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Suitable Political System for Starting Point of European Integration and its Contemporary Impulse: Historical Perspective

Summary

What it meant by European Integration? We mean the historical process whereby European nation-states have been willing to transfer, or more usually pool, their sovereign powers in a collective enterprise. The European Union, which today contains twenty-eight member states, which has a complex institutional structure that includes a supranational central administration (the European Commission), an elected Parliament, a Court of Justice and a Central Bank, is the outcome of this processes. Many American and European scientists of the European Union have chided "intergovemmentalist" accounts for emphasizing the duration of member state authority over the process of European integration. This article attempts to prove these criticisms in a "historical institutionalist" account that mentions the importance of research on European integration as a political process which spreads over time. Such an aspect distinguishes the limitations of member-state control over permanent institutional improvements, due to a fixation with short-term interests, the existence of unexpected consequences, and actions that "lock in" past decisions and make affirmation of member-state

control difficult. Short exploration of the development of social policy in the EC advocates the limitations of conducting the EC as an international regime promoting collective activity among sovereign states. It is important to view integration as a "path-dependent" process that has composed a dispersed, but still obvious "multitiered" European polity.

KEYWORLDS

integration, federalism, neo-functionalism, jurisdiction, decentralization, territory, functions

ODPOWIEDNI SYSTEM POLITYCZNY JAKO PUNKT POCZĄTKOWY INTEGRACJI EUROPEJSKIEJ ORAZ WSPÓŁCZESNY IMPULS: PERSPEKTYWA HISTORYCZNA

Streszczenie

Czym jest integracja europejska? Oznacza ona pewien proces historyczny, w którym europejskie państwa narodowe były skłonne do przenoszenia swoich suwerennych kompetencji na wspólne przedsięwzięcie. Unia Europejska, która obecnie składa się z dwudziestu ośmiu państw członkowskich, ma złożoną strukturę instytucjonalną, która podlega ponadnarodowej administracji centralnej (Komisji Europejskiej), demokratycznie wybieranemu parlamentowi (Parlamentowi Europejskiemu), a także Europejskiemu Trybunałowi Sprawiedliwości, oraz Europejskiemu Bankowi Centralny, które to instytucje są wynikiem procesu integracji. Wielu amerykańskich i europejskich naukowców zajmujących się Unią Europejską wyraża negatywne opinie na temat intergowermentalizmu podkreślającego wyższość organów państwa członkowskiego nad procesem integracji europejskiej. Ten artykuł próbuje udowodnić, że ta krytyka z perspektywy „historycznego instytucjonalizmu" przyczyniła się do zwiększenia znaczenia badań nad integracją europejską jako procesem politycznym, który rozprzestrzenia się w czasie. Pozwala to na odróżnienie ograniczenia kontroli państw członkowskich od stałych usprawnień instytucjonalnych, ze względu na utrwalenie doraźnych interesów, czy istnienie nieoczekiwanych konsekwencji, a to sprawia, że „utknięte" (lock-in) działania w ze względu na afirmację państw członkowskich są trudne do realizacji. Pobieżna analiza rozwoju polityki społecznej w UE ujawnia ograniczenia UE jako międzynarodowego systemu promującego aktywność zbiorową między suwerennymi państwami. Ważne jest, aby postrzegać integrację jako proces zależny od "ścieżki" (path-dependent), który

przyczynia się komponowania "wielowarstwowego" europejskiego ustroju politycznego.

Słowa kluczowe

integracja, federalizm, neo-funkcjonalizm, jurysdykcja, decentralizacja, terytorium, funkcje

INTRODUCTION

The war ended in Europe in May 1945. It left the continent's infrastructure destroyed and its population divided by ideological conflict and nationalist antagonism. After five years, six western European nations, including France and new-born Federal Republic of Germany, began negotiations to start production of their leading coal and steel industries under the control of a "High Authority" with supranational decision-making powers. Many leading politicians and intellectuals were by May 1950 even advocating the creation of a "United States of Europe" along American states. Adenauer anyway believed that in 1945 "the unification of Europe seemed far more possible now than in the 1920s. The Idea of International cooperation must succeed." This article will attempt to analyze and explore which new political system was suitable for the Europe at starting point of its integration? This will encompass a theoretical approach. The objective of the article is to connect historical facts to ongoing processes in the European Union (including Europeanization processes, compare [Wach 2014] and its possible effects for future political and economic integration.

