

EUROPEAN UNION: LABYRINTH OR REALITY?
EUROPEAN UNION AND INTEGRATION 1969-1986

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Abstract

European Union is not a new or easily defined concept. Implicit in the Treaty of Rome - the founding Treaty of the European Community - is the intention of a federal form of political union. This union is to be achieved by a gradualist strategy of building solidarity among European people, beginning in the economic sphere.

Using this historical perspective, this thesis examines European Union proposals from 1969 to 1986 in order to facilitate an understanding of them in terms of integration. The European Union proposals are found to contain little more than a reconfirmation or extension of the guidelines envisaged in the Treaty of Rome. Common themes are identified as the foci for areas where European Union can legitimately emerge or be expanded. These themes are related to integration approaches applicable to European Community experience.

While no one integration approach can account for European Community reality, each approach highlights different unifying conditions and strategies which promote or hinder progress towards European Union. A case study of the European Parliament's draft European Union Treaty will relate the European Union proposals to the integration approaches in order to establish the current status of the European Community, as well as to suggest possible paths for the development of European Union.

INTRODUCTION

1. European Union: General Introduction.

"The union will for ever remain a target for which one must toil. But as with many great ideals the search is as important as the ultimate goal".¹

The search for genuine economic and political European Union involves a process of flux, characterised by ebbs and flows of movement. The early 1980s have seen a number of interrelated problems, concerning mainly technical issues,² impeding the progress towards a European Union. A settlement was reached in July 1984, at the Fontainebleau European Council (Heads of State and Government) meeting, which focused attention upon the future beyond the accession of Spain and Portugal, 1 January 1986.

Since the Fontainebleau Summit the question of European Union has achieved a higher profile. Proposals sponsoring European Union have emanated from major European Community (EC) actors - the European Council and the Council of Ministers, from other European institutions, as well as from individual member states. All proposals share a common concern in keeping the momentum of the EC moving forward to avoid stagnation, which might lead to the disintegration of the EC acquis communautaire,³ thus halting progress towards European Union.

Despite current interest in European Union the concept is not new: neither is it easily defined. Its meaning is unclear; a mirage in the distance never reached; a long term

objective or goal for a desired future, the means of which vary in detail - "the mist and dead ground phase beyond which lies the vision of European Union".⁴ Neither is the final shape conceived in advance as definition would predetermine the development of European Union.

It has been noted that "the term European Union is delightfully ambiguous; It has been used as the ideological underpinning and justification for almost all proposals designed to forward the process of European integration".⁵ A common definition is not possible because the term has different meanings depending upon the proposals.

Thus is evoked the notion of European Union as a historical process changing and evolving over time, or when confronted with obstacles to its passage. As with any dynamic process one must remain sensitive to historical conditions which must have had a major impact upon motives for specific proposals.

Internal and external factors during the 1970s and 1980s have affected the progress of European Union. Monetary and oil crises combined with slowing economic growth in the 1970s foreshadowed a world economic recession in the 1980s. In addition, enlargement of the EC from six to twelve member states has widened diversity and increased the heterogeneous nature of the EC. These factors have slowed the development of the EC. Member governments have sought to protect their national interests at the expense of common European interests. This has caused the development of EC institutions and decision-making procedures to be inhibited.

As a result the EC level has been less able to respond to a wide range of demands and pressures.

European Union proposals since 1969 stress the importance of their measures and reforms to ensure that the EC has the capacity to deal with the increased internal and external demands of an enlarged community; thereby promoting forward movement towards the ultimate goal of European Union. Current enlargement of the EC to include Spain and Portugal has increased membership to 320 million citizens of Europe. Greater economic, cultural and political diversity presents new challenges to the EC in terms of a far wider range of interests which demand a Union that can cater for the diverse needs, as well as providing a role for the European citizens in the international community.

Each proposal on European Union seeks to provide a balance between EC and member state relations, involving delegation of sovereignty from the nation state and shared administration of the new and larger sovereignty.⁶ While each member state does not diligently strive towards a balance between national and common interests, it is generally acknowledged that member state economic and political interests are intricately bound. To extricate themselves from the EC would prove exceedingly difficult, if not detrimental. It is this tension existing between the national and the common interests of the member states that is the root of European Union development.

To date, proposals have centred on the debate over whether Union can be achieved by modest reforms to the

existing structure, or if a more ambitious Union can be achieved by a qualitative leap forward. Among the former, a minority want strict adherence to EC founding laws, whilst the majority promote a gradual change to protect and to reinforce the acquis communautaire. Recommendations cover suggestions for changes to be made within the limits of EC law (contained in the Treaty of Rome - the founding Treaty of the European Economic Community signed 23 March 1957);⁷ or amendment of that law. More ambitious measures propose replacement of the Treaty of Rome with a new treaty based upon and incorporating original law, so as to include areas outside the EC framework which have become an integral part of member state collaboration.

In all, the proposals are dependent upon how their proponents perceive European Union - whether as a framework for cooperation between member governments who remain free to choose the areas in which they wish to collaborate; or as a means to develop their relations into some closer form of union involving a more formal commitment. Thus, European Union exists as the goal of all the proposals in which, on the one hand some proponents espouse unification; whilst on the other hand some proponents promote cooperation.

The most recent proposal aimed at overcoming current difficulties and promoting forward movement is the Single European Act (signed 17 February 1986 and due to come into effect 1 July 1987). Seen in a historical context, the Single European Act is politically significant because member

states have finally agreed to a package of measures designed to adjust the Treaty of Rome to current EC reality.

The Single European Act amends the Treaty of Rome to incorporate the European Council and the European Political Cooperation procedure into the legal Treaty framework. Within the Council of Ministers, qualified majority voting replaces unanimity in areas necessary for the completion of the common internal market (a prerequisite for the achievement of economic union). The Commission gains a larger role in policy implementation, while the role of the European Parliament is extended by a cooperation procedure with the Council of Ministers in areas of legislation concerning the internal market. The European Parliament also receives codecision powers concerning the accession of new member states and the conclusion of international agreements.

While these measures do constitute forward movement, the Single European Act represents a continuation of minimal steps to European Union rather than a grand vision or a qualitative leap forward. Positive action has been taken to create conditions which will promote forward momentum. As with previous proposals, the Single European Act does reaffirm the political goal of European Union, as well as reinforces the commitment of member states to continue the process of forming closer relations between their peoples.

"The Community remains in principle and in rhetoric committed to European Union...Explicitly to abandon that aim would be to throw into question the whole ideological underpinning of the Community".⁸

2. Nature and Scope of this Thesis.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the proposals on European Union in order to facilitate an understanding of them in terms of integration - in explaining the realities of the EC as it now exists, as well as, to a certain extent, predicting outcomes.

The means used to examine the proposals will be by relating them to integration approaches applicable to the experience of the EC, in order to establish whether the integration approaches can help to explain the proposals. Depending upon the integration approach used different unifying conditions and strategies will be highlighted, producing similarities and differences of emphasis. Thus strategies or paths for the development of European Union will be suggested by relating the major themes of the European Union proposals to the major emphases of the integration approaches.

No one integration approach (be it normative, empirical, or a model of integration) fits all the realities of EC experience. If an approach were to be applied in isolation it would be likely to cause distortion of reality, owing to the inability of the approach to account for a combination of factors responsible for particular outcomes (or lack of outcomes), or for the factors which occur in the unification process. Therefore, analysis of the relationship of the proposals to the integration approaches will emphasize that the dynamics important to the unification process will vary with the theoretical perspective.

Chapter One discusses the Treaty of Rome in terms of the intentions and the directions that it lays down for the development of the EC towards a European Union.

Chapter Two discusses leading integration approaches applicable to the EC in terms of their usefulness in highlighting conditions and strategies promoting or hindering further unification. Their similarities and differences will be identified. Similarities will point to a type of political community, while differences will emphasize the different levels of integration as well as conditions which cause unification to proceed, stagnate or disintegrate.

Chapter Three concerns the constant themes of the proposals which describe the parameters for the types of reforms likely to facilitate European Union. The themes constitute little more than a reconfirmation or extension of the guidelines originally envisaged in the Treaty of Rome. Enlargement, EC institutional development, increased scope of policy interdependence, public involvement at European level, and extra Treaty development are the major foci for areas where Union can legitimately emerge or be expanded. These themes are applied to the factors which shape European Union by specifying under what conditions union can emerge. These factors include the origin, scope, and status of the proposals, the attitudes of the member states, and the attitudes of member governments towards unification.

Chapter Four comprises a case study of the European Parliament's Draft Treaty - taken as the composite of all the European Union proposals. The European Union Treaty will be

related to the integration approaches in order to establish whether they can help explain the proposals. In addition, the European Union Treaty will be used to build models or scenarios to depict the different stages or forms of the unification process based upon the different integration approaches. The scenarios will represent high, medium, low and regressive levels of European Union.

Chapter Five comprises a summary and conclusions. The conclusions will suggest what measures are necessary to achieve a more integrated European Union.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Roland Bieber, Jean-Paul Jacqu, and Joseph H. H. Weiler, eds., "Introduction", in An Ever Closer Union: A critical analysis of the Draft Treaty establishing the European Union, with a Preface by Altiero Spinelli, The European Perspective Series (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985), p. 8.
- 2 including the British budgetary contribution, and the terms of Spanish and Portuguese accession.
- 3 acquis communautaire concerns the common rules and structures established and agreed upon, to date, by the member states.
- 4 R. A. McAllister, "The E. E. C. dimension: intended and unintended consequences", in The Failure of the State, ed. James Cornford (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p. 180.
- 5 Bieber, Jacqu, and Weiler, Ibid., p. 7.
- 6 Jean Monnet, Memoirs, translated by R. Mayne (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978), p. 432.
- 7 The Treaty of Rome was signed by the original six member states - France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. It contained 248 Articles, 15 Annexes, 4 Declarations of Intention, and 3 Protocols.
- 8 William Wallace, "Conclusions", in Economic Divergence in the European Community, eds. Michael Hodges and William Wallace, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 210.

CHAPTER ONE

EUROPEAN UNION: INTENTIONS AND DIRECTIONS

1. Intentions.

"to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe"¹

The concept of European Union is inherent in the framework of the Treaty of Rome, in which exists explicit and implicit directions for development towards Union. The Treaty of Rome has been described as an "engine of growth"² - a dynamic framework for action providing the outlines for further unification but leaving the specifics to be completed over time.

Post World War Two historical conditions determined that the Treaty of Rome's "raison d'etre" was European Union; embodying in it a strategy for peace which entailed entwining the common interests of the European States to provide the foundation for reconciliation and unification. During the initial post war years great anxiety was felt by the European people at the continued power struggles between their states. Each endeavoured to gain greatest benefits from the post war situation while uncertainties persisted about the place of each nation state in Europe. Concern was also felt over the growth of the Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Jean Monnet, French National Planning Commissioner, recognised the perpetuation of the nation states' striving to promote their own interests as once again escalating the threat of war. Monnet believed that the concepts of the nation state and sovereignty were now anachronistic because of increasingly interdependent economic and political relationships between states. Demands and problems could no longer be met by one nation state alone.

