itself useful when it comes to discussing the obstacles found throughout the EU's evolution, as well as to understand the current situation since the turn of the century.

As it is commonly agreed among EU connoisseurs, the motivations behind the Communities were strictly due to the post-war scenario in the continent. (**STATS).**

However, proposals for a federal union had already been discussed prior to the end of WW2 of which I have decided to highlight Altiero Spinelli. (**develop)**

An illustrative example of this desire to unify supranationally can be seen in the *Benelux* customs union. (**develop**). Furthermore, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was established on 1947.

Ideally, these treaties would have succeeded at gathering all representatives into the same outlook, but negotiations and discussions were already specially difficult between European countries before the ECSC was even established. Political leaders attending the Hague Conference "may have agreed to established a 'European Assembly', draft a 'Charter of Human Rights', and include Germany in their endeavors, but the appetite to pursue the ambitious goal of a United Europe was far from universal"[35]The scepticism or lack of enthusiasm were common in countries of the north of Europe (like the UK and Scandinavia) as well as Switzerland, as well as other central and of course, Easter Europe states. In the last example the main explanation can be found in the political differences between the democratic and capitalist Western area, and the Communist block. It seemed as though the post war scenario was asking for economic structures and recovery systems, rather than political integration itself. As opposed to the present time, the world was just starting to become globalised economically – but the importance of nation-state was still very present, which explains the lack of agreements on what should be the basis of uniting Europe.

In order to understand how this situation was managed, I shall start by examining the Schuman Declaration, followed by the Treaty of Paris and the establishment of the ECSC, as it was the starting point for the creation of the EU.

The Schuman Declaration

The Schuman Declaration is introduced by the following statement:

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The very first idea, and what characterises the intentions of Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet, is to seek and thrive for PEACE. The document is presented by showing the intention of creating measures that could fight the "obstacles" to world peace.

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35 Cini, Michelle, and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán. 2016. *European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, page 13

Following from this statement, we see how France is presented as the protagonist in the seeking of peace, under the name of "the champion of a united Europe"[36], and how the lack of union itself brought the continent to war. It is therefore understood that this "failure" is what drove the writer to out pressure on the centre of the conflict and see how the strong state of France could somehow shift the conflicting scenario to its aim: peace.

Directly after exposing the concern above, we find an emphasis on what the procedure for Europe should look like. As it is written on the Declaration: "Europe will not be made all at one, or according to a single plan"[37]. This has obviously been accurate to the way that the EU has evolved since. The first step towards cooperation, accordingly, was to put an end to the rivalry between France and Germany, and it is stated that all actions should involve those countries. Therefore, France found it useful to unite these countries' economic power of steel and coal under a same ruling body: the High Authority, which would allow cooperation of other countries. The extent to which these "other countries" would be involved, and how much influence they would have is not explicitly stated – but drawing from the idea that Europe was wished to be of evolutionary nature may be useful at understanding those intentions.

It was clear that Monnet believed that the end of conflicts, and by ex Tension the starting point of the EU, lied on the most influential and economically powerful countries, and that *eventually* the rest of the continent would subscribe to the resulting system. This could hypothetically result in two main scenarios. On the one hand, providing that the initial organisation between those powerful countries, the rest of Europe would find it attractive to participate in it, resulting in a strong need for a successful integration process. In addition, it would demonstrate how the initial economic union can produce a spill-over effect by generating a thriving political union. On the other hand, and which seems to fit with the current scenario in the EU, the initial structures and achievements (guided by economic interests) would create complex issues in the field of integration, leading to a difficult "union" to manage, both economically and politically. Resulting of this, it the experiment could sustain some evident achievements (for example, the prevention of war), but the ultimate goal of federation would be challenged by this lack of political cohesion.

Hence, the following statement from the Declaration becomes questionable:

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, -[38]

It seems as though the plans for production of coal and steel were thought to be strong enough to rescue the manufacturing states, and as a result create some sort of social cohesion. The only 'solid' evidence for a hypothesis of this ilk consisted in the relationship between France and Germany. Monet believed that the establishment of this structure would make a conflict between these countries "impossible" given the "solidarity in production" and the aim of an economic unification that would provide for member states in the industrial department.

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36 Monnet, Jean, and Robert Schuman. 1950. "The Schuman Declaration."
37 Idem
38 Monnet, Jean, and Robert Schuman. 1950. "The Schuman Declaration."

Following from the discussion on coal and steel production, Monet wished to show that Europe could generate a series of successful achievements thanks to "increased resources". He states as an example the development of Africa, and insists that the a common economic system would turn enemies into allies driven by progress and enrichment. In order to achieve these aims, the Schuman Declaration states that the Higher Authority's main role would be of:

- "securing (…) the modernisation of production and the improvement of its quality;

-the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries;

-the equalisation and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries."[39]

This is the key illustrative element of the declaration that implies the importance or relevance of neo-functionalism – and more specifically, supranationalism, given the **spillover** effect that can be read from the creation and roles of the High Authority. Neo-fucntionalism, as we discussed in the previous chapter, is specifically relevant in the are of European integration because it aims at exploring what brings actors together in action beyond their borders (as opposed to the Realist approach that would insist that the state itself is the only actor). In this case, the spillover effect was a prediction by Monet in the sense that he believed that cooperation in the economic department would eventually lead to cooperation in the political area. This is also emphasised in the idea that the plan for Europe was not to be achieved all at once, but in a gradual manner. The elitist element of neofunctionalism can also be understood in the case of European integration with the creation of the High Authority itself, consisting in France and Germany having the ultimate word in action. Haas believed that integration would result of self-interests rather than an ideology. In this case this factor is specifically relevant as we have seen that member states within the EU were initially solely motivated by economic interests rather than political ones, which is why supranationalism was seen with scepticism. As I shall expose further on, not all participants in the initial negotiations were enthusiastic about sovereignty devolution. This very scepticism, however, was the first evidence of what was to follow for Europe, as well as an indication that the Declaration could have underestimated the complexity of diversity.

The next proposition in the document consists in the method wished to be used to put the economic cooperation plan in action. The idea was to establish "transitional measures", ultimately leading to a **freedom of movement** of production in the form of removals of customs and transport taxes. It was believed that by removing economic borders, therefore, would the member states cooperate in political cohesion. This is proven by the fact that it was suggested that a **treaty** (a signed agreement) would be the binding element between participating countries which would be ratified by their parliaments. In order to remain freed from political agenda, there will be a neutral actor that would ensure the agreements are liable to their principles (in this case, the High Authority). This is precisely when the spillover prediction is very clear – there is an unavoidable (and in this case,

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39 Monnet, Jean, and Robert Schuman. 1950. "The Schuman Declaration."

desirable) need for the political structures and formalities above to make the economic union possible.

This High Authority body, according to the Declaration, would act neutrally and independently and it would be constituted by persons appointed by governments, as well as by a chairman (appointed by common agreement). This is another illustrative element of elitism, consisting in the assumption that this 'body' would be serving rather than "be served".

Finally, the document also proposes the involvement of a representative of the UN which would report on the functioning of th organisation and the preservation of its aims to this institution. This shows another important neo-functional element of the direction of Europe at becoming less centered around states, and more on supranational institutions. Moreover, the conclusive point in the Declaration states the flexible influence of the High Authority amongst member states. It is stated that when taking action, the institution would still be under the International Ruhr Authority as well as other duties on Germany. This suggests again that overall, the High Authority would only work as a guiding institution to ensure cooperation, without an over-reaching sense of power.