In a famous public speech on 9 May 1950, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, declared the goal of a United Europe:

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built though 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... 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... this proposal will lead

to the realization of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace [Duchene 1994]. As explained above, the main aim of the article is to show the historical impulse and how it reflects recent processes in the EU and its possible influence for the future.

1. LITERATURE OVERVIEW: POLITICAL THEORIES OF IDENTITY IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The article undertakes a selective but critical review of the existing political and economic literature on the origins, objectives, instruments and evaluation of the beginnings of the process of European Integration. The review is selective in that it does not aim to provide full coverage of the studies that have looked at the European integration process.

From a geographical perspective the European Union is by no means a clear-cut entity [Mamadouh and van der Wusten 2008]. Yet the promise of the EU arguably lies not just in the creation a larger--scale social and political space. As this vision appears to be in considerable trouble at the moment, the EU offers the possibility of overcoming some of the territorial rigidities of the modern state system [Murphy 2008].

The integration of the continent was first necessary for an apparently 'banal' social-economic reason of post-war reconstruction under US 'supervision' and economic globalization later on [Bufon 2006]. Before and after the process of integration there existed several theories and thought about European integration, and this article will be examine some of them, which is important for a clear view of European integration. Arendt (Johanna "Hannah" Arendt [14 Oct. 1906 – 4 Dec. 1975] was a German-American political theorist) and Jaspers (Karl Theodor Jaspers [23 Feb. 1883 – 26 Feb. 1969] was a German Philosopher) endorsed the project of European integration enthusiastically in the 1940s. However, Jaspers become more interested in "World Unity" than European unity. In contrast to Jaspers, Arendt was suspicious of world government. Freedom could only exist as a living political reality if national laws hedged it in. The 1954 French national Assembly's rejection of the European Defense Community

(EDC) and the political community with their trans-European representative institutions disappointed her greatly. Several years after she had this to say:

The attempts to build up European elite with a program of intra-European understanding based on the common experience of the consecration camps have foundered in much the same manner as the attempts following the First World War to draw political conclusions from the international experiences of the front generations. In both cases it turned out that the experiences themselves could communicate no more than nihilistic banalities [Arendt 1951].

Thus integration did not follow common patterns of internal standardization: the challenge for contemporary Europe is to perform social, economic, and political integration while maintaining cultural diversities, and accordingly to offer after three centuries a new civilization model to the world [Bufon 2006]. The concepts of cultural identity and all the relics, prejudices, distrust, fears and old historical injustices still have a great influence on the integration processes of the European Union. These prejudices and historical injustices were often deliberately wheeled out by the political elite for the purpose of maintaining political power and uniting the nation in the face of external threats etc. [Leška 2012]. European people still exist within the boundaries of the nation-states, where they bound themselves with cultural identity and prejudices that come from a historical perspective. Quenzel and Albert [2008] indicates a declining euphoria about the further transmission of sovereign national rights to the European Union among young people and find a growing scepticism against further EU enlargement. Johnson [2012] outlines, that Europe has come to form the boundaries around webs of significance, and the idea of "Europe" is itself a shared mediating orientation. Perhaps the answer to creating a cultural space that is not xenophobic lies in turning inward, in searching within the cultural space of Europe to find ways for culture and identity to be linked to the self and to humanity, rather than to territory or borders [Johnson 2012).

The political integration process formally establishing a European level in the system of governance within the European state system has nonetheless moved forward for more than a half century incorporating this increasing collection of member states [Mamadouh and van der Wusten 2008].