Monnet's solution to this dilemma was unification of the peoples of Europe, by their own free will (not force), to form a United States of Europe in order to maintain stability and peace. The dynamic of unification was based upon "developing the broadest common European interests to be served by common democratic institutions, to which the necessary sovereignty had been delegated by the nation states",³ thus changing the conditions that created the problems. Common interest covered areas where joint action would be more successful than individual nation states acting alone, as well as the adjustment of conditions of inequality between nation states so that one did not have overwhelming advantage over another.

Monnet's United States of Europe was not a single entity to be achieved immediately: "we are not forming coalitions between states, but union among people".⁴ Neither did Monnet visualise a final political form. He considered it impossible to foresee what the needs, conditions or the decisions of future realities might be to lay down a precise final shape. Monnet's union among peoples, or Community, was

to be built by a process of transformation over a long period of time involving different stages of development. Allowance had to be made for changing circumstances without time limits being set for completion.

The process began with limited economic aims in specific areas which were to gradually expand to include other economic sectors, and to culminate in economic union. Tacit in this increasing economic interdependence was the association of other closer and deeper forms of union in the political sphere - foreign, defence and security - contributing to the building of a political union: a United States of Europe.

"little by little the work of the Community will be felt, and the already distinguishable bonds of common interest will be strengthened. Then the everyday realities themselves will make it possible to form the political union which is the goal of our Community, and to establish the United States of Europe".⁵

Thus a federal stage could not be achieved immediately. Rather requisite stages would have to be followed: "the final outcome of political union depended upon economic union being made effective in everyday activities of industry, agriculture and government".⁶ European Union was seen as an ongoing process continually stressing common interests and reemphasizing mutual advantages.

2. Limited Aims: The Treaty of Paris.

By using these intentions as background, the development of European Union can be placed in perspective. The divisive element in twentieth century Europe had been conflict between

France and Germany. Monnet proposed to join their coal and steel resources to be administered by an independent authority, and to be open to participation by other European states. This focused attention upon promoting union through the economic sphere in order to create the preconditions to promote reconciliation and understanding between two old adversaries. This plan was accepted by the political leaders of France and Germany and embodied in the French Government's Schuman Declaration 9 May 1950, (considered by Monnet to be the European Community's (EC) true founding document).

This first stage of limited economic aims came to fruition with the signing of the Treaty of Paris which established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. The Treaty of Paris was a constitutive document having binding legal force. Signatories were France and Germany as well as Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands (the original six members of the European Community). Their cooperation entailed, for the first time, voluntary surrender of a portion of their sovereignty to a supranational institution (The High Authority).

Despite the economic nature of the ECSC, its political goal was made clear. In the Preamble of the Treaty of Paris the signing states "resolved to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of their essential interest; to create, by establishing an economic community, the basis for a broader and deeper community among the peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for

institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared".⁷ Thus the goal was world peace and a united Europe.

The means to achieve that goal was through economic union of common interests. Solidarity was promoted by creating greater benefits for all, thus raising the standard of living for the European peoples. At the same time community institutions were to ensure the equitable distribution of those benefits by adjusting discrepancies between member states so no one state would be disadvantaged. Monnet noted "I was concerned exclusively with laying solid foundations for this first enterprise, which would later make possible all the rest. I knew the road to European unity would be long, and that we should have to pass many milestones, each marking concrete but necessarily partial progress".⁸

The progression from the economic to the political sphere was preempted by the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Cold War divisions were heightened and European security threatened. The solution was seen in the same method that the ECSC offered. It was proposed that a European Defence Community be established incorporating joint defence through a European Army. This Defence Community was to be administered by a Political Community which had the authority to take decisions on behalf of all member states. However, the venture was doomed to failure by the challenge it made upon national sovereignty. The Defence Community was rejected in 1954. Too little time had passed for the

European people to develop strong bonds of solidarity through their joint association in the ECSC.

The success of the ECSC, however, encouraged decision makers to continue along the path of joint endeavour. Monnet saw the six member states as "the fore-runners of a broader united Europe, whose bounds [were] set only by those who [had] not joined"⁹ and added "what is being achieved in our six countries for coal and steel must be continued until it culminates in the United States of Europe".¹⁰

3. Extending Economic Aims: The Treaty of Rome.

The Treaty of Rome, signed six years after the Treaty of Paris, laid down the next stage in the process of unification. It was a natural step to establish a common market which would lead to economic union through extended areas of delegated sovereignty. Associated with the European Economic Community (EEC) was the establishment of the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

EURATOM answered a technological need in Europe for the joint development of atomic energy vital for the success of European industry in a competitive world. Both the EEC and EURATOM involved the harmonisation and unification of aspects of economic, financial and social sectors. These factors were reflected in the structure of the Treaty of Rome as the momentum created by closer economic cooperation between the European states provided the basis for further unification.

Internal and external factors facilitated the merging of further interests. The Treaty of Rome was signed at a time

when all six member states were governed by Catholic parties holding similar attitudes and European outlooks. Motivation also came from the vulnerability felt by the member states in the face of a changing world balance of power between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Thus, the European states felt the need to reassert their roles in the international community to help maintain world peace.

It was recognised that a greater degree of protection and influence could be gained through the joint political weight of the member states than from individual states acting independently of each other. In addition, closer collaboration between the European states was based on the belief that the benefits of economic cooperation outweighed the costs.

The appearance of the Treaty of Rome was economic and technical, but its objectives were political. The Treaty's initiators may have been proponents of European federation but the structures and institutions created represented what was acceptable to acceding states at that stage of the unification process. The framework of the Treaty of Rome sprang from the difficulties that European Union presented. Its strategy entailed a gradualist philosophy; a step-by-step method anticipating a form of political union but disguising it in the explicit economic nature of the Treaty.

This method allowed the member states to adjust gradually to new arrangements involving some loss of sovereignty. It also allowed the achievement of short term economic goals in which national economies were aligned to

promote growth in order to improve the standard of living generally, and, in particular in less developed regions (which included former protectorates of some European states).

Implicit in this economic unity was the growth of political unity as the long term goal. But, this concept was left deliberately vague within the Treaty so as not to present an assault on national sovereignty by being a manifestly federal framework.

"In accepting the limited economic union required under the Treaty of Rome (member states) must also accept the European spirit which is the driving force of the Treaty. Growing economic union and growing confidence will inevitably lead the member states to "ever closer" political union".¹²

The EC was not to be an end in itself but a continuation of the process of change - "a stage on the way to the organised world of tomorrow".¹³ The Treaty of Rome was based upon broadening collective economic action and responsibility by increasing the spheres of delegated sovereignty to common institutions. However, the Treaty of Rome also lacked certain flexibility which normally characterised constitutions. Therefore, the Treaty of Rome made it impossible for the EC to develop beyond a certain point.¹⁴ Once solidarity had been increased within the Treaty areas, it was felt that other areas outside the Treaty would become unified; including political aspects requiring a different method of collective action,¹⁵ which would ultimately require a new Treaty.

4. Directions of the Treaty of Rome.

a. Open-Ended Political Goals.

The political objective of the Treaty of Rome appeared in its Preamble in which sovereign states "determined to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". Bieber, Jacqu e, and Weiler stress the changing nature of the "ever closer union" - "ever" implying a never ending character and "ever closer" implying a continual process generating forward movement to maintain stability through a fusion of essential interests to overcome nation state rivalry.¹⁶ The Preamble also ended on a political note which anticipated public support and enlargement by inviting like-minded European people to join in by "pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty".

The rest of the Preamble revealed the means for achieving this foundation, through social and economic action to "eliminate the barriers which divide Europe" including social, regional and commercial disparities. Thus the objectives of the Treaty of Rome went beyond purely economic considerations.

The Treaty of Rome provided for adaptation to different circumstances in Article 235 - a supplementary means of action to obtain Treaty objectives; Article 236 - which made provision for Treaty amendment; Article 237 - which provided the means for other European states to join; and Article 238 - which provided for cooperation with non-member states or international organisations. These provisions also hold out the prospect for further collaboration implying the need for

a more ambitious future commitment in new areas as well as adaptation to internal and external variables. To date, despite serious crises, secession has virtually proved impossible.¹⁷ Rather the EC has in fact expanded from six, to nine, to ten, to twelve member states.

The open ended character of the Treaty reflected Monnet's belief that allowance had to be made for changing circumstances, so no time limits were imposed in completing this next stage of unification. Article 240 stated "this Treaty is concluded for a unlimited period" - thus the EC was seen as an ongoing process increasing interdependence and mutual commitment. However, while this Article explicitly placed no time limits it was also considered that the Treaty initiators did not intend the structure provided by the Treaty to last forever. Rather, once the intended stage of union had been achieved another framework would make provision for development of the next stage towards a closer form of political union.¹⁸

b. Principles.

The principles upon which the EC is based were laid down in Articles 1 to 8. Article 1 created the European Economic Community. The choice of the word "Community" implied that member state collaboration was intended to go beyond an "economic" common market promoting free trade; or indeed, beyond an ordinary international agreement. "Community" is defined as "a body of persons leading a common life; the public in general"¹⁹ - thus suggesting widespread citizen

involvement in a far more comprehensive venture.

The ultimate intention for a political community was implicit in the Treaty of Rome. This was reinforced by the establishment of a legal personality for the EC (Article 210) - in line with the spirit of "community". The legal order was constitutive, separating member state and EC areas of competence, as well as having binding force upon the member states and their citizens in areas of Treaty competence. The legal personality of the EC was recognised both by member states and by the international community.

Articles 2 to 7 established the divisions of competence between the EC and the member states. These Articles provided the basis for European collaboration by laying down specific areas of EC involvement, while reaffirming the importance of the nation state in its development. This shared rule was one of the factors which emphasized the uniqueness of the EC experience. The significance of the words in Article 3 "as provided in this Treaty" stressed the fact that general powers were not given to EC institutions; rather powers were specified by the Treaty to be used in obtaining objectives laid down by Articles 2 and 3.

These objectives included the establishment of a common market and approximation of the member states' economic policies "to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the states belonging to it" (Article 2).

The means included abolition of customs duties and obstacles to the freedom of movement for persons, services and capital; adoption of common action in agriculture and transport; coordination of competition, balance of payments and national laws; the creation of a Social Fund to provide for citizens' working and living standards; the creation of an Investment Bank to promote growth; and provision for the social and economic development of associated overseas territories (Article 3).