In conclusion, it is easily observable in the ideas stated in the Declaration of Schuman, that the wishes of the founding fathers were of directing Europe to a federation via an economic incentive and structure. It was strongly believed that political integration would be achieved by a method of spillover generated by the cooperation between the two strongest countries in the area of steel and coal production. Vagueness remain in how they *explicitly* expected for other countries to join in – indeed, it is heavily emphasized that economic union ought to be the basis of cooperation, but it also seems as though the founding fathers never really *knew* what to expect and how exponentially would the union constantly evolve and expand.

As I shall present below, by exploring the establishment of the ECSC via the Treaty of Paris, further key factors will become useful at pointing out the first obstacle of Europe towards a federation.

The Treaty of Paris and the ESCS

The Treaty of Paris was the official trigger for the establishment of the ECSC. Signed on 18th of April, 1951, it demonstrated how the main six states were finally brought together for integration processes, and it was valid until 2002 (after a period of fifty years). The Treaty of Paris exposed the wishes set up in the Declaration of Schuman aiming at taking the first step towards a 'European Federation'[40]. Specifically, as we have discussed, the idea was to set up a cooperative system between France and Germany for the production and distribution of coal and steel, and it would eventually evolve to further and more complex economic relations, and expanding to other states.

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40 "The First Treaties | EU Fact Sheets | European Parliament". 2018. *Europarl.Europa.Eu*.

The treaty itself was primarily focused on the securisation of:

- "Free movement of goods and free access to sources of production;

- permanent monitoring of the market to avoid distortions which could lead to the introduction of production quotas;

- -compliance with the rules of competition and the principle of price transparency;

- support for modernisation and conversion of the coal and steel sectors". [41]

The treaty created the High Authority institution based in Luxembourg, ultimately designed in the Declaration of Schuman. Based on this treaty, the ECSC was established officially in July 1952 and it "pooled the coal and steel resources of six European countries: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg."[42]These countries are famously referred to as "the Six".

As we can read from the TITLE ONE – The European Coal and Steel Community from the Treaty of Paris[43], on Article 2, it is stated that the primordial aim of the community is to promote "economic expansion", creation of jobs and an "improvement of the standard of living" of the member states. This alongside the previous statements of the treaty, confirms the ultimate goal for Europe: to create a common market.
Moreover, Article 4 exposes the list of "prohibitions" towards certain actions that by essence act as obstacles for the common market of coal and steel. These are the following:

(a) import and export duties, or charges with an equivalent effect, and quantitative restrictions on the movement of coal and steel;

(b) measures or practices discriminating among producers, among buyers or among consumers, specifically as concerns prices, delivery terms and transportation rates, as well as measures or practices which hamper the buyer in the free choice of his supplier;

(c) subsidies or state assistance, or special charges imposed by the state, in any form whatsoever;

(d) restrictive practices tending towards the division of markets or the exploitation of the consumer.[44]

Again, it is easy to identify how the general aim of this treaty is to promote a cooperative system amongst "the Six", by presenting attractive economic incentives to create peace between previously divided countries.

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41 Idem.
42 "The European Coal And Steel Community - EU Learning". 2018. *Carleton.Ca.* .
43 Treaty Of Paris". 1951. *Eur-Lex.Europa.Eu.*
44 "Treaty Of Paris". 1951, title 1, article 4

From exploring the Schuman Declaration and the resulting Treaty of Paris that lead to the establishment of the ECSC, we have learned that the major motivation and *raison d'être* for Europe was, according to Monet and Schuman, an structure for economic cooperation. This, as we concluded in the last subchapter, would represent incentives for "the Six" to come together and eventually lead the way towards a federation.

As I shall expose below, it is in my belief that those very incentives might have been the first obstacle that Europe 'created' for itself at becoming a federation altogether. Broadly speaking, this would refer to the lack of strong political ideology or identity that would bring future member states together. Eventually these concerns were attempted to be solved, but as I exposed in my heretical chapter, a federation is in essence synonym to a political union, which cannot be solely established on economic grounds. Considering the characteristics of the historical period when the Shuman Declaration was written, it could be argued that the plans for the production of coal and steel was of a symbolic character,[45] as it was the economic and industrial basis of the protagonist countries, and it was the area to act on to achieve the end of rivalry between France and Germany.
However, this idea might have been of an overreaching nature. As a matter of fact, there was no actual economic research on the sectors of steel and coal prior to the Schuman Declaration.[46] Interestingly, "the decline of the coal market, and particularly of Belgian coal, began very soon after the formation of the ESCS"[47], as it can be seen in the appendix 3.

In the case of coal, the decline coincides with the oil crisis of 1973, and "the us of crisis cartels to deal with it was an indication of a fundamental unwillingness to rely on the marketplace as a resource allocation mechanism"[48]
Moreover, after the establishment of the ECSC and judging by the historical situation (war in Korea of 1950), it seemed necessary to put Europe in a less vulnerable position in terms of the military. In order to emancipate Germany after WW2, there was a proposal to establish a supranational European De fence Community (EDC) drawing from the ECSC. In addition, there were negotiations for the establishment of a European Political Community (EPC) to be created alongside the EDC, and that were limited of course to "the Six". Both project, however, were never put into action. As we can see from the Appendix 2, French journals were "celebrating" this failure, confirming their wish to preserve as much national sovereignty as they could.

Resulting of these deficiencies, more economic integration was desired continuing on the ideal of spillover towards further political integration. Hence, the foreign ministers of "the Six" gathered in 1955 to design a customs union. These negotiations lead to the the creation of the communities - the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) in 1957 following the treaties of Rome. The general aim of the EEC was to "establish a common market based on the four freedoms of movements (goods, persons, capital and services".[49]

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45 Dinan, Desmond. 2014. *Origins And Evolution Of The European Union*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.Page 127

46 Gerbet, Pierre. 1956. "La Genèse Du Plan Schuman. Des Origines À La Déclaration Du 9 Mai 1950". *Revue Française De Science Politique* 6 (3): 525-553. doi:10.3406/rfsp.1956.402707.

47 Dinan, Desmond. 2014. *Origins And Evolution Of The European Union*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.page 129

48 Dinan, Desmond. 2014. *Origins And Evolution Of The European Union*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.Ppage 130

49 "The First Treaties | EU Fact Sheets | European Parliament". 2018. *Europarl.Europa.Eu.*

The Treaties of Rome – The constitutional basis of Europe

The Treaties of Rome can be divided in three parts, accordingly to their evolution.

Firstly, the Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community (or Treaty of the EEC) dating between **1957 and 1993**. Consisting in an international agreement signed in Rome on March 25, 1957, "the Six" were brought together into building the EEC. Ultimately, the idea was to encourage the member states to be "determined to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe"[50] This signified the reinforced direction of Europe towards political integration.

The European Economic Community consisted in a) the elimination of customs duties between member states, b) the establishment of an external Common Customs Tariff, c) the introduction of common policies for agriculture and transport, d) the creation of a European Social Fund, e) the establishment of a European Investment Bank and f) the development of closer relations between the Member States.[51] In this context it would be appropriate to highlight the success of the establishment of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP, Articles 38 to 43), that "guaranteed sufficient revenues to European farmers, avoiding competition from third countries' products by guaranteeing agricultural prices"[52]. The end of WW2 had also severely affected the area of agriculture, and food supply. Hence, similarly to the ECSC, the objective was to bring political cohesion resulting from a economically cooperation between France and Germany.