It is very important to mention here philosophers such as Charles Taylor (Charles Margrave Taylor –Canadian philosopher) and Jurgen Habermas (Jurgen Habermas – German sociologist and philosopher). Their works are worth mentioning in relation to developing European politics and its system. Taylor and Habermas, in contrast to Arendt and Jaspers have witnessed more recent developments of the EC/EU. Their strongly participatory view of politics makes them well aware of the weaknesses of this process. They exhibit cautious optimism. Habermas proposes a three-tiered system of institutions of decision-making at the national, transnational and supranational levels. But the European Union experience continues to shape his more policy-oriented proposals, while his discourse ethics remains a reference for European Union scholars studying the EU democratic deficit [Habermas 2000]. Taylor draws lessons from the EU experience to solve problems much closer to home.

The emergence of the Cold War and its domestic political repercussions aided the European Movement, which called for European countries, once at the center of the international system, to join together in an increasingly rigid bipolar world. As the Cold War intensified and the Iron Curtain descended, integration came to be seen as a means by which the Western Europe could strengthen its security, in close collaboration with the United States of America, against external Soviet Aggression and internal communist subversion. Western Europe's vulnerability drew the United States deeper into the continent's affairs and turned Washington into a zealous champion of European Integration; from this point we can see what kind of political system Europe was seeking at that time.

The political system is much related to understanding of the identity of the European integration process. As an example, Müller-Härlin [2003] points that at the national level, the western part of divided Germany focuses on successful economics in the present and future; the past is excluded from any sense of "us"; on the European level, the past is reintroduced for the sake of a common future. Müller-Härlin [2003] highlights, that in France it is the other way round – national pride springs from a vividly remembered past, and the collective memory includes the most heterogeneous traditions.

Since issues amenable to governance are manifest at different scales and in ways that are not necessarily spatially coextensive,

a multi-scale, not completely hierarchical set of political-territorial structures has an important role to play [Murphy 2008]. Bodenstein and Ursprung [2005] call for a federal structure that becomes more decentralized as economic integration deepens – decentralization meaning that the number of lower-tier government's should be increased rather than decreased and that the federal government's policy responsibilities should be reduced and shifted to the provinces. Deliberative democracy remains one of the important issues on the EU agenda [Vesnic-Alujevic, Nacarino 2012].

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The research methods of the article are based on the theory of neo-institutionalist history. Rowlinson and Hassard [2013] highlights, that the first contribution of neo-institutionalist history would be to provide a more rigorous approach to historical research, ensuring that it conforms to the standards of source criticism and verification that are generally accepted by historians; the second contribution would be to highlight the potential for research using the kind of documentary primary sources that historians are familiar with; the third contribution of neo-institutionalist history would be to shift the emphasis away from importing historical data and towards exporting theory to history. The 'new institutionalism', and in particular, the branch of the new institutionalism known as 'historical institutionalism' has not only influenced the study of West European politics, but indeed, in some respects, this approach emerged out of the study of West European politics itself [Immergut, Anderson 2008]. It is remarkable that the political science theory of historical institutionalism is best known for its studies of macro-historical radical and revolutionary changes, as well as concepts like "path dependency" [Kickert, van der Meer 2011].

"Path dependence" offers a useful tool to pursue this objective, given its core socio-historical construction [Robertson, Mcintosh, Dmyth 2010]. Path dependence is that it is a process whereby what happened at an earlier point in time affects the outcomes of a sequence of events later on [Sewell 2005]. The basic conception is that historic events or accidents – critical junctures – then act on the dynamic process of

history, limiting future opportunities for alternative courses of action [Robertson, Mcintosh, Dmyth 2010]. Path dependencies are shaped by 'lock-in' effects which shoehorn communities into positive or negative pathways of change [Wilson 2014]. Kuipers [2009) claims that path dependency is not just the notion that "history matters"; rather, path dependency theory explains how public policy and institutions get increasingly consolidated, legitimated and protected by the elites governing a policy sector, and that precisely this rigidity preludes inevitable large-scale reform.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS

3.1 Federalism and European Integration

As one of the most suitable political systems for the European Union at the starting point of its integration, it is considered the federalism movement, and this article will analyze what the relationship between federalism and European integration actually is. The article's main point is to demonstrate the relevance of the federal idea to the building of Europe, even the European Union. We can understand federalism from a different point of view and this can be taken into consideration – examples include Germany, The United Kingdom, The United States – but when we focus federalism upon European integration it seems particularly large, because it has transcended the familiar level of the nation-state to the level of an unknown union among the European people. As is mentioned in the treaty of Rome (the Treaty that established the European Economic Community, 25 of March, 1957), "a Union that currently includes supranational, intergovernmental, federal, confederal and functional elements."

The gradual evolution of a "Community" into a "Union" during the last half century is a firm vindication of the continuing strength and vitality of the federal idea. Relations between states and peoples in the union that was first created in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris (Treaty of establishing European Steel and Coal Community, 18 April 1951) with the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and then extended in 1957 to include both the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) in the

Treaties of Rome, continue to deepen and widen. One main consequence of this process of political and economic integration is that in many important respects the peoples of the European member states have now become citizens of the European Union, instead of citizens of single state.

Before this exploration will be continued, we should examine the clear origins of the federal idea shortly and outline its relationship to the modern state in Europe. This philosophical and historical context is crucial in order to gain a simple understanding of the relevant contemporary concepts. We should define fundamental concepts first, federation, confederation, the modern state and a suitable political system for European integration.

Federalism mainly considers the study of integration; it shows inbuilt democratic arrangements linking different levels of governmental authority. It focuses on constitutionalism and the protection of individual and collective liberty. "A compound polity compounded of strong constituent entities and a strong general government, each possessing powers delegated to it by the people and empowered to deal directly with the citizenry in the exercise of those powers" [Elazar 1994]. In this context, "federalism aims to reconcile the parallel demands of a greater political union – but not necessarily unity – of the whole and adequate guarantees for the parts; or, unity without uniformity and diversity without anarchy" [Watts 1981]. With the postwar circumstances corresponding "to those which often in the past have led nations to undertake the initial steps toward federation" [Bowie 1987], the federal solution emerged as an inspiring remedy for Europe's organizational problems. The ideal of a united Europe predated the specific postwar attempts; what makes them unique is that "the unity concept moved into the foreground of popular thinking with both a practical and emotional appeal" [Bailey 1948]. As a declaration by the European Resistance Movement put it: "Federal Union alone can ensure the principles of liberty and democracy in the continent of Europe" [Kitzinger 1967].

The federalists have also made their case by stressing the inability of states to provide new means of popular participation, and that an unprecedented legitimacy crisis had shaken their once powerful structures: a deep-rooted structural crisis which prompted them to look above the nation-state in order to resolve its acute legitimacy

problems. Mentioning these criticisms was the belief that "new loyal-ties will arise in direct conflict with the nation-state" [Kitzinger 1967]. This is what European federalists were thinking: that these pressures on the nation-state would lead to "the recognition that a new demo-cratic arrangement would have to be devised" [Chryssochoou 2008]. Thus federalism offered the ideas of not only transforming national statehood into a larger loyalty going beyond its territorial affinities; however, a powerful pressure to extend democracy outside the state. It was agreed that the federation should have limited but real powers, with the remaining spheres of competence resting on state jurisdiction. The main point of the federalists manifest was that "federalism is the only international democratic bond which can create a reign of law among nations, and the only possible means for enlarging the sphere of democratic government from the ambit of the state to that of a group of states" [Bosco 1996].

The first and the main test were with the convention of the 1948 Hague Congress; The Council of Europe failed to live up to federalist expectations, representing instead "a triumph of the Unionist" [Bosco 1996].