These tasks and activities implied a prospect of further expansion beyond the economic development laid out in the Treaty framework. This was also implied in the structure of the EC institutions established in Article 4; their scope and powers being enlarged upon in Articles 137 to 198. These institutions were to carry out objectives and activities within the limits of their power laid down by the Treaty. Many aspects were left non-specific so that the EC institutions could determine the necessary steps to be made to ensure progress towards EC objectives.

Provision was made in Articles 5, 6, and 7 obliging the member states to coordinate with EC institutions to promote and protect European objectives, which included the taking of voluntary measures on matters concerning EC interests even if they lay outside the Treaty framework. Article 5 stated "Member States shall take all appropriate measures, whether general or particular, to ensure fulfillment of the obligations arising out of the Treaty or resulting from action taken by the institution of the Community". It also

ensured that member states were mindful of EC interests when enacting national measures so as not to jeopardise future objectives.

Article 6, on the other hand, imposed obligations on the EC institutions not to jeopardise the stability of the member states. Article 7 was designed to prevent any forms of national discrimination within and between member states, as well as between EC institutions and member states. These Articles ensured a complementary form of collaboration, with each partner having an equal obligation to promote and protect the other's interests in the course of their mutual and exclusive activities.

Article 8, however, recognised the differences in each member state's situation by providing the conditions for gradual, but progressive, establishment of the EC through a transition period of twelve years. This allowed adaptation to new conditions as areas of national competence were handed over to EC authorities, whilst the special needs and circumstances of individual member states were acknowledged in specific arrangements providing exceptions or special status.

The transition period of three stages over four years was fixed so that objectives of the first stage had to be obtained, and unanimous agreement of the member states be given before the second stage commenced. Beyond this point turning back was made more difficult by the condition that while unanimous agreement was not required to proceed, it was required to delay the commencement of the final stage.

The transition period was to exist no longer than fifteen years (an exception to Monnet's belief that time limits should not exist, but a positive exception ensuring forward movement in building the EC). "Thus not only does no country have a veto on progress, but each has a veto against regression; any one state can prevent a legitimate retreat once the first stage is completed".²⁰ Associated with this transition period was the trend towards supranational authority as voting patterns altered from unanimity to qualified majority and were extended to cover a larger number of issue areas.

It was considered that the transition period would create the conditions to produce an increase in economic development resulting in an improvement of the quality of life for the European people. This was to produce a two-fold result, first by facilitating the conditions for further enlargement in which benefits could be shared with other European (and African) states, and second by facilitating the conditions under which a political Europe could be built.²¹

Overall the essential point to be made about the principles of the Treaty of Rome is that the construction of European Union is based, not on a subordinate relationship, but on a balanced collaboration between the nation state and the supranational structure. It is this balance which provides the innovative character and dynamic, but at the same time also holds inherent difficulties in maintaining that equilibrium.

The Treaty method for collective discussion and decision making was designed to balance this relationship. New rules and institutions were to carry out the common European interest thereby avoiding reliance upon national governments who were subject to domestic influences. Instead the new procedure was intended to create new attitudes between member states bound by common interest.

c. Institutions.

Institutional arrangements were considered by Monnet to be pre-federal.²² The Treaty of Rome fell between federal and intergovernmental in nature, but was implicitly supranational. Although the term "supranational" was not mentioned in the Treaty of Rome, as it had been in the Treaty of Paris, it still implied that institutional decisions were binding on the member states. Like the Treaty of Paris, the Treaty of Rome was constitutive, establishing its own legal order distinct from and recognised by international and member state law. In areas of exclusive competence EC law was supreme and supranational institutions were granted the right to interpret and enforce that law.

The structure of the institutions was similar to that of the ECSC, but with differences in the balance of the executive organs as the EC Commission had less independence than the High Authority. The institutions comprised the Council of Ministers, Commission, Assembly, Court of Justice, as well ancillary organs - the Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of Permanent Representatives.

The institutional arrangements established a balanced relationship legally dividing areas of competence between the nation state and the EC, as well as between the executive institutions of the EC. Member states were to retain the initiative in all areas not defined in the Treaty, but at the same time were obliged to sponsor Treaty objectives. The scope and powers of the EC institutions were confined to specific areas and objectives which, at the end of the transition period in 1969, became their responsibility over that of the member governments.

Commission - Council of Minister Relationship.

The distinctive feature of decision-making was the dialogue between the Commission (an independent European body) and the Council of Ministers (a representative national body). This dialogue was a unique form of political responsibility where power was shared. Decision-making power was left primarily in the hands of the member governments through their representatives in the Council of Ministers (Article 145).

This balance was in line with political realities as the Treaty of Rome provided only a framework requiring completion by the EC institutions. The types of decisions that were made affected vital economic and social policy areas at national level. More importantly, voting provisions of the Treaty of Rome constituted limits on the national sovereignty of the member states necessitating member government participation through a representative body with widespread

powers. However, the scope and nature of the Council of Ministers power was tempered by further Treaty provisions restricting their action to Treaty objectives and interests proposed by the European centred Commission (Article 155). Thus decision-making power in areas of Treaty competence was transferred from the nation state to the executive EC institutions with certain legal requirements to consult with the Assembly or other EC institutions.

Voting provision in the Council of Ministers ensured a balance between the member states by upholding the principle of minority rights which protected the smaller states' interests, but also ensuring that a majority of the larger members states had to approve a proposal (Article 148).²³ Amendment of a Commission proposal by the Council was made more difficult by requiring unanimity; but acceptance of the proposal only needed a weighted or qualified majority vote. Provision was also made allowing the Commission to alter a proposal if the Council had not acted (Article 149). This gave the Commission greater flexibility both in performing its function of protecting the general European interest and in facilitating agreement among representatives of the member states.

The existence of the provision for majority voting, and of the Commission as an independent organ, are explicit supranational features which distinguish the European Community from traditional types of international organisation in which decision-making is at intergovernmental level. However, the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Rome

were broken by French government refusal to accept the use of majority decision-making. The resulting Luxembourg Accords, agreed on to break the impasse, saw unanimity become the rule in decision-making instead of simple or qualified majority voting, which meant that national interests prevailed over European concerns. This meant that decision-making reverted to a more traditional diplomatic-style negotiation with representatives in the Council of Ministers fighting for national advantage.

Consensus and compromise has caused the legislative process in the EC to become blocked. Furthermore, the veto provision in the Luxembourg Accords has enabled one member state to halt further integration into new issue areas by using vital national interest as justification. Ironically, it was probably the existence of the veto clause and unanimity rule which encouraged Britain, Denmark, and Greece to join the EC as protection of national interest was guaranteed.

In all, the result of the Luxembourg Accords has been the alteration of the balance of power between the two executive organs to favour of the Council of Ministers; and thereby the nation state. Long term European aims have been overlooked by national concerns involving trade offs between member states for more short term rewards.

The Commission's role has been further undermined by the growth in importance of the Committee of Permanent Representatives of the Member States (Coreper), established under Article 151 to assist in the preparation and functions

of Council of Minister work. Coreper's increased role has resulted from the imbalance as a greater number of technical decisions went to the Council. Coreper's growth, accompanied by that of national expert working groups and ad hoc committees, has seen the Commission increase its dealings with a body of officials rather than with the holders of political authority. Thus the Commission's capacity for protecting the European interest and promoting agreement has been greatly reduced.

The European Parliament.

The Assembly, or European Parliament, was not given the traditional role of a democratic representative institution. The major consideration in defining the role of the European Parliament was the challenge it made to the national parliaments of the member states as a potential supranational institution. Thus, the Treaty of Rome limited the role of the European Parliament to an advisory and supervisory capacity. In addition, in order to further minimise its potential threat, the composition of the European Parliament was initially limited to members of the national parliaments; but, the Treaty of Rome contained a mandatory proviso for European Parliament election by direct universal suffrage (Article 138) subject to the unanimous agreement of the Council of Ministers.

By reducing the traditional role and potential challenge of the European Parliament it was made more acceptable to the member states. Time was provided for the gradual acceptance

of the European Parliament as a democratic institution. It was felt that national parliaments would overcome their concern when they saw the European Parliament offered no threat, but rather existed as a complementary European based institution.

The real power of the European Parliament lay in its supervisory role over the Commission - through Article 143 in which the European Parliament debated the annual report of the Commission; and Article 144 in which the European Parliament could censure the Commission or force it to resign. However, that latter sanction was reduced by the fact that the Council of Ministers appointed the Commission. The Council may also be said to provide more legitimacy as directly elected representatives of the member states. More importantly perhaps, was the acceptance of the reality that while the balance of power favoured the Council of Ministers it was unlikely that any national government would admit political responsibility to the European Parliament, when it did not do so to its own parliament.

However, the quest by the European Parliament for greater authority has been encouraged by the fact that the Treaty of Rome established it as the source of democratic legitimacy. Through universal suffrage the European Parliament has become the vehicle for representing citizen participation, and as the expression of popular support of the Union.

The Court of Justice.

Provisions for the Court of Justice can be seen as a continuation of the philosophy of gradual unification balancing supranational and national authorities. The Court's authority was extended, beyond that of the Court of Justice of the ECSC, to cover the increased areas of competence provided for in the Treaty of Rome.

Article 164 stated the Court was to "ensure that in the interpretation and application of this Treaty the law is observed". This role covered three different areas. First, it acted as a constitutional court ensuring that the institutions act within Treaty provisions. The Court of Justice protected EC law in its relation to the institutions, the member states, and to private citizens. As decisions made by the executive institutions were binding in nature, a means of appeal was necessary to act as a check upon that power. The Court of Justice acted as a final Court of Appeal, interpreting the law and its application by the institutions and the member states.²⁴ Second, the Court acted as an international court, arbitrating in cases brought by one member state against another regarding Treaty matters (Article 182). Third, the Court acted in an administrative role in settling claims made for damages against EC institutions.²⁵

The Economic and Social Committee (ESC).

Article 193 established the ESC, which was to act in an advisory capacity to the EC institutions. Member state

representatives on the ESC were appointed for their expertise in their specialised fields to act independently. Certain provisions in the Treaty of Rome made it obligatory for the executive organs to consult with the ESC, obtaining an opinion from them before making a decision (Article 198). The areas where consultation was mandatory included all aspects of social and economic and cultural life covered by the Treaty.

Provision in the Treaty of Rome for the ESC was politically realistic as it involved interest groups representing trade union and employers from industry, commerce, agriculture and consumer organisations. The ESC provided an outlet for their concerns to be expressed directly to the EC institutions, as well as playing the role as a sounding-board for the Commission or Council of Ministers over the reception of a proposal in a specific policy area.

d. Policy.

Policy areas extended beyond purely economic factors to include associated social and regional issue areas. Implicit in this was the intention to go beyond a common market as policy areas were designed to improve the quality of life for the peoples of Europe, thereby giving the Treaty of Rome a human face. Concern was expressed in the Treaty for social freedoms - of movement, of establishment, of living and working standards - and for the reduction of regional disparities within the member states and the Community at

large. External policy dealt with the development of former protectorates and colonies associated with Europe, as well as aspects concerning relations with international organisations and third countries (Article 238). EC experience was seen as an example to others in the reconciliation of differences through a new method of changing attitudes and transforming the reasons for rivalry.