It is easily observable that the predictions by Monet regarding the gradual approach for Europe – reading from the premises above, the Treaty of Rome shows core institutional and constitutional tendencies that *could* promote political integration. In fact, "the increasingly close cooperation among member states themselves, and between them and the Commission, led many to speculate that a 'United States of Europe' lay within reach in the not-too-distant future".[53] Going back to the ideas stated in the Declaration of Schuman, it seems as though the Treaty of Rome follows the gradualism predicted for the creation of a federation. "The new strategy sought to adopt a process of integration that gradually incorporated diverse economic sectors and that established supranational institutions with increasingly political competences."[54]

Nevertheless, the following decades brought what is known as "Eurosclerosis", which is essentially an economic term introduced by Herbert Gierch (economist). It broadly referred to economic stagnation produced by "overly generous social benefits policies", as well as over-regulation. Moreover, it also refers to the manifestation of countries that experience strong unemployment "during periods of economic growth".[55]

As we can see, the wish to encourage growth and employment in the areas of, most relevantly agriculture, set up in the Treaty of Rome for the EEC were not resulting as predicted. This shows

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50 "The Treaty Of Rome (1957) - The History Of The European Union And European Citizenship".
    2018. *Historiasiglo20.Org*.
51 First treaties
52 http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/traroma.htm
53 Page 170 origins of EU
54 http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/traroma.htm
55 https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/eurosclerosis.asp

another clear example of a key obstacle faced by Europe towards its 'ultimate federation plan'. The Eurosclerosis shows the unsuccessful and mis-predicted spillover effect expected to emerge from economic union and expansion. It is because of the resulting reluctance by member states to push forward integration process, that I believe the idea for a European political union becomes far less imaginable.

From 1993 to 2009 was the time of the Treaty Establishing the European Community (EC), which merged into the new "European Union", was the latter's main component. This was until finally, in 2009, the EC was replaced by the EU altogether by the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). This was a critical period of time for the EU given the large expansion it members hat it experienced. But first, an emphasis oughts to be exposed to what the European Community consisted in.

The EC was by definition, as we have learned from the EEC was by definition, "common market", which is "a stage in the multinational integration process, which, in the words of a Court of Justice ruling, aims to remove all barriers to intra-Community trade.[56] In other words, it is what defines the economic relations on a supranational level.

These discoveries suggests further scepticism towards the idea of a political union, but as we shall explore in the next sub-chapter, by expanding towards the Single European Act and the Single Market, the achievements and evolution of Europe might show the extent to which Europe is capable of integration.

Becoming the EU – The Treaty of the EU – SEA – Single market – Expansion to the East

The context for the changes resulting on the establishment of the EU dates on the year 1984, when "a group of European MPs (…) introduced in Parliament a project of *Treaty of the European Union*. This group of MPs was chaired by Altiero Spinello, who we have discussed in the theory had more radical approaches to the vision for the EU, as opposed to Monet's evolutionary idea.

A year later, the Benelux countries along with Germany and France signed the Schengen agreements followed by most of the other member states in the next years. This accord was the responsible for the freedom of movement and the removal of borders between the states of the community.

Following from this was a period of prosperity for integration, drifting from the stagnation of "eurosclerosis", by "the enacting of the Single European Act in 1986,[57] which I shall develop further on in this chapter.

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56 "Europedia - The EU Common Market". 2018. *Europedia.Moussis.Eu*. Accessed May 31.
57 **http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/traroma.htm**

The Treaty on European Union (TEU), also known as the Treaty of Maastricht (given the location of its signing), reformed the EC "through the establishment of a political union", and the establishment of the European Monetary Union (EMU).[58] More importantly, the events at the time of its establishment (the end of the Cold War and the union of Germany) were positively addressed by the TEU, shifting what we knew as the European Community towards what we know today as the "European **Union**".

 When we talk about the Maastricht Treaty, the most important element of change that needs highlighting is the creation of the famous "three pillars" that structure the (newly named) European Union.

- The first pillar is the Single European Act (SEA). This agreement "committed its member countries to a timetable for their economic merger and the establishment of a single European currency and common foreign policies."59 Most importantly, the SEA was responsible for Insitutional changes that modified the scenrarios laid down by the Treaties of Paris and Rome. It furthered the power of the European Parliament in the sense that it would become able to have "a veto over the admittance of new member states". In addition, more authority was granted to the European Council (the executive branch) and by extension, a "president of the EU" was created (it being the president of the council). Finally, the creation the single European Market in 1993 was also a key achievement from the SEA, which was intended to remove borders once and for all.

- The second pillar is the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This institution's objective is to empower the EU externally. By applying economic sanctions, the CFSP can "influence policies violating international law or human rights, or policies disrespectful to the rule of law or democratic principles". [59]

- Finally, the third pillar consists in the Justice and Home affairs. Resulting from the roles of the two previous pillars, the EU was found with complexities towards managing the free movement of people. The concerns involved:
  - "asylum policy,
  - rules governing the crossing of the Union's external borders,
  - immigration policy and policy regarding third-country nationals,
  - combating drug addiction and fraud on an international scale
  - judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters and

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58 http://www.e-ir.info/2011/05/29/why-is-the-maastricht-treaty-considered-to-be-so-significant-2/
59 https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-foreign-security-policy-cfsp/420/common-foreign-and-security-policy-cfsp_en

- ○ customs and police cooperation.

As we can gather from the features of the three main pillars established in the Maastricht Treaty, the aimed direction for Europe was becoming more political than ever. We learned that the failures of creating the EDP and the EPC after the Schuman Declaration was problematic for political integration. The development of SEA, for instance, was merely an emphasized and restructuring of the EEC's existing aims, and it had specified with more measure how to achieve the single market. Moreover, the creation of the CFSP seems to be the rectification of a past error from Europe at generating a common military. With this new institution, Europe could be seen as more similar to a nation-state, as it was now counting with a bond that was not centered around economic relations. Finally, the last pillar suggests this idea more directly by aiming at creating common policies to tackle threats that coincide to the threats of national level. Combining all these new developments lead to what we really owe our understanding of "European Union".

2. INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT REALITY

EMPTY CHAIR CRISIS // BREXIT/naitonalism today // PARALLELISM

Having explored the evolutionary development of Europe, it is now easier to identify when and how specifically were measures taken that prevented the path towards a federation.
In order to do so, and with the aim to draw parallelisms to the present time, I have decided to expose the case of the "empty chair crisis" that we briefly mentioned previously. I have also previously stated that nationalist tendencies are in essence, a threat to federalist. By definition, reluctance to power devolution to supranational entities differs to the whole purpose of the establishment of such. In the present time, as a matter of fact, similar symptoms can be identified that supports this argument and that could help us understand the roots of these scenarios.

First of all, this crisis was in no way an unpredictable event. Charles de Gaule, "was aware of the need to modernise the French economy by integrating it into a wider market, and was interested in launching the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), from which the French countryside (an important constituency of the Gaullist party) would have benefited greatly." He recognised the importance to cooperate with other European states with the intention to recover power and influence along with the United States and the Soviet Union. **REFERENCE.** Nonetheless, de Gaulle was a strong intergovernmentalist, meaning that he was opposed to diluting French sovereignty towards a higher power institution. (Pistone 2008: 141-142)."