We can ask: what kind of impulse has the above mentioned pro-cesses toward nowadays European Union and what will we see in future? This issue will be discussed after a review of one more im-portant point, which is:

3.2 The impact of Neo-functionalism on European Integration

A fundamental part of the neo-functionalist strategy was to view the Community Method as a new "modus operandi" (management method) of the general system. Such a method consists of, *inter alia,* high levels of lobbying activities of organized interests, elite sociali-zation, the Commission's absolute right to initiate legislation, the participation of government in mass negotiations at a higher level, and to promote a certain culture on the part of the Commission that would increase the general interests.

As Sorensen and Milward say: "the theory's technocratic elitism appealed strongly to European Community officials who naturally

saw the extensive theorizing about the workings of the community as a confirmation of their historical role as guardians of European integration processes" [Sorensen 1993].

Taking into consideration as a process rather than an action, the end of integration remained deliberately ambiguous. Even Haas's (Ernst Bernard Haas – German-American political scientist) famous definition of integration as "the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing one" [Haas 1958], leaves much more from an organizational point of view. The picture he produces is of an end situation in a new political community along the lines of a supranational pluralist polity, within which "specific groups and individuals show more loyalty to their central political institutions then to any other political authority" [Haas 1958]. A more discreet approach is offered by Lindberg (David C. Lindberg – American historian of science) "a legitimate system for the resolution of conflict, for the making of authoritative decisions for the group as a whole" [Lindberg 1963]. Those features, like regional state, federal union or a supranational authority add little to the precise form of the envisaged political community. The only appreciable end of integration in neo-functionalist terms is what Harrison called a "self-regulating pluralist society whose unity and stability rests on mutual adjustment between groups following accepted norms" [Taylor 1990].

Neo-functionalism could work at its best in the base aspects of the European Union's economic and political integration as it is possible to see above. This approach could be valuable; despite of we have several theories which criticize and deny it.

3.3 A New Concept of European Federalism

From the above we already have an idea as to which kinds of political systems Europe was seeking at the starting point of integration and the framework about existing opinions at that time, which, from my point of view, has a big impact on today's European Union, and will play a great role in the process of shaping the future Europe. This

part of the article will be dedicated exactly to the historical impact on the contemporary European Union. It will develop my opinion about ongoing processes, taking into the consideration the historical perspective, which I have mentioned above and will discuss my ideas about possible future expectations.

It is clear that none of the previous established theories of integration and the political system can either explain or predict what Philippe Schmitter calls "the emerging Euro-polity" [Schmitter 1996]. We shall focus upon his recent concern regarding the argument about the future of the European Union. He considers that all of the predominant theories of integration focus on "process, not outcome" and that even if each of them does assume that it will lead to "some kind of stable institutionalized equilibrium." It will be "some time before we can discover for sure what kind of polity it is going to become" [Schmitter 1996]. As with the theories that he rejects, Schmitter takes ambiguous action dedicating the outcome of the integration process, butdisputes, that whatever it will become the EC cannot be circumscribed to the status of a "confederation" because it is already "well on its way to becoming something new" [Schmitter 1996]. He says that the closest approximation in the process to a united Europe is the "co-operative federalism" of Switzerland and Germany, thus essentially accepting the validity of comparative federalism and federation as one of the main approaches to studying the European Union.

Several opinions have been presented and I also argue that European citizens could be developed considerably by advocating competition between newly emerging jurisdictions organized according to functions instead of territories. A new type of federalism based on Functional, Overlapping Competing Jurisdictions is proposed. This system of democratic decentralized jurisdictions acutely differs from the dominant system that governs the European Union today. The European Constitution prospective here must give the lowest political units (communes) the freedom to participate in forming Functional Overlapping Competing Jurisdictions (FOCJ). The citizens must be given the right to create this system through well-known referenda and it should have the right to collect taxes to finance the public services they contribute.