Policy areas explicitly excluded from EC competence by Treaty provisions were defence and security (Articles 223 and 224). This was a direct result of the failure of the European Defence Community, confirming that political aspects of national sovereignty remained exclusively in the hands of the members states. Member governments were reassured that the Treaty of Rome established a non-military alliance of states. This fact reaffirmed the importance of the stages of development to a European Union, whereby time allowed mutual trust to be developed between member states and attitudes changed.

e. Diversity.

For Monnet the method of achieving European Union included advancing unification on several fronts but, not necessarily at the same time.²⁶ The intention was not to insist upon uniformity, but rather to acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of the Community; anticipating even more diversity of interests as more states joined in. Measures provided in the Treaty of Rome, allowing for diversity, were designed to reduce resistance to unification by protecting

minority rights. These included individual member states, European regions, or associated third countries.

In addition to Article 8, exceptions and special requirements, acknowledging economic and political differences between member states, existed in the Protocols as well as in other areas of the main body of the Treaty of Rome. These exceptions ensured the adjustment to new circumstances and safeguards protecting the member state from adverse effects of unification.²⁷ Complementary paths towards a common objective were sought by matching method to policy needs which differed from sector to sector.

Article 2 promoted "harmonious development of economic activities" - the objective being balanced expansion, not uniformity. Article 6(2) protected the internal and external stability of the member states - permitting concessions to be made to financial contributions depending upon national circumstances. Article 92 allowed flexibility of policy measures and rules which might otherwise cause distortion of the trade balance between member states. Article 233 allowed for the existence of regional unions (Benelux, and the Belgium - Luxembourg Union) which set a precedent for unification of some sectors more quickly than others. Article 226 provided for the Commission to allow member states to take protective measures during the transition period in order to adjust an adversely affected sector.

Member states were also permitted to decide upon the measures required to bring areas of mutual concern into line depending upon national circumstances. Implicit in this

approach was the necessity of making political decisions defining particular exceptions or flexible treatment. All these measures aimed to protect minority rights indicating that the EC was not to be mutually exclusive but, rather, mutually advantageous.

5. Summary: A Gradualist Strategy.

The Treaty of Rome framework represents a unique form of international organisation.

"Europe stands out as a unique experience in shared rule. It is a polity in which the individual nation State has not only retained its vigour, ... but in which, at the same time, one has seen the attainment of a remarkable measure of substantive integration traditionally associated only with "higher" forms of Federal States."²⁸

The EC is much more than an international organisation of states - the degree of voluntary cooperation among member states has not been equalled - but it is still much less than a real federation. It contains elements of different organisations but overall is sui generis, an alternative strategy of union, building concrete achievement in the economic sphere to create real political solidarity.

The Treaty of Rome ensures a balance between the nation states and the supranational organisation in its legal provisions and institutional arrangements. Its decision-making method allows concentration on European interests through practical solutions to the common problems of the member states as a whole. This method is designed to enable the member states to give up the use of unanimity without threatening national sovereignty.

This practical approach was supported by Monnet, who was prepared to allow deviation from the goal of a united Europe in order to keep the momentum going, or to find a new way forward towards the ideal of Union. Perseverance was to be the key to overcome obstacles, which would grow larger as the ideal got closer, because member governments would leave problems to their successors.²⁹

The progression of the ECSC to the EC recognises the importance of stages to build economic union and bind member state interests before political union can be attempted. It is not anticipated that a Government of Europe will "spring fully armed" from the Community institutions.³⁰ Rather, a political authority has to come from a conscious effort of will and delegation of more national sovereignty by the member governments.

The shape of the political union depends upon future socio-political needs; the final form has yet to be decided. "In venturing upon this road an infinite number of shades of approach and stages are possible. We shall time and again be obliged to make a choice by common agreement".³¹ The years 1950-1986 have been 36 years of remarkable achievement in unity, from a time when Europe has ended one war, appeared upon the brink of another; to a time when war between the peoples of Western Europe appears almost inconceivable.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Preamble, Treaty of Rome.
- 2 R. A. McAllister, "The E. E. C. dimension: intended and unintended consequences", in The Failure of the State, ed. James Cornford (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p.194.
- 3 Jean Monnet, Memoirs, translated by R. Mayne (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978), p. 523.
- 4 Ibid., p. 10.
- 5 Ibid., p. 431.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Preamble, Treaty of Paris.
- 8 Monnet, Ibid., p. 383.
- 9 Ibid., p. 392.
- 10 Ibid., p. 399.
- 11 The Treaties of Paris and Rome comprise three Communities - the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom, known collectively as the European Community.
- 12 Paul Minet, Full Text of The Treaty Of Rome And An ABC Of The Common Market, 3rd ed. (London: Christopher Johnson, 1962), p. 71-2.
- 13 Monnet, Ibid., p. 524.
- 14 Luciano Bardi and Gianfranco Pasquino, "The institutionalisation process under the Draft Treaty", in An Ever Closer Union: A critical analysis of the Draft Treaty establishing the European Union, eds. Roland Bieber, Jean-Paul Jacqu e, and Joseph H. H. Weiler, with a Preface by Altiero Spinelli, The European Perspective Series (Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985), p. 142.
- 15 Extra Treaty Development - European Political Cooperation (EPC) occurred as a response to this situation as the member states needed an outlet for a joint response to international pressures.
- The European Council was also a response to a pressing political need for direction and leadership in the European Community.

- 16 Roland Bieber, Jean-Paul Jacqu , and Joseph H. H. Weiler, "Introduction", In An Ever Closer Union, Ibid., p. 8.
- 17 Britain and Denmark have come close to withdrawal but have remained for utilitarian and political motives reinforcing the intention that it was easier to act within the Community framework, both politically and economically than to act independently. Greenland - the semi-sovereign Danish territory withdrew in 1982 following a national referendum, but its involvement in the Community was minimal with Denmark acting as its representative.
- 18 Juliet Lodge, David Freestone, and Scott Davidson, "Some Problems of the Draft Treaty on European Union", European Law Review 9 (1984), 395.
- 19 Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary new ed. s.v. "Community".
- 20 Amitai Etzioni, Political Unification (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc, 1965), p. 271.
- 21 Monnet, Ibid., p. 430.
- 22 Ibid., p. 509.
- 23 54 out of 76 votes are today required for a qualified majority decision.
- 24 Articles 169, 175, 176, 177, of the Treaty of Rome.
- 25 Articles 178, 179, 181, 215, Ibid.
- 26 Monnet, Ibid., p. 435.
- 27 examples of exceptions and special requirements were arrangements made taking account of under development in Southern Italy; contributions of funding to the European Investment Bank and the Community budget depending upon the circumstances of national economies; flexibility in policy measures being adopted; extension of exceptions to acceding states and affected third states e. g. special status to New Zealand butter.
- 28 Bieber, Jacqu , and Weiler, Ibid., p. 8.
- 29 Monnet, Ibid., p. 521.
- 30 Ibid., p. 509.
- 31 Robert Schuman, "Address given to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe 10 December 1951", in Bulletin of the European Communities 3 (1970), 16.

CHAPTER TWO

INTEGRATION APPROACHES: AN OVERVIEW

1. Introduction.

This chapter reviews various approaches to integration so as to consider how each succeeds in explicating the European Union proposals. In Chapter Four, one specific European Union proposal will be considered in relation to each of the different integration approaches in order to evaluate which is the most useful approach. This relation will also help account for the current status of the unification process, and, to a certain extent, predict outcomes.

The integration approaches discussed are federal; confederal; functional; neofunctional; consociational; intergovernmental; domestic politics; and graduated integration. They are analysed first in terms of their normative outcomes, or end goals; and second in terms of the empirical means to achieve the objective of each approach.

Rather than distinguishing between the normative, empirical and model approaches to integration (all of which have received comprehensive analysis and criticism), it is of greater heuristic value to recognise the different emphasis that each approach places upon the conditions and strategies which facilitate or hinder progress towards the desired goal of union. Similarities in emphasis will point to a type of

political community, whilst differences in emphasis will suggest varying levels of integration. The conditions and strategies highlighted in each level of integration will cause the unification process to proceed, to stagnate, or to disintegrate.

As previously stressed, no one integration approach can satisfactorily explain European Community (EC) development to date. When applied in isolation the individual approaches have been found wanting in their ability to account for all the factors responsible for EC evolution. It has been noted that singular application of the integration approaches raised problems of definition over the status of EC development: whether the EC is a federation in prospect; or a framework for member governments to coordinate an increasing range of interdependent policy areas across national boundaries; or a hybrid not easily identified with one approach but containing elements of each of the different approaches.¹

In fact, it has been argued increasingly that the EC represents a sui generis approach to integration, distinguished from other international organisations by its institutional arrangements, its legal competence and its taxation powers in the member states. Relationships between the EC and its member states, both within the formal framework and outside of it, have become increasingly regular, diverse and complex with successive enlargements encouraging interaction across a wider number of areas of mutual concern.

Thus, defining the conceptual status of the EC is complex. Donald Puchala defined the EC as "a multileveled system arranged in political layers from the local to the supranational".² Therefore all integration approaches from domestic politics to federal, need to be considered when evaluating European Union from 1969 to 1986, as well as in relation to the status of the integration process.

2. Definitions.

To recap briefly, the EC represents a stage in the process of unification which was intended by the founders of the Treaties of Rome and Paris to culminate in a United States of Europe. European Union is to be a union of people built by a transformation process over time involving different stages of development starting in the economic sphere, progressing to the political sphere, and culminating in political union.

In terms of integration the EC is defined as sui generis, a political entity in which member states have voluntarily agreed to act collectively in areas formally designated by a constitution (the Treaty of Rome). This action entails a delegation of sovereignty from the nation state to central supranational institutions. Member state collaboration is also extended to areas outside the Treaty framework through formalised intergovernmental cooperation within the European Council and the European Political Cooperation (EPC) procedure.

In evaluating the various proposals on European Union it is important to clearly define terms applicable to integration. At the lowest level cooperation is defined as "the process of collaboration between independent, sovereign states in Europe, each of which remains free to participate or not in any project submitted for consideration".³

Integration is the next step in the process, being "the uniting of distinct groups, communities, or regions into a workable and viable political organisation"⁴ which "acquires responsibility for taking an increased number of decisions in areas previously reserved to the state".⁵ Implicit in these definitions of integration is the acquisition of formal powers of initiative and authority by international organisations for taking decisions on behalf of the member states: a delegation of sovereignty from the nation state.