De Gaulle therefore decided to boycott Europe by not attending the meetings of the Council of Ministers until negotiations would suit his principles. His view of Europe was essentially intergovernmentalist and he did not side with the idea of turinging it into a federation, but rather a
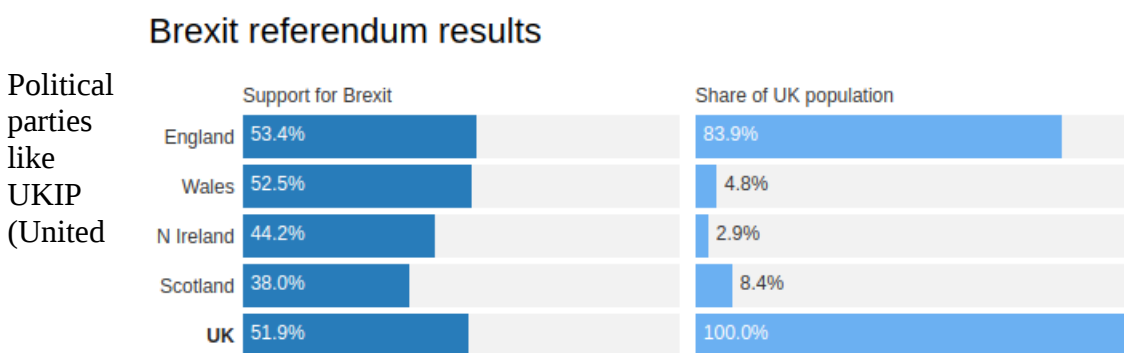
"Confederation of European States"[60] This conflict lasted from June 30, 1965, until the negotiations that would lead to the Luxembourg Compromise on January of 1966.

The compromise showed that this event resulted in "growing difference in Member States' views on the political and democratic prospects of the European Community" as well as the "persistent opposition that at least one of them displays towards the objectives, institutions, spirit and methods defined by Robert Schuman in 1950, and subsequently enshrined in the Treaties of Paris and Rome". [61]

As we can see, this boycott by the French government suggested an issue that I believe to still be present in the current times – the fear of loss of national sovereignty. It seems puzzling that the same state, which had been named "the Champion of the United Europe", could become the major symbolic threat towards succeful european integration. The empty chair crisis delayed the accession of northern countries, and destabilised the relationship and vision for Europe from the existing members.

Nowadays, it seems that the rising nationalist tendencies in some member states are succesffully illustrating even further my hypothesis on the main root for disunion – a lack of strong political incentives. Euroscepticism, and by extension, de Gaulle's wariness of supranationalism, would not have emerged if it were not for the national wishes to preserve (or more accurately, "not lose") sovereign power. It is in my belief that if Europe had put more measures to promote political integration and social cohesion, rather than centering around economic interests, then members would depend on supranationalism and a political union would be effective.

The main example I wish to discuss in this area of discussion in UK's decision to withdraw from the EU after a national referrendum in June 23, 2016. The vote for "leave" won with 51.9% of the ballot (17.4 million votes) while the vote for renaming in the EU was of 48.1% (16.1 million). Being one of the largest turnouts (72.2% of the population) these numbers are helpful to discuss the importance of societal approach in the conclusion chapter. Broadly speaking, the case of Brexit was highly influenced by a long lasting euroscepticism form the part of the UK, that has been present from the very moment it joined the EEC.

Political parties like UKIP (United

Brexit referendum results

	Support for Brexit	Share of UK population
England	53.4%	83.9%
Wales	52.5%	4.8%
N Ireland	44.2%	2.9%
Scotland	38.0%	8.4%
UK	51.9%	100.0%

Kingdom's Independence Party) had a strong role at awakening a solid sense of patriotism with striking discourse. For example, Nigel Farage persuaded society with statements such as:

60   "How Crucial Was The 'Empty Chair Crisis' In The Course Of European Integration?". 2018. *E-International Relations*. Accessed May 31.

61 Idem; cf'Grande manifestazione europeista a Bruxelles' 1965).

*"The real question is, at the end of the day, do we want to run **our country**? Are we proud of who we are? Are we happy to be just a star on somebody else's flag, or do we want to be **an independent nation**?"[62]*

*"We shouldn't measure everything in terms of GDP figures or economics. There is something called **quality of life**."[63]*

*"My vision is to put this country and **the British people first** and for us to divorce ourselves from political union and re-engage with the rest of the world. It is upbeat, **positive** and I tell you something, I think **we are going to win**."[64]*

It is easily identifiable how Nigel Farage believed in using discourse to reach to voters. From what we can see in the quotes above, guiding by the expressions in bold, that he uses sensationalism to create an illusion of trust and sympathy. For instance, he refers to the UK as "our country" implicitly suggesting the importance of ownership and pride (patriotism). In addition, he uses a metaphor when identifying as "a star on somebody else's flag". This attempt at a more *poetic* and emotional input also generates the idea that the UK is, at least symbolically, a *victim* of this supranational entity that is the EU.

The second quote illustrates his wish to remain simple and repeatable in his message. Interestingly, it is observable on his non-verbal communication that he aims to be seen as just another British person who simply wants to be recognised along with the rest of British people. Hence, the idea that a politician could reach the masses by avoiding confusing and complex issues, and instead glorify ideas such as "quality of life", generates a feeling of trust and leaves an open door for existing repressed feelings of patriotism in British society.

Finally, the last quote example shows how he wished to address to people as his first priority. He defined the movement with the words "upbeat", "positive", and even states that he believes they are going to win.

Aside from being the president of UKIP, Nigel Farage was also the UK Minister for the European Parliament. His warnings in parliamentary meetings about how strongly he believed in the UK leaving the EU some time lasted his whole career, for about two decades.
This inevitably portrayed him as a reliable person to take the role of Br exit through UKIP, as he had first-hand experience and access to the EU on a level that no other politicians were at the time.

As it shall be discussed in the conclusion, I believe that the roots behind Brexit might not be as easy to assess yet. It has, however, been very helpful at identifying a current of nationalist tendencies in Europe, and how they can come from many different political ideologies.

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62 Maguire, Kevin. 2018. "Nigel Farage Wants Second Referendum If Remain Campaign Scrapes Narrow Win". *Mirror*.
63 "Farage: Upbeat Leave 'Set For Victory'". 2016. *BBC News*.
64 Idem

Other cases of euroscepticism[65] to be highlighted are Italy, Cyprus, and Greece, with 61%, 55% and 52% of people stating respectively that they did not believe becoming a member of the EU "paid off". In the case of Italy, for example, the rise of nationalist tendencies also intensified after the election of Donald Trump in the autumn of 2016 (as with other nationalist parties in the rest of Europe). "Matteo Salvini, leader of Italy's Northern League[66], has reportedly offered to help Trump expand his support in Europe".[67] Furthermore the famously know Front Nationale in France had opportunities to make it to power in the election of 2017 (which resulted in their loss). Nevertheless, in the cases of Greence and Spain the ideology behind eurosepticism seems to come from closer to the left wing of the political spectrum. The former had a the party of Siriza, which the Independent referred to as "Greece's new Marxist governing party". The name is an acronym of 'Coalition of the Radical Left'. The aim of the party regarding the Eurozone is to achieve a cancellation of Greece's debt. "Siriza's other priorities are to end the humanitarian emergency in Greece, reform the country's economy, and to take on its political establishment".[68]

As we can see, the disunion and scepticism towards the EU and its functioning is a threat that has been experienced since the early beginnings of the ESCS, and can include very different points of concern. This suggests that the low quality of the political aspect of Europe overall clashes with the requisites we established for a federation to be achieved. In the next subchapter I shall expose the overall obstacles identified in this thesis drawing from the model of federation I designed in my theory.