The idea from which it developed is based on several elements; the future of Europe has to be:

- Democratic
- Diverse
- Peaceful
- Productive

Moreover, this idea emphasizes the attention of the involvement of citizens in the political life. It proposes decentralization of the political process and its devaluation to the functionally most suitable level. It also seeks to amend the two well-known and often deplored defects of the European Union: its democratic deficit and its decentralization deficit. The subsidiarity principle consecrated in the Maastricht Treaty does not truly deliver to allay the "decentralization deficit." It remains feeble as long as the regions of Europe are financially dependent on the central governments of their nations and on Brussels. Effective political decentralization requires that the lower levels of Government have the power to tax. Such regional fiscal responsibility activates citizens to balance the income and amount of public expenditure and, thus, motivates politicians in lower-level governmental entities to use the limited resources for the benefit of their fellow citizens.

- Functional (F) – A political units, which corresponds to the tasks or functions to be realized;
- Overlapping (O) – Governmental Units expanding over several geographical areas;
- Competing (C) – ability for individuals or communities to choose which governmental unit they want to belong;
- Jurisdiction (J) – Units which are established are governmental and has taxation responsibility.

This idea could be radical but it does not say that it is requires destroying the national states forming the European Union. The flexible political competitors that are advocated would cater to the useful arrangement of benefits to the citizens. As a consequence, traditional nation states are enforced to affirm their right of existence by caring conveniently for those demands and needs of the people that they are best able to contribute. The main advantage of this proposal is that it can be introduced in "marginal steps."

An example and classic case could be the existence several governments on the same territory. Because of the not well-defined borders, territory is very often disputed. And with this definition

"several governments on the same territory" could be a solution to the problem of territorial conflicts. Federal states, in fact, provide an opportunity for several institutions to act on the same territory: "the central state, the provinces, states or Bundeslander (federal states in German), and the communes" [Frey 2009].

Many scholars and politicians will criticize the idea of creating Functional Overlapping Competing Jurisdictions system; they may argue that it would damage the unity among Europeans. It is, however, a reality that the strength of Europe is in diversity and existence equal rules.

4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Federal concepts influence and design the location at the heart of the contest between the theory and practice of European integration. They have been especially outstanding in the most recent phacebecause of the new changes towards the building of political Europe.

At this stage it is important to look back on and aproach fifty years of European integration from the appropriate point of view of federalists and federalism. In this article it is prooved, that the implementation of federalism of federalism in the partially development and progress of post-war European political and economic system. It has exposed the main cohesion of federal ideas, designs and effects in the development of the European idea. Federal ideas have been implemented into every central institution of the European Union, even if the intergovernmental or supra-national levels significantly influence inter-institutional relations and flow through a wide variation of channels both without and within the formal institutional and policy frameworks of the European Union.

The article has shortly addressed the main theoretical aspects to a federal Europe and I have reviewed the new conceptual trends about European integration. It has also considered the ponderous and urgent challenges which lie ahead for the European Union and I look at their complicated interrelationship. It is obvious that the European Union has colossal achievements and strengths, but that these dignities coexist along the side of serious failures and weaknesses.

We see that federalist ideas at the beginning of European integration have had quite a strong influence on the recent political system of the European Union. The primary European decision-making institution is the Council of Ministers which is based on the principles of federal ideas, but only nations are represented on the Council, and it is structured according to functional principles. But it should be noted here that this Council is only indirectly democratic; ministers are drawn from governments which are democratically constituted, and there are not public discussions.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The EU still works, despite its crisis; however, it lacks significant fiscal resources and has developed only a weak common foreign and defense policy. The problem could be that European Union leaders are seeking to solve not the main problem, by proposing to institutionalize reforms in the EU institutions, which more or less works. Instead of above mentioned problem, they could take into the consideration the decentralization problem. The idea of a new federalism is a new; it builds and develops upon already well-established modern economics and politics. It does not destroy previous efforts, but only develops on them.

In the future, when EU will expand its territories, it will be faced with the problems of enlargement. The new concept of federalism offers alternative options to deal with this challenge. It could be argued that this concept is quite balanced for developing countries and suits to all requirements.

The concept of regionalism as it currently works does not share the principles of decentralization, because regional policy works from the top down, and we know that the contrary should be the case. All this could be transformed without damaging European integration's great achievements during its history. If the EU achieves any sort of stable endpoint, it will be the first federal system in history.

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