It is this element which gives the institutions their supranational quality. "Supranational refers to institutions which have been created for the performance of specific functions, and which have the power to take decisions binding on the members whether they have participated in the decisions or not".⁶

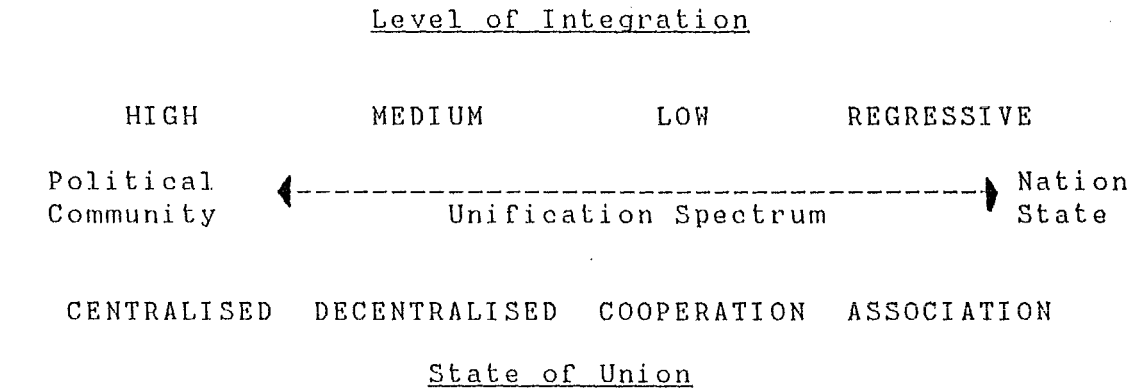
Unification is described as "the process in which the integration of a system is increased ... toward a higher level of integration".⁷ Ultimately the unification process should reach a stage whereby integration results in a political community, but it is not a unilinear continuum. Rather the unification process is conceived as moving up and down a spectrum in response to internal and external factors,

which increase or decrease the level of integration. Where the level of integration decreases, deunification and disintegration occurs. Each level of integration in the unification process is seen as involving "movement towards or away from collective action based upon consensual values for the achievement of common goals".⁸

Union is described as referring to "international systems whose level of integration ... is higher than that of a typical international organisation and lower than that of an established political community".⁹ Thus union could occur at any level of integration on the spectrum where "a group of countries ... that acts in unison, on a continuous rather than an ad hoc basis, on a wide range of matters, and on matters more important to its interests than is the case in typical international organisations".¹⁰

Thus unification is a continuous process which "can not be stabilised on any and all levels of integration; it either has to continue to grow or it will regress",¹¹ but in addition, "for a period of time - before additional unification or regression set in - the union's scope and level of integration remain basically unchanged".¹² Therefore, each stage or level of union is observable. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1: Stages in the Unification Process.



3. Normative Ends.

a. Federal.

The federalist integration approach prescribed as its future goal a solution to problems of peace and security in the international community, as well as to pluralist problems of regional and political diversity within and between nation states. Federalists recognised that war was the product of a system which sustained independent sovereign states pursuing conflicting goals and conflicting methods.¹³ The nation state no longer had the capacity to fulfil the demands made upon it in a climate of increasing interdependence.

The federalist solution was the creation of a supranational state to regulate the behaviour of the participating nation states by taking control over certain sovereign areas through a division of power. Lack of agreement existed between federalists as to the final form of the political state. Some felt it would virtually replace the nation state in all key areas to establish a role as a

type of superstate balancing East-West bloc tensions. The more common view was of a supranational state with power divided between two levels of government - central and regional.

"Federation represents a particular form of political integration, one in which the components are brought together in a particular kind of political union of two autonomous but interdependent orders of government, central and regional, neither subordinate to the other".¹⁴

Furthermore, as K.C. Wheare continues "what is necessary for the federal principle is not merely that the general government, like the regional governments, should operate directly upon the people, but further that each government should be limited to its own sphere, and within that sphere, should be independent of the other".¹⁵

Thus federalism represented a single unit or state, where power was divided between two equal levels of government, both acting directly upon the electorates within specifically allocated autonomous spheres. Popular loyalty and support was given by the citizens to either level of government without producing conflict.

Division of power into specified areas of competence between the two levels of government was guaranteed by a formal constitution or treaty, which could not be easily changed by either party. This provided an external identity to the legal and political entity, as well as safeguarding internal regional diversity. The constitution was a contract agreed to by the participating states in which, ideally, a balance was to be maintained between centralised authoritarian, and decentralised democratic facets of the political system.

"the virtue of a federal system . . . is that unlike other types of supranational state, it is designed as a framework in which such "centralising" principles as security, order, authority, administrative rationale, constitutionalism and unity can be reconciled with the "decentralising" values of liberty, local autonomy, representation, pluralism, flexibility and diversity".¹⁶

Thus division of power safeguarded diversity while promoting unity. Small states and minority rights were protected from domination by central government or by a single group.

Legally, however, the division of competence between the two levels of government depended upon the functions given to the central level. Delegation of sovereignty to the supranational government was often confined to performing functions in areas where the nation state did not have the capacity to act effectively alone. Therefore regional diversity and decision-making at the national level was assured, meaning a minimal loss of national authority and identity.

The founders of the Treaty of Rome intended the ultimate establishment of a federal union. However, the Treaty acknowledged that federal union could not be immediately achieved. While it contained many "federal" features, the Treaty of Rome did not represent a federal stage of union.

Essentially the Treaty of Rome embodied a balanced relationship between central and regional levels, basing federal and national responsibilities upon joint action only where the nation state could not act successfully alone. The

areas of common interest and joint responsibility were intended to be expanded as the Treaty had no end point. This also included an expansion of the democratic role of public participation in decision-making across both levels of government.

The legal nature of the EC was guaranteed by the Treaty of Rome Article 210 which established the legal personality of the EC ensuring "an integrative legal system which was appropriate to the federal structure of government establishing principles of direct effect and supremacy of EC law over national law".¹⁷ Federal features existed in the intentions of direct elections to the European Parliament, as well as the role of the Court of Justice in interpreting and protecting Treaty law with direct effect on member states, non-government organisations and citizens in areas of Treaty competence.

b. Confederal

Within the confederalist integration approach the federalist imperative of a divided supranational state was fulfilled. This was in order to create the conditions necessary to prevent nation state conflict by increasing political integration, while catering for regional diversity. The difference between the two approaches was found in the balance of power between the two levels of government.

Where the regional governments retained a good deal of autonomy, and if the central government institutions were dependent upon the assent of the regional bodies, then the

state was confederal.¹⁸ Thus, confederal integration was based upon the premise that the central level was subordinate to the regional level.

"A confederal form of political system is usually defined as one in which central government derives its original authority from the constituent regional governments and is, therefore, legally and politically subordinate to them, and in which the institutions are composed predominantly of delegates appointed by the constituent regional governments".¹⁹

Key areas in which the regional levels retained a large degree of autonomous authority, as well as independence of action, were those concerned with preservation of national sovereignty - territorial unity, financial identity, defence and security and foreign affairs. The confederal integration approach also acknowledged the fact that the nation state could no longer deal with increasing interdependence, in particular in areas of economic and social transactions (which were integrated under a supranational authority). However, the confederal integration approach sought to limit the integration of major areas of sovereignty to that of mutual cooperation at the most.

Thus the confederal state was one unit, but it contained independent member states. It was a decentralised but coordinated system in which the elites - political, bureaucratic and interest groups - shared a high level of interdependence in particular areas, but preserved their autonomy.²⁰

The jurisdiction of both levels of government was legally protected by a constitution agreed upon by the member states. Constitutional and political mechanisms were

provided for the coordination of interdependent areas, but limited authority and resources to achieving agreed objectives in specified areas.

Monnet described the institutional arrangements of the Treaty of Rome as pre-federal.²¹ While the Treaty created the EC as one unit, the member states (now 12) were left to complete the detail of their relationship, in economic and social spheres, based upon a proposal from the European level Commission. The central institutions (Commission, Council of Ministers, European Parliament, and Court of Justice) originally all contained delegates appointed by the regional governments. Since 1979 the European Parliament has been directly elected by EC citizens, while constitutionally, the independence of the Court of Justice and Commission has always been assured.

In the EC, central issues of sovereignty, defence, security and foreign policy were excluded from the competence of central government and based upon member state mutual cooperation and coordination.

George Pompidou, President of France, stated in 1971 that he believed the right approach to the building of Europe was to "create a Confederation of States",²² in which decisions were made unanimously in the Council of Ministers, and carried out by intergovernmental bodies directly responsible to the Council, and in which the European Parliament had limited powers.²³

c. Functional.

Apposite to the explicit politically divided and constitutionally based federalist and confederalist end state, the functionalist integration approach prescribed a future conflict free, non-political community of states based upon utilitarian requisites. Functionalism totally rejected the concept of the nation state. It was felt that the basis for conflict lay in the nation states' protection and promotion of "high" political values - national sovereignty and territorial interests, at the expense of "low" political areas of economic policy and social welfare. Functionalists were critical of the ability of the national governments to meet the diverse and complex technical, social and economic needs of the modern state. Functionalists also questioned the ability of national parliaments to exercise control over their executive.

The functionalist alternative was based upon a consensual system which was not territorially or nationally defined. It guaranteed peace and security, not by fear of external threat or sanctions, but through the process of creating a welfare-oriented community which satisfied individual needs through economic well being and social welfare provisions.

"The premises were those of a very simple utilitarianism, in which the calculation of welfare interests was the ultimate determinant of behaviour, and a harmony of interests might be contrived"²⁴

These functional requisites removed the major causes of conflict and led to the creation of a "working peace

system".²⁵ National governments granted authority to a network of functional organisations to make decisions in their speciality social and economic areas, directly affecting peoples' lives. Each organisation was governed by technical experts who made decisions in the public interest based upon technical knowledge and need, free from power politics and state institutions.²⁶

The final form of this "working peace system" was not specified as functionalism was based on the imperative that "form must follow function". The structure and jurisdiction of each functional organisation was to be flexible and variable in order to adapt to the changing nature and scope of needs - geographic and demographic.²⁷

At least, the functionalist approach prescribed a community of states with reduced sovereign powers controlled by international functional linkages. At most, the nation state was replaced by a cross national administrative system based upon functional rationality.²⁸ Functional rationality referred to "informed calculation of objective common interests and eliminating non rational loyalties extraneous to these interests".²⁹ The success of the resulting socio-psychological community or union was measured by the degree of policy in the interlocking social sectors (the only approach to do so).³⁰

Thus a working peace system developed gradually based upon a socio-psychological community. Power politics of sovereignty were transformed into a community based on common interests and consensus in working together to solve problems

and maximise welfare.³¹

European Union is based on the functionalist indirect approach to integration. The Treaties of Paris and Rome represent stages in the process of sectoral integration which began in a limited economic setting and expanded into broader economic, technical and social sectors of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). This process produced material benefits in terms of economic growth and improvements in the standard of living which created sufficient support amongst citizens and governments to broaden the functional areas.

d. Neofunctional.