OUTLINE OF OBSTACLES

It is at this point, having explored the European treaties that we can list the conceived problems experienced by the EU regarding its political direction. It is important to remember, however, that this thesis has primarily been concerned with the established ideas set up in the treaties establishing the different forms that the union has had. This means that other factors, such as the functioning of the institutions per se have, as mentioned in the methodology and theory chapters, could have also been central in this discussion. For instance, the democratic legitimacy discussion portrays the possibility that the issue does not lie in essence to the wishes established in the treaties or declarations, but rather in the performance from the bureaucracy of the EU itself.
Regardless, and following from the findings of the previous subchapters, I hereby present what I believe to be the list of specific obstacles, identified through my model of federation:

- The initial lack of political identity in Europe after WW2. As we shall explore after this section, the EU's origins are not particularly characterised by unity and brotherhood, which could be the case of the creation of the United States, or the Soviet Union. A political union requires to have common principles, in order to act and feel 'as one.' Without properly established standards in a *common* society, those principles can be debated. For example, we

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65 APPENDIX 1 - McCarthy, Niall. 2018. "Infographic: Who Feels EU Membership Has Paid Off?". *Statista Infographics*.
66 A eurosceptic party 1uided by anti-globalist ideologies and characterised by populism.
67 "In Europe, Nationalism Rising". 2017. *Harvard Gazette*.
68 Stone, Jon. 2018. "Everything You Need To Know About SYRIZA, Greece'S New Marxist Governing Party". *The Independent*.

could ask ourselves what we would consider to be "matters of common concern". The diversity of cultures and history from the members of Europe is so extensive, that it would be close to impossible to impose an ideology favourable to federalism.

- The requisite of providing support and trust between member states could be highly debated observing the evidence of the current situation. Admittedly, Europe has not faced violent conflicts since the end of WW2, and this is highly caused by the establishment of the ESCS indeed. However, approaches to the union have been so contested and disputed that it shows as though preservation of national sovereignty seemed more attractive than adaptation to supranationalism.
- We discussed the importance of codified governance in the theoretical chapter, demonstrating how the tool of a constitution is a positive support towards the creation of a federation. As we shall examine in the next subchapter, the EU's constitutional nature is nowhere near as influential as with the case of the United States. It is my belief, therefore, that the intergovernmental flexibility in the evolution of the EU might have kept member states content and obedient, but it has also prevented for a reliable and legal bound for the the political direction of itself.
- Another element that I included in my model of federation, based on the Bunderstreue, consists in the existence of "dual citizenship". Evidently, this concern has been in the center of discussion in the EU for (**REFERENCE)**. I have chosen to include this element to tackle the problem of identity and the increasing level of eurosceptic and nationalism. It is in my belief that the allowance to society to carry a national and a European citizenship might introduce a positive perspective towards supranationalism

The constant evolution of the EU has shown parallelisms in the obstancles and limitations that it has experienced. Nevertheless, it has also shown achievements in accordance to my federation model. Firstly, the matter of division of powers is respected, given the different institutions established and the different roles they perform. Moreover, there is also a special role of the judiciary. A key supranational entity that seems to be accepted and celebrated by members states is the European Court of Justice, given its neutrality and granting of application beyond the national borders. The EU, in addition, counts with common rights and rules that intend to protect the citizens, and this is accomplished by the establishment of supranational and intergovernmental institutions that carry out the responsibilities.
Secondly, and regardless of the discussion on legitimacy, the EU is proud to be based on democratic values that allows for countries to be represented supranationally. Nonetheless, the requisite of equality among members does not seem to be perceivable as we have learned from the plurality of views on the benefits of joining the EU.

Following from these deficiencies and limitations, which have been identified internally, I shall now conduct a brief comparative approach to the EU with the example of the United States.

3. BRIEF COMPARATIVE APPROACH – THE UNITED STATES

The reason I have chosen to introduce the case of the United States from a comparative approach, is to find a point of support when identifying the struggles in the European Union. As stated in the methodology chapter of this thesis, the idea is not necessarily to use the case of the US as the ultimate role model of a federation, but more to illustrate some key elements from a different perspective. The key elements I have chosen to consider is the formation of the US and its historical context, as well as the important role of the constitution. Both these factors will then be compared to the case of the EU, with the aim of obtaining some common or differing ground and examine the knowledge obtained.

The origin of the United States shares some similarities on ideology with the formation of the European Communities and by extension, the EU. Nevertheless, the essential causes differ, especially on a social and political way.
The United States owes its establishment to the American Revolution. Lasting from 1775 to 1783, it "allowed the original 13 colonies to remain independent from Great Britain"[69] The source of this conflict lays on the wish for more control by the British over those colonies, and therefore ignoring the so-called "salutary neglect"[70]. Even though the war was dominantly between the British crown and the American colonies, the latter acquired help from Europe (France, Spain and the Netherlands) between 1778 and 1780.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE[71]

Similarly to the ECSE, the United States trace back their origin to a declaration, a starting point in a diplomatic and documented manner. In it, twelve out of thirteen of the colonies demonstrated a wish to become independent from Great Britain. The declaration was mostly written by Jefferson, but many debates and discussions influenced the final result and form. What is interesting in the ideologies used to compose the document, is how clashing could arguments be between Congress members. Overall, "the declaration put for the more fundamental doctrines of natural rights and of governments under social contract".[72] By defending those values, the declaration exposed the illegitimate use of sovereignty by George III over the colonies, and aimed at showing justification for a revolutionary response.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

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69 "U.S. History And Historical Documents | Usagov". 2018. *Usa.Gov*.
70 This term refers to an unwritten policy by the British (more specifically, by Prime Minister Robert Walpole) to the US colonies that consisted in avoiding strong enforcement of regulations, with the aim to attract to the colonies and make them *obedient*. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Salutary_Neglect
71 "Salutary Neglect". 2018. *Encyclopediavirginia.Org*.
72 "Declaration Of Independence | History, Significance, & Text". 2018. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

As we can see from the excerpt below, the call for action by the declaration suggested core values that still remain today, at least in theory, in American culture. Those being equality, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This illustrates how crucial the origins of the U.S. appear to be for the cohesion and union of the smaller member states of the larger federal state. Nonetheless, this is not to imply that the desires stated in the Declaration are lacking vagueness and impreciseness, but it has certainly been the basis of the current democratic system the country counts on today.

After the declaration, the Continental Congress began the discussion of an establishment of a national government. After numerous disagreements, the Articles of Confederation were finally formulated in October 1777 , in which delegates "agreed to state-by-state voting and proportional state tax burdens based on land values"[73].

However, ratification by states was not an easy process. For instance, the state of Maryland's neglection lead to other member states to suggest the settlement of the national government without them. This motion was strongly rejected by Congressman Thomas Burke, stating that "without an unanimous approval of the new Confederation, the new country would remain weak, divided, and open to future foreign intervention and manipulation. Moreover, in 1780, Maryland was under British raids in Cheseapeake Bay, luring them to request help from the French, which in turn insisted that the state would ratify the Articles of Confederation[74], which consequently happened on March the 1st, 1781.

US CONSTITUTION

As we have learned from the previous sub-chapter, the basis for the Articles of Confederation followed the situation lead by the Declaration of Independence, characterised by the need to form a national government that would unify the thirteen colonies.
The main problem resulting from this, however, that the power of the Confederation Congress was very limited. The central government could[75]:

-Conduct diplomacy
-Make war
-Set weights and measures
-Be the final arbiter of disputes between the states.

However, it had no financial power whatsoever, given its incapacity to raise funds or act economically independent from states' money. Moreover, the need for unanimous vote in decision-making made the political body relatively irrelevant. As a result of this, a Constitutional Convention was settled in 1787.

The main objective of the constitution destined in this convention was "to create a government with enough power to can on a national level, but without so much power that fundamental rights would be at risk".[76] The first step towards this, and fitting in well with what I established in my federation

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73 "Milestones: 1776–1783 - Office Of The Historian". 2018. *History.State.Gov.*
74 Ditto
75"The Constitution". 2018. *The White House*.
76 The Constitution". 2018. *The White House*.

model, consisted in separate powers in three branches. Th executive branch was designed to enforce the laws established by the legislative branch. This one, in its turn, consisting in Congress, was composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Finally, the judiciary branch was in charge of the interpretation of those laws.

Moreover, the founders of the Constitution were interested in forming relationships between the regions. "States are required to give 'full faith and credit' to the laws, records, contracts, and judicial proceedings of the other states"[77]

"What does this tell us about the EU"?

From what can be read from the historical background of the United States' federal system, it seems that the EU lacks the strong political motivation that was key in the formation of the country. In many ways, it might be this very patriotically connotation that makes the US' example more consistent, whereas the abstractness and diverse nature of the EU might be the very reason why it lacks unity. This will be further debated at the end of this chapter, when societal consideration shall be explored in the discussion of engagement and identity.

First of all, the causes behind the Declaration of Independence had an important factor that cannot really be found in the case of Europe: a common enemy. Fighting for independence from a superior or more dominant form of power is a successful way to generate unity. Although the origins of the EU were also aimed at obtaining peace between conflicting countries on basis of sovereignty, the sense of unity was not as evident when cooperation was needed from all parties involved. In other words, the American Colonies wished to remove Great Britain's control over them and become a nation with full autonomy, instead of negotiating a political agreement with the crown in the form of a supranational union. This clear distinction of aims are in essence an important influence in the way that the US and the EU are understood. The latter still remains to be commonly agreed to be a political union, whereas the former succeeded at respecting its historical origins, which leads me to the importance and relevance of their constitution.

The US constitution, in addition, is a good example of what the European Union should aspire to regarding the pursuit of political integration. Without a properly established codified set of rules and principles, as we have observed with the political limitations of the EU, it seems as though the idea of federation gets more and more inconceivable.

This is not to imply that Europe does not have a constitutional *basis*. In one way or another, the ever-changing and evolving Treaties could be taken as the guidance of aimed shaping and functioning of the Union. In fact, as predicted and reasoned by Monnet in the Declaration of Schuman, the European project should be based and consist on a series of goals and achievements towards the ultimate form of federation. So far, although slow and inconsistent, has been held in responsibility of the treaties.


77"The Constitution". 2018. *The White House*.

5. CONCLUSION

Drawing from the list of "obstacles" faced by Europe throughout its evolution that we have identified throughout the analysis, I would now like to introduce an external factor that contributes in today's scenario, and that is of the political disengagement experienced worldwide.

It is a common thought that the EU is seen by its citizens as an external entity that is preset, yet invisible. We have previously discussed the emergence or intensification of eurosceptic ideologies on a number of member states. On the case of Brexit, however, it is important to consider a critical approach to the procedures of the referendum itself. For example, statistics show that the misinformed votes were a rec curing topic of discussion after the vote, and the age demographics are also of particular taste in this context. For example, the vast majority of young people tended to be incline with the "remain" position, while older generations generally showed more sympathy for the "leave" decision. (observe graph below):

How different age groups voted

	Leave	Remain
18–24	27%	73%
25–34	38%	62%
35–44	48%	52%
45–54	56%	44%
55–64	57%	43%
65+	60%	40%
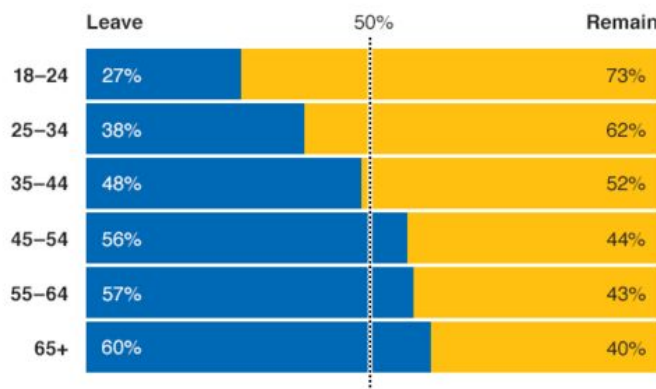
Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls   BBC

This illustrates what defines a feeling of *nostalgia* in the UK among those who have experienced the country prior to the engagement with the EU. "Older Brexit voters with views "coloured by nostalgia from an imperial past" have "shafted the young"[78], as Sir Vince Cable (Lib Dem leader) puts it. Political propaganda by parties such as UKIP obtained what was aimed it towards: generating an emotionally-driven ideology and perspective about the EU, which unsurprisingly resulted visible in the older generations' general decision. This illustrates that the manifestation of euroscepticism based on the reluctance to proceed into evolution towards further supra- and intergovernmentalism, shows how impossible it is to currently imagine Europe as a federation. Moreover, as we have already mentioned before, the wary relationship between the UK and the EU was never a stable one – from the reluctance to initial negotiations, to the issues arising from the "empty chair" crisis, the phenomenon of Brexit could for many be seen as predictable.

Nevertheless, the case of Brexit does not represent an isolated preoccupation in regards to European integration. As we had see from the statistical chart on country's views on the benefits of entering

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78 Osborne, Samuel. 2018. "Older Generation Has 'Shafted' Britain's Youth Over Brexit, Says Vince Cable". *The Independent*.

the EU[79] By extension, therefore, nationalist ideologies or alternative eurosceptic forms of ideologies have also emerged on other countries and, as discussed before, demonstrates that the political disconnection between all members states is pretty distributed. We could highlight the complex relationship with the Mediterranean members, as well as some Eastern European countries.

Observing from this phenomena have reached to the conclusion that the political aspirations of the founding fathers were not applicable on the level that could have been intended. This means that, coming from a beginning that was established between two powerful countries (France and Germany) to expand to all directions of the continent, without a strong political motivation, has shaped forever in history the way that Europe is perceived at a national level. On the other hand, this "disconnection" experienced from some member states in the EU might not be a natural factor that solely defines the case of EU itself.

It is my belief that disengagement is not an exclusive threat to the EU, since very similar symptoms can be identified on a national level (especially in EU member states). A strong and mutual political bond is required for a successful political union (and therefore, the path towards a federation), as I have defended through my model of federation. "(…) Thus the decline of voting turnout and disengagement in political groups is interpreted as the main malady of a modern, democratic state: "where few take part in decisions there is little democracy".
In the case of Spain, for example, which even has a rather eurosceptic political party (PODEMOS), suffers from many national problems that causes in one way or another, an influence on social perception of the government. Ever since the end of the dictatorship, the political ideology of the government has often switched between administrations (from the social democrats to the conservatives); but more recently it has been shown that the competition among political parties has been extended. In addition to PODEMOS, there is another increasingly famous central political party of "Ciudadanos". These were the four main resulting political parties in the election of 2016. Spanish president Mariano Rajoy, from the People's Party (conservative and right wing party), "secured the backing of 170 representatives in the 350-strong assembly after failing to win support from the opposition".[80] In order to obtain the majority, it is required to have at least 176 votes in parliament.