The neofunctionalist integration approach contained similar indirect gradualist elements of the functionalist approach to end conflict between nations. It incorporated the functionalist imperative that integration was to be a sectoral process resulting from the pressure of functional social and economic needs and technological change. But, neofunctionalism differed as it was based on the premise that an overtly political process was to lead to the creation of political union by gradual procedural means, which began in the economic sector.

Neofunctionalists argued that political integration came from the interaction of political elites (governments, parties, interest groups and international organisations), within supranational institutions, all of whom sought to

exploit the pressures of functional needs or technological change in pursuit of their own interests and advantages.³²

The neofunctionalist approach was developed in conjunction with the evolution of the EC. It was subjected to criticism for its failure to adequately explain the process of EC integration, which led to a reappraisal of the end product or goal of neofunctionalist integration. All agreed that the goal was a political community but differed as to its final form. At most, it was a centralised amalgamated system similar to the nation state, or else a supranational federal state with shared powers. Minimal definitions covered a confederal form, or else a supranational political form of collective decision-making.³³

In all, the neofunctionalist goal seemed to comprise a political union incorporating previously independent units into a supranational, territorially based entity, in which a single decision-making centre took collective decisions. Thus neofunctionalism was based upon an "authority-legitimacy" transfer of decision-making power.

"integration is concerned with how and why states cease to be wholly sovereign, how and why they voluntarily mingle, merge, and mix with their neighbours so as to lose the factual attributes of sovereignty while acquiring new techniques for resolving conflicts between themselves".³⁴

The Treaty of Rome is based upon the expectation that once economic aims were achieved political union would gradually follow. The Treaty represented a constitutional expression of procedural consensus, plus a general commitment by member governments to the distant political goal of "an

ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". The scope of the Treaty allowed for and encouraged short-term bargaining out of which increased supranational authority would gradually emerge.³⁵

e. Consociational.

The consociationalist integration approach was also based upon the goal of ending conflict and providing stability. Its salient conditions most particularly applied to "fragmented" states in which there existed broad religious, linguistic, regional, political or cultural cleavages; such as existed in Belgium and the Netherlands.

In its final form consociational integration represented the most highly integrated system of pluralist democracy as power was not divided as in the federal or confederal states, but remained centralised. A consociational state was unitary and overtly political depending less on the nature of the institutions than on the behaviour of the political elite in stabilising the system.³⁶

"Consociational democracy means government by elite cartel designed to turn a democracy with a fragmented political culture into a stable democracy"³⁷

The elite cartel comprised political leaders who were involved in a decision-making process which was based on the existence of political will and commitment. Consensus of interests and joint effort to maintain the system was preferable to being involved in a competitive bargaining process which was likely to increase instability in the

fragmented system.

Power was confined in the centre to the ruling cartel for fear that division of authority from the centre to regional organisations would increase the likelihood of diversity, conflict of interest and result in instability. The ruling elite were bound in a common resolve to maintain stability because they recognised that the consequences of division would be adverse to their political system.

Within Europe religious, linguistic, political and regional cleavage exist. Religion is divided primarily between Protestant and Catholic; regional divisions exist most particularly between North and South Europe - the North being mainly industrial and the South agriculturally based; linguistic differences are most pronounced with no common language between the 12 member states; and political divisions are those expected of a pluralist democratic group of nation states covering the full spectrum from conservative to communist.

The creation of the European Council, comprising the highest level of political authority among the EC member states, offers an example of a consociationalist elite cartel. The Heads of State and Government are to provide through joint decision-making long term goals and direction for further integration of the EC.

f. Intergovernmental.

The intergovernmental approach to integration offered an alternative method of unifying Europe. The approach was defined as a refinement of intergovernmental diplomacy, "something more than the pattern of intergovernmental cooperation contained within international organisations of the traditional type; but it is something a good deal less than an articulated political process, as yet."³⁸

This approach reached a weak, loose form of political union through adjustment or adaption, rather than the federalist or neofunctionalist transformation approaches. The integrating force rested solely with the national governments of the participating states who represented the highest level of political authority. Their recognition of what was in the national interest, commitment and will was necessary to keep the integration process moving forward.

At most, the status of intergovernmental union was that of a confederation in which the national governments delegated minimum political authority to the central institutions in defined areas of interest, imposing rigid conditions for the use of that authority (such as unanimous voting). At least, intergovernmentalism involved cooperation between national governments in areas of interdependence and common interest in the international system. International institutions were used by governments to respond to demands and needs resulting from changes in their environment³⁹ (such as member state economies and interests which were converged to defend themselves from adverse effects in the

international economy).

Overall, the end product of the intergovernmental integration approach saw each member state as a "State of Europe" with each national government acting as the spokesperson of the state and its national interest.⁴⁰ It was an executive process in which national governments received legitimacy for their transactions from the popular support invested in them. Each government represented a "cohesive and organised unit that could legitimately and effectively claim to manage the external interests of their societies and carry this over in international negotiations".⁴¹

The intergovernmental integration approach in the EC has become prevalent in areas outside the framework of the Treaty of Rome. In particular, this includes the political sphere of foreign policy which has resulted in a procedure being formalised under European Political Cooperation (EPC). EPC offers an alternative integrative process in which member governments agree to cooperate in the sphere of foreign policy. This intergovernmental procedure is loose and weak involving a commitment to inform, consult and coordinate, without commitment to jointly act. The process is also adaptive, whereby member governments respond to changes in their environment.

EPC represents an alternative approach to economic integration, promoting convergence of views, joint interaction and a growing solidarity between member

governments in the political sphere, as was intended by the founders of the Treaty of Rome. The Single European Act incorporating EPC represents an explicit acknowledgement by the member states of the political nature of their union.

g. Domestic Politics.

The domestic politics integration approach acknowledged the primacy of the nation state, first and foremost, in relation to the international system. The nation state existed as the centre of political power as well as the focus for popular support with national sovereignty and national interest predominating.

Like the intergovernmental approach the most integrated form the domestic politics approach could achieve was that of a confederation in which the nation state coexisted with a weak central entity. At least, the domestic politics approach supported a form of integration by association between nation states in areas of mutual interest, without all of the states being obliged to participate.

The domestic politics approach emphasised that involvement or participation by the nation state in the integrative process, depended upon promotion of the national interest or furthering of domestic politics objectives. It was recognised that the nation state was no longer able to meet all the needs of its citizens, because of the interdependence of international economies and the changing external environment.

Thus, the domestic politics approach highlighted the links between the nation state and the international system. It recognised that within a nation state a diverse number of factors influenced national interests. Costs and benefits were weighed up in establishing why the nation state was seen as the most appropriate level for action on some issues, whilst on other issues specific international organisations were seen as more appropriate.⁴²

The domestic politics approach is important in identifying that within the EC the key location of decision-making and political initiative lies with the nation state, as well as in identifying factors which would promote or restrict integration. In particular, this approach explains why the world economic recession has slowed the EC unification process. Fewer economic benefits means that member governments lack the spare resources (political or financial) to invest in the EC dimension.

But, at the same time, the domestic politics approach shows that membership in the EC has helped to cushion the nation state from the most adverse effects of recession. The EC has provided domestic manoeuvability under the European level umbrella in order that national governments may satisfy domestic constituencies.⁴³

h. Graduated Integration.

One further integration approach worthy of mention is that of graduated integration. This approach offers no end goal as the ideal world was not part of its agenda, but rather is intended to complement other integration approaches. Its purpose is to build bridges to keep integration moving forward, and so is based upon pragmatism where agreement to take the next step is made on practical grounds.

4. Empirical Means.

a. Federal.

Strategies to achieve a federal union emphasized the overt role of political power in transforming the system.

"Integration [is] a directly political phenomenon, to do with the behaviour of national political elites and with problems of power, responsiveness and control".⁴⁴

Power was based upon assets and capacities to perform certain tasks and influence other political actors.⁴⁵

Harrison laid down two federal strategies for achieving union based upon a legal constitution or Treaty. Both were explicitly political and evolutionary acknowledging that sovereignty can be abrogated gradually, from the regional to the central government, over a long period of time in order to achieve a qualitative change to federal union.

The first strategy aimed to achieve a political settlement, or "federal pact" between governments, in which the nation state retained its political identity and from them originated the powers of the federal government.⁴⁶

Greater emphasis was placed upon developing representative institutions whose activities created support for the central level from political and professional groups as well as the population as a whole.⁴⁷ Once this support was achieved, a directly elected assembly would draw up a treaty to be ratified by national parliaments, which created the necessary federal institutions.⁴⁸

The second strategy aimed to achieve a federal constitution which granted extended powers in areas of budgetary, monetary, foreign and defence policy to the central government. This strategy emphasised the role of the constituent assembly over the national governments in Treaty initiation. National governments and their parliamentary majorities were perceived as less likely to initiate or promote a federal based treaty because of the challenge it made on their national sovereignty. The result of a treaty initiated by the national governments was more likely to promote intergovernmental cooperation in which real power was left with each nation state to decide for itself.⁴⁹

Instead, this strategy bypassed the nation state, as the constituent assembly acted as a democratic control on the national governments. The assembly was to draft a treaty, guaranteeing fundamental liberties and protection of minority rights, that was to be directly ratified by national parliaments or national referenda.⁵⁰

Both strategies emphasized public persuasion as a condition for success, thus the political elite (be they national government or democratic institution) played a major

role in seeing the need for change, having the will to carry it out, as well as having the capacity to bring it about.

The Treaty of Rome contained provision for expansion of interest to EC level in "federal" areas of financial and budgetary affairs. In 1971, the EC was granted its own financial resources independent of the nation state. Furthermore, the Single European Act codified the area of foreign policy alongside the areas of Treaty competence.

The European Parliament's control of budgetary affairs was increased with the granting of own resources. But, more importantly, the European Parliament has played a major role in promoting federal union by initiating its own Draft Treaty on European Union, to be directly ratified by the national parliaments. Although not explicitly federal, the Draft Treaty provided institutions for a federal union based upon codecision in the legislative and budgetary spheres between a democratic European Parliament and a representative national Council of the Union.

The European Parliament has been a major force behind the promotion of the Intergovernmental Conference which reached agreement on the Single European Act. The role of the European Parliament has been extended in the measures agreed upon by the 12 member states. Articles 8 and 9 of the Single European Act stated that the European Parliament was to give its assent by absolute majority to the accession of a new member state, as well as to an agreement concluded with a third state or international organisation.

b. Confederal.

The confederal integration strategy was based upon the balance between the interdependence and separate identity of the member states. While the division of power between central and regional levels favoured the nation state, increasing transactions and coordination of interests at central level, at the same time, increased the areas of interdependence.

Taylor differentiated between the scope and level of integration. "Scope" referred to the horizontal extent of integration - the number of functional areas which were linked together within the larger territory. "Level" referred to the extent of vertical integration - the manner in which the functional areas were organised, especially to the extent that they were ruled from the new centres which could act independently of regional governments.⁵¹

Thus within a confederation the level of integration was low. Sovereignty delegated to the central government could be severely restricted to suit limited economic and social objectives of the regional governments; but at the same time, the scope could cover wide areas of interdependence.

This interdependence provided the integrative dynamic as regional governments, having delegated control of their economies to the central state, found that their ability to deliver benefits to the nation state was reduced. In order to compensate for that loss of control, the regional government sought to enter into alliances to achieve specific objectives.⁵² Thus a network of consultation and cooperation

built up that was decentralised but highly interdependent, which emphasised the role of intergovernmental institutions and diplomatic negotiation over a wide number of issues at central level using established procedures. The regional governments retained ultimate control but, through their interdependence, were pressured into agreements in cooperative arrangements.⁵³

Conditions promoting integration were crisis situations which demanded a joint response. Crisis situations included changes in the external environment to which the member states reacted, or internal situations created by the impatience of some member states with their partners to undertake measures which would be mutually beneficial.⁵⁴ The central institutions were also to play a role in promoting confederal integration by encouraging the regional governments to align their interests, or to form alliances to deal with specific interest areas.

In all, confederal unification was based on "entrenched practices of consultation" which stressed diplomacy as well as the rights of individual actors.⁵⁵ As a result of increasing consultation and cooperation between the participating states, the scope of integration extended to a wide number of areas of interdependence. But, because the central government was subordinate to the regional governments, the level of integration remained low. Regional governments were reluctant to delegate authority in areas which could effect national sovereignty. Overt political commitment to integration, not found in the confederal stage

of unification, was necessary to extend the level of integration.

The Treaty of Rome provides the framework for extending the scope of integration especially in social, regional, economic and financial areas. This is to be achieved through the dialogue between the Council of Ministers and Commission, in which the Commission proposes areas of European interest for the Council to respond to in its own time.⁵⁶ While this dialogue grants the regional governments greater control to defend their interests, it also allows interdependence to be expanded across a multitude of areas affecting the member states. Areas under the jurisdiction of the supranational authority are limited to economic and social spheres, while political interdependence is confined to practices of mutual cooperation and coordination which are not binding on the member states.

Within the EC, the scope of integration is considered to be wide, but the level is low as regional governments prove extremely reluctant to grant further powers to the central institutions.

c. Functional.

Instead of the direct political approach of federalism and confederalism, the functionalist integrative approach advocated a gradualist strategy of union. The means to achieve this union were based upon providing conditions for economic development in order to create welfare benefits

which satisfied individual needs.

The functionalist approach was an incremental sectoral method which dealt with economic and social concerns. Areas of national sovereignty were not threatened, making national governments more willing to delegate authority to functional agencies.

Thus the integrative dynamic of the functionalist approach was a learning process that first, brought the realisation to citizens and governments that interdependence in technical, social and economic welfare areas was more advantageous than acting alone; and second which produced an attitude change and shift in loyalty by the citizens away from the nation state, to the network of functional organisations which produced greater rewards.

Citizen loyalty was a necessary integrative condition of functionalism, as it was regarded as the basis of sovereignty and legitimacy. This loyalty was refocused away from the nation state and "high" political values of sovereignty and national honour, to the international arena in which functional agencies offered greater security and material benefits for basic welfare.

Successful integration in limited functional areas created pressure to expand into new functional areas in order to accumulate further benefits. As all functional areas of competence were interrelated and overlapped each other they could not be managed apart. Thus, pressure was maintained to continue functional interaction, whose ultimate extension into "high" political areas was made more possible by the

attitude change of the citizens and governments as to what was important.⁵⁷

Functional agencies and technical elites played an important role in producing this attitude change away from the nation state institutions and values, by creating the welfare benefits and educating citizens and governments as to the advantages of functional cooperation.

"Only [functional] institutions become wiser; they accumulate collective experience and, through this experience and this wisdom, men obeying the same rules will experience, not a change in their nature, but a gradual transformation of their behaviour".⁵⁸

The Treaty of Rome is based upon achieving union among people, not states. This emphasis on popular loyalty and support is recognised by the member governments and EC institutions through the promotion of measures to encourage public interest and participation in EC life. The European Foundation, and measures contained in the Report on a Peoples Europe are designed to increase citizen identification and support for the EC.

d. Neofunctional.

The strategy of the neofunctionalist integration approach rested upon the acceptance by key actors of the decision-making process in the central supranational institutions. These actors consisted of governments, political parties and interest groups, all of whom had some advantage to gain from involvement in supranational decision-making.

"The process of community formulation was dominated by naturally constituted groups with specific interests and aims, willing and able to adjust their aspirations by turning to supranational means when this course appeared profitable".⁵⁹

Neofunctionalism was concerned with the transfer of sovereign authority and legitimacy to central institutions. The actual integration process was gradual and sectoral beginning in a sector which did not challenge the power or vital interests of member states, but which affected activity in other sectors so as to involve interests groups and parties in the process. Thus the integrative process was "inherently expansive" whereby joint action in one sector caused distortion in other sectors. The remedy demanded by interest groups or parties could contain measures of further integration which extended the jurisdiction of the supranational authority.⁶⁰

As member governments extended the areas of delegated sovereignty to the central institutions, the participating actors were encouraged to transfer "their demands, their expectations and their loyalties" to the new supranational setting. This created pressure for further sectoral integration, as well as increased institutional capacity to promote integration.⁶¹

Competing political elites were involved in an institutional bargaining process in which interests were managed to achieve conflict resolution through agreement over the rules and procedures of decision-making. The role of the central institutions and the elites was emphasized in determining the success or failure of integration by their

ability or willingness to converge interests, attitudes and demands which created pressure for further sectoral integration.

This process of sectoral integration, also used by the functionalists, was known as "spillover" -

"the process whereby a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and a need for more action".⁶²

Ultimately this process gradually expanded from the less challenging sectors to gradually impinge on political aspects of national sovereignty and vital interest creating a political community.

It was this aspect of spillover which was severely criticised due to its failure to automatically occur from sector to sector. As a result many neofunctionalists revised their expectations to state that spillover was "an organising concept about the likelihood of integration when certain specified conditions were present".⁶³

Much of the criticism of the neofunctionalist integrative approach is based on the experience of the EC and lack of spillover from sector to sector. But, it must be noted that neofunctionalism is a gradualist approach and EC experience covers less than 40 years. This fact is acknowledged in the Treaty of Rome which places no time limits on the creation of European Union.

The Treaty of Rome also offers an example as a stage in

the sectoral process of integration which began with the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Coal and steel interests of the member states were placed under the joint control of a supranational institution, which became the focal point for pressures of interest groups and parties.

The ECSC in turn encroached on other related areas, so pressure for further integrative measures was placed upon member governments who expanded their joint activities into broader sectors under the EEC and Euratom.⁶⁴ Further sectoral integration was a result of the success of the ECSC, which facilitated a convergence of member government attitudes. This was despite differing short term aims and expectations of what further integration would achieve,⁶⁵ and which included a general long term commitment to some form of political union.

EC institutions and decision-making procedures laid down in the Treaty of Rome are designed to encourage further convergence of interests. The Commission - Council of Ministers dialogue aims to resolve European and national interests; the European Parliament and Economic and Social Committee provide democratic legitimacy through party and interest group representation; and the Court of Justice provides judicial authority.

Thus, the central institutions and decision-making procedure represents a "cobweb image" of multi-level contacts between political actors, combining supranational institutions, cross national interest articulation and aggregation, and national government participation.⁶⁶

e. Consociational.

The imperative in the consociationalist integrative strategy was based upon the political will of the elite cartel of leaders. This political will embodied deliberate and joint efforts to counteract immobilising, unstablising or disintegrative tendencies caused by cleavages existing within and between the participating states.⁶⁷

Necessary conditions for success of this union were that the elite cartel firstly, recognised the importance of their interaction in promoting and maintaining cohesion between divergent interests. Secondly, the elite leaders had to possess the will and commitment to this form of union, as well as the capacity to solve problems and demands emanating from diverse sectors and groups.⁶⁸

The decision-making procedure also had to fulfil certain conditions in order to accommodate the diversity of demands and interests which the elite leaders represented. Rather than depending upon the democratic principle of a simple majority vote, certain restrictions were placed on the majority rule designed to protect the union through the provision of safeguards ensuring the protection of minority rights in issue areas of vital interest. A weighted voting system, veto ability, rotation of office holders and role interchange, proportional political representation, allocation of public funds, plus a high degree of autonomy for each sector to run its own affairs were all measures provided to safeguard diverse interests whilst maintaining cohesion and stability.⁶⁹

Furthermore, provision was made for major interest groups and parties to be represented in the elite cartel through advisory councils or committees which possessed that capacity for influence.⁷⁰ Provision also existed for the establishment of an alternative form of leadership group to respond to external threat or an internal crisis situation.

The Treaty of Rome provides decision-making and institutional procedures which accommodate divergence at elite level in order to produce consensus. The voting system is based upon a weighted majority depending upon the relative size and importance of each member state. This system also ensures protection of the minority principle, whilst facilitating agreement between all members.

Membership in the Commission is based upon proportional representation whereby the larger member states have more representatives. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers is rotated on a six monthly basis, with representatives in the Council dependent upon the policy area under discussion.

Interest group, party and public involvement is possible through the European Parliament, Economic and Social Committee and Court of Justice all of which hold limited formal powers, but can influence the executive. Provision is also made for special committees or ad hoc working parties to be established to deal with specific subject areas.

The European Council, representing Heads of State and Government, also plays a role as an alternative leadership cartel responding to external threats to the EC, or dealing

with internal crises - in particular in resolving issues which threaten to immobilise decision-making in the central EC institutions.

f. Intergovernmental.

The intergovernmental integration approach was similar in strategy to that of the confederalist approach, but the intergovernmental strategy was not dependent upon supranational authority. Intergovernmental cooperation was a highly diplomatic process of consultation and coordination of bilateral and multilateral relations between states, acting alone or within international organisations, which recognised national governments as key actors in promoting or hindering integration.

National sovereignty was identified as "an intrinsic element of statehood and government status" and therefore not negotiable in international forums.⁷¹ However, at the same time intergovernmentalism recognised the increasing interdependence of national interests in the international community.