As we can see from the graph below, the 2016 general election in Spain shows a gradual shift from prior governments – the majority was no longer contested by the two main political parties: People's Party (PP) and the Social Democrat party (PSOE).

On a general approach, it could be argued that the case of Spain is rather special, given the fact that it has only been freed from a dictatorship since 1977 (Franco died in 1975), which could explain this *experimental* tendency across the years. However, the plurality of political parties represented in the results also demonstrates the element discussed before. It seems as though political participation is becoming more fluid, more progressive (given the extended representation of ideologies), but it also creates more uncertainty as well as a lack of definition. Moreover, Spain also had (and still has) internal regional disconnection. This forces to introduces the case of Catalonia in the present time, as well as the past terrorist movement fighting for the independence of the Basque country.
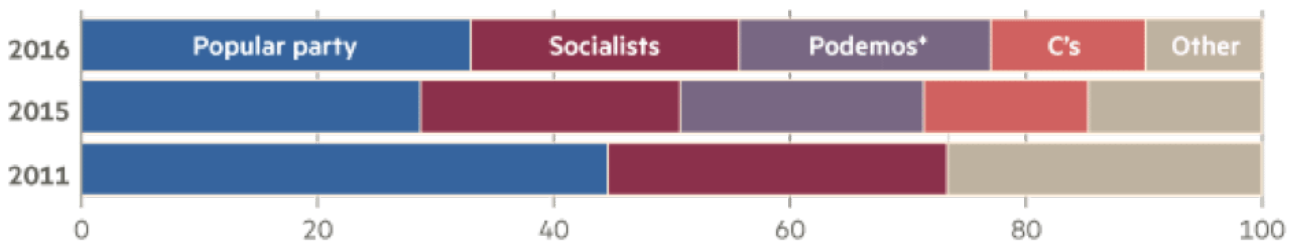
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79 Appendix 1
80 "Rajoy Denied Second Term As Spain's PM". 2018. *BBC News.* Accessed May 31.
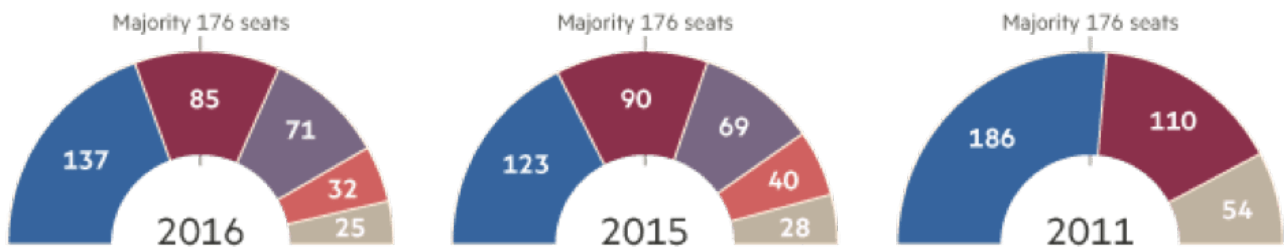
Moreover, recurrent cases of corruption and inefficient policy-making or economic strategies to fight the national debt are also a strong influence in the perception of society towards the government.

Spanish election results
% of votes

Seats by party (total 350 seats)

* Includes Podemos offshoots
Source: FT research

Combining the previous points of evidence, we can conclude that both the disengagement (supranationally and nationally) in politics in the present time, and the inneffective insitutional evolution has lead to the EU to be in a difficult position towards becoming a federation. Broadly speaking, we can conceal this issue with the following two reasons:

First, the European intergovernmental "deficiencies" do not to be seen manageable by federalism. The notion of nation-state is still considered very important and to be protected. A factor leading to this problem lies on the EU potentially not fulfilling the expectations on matters such as "durable employment, growth and stable prosperity in Europe".[81] More focus is given to short term approaches in the EU that generates an uncertainty on a national level to what the vision for the union is meant to be.

Secondly, looking at how federalist movements have evolved can also indicate what was not effected in accordance to the ideals of the founding fathers. As a matter of fact, there is a significant level of division among European federalists. There is little to no action in the movement that could influence the perception of the EU on the national, supranational and by extension, global context.

It is therefore my conclusive argument that the major obstacle that has prevented Europe to become its intended form of a federation belongs to the persistent division and incapacity to fully cooperate in any of the steps of its evolution by all the actors that it gathers.

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81 Jermar, Jakub. 2018. "European Federation - Why Is Europe Not Yet A Federation?". *Europeanfederalistpapers.Eu*.

My hypothesis, therefore, has been supported accordingly to the method applied to my study.

Nevertheless, and tracing back to the wishes established in the Declaration of Schuman, Europe is an ongoing experiment, or *project* that could never be made all at once. The same diversity that defines and enriches the EU on a global scale, and which makes the union different from other international actors, has caused perhaps more disunity than cooperation. The world at large has also evolved at a very fast pace, becoming more globalised and experiencing different and new concerns that strongly differ from the 20th century tradition.

Effectively, there has been an end to war conflicts between neighbouring countries opposing to the great World Wars. But globalisation has also brought the element of fluidity in society, perpetuating disengagement with politics. This explains the plurality of ideologies that cause an impossible consistent cooperative action between member states.
New concerns also suggest illegitimacy of the EU and of national governments, which seem unable to accurately adapt to the fast globalisation development of the world. Speculation could propose that it is too early to expect a federation to take place, precisely due to the fact that the EU still needs evolvement and adaptation to the times. As historical materialism would portray it, it is the historical and material sources of reality that *define* the ideas and actions towards it. Perhaps the current events of euroscepticism could act as a wake-up call to the EU to trace back to its original purposes as it becomes modernised simultaneously.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Who Feels EU Membership Has Paid Off?
Share agreeing their country has benefited from being an EU member in 2017