Intergovernmental integration rested on the decision-making procedure which focused primarily upon the policy process aiming to build consensus between governments through diplomacy. Intergovernmentalism was a system of coordination which produced "common policies among actors which have legal, or formal independence in areas to which the policies refer".⁷²

Decision-making involved a "zero sum" game whereby national governments defined their national interest and positions in rigid terms concerning immediate areas of interest and short-term goals.⁷³ Decision-making was by unanimous agreement between governments dealing with the lowest common denominator where "bargaining partners located the areas where positive agreement was immediately possible and struck their deal only on that basis".⁷⁴

The decision-making process also involved the participation of intergovernmental bodies - bureaucracies, ad hoc and permanent committees - whose role was to consult and cooperate in order to reach common conclusions and positions.⁷⁵

The intergovernmental approach is a minimal form of integration in terms of involving consultation and coordination of policy areas, based primarily upon problem solving or reaction to external influences. However, this approach provided coordination of positions between national governments who represented the highest political authority and had the capacity to promote and carry out integrative measures. Thus sophisticated intergovernmental administration could be created through its bureaucratic and diplomatic nature.

The intergovernmental approach is favoured by those more inclined to a minimal form of union. James Callaghan notes that "pragmatic intergovernmentalism offers the best [approach] for Community cooperation in general, benefitting

as it does from the absence of legal structures or formal controls".⁷⁶

This approach, by emphasising the predominance of national governments, explains the shift in the balance of power to the Council of Ministers following the Luxembourg Accords. Majority voting has been replaced by unanimity, which is favoured by the intergovernmentalists. The result has seen national government participation strengthen and deepen in EC politics with the Council of Ministers and European Council at the apex of decision-making at the expense of the Community oriented Commission.⁷⁷

Related to this shift in the balance of power has been the growth of intergovernmental bodies such as Coreper, national ad hoc working groups, as well as an increase in the number of Heads of State and Government Summit Conferences.

Intergovernmental machinery dominates the decision-making process with national considerations shaping the pace of EC integration. These intergovernmental methods have been used to secure measures contained in the Single European Act. Agreement was reached during an Intergovernmental Conference and Council of Ministers meeting, both of which followed agreement reached at a European Council Summit meeting. The resulting Single European Act has provided measures allowing forward movement to continue in the integrative process.

g. Domestic Politics.

The domestic politics approach to integration extended the identification of the nation state and the national governments as the "key location of decision-making and political initiative"⁷⁸ in relations with the international community. This approach highlighted factors in the domestic and international environment which were most likely to have some impact upon the decisions made by the national governments. Thus it identified promotive and restrictive factors which conditioned integration.

Bulmer stated the domestic politics approach "explored the linkages between domestic and international tiers",⁷⁹ by emphasising the domestic tier in international organisation, which was based in the policy environments which differ between member states, and within them, depending upon the issue at stake.⁸⁰

Thus the vertical level of integration was expanded to show that each policy issue was determined by varying political, institutional, attitudinal and economic factors which were influenced by the capacity and resources of the nation state, domestic and extra national constraints, plus the goals and strategies of each national government.⁸¹

These factors explained why the national government adopted a certain position in the international organisation on one issue, but a different one on another issue. The national government acted as the central link between the two tiers of international and national politics and so was subjected to pressures from both tiers to promote or restrict

integrative measures. This explained nation state behaviour, as well as the continued sensitivities towards activity in the international organisation.⁸²

The domestic politics integration approach highlights the distinction between the upper tier formal institutional framework of the Treaty of Rome, and the lower tier actual patterns of behaviour where national governments have become institutionalised in the EC framework through the European Council, EPC procedure, and intergovernmental machinery in the Council of Ministers.⁸³

"the Community process is not confined to what takes place within the formal framework of the Community institutions ... [but can] be analysed only as the tip of a much larger iceberg formed by the domestic contexts that set constraints on each member government".⁸⁴

The use of the veto is also explained by the domestic politics approach. It highlights the domestic pressures on a national government to apply the veto, from interest groups affected by measures to be taken by EC institutions.⁸⁵ At the same time the domestic politics approach also highlights the reasons influencing integrative measures taken in the EC, as national governments respond to domestic pressures from groups who see such measures are to be advantageous to them.

"the political scope of the Community's policy-making process is dauntingly wide. At the very least, ... the politics of resource allocation, bargaining and interest mediation has roots deep inside the domestic political systems of the member states ... On the political front, this implies the need to take into account the complexities of the domestic environment both within, and, especially across the member states".⁸⁶

The reasons for the attitudes and stances of individual national leaders are also exposed by the domestic politics approach, which highlights the motivations behind particular positions taken, as well as their attitudes towards the EC.

h. Graduated Integration.

The graduated integration approach was promoted by Grabitz, with reference to the EC, as a way of catering for the diverse political and economics needs of a heterogeneous group of 12 member states.⁸⁷ Its strategy contained elements of the concepts of differentiation and two speed Europe.

Differentiation allowed exceptions to be made to common policies depending upon national circumstances, or for the implementation of different policy measures by member states to achieve the agreed objectives. It was also promoted as a means to achieve objectives in areas outside of the Treaty of Rome.⁸⁸ "Two speed" Europe was economically based, designed to allow those faster member states willing and able to integrate faster to do so, without being held back by slower members. But, at the same time, the faster member states were obligated to assist the slower states. The success of this strategy was dependent upon political solidarity binding the two groups together.⁸⁹

The strategy of graduated integration was a gradual step approach, "to make more dynamic use of the time element marking out a compulsory common route for all member states within their own timetables".⁹⁰ Common objectives were agreed upon by all member states, but the states were not

required to implement measures to achieve the agreed objectives at the same time. No predetermined time limit was laid down for the slower states to implement measures, but the obligation existed that ultimately they would do so. In addition, provision was made for a combination of national and international measures to reduce economic and social differences which prevented full participation by all member states so integration could be achieved by all.⁹¹

In all, the graduated integration approach aimed to assist other integration approaches in achieving greater forward movement towards whatever end goal they prescribed. Progress was possible as commitment and integrative measures were not diluted in order to accommodate the more reluctant member states.⁹²

The intentions of the founders of the Treaty of Rome were not to lay down a uniform programme for achieving unity but rather, acknowledged the heterogenic nature of the EC in the framework of the Treaty, by catering for diversity and national circumstance.

The graduated integration approach exists as a complement to the Treaty of Rome, not as an alternative. This approach protects the EC acquis communautaire while, at the same time, it promotes integrative measures in new common policy areas, in Treaty policy areas which have not been completed, as well as in areas outside the formal framework of the Treaty of Rome.

This approach is advocated by Weinstock (of the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers) as a positive means of promoting forward movement by improving decision-making, increasing adaptability to circumstances, as well as increasing commitment to European Union.⁹²

Article 15 of the Single European Act acknowledges the difficulty in achieving economic harmonisation by allowing for forms of temporary derogation which are not permanent, but possess no time limit.

5. Summary: A Sui Generis European Union.

All these integration approaches contain elements which assist in explaining the reality of the EC as a sui generis multilevel system, as well as emphasizing integrative or disintegrative aspects in the unification process. Each approach focuses attention upon characteristics of EC integration which should not be ignored.

The federalist and confederalist approaches both emphasize the constitutional and legal factors important in protecting the level of agreement reached. In the federalist approach the role of the central institutions and major political actors are stressed as providing the integrative dynamic. In the confederalist approach where the central government is legally and politically subordinate to the regional governments, a formalised system of consultation, which stresses interdependence and alliance formulation, provides the integrative element.

The functionalist approach, on the other hand, rejects the state model stressing instead a set of utilitarian transactions in interlocking functional sectors, which are to lead to a welfare-oriented community. The integrative dynamic is the learning process which encourages an attitude change and loyalty transfer away from the nation state. Popular support is stressed in providing legitimacy for this process.

The neofunctionalist approach, while adopting the incremental sectoral functionalist approach, is overtly political. Neofunctionalism stresses the procedures of the decision-making process whereby authority is transferred from the nation state to a single decision-making centre. The role of the central institutions and broad elite are emphasised in the transfer of political expectations and loyalty, as well as in maintaining the spillover process.

The consociationalist approach highlights the behaviour of the ruling elite cartel in the integration process. Their commitment and political will are stressed in maintaining unity between diverse cleavage groups. Structural elements in the decision-making procedure are also highlighted in accomodating and balancing the different factions of the elite cartel.

The intergovernmental approach highlights the role of the national governments as the key in the integrative process. National interest predominates in decision-making which emphasizes a highly diplomatic process based on unanimity and aimed to solve problems through consensus.

The domestic politics approach highlights the role of the nation state in the integration process emphasizing external and domestic political and economic factors which affect national government behaviour and attitudes towards integration.

The graduated integration approach emphasized the gradual step process in recognising that some member states possess the ability to integrate more quickly than other member states. Thus the time element provides the integrative dynamic in overcoming differences and diversity and promoting forward movement.

Each of these approaches also represents a level or stage of union which is achieved through the unification process. As intended by the founders of the Treaty of Rome, the federal approach represents the highest level of union, to which the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom represent stages in the process of achieving a United States of Europe. The domestic politics approach represents the lowest level of union, whilst in between on the integration spectrum there lies the remaining approaches.

The ordering of the approaches on the integration spectrum is purely normative; deciding which approach is regarded as more highly integrated depends on specific criteria used. It is of more importance to note that elements of each approach are at work simultaneously in the EC system - thus giving it its sui generis character. Taylor noted that the approaches are relevant in strategy building as one approach may complement another in establishing the

conditions for the success of the other.⁹⁴

Thus the domestic politics and intergovernmental approaches establish habits of consultation and cooperation between national governments; the confederal approach institutionalises and formalises the process; the functional approach builds popular support and legitimacy; the consociational approach builds up the political will to change; the neofunctional approach expands interest group and party support towards central decision-making; the federal approach develops the centralised decision-making structures and constitutional unity; and the graduated integration approach interacts between the other approaches promoting their integrative measures.

Table 2: Stages in the Unification Process and Integration Approaches.

<u>Level of Integration</u>			
High	Medium	Low	Regression
Political			Nation
Community	Unification Spectrum		State
Centralised	Decentralised	Cooperation	Association
Federal	Neofunctional	Confederal	Intergovernmental
Functional	Consociational		Domestic Politics
Graduated Integration			
<u>Integration Approaches and State of Union</u>			

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CHAPTER THREE

EUROPEAN UNION PROPOSALS

1. Introduction

This chapter chronologically reviews European Union proposals from 1969 to 1986. The constant themes of the proposals are identified as areas from where European Union can emerge. In addition, salient factors in determining the level of integration are identified.

The constant themes are EC institutional development; increased scope of policy interdependence; enlargement of the European Community (EC) to include other democratic European states; citizen involvement and participation at European level; and development in extra-Treaty areas, outside the framework of the Treaty of Rome. These themes are the major foci for areas where union can legitimately emerge or be expanded, but constitute little more than a reconfirmation or extension of the guidelines originally envisaged by the Treaty of Rome.

The European Union proposals also describe the parameters for the types of reforms likely to facilitate European Union. Factors which contribute to the shaping of European Union include