Country	%
Ireland	90%
Malta	89%
Lithuania	88%
Luxembourg	86%
Poland	84%
Denmark	81%
Estonia	81%
Germany	77%
Netherlands	76%
Slovakia	74%
Portugal	73%
Hungary	72%
Slovenia	72%
Spain	70%
Croatia	68%
Belgium	66%
Finland	66%
Latvia	65%
Sweden	62%
Romania	61%
France	58%
Czech Republic	56%
Bulgaria	56%
United Kingdom	55%
Austria	53%
Greece	48%
Cyprus	45%
Italy	39%
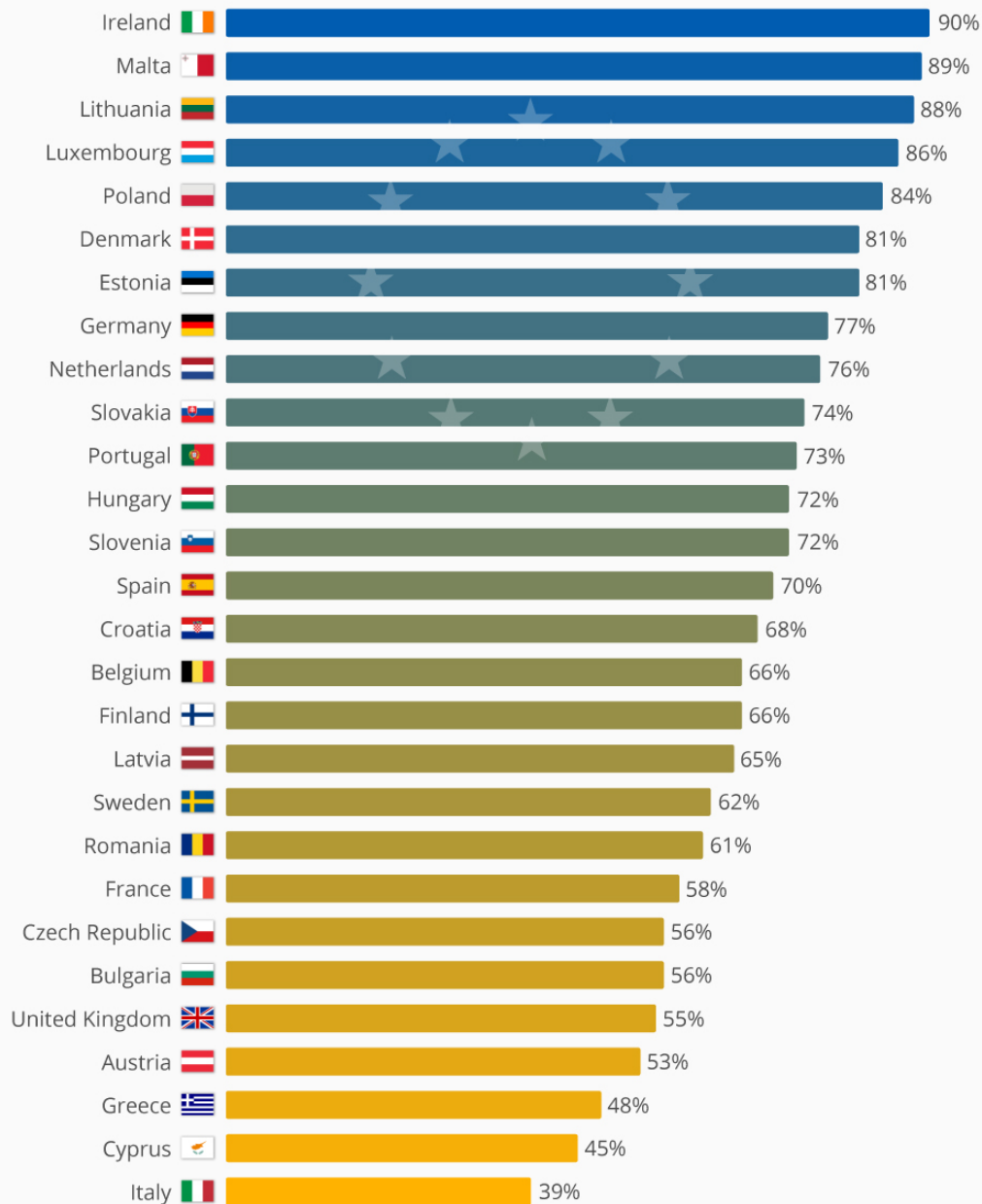
@StatistaCharts   Source: European Parliament

statista

Source: McCarthy, Niall. 2018. "Infographic: Who Feels EU Membership Has Paid Off?". *Statista Infographics.* https://www.statista.com/chart/11574/who-feels-eu-membership-has-paid-off/.

Appendix 2

VICTOIRE du peuple de France et de la paix

l'Humanité

CINQ HEURES DU MATIN

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS

JEAN JAURÈS
VAILLANT-COUTURIER
MARCEL CACHIN

MARDI
31 AOÛT 1954

Par 319 voix contre 264 la question préalable est votée :

La C.E.D. est rejetée

SALUT aux artisans de la victoire !

UNE VIBRANTE "MARSEILLAISE"
a salué le résultat du scrutin
tandis que le groupe MRP quittait la salle

Vous le verrez à Vincennes

JOIE POPULAIRE à l'annonce du rejet de la C.E.D.

OLLENHAUER président du parti social-démocrate d'Allemagne occidentale :
RÉUNION IMMÉDIATE d'une CONFÉRENCE A QUATRE pour la SÉCURITÉ EUROPÉENNE

Le Comité directeur du parti socialiste exclut Jules MOCH, D. MAYER, LEJEUNE et LAPIE.

Jusqu'à la dernière minute **les délégations se sont succédé au Palais-Bourbon**
CONTRE LA C.E.D., les dockers de Boulogne-sur-Mer ont débrayé

Meeting d'unité socialiste-communiste à Forbach

PREMIÈRE PHOTO
parvenue en France
de la rencontre
Mao Tse Toung-Attlee

SOMMAIRE

UNE FRANCE RÉELLEMENT INDÉPENDANTE EST LA CONDITION DU MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX EN EUROPE
devit l'ambassadeur polonais PUTRAMENT

Pessimiste, mais éclairé...

Appendix 3

Figure 6.1 Declining coal production

Note: Figure shows indexes of hard coal production for Belgium and for the original six members of the ECSC with 1953 as 100. The levels of output in 1953 were 30.1 million tons for Belgium, 242.3 million tons for the ECSC6.

Source: European Commission (1977: Table 30)

Source: Dinan, Desmond. 2014. *Origins And Evolution Of The European Union.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press

Appendix 4

The declaration of Schuman

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of **champion of a united Europe,** France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a **de facto solidarity.** The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point.

It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common **High Authority,** within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe. <u>The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe</u>, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The **solidarity in production** thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification.

This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and to promoting peaceful achievements. With increased resources Europe will be able to pursue the achievement of one of its essential tasks, namely, the development of the African continent. In this way, there will be realised simply and speedily that fusion of interest which is indispensable to the establishment of a common economic system; it may be the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by sanguinary divisions.

By pooling basic production and by instituting a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and other member countries, this proposal will lead to the realization of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace.

To promote the realization of the objectives defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following bases.

The task with which this common High Authority will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernization of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; the equalization and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries.

To achieve these objectives, starting from the very different conditions in which the production of member countries is at present situated, it is proposed that certain transitional measures should be instituted, such as the application of a production and investment plan, the establishment of compensating machinery for equating prices, and the creation of a restructuring fund to facilitate the rationalization of production. The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed from all customs duty, and will not be affected by differential transport rates. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously provide for the more rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to international cartels, which tend to impose restrictive practices on distribution and the exploitation of national markets, and to maintain high profits, the organization will ensure the fusion of markets and the expansion of production.

The essential principles and undertakings defined above will be the subject of a treaty signed between the States and submitted for the ratification of their parliaments. The negotiations required to settle details of applications will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator appointed by common agreement. He will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the agreements reached conform with the principles laid down, and, in the event of a deadlock, he will decide what solution is to be adopted.

The common High Authority entrusted with the management of the scheme will be composed of independent persons appointed by the governments, giving equal representation. A chairman will be chosen by common agreement between the governments. The Authority's decisions will be enforceable in France, Germany and other member countries. Appropriate measures will be provided for means of appeal against the decisions of the Authority.

A representative of the United Nations will be accredited to the Authority, and will be instructed to make a public report to the United Nations twice yearly, giving an account of the working of the new organization, particularly as concerns the safeguarding of its objectives.

The institution of the High Authority will in no way prejudge the methods of ownership of enterprises. In the exercise of its functions, the common High Authority will take into account the powers conferred upon the International Ruhr Authority and the obligations of all kinds imposed upon Germany, so long as these remain in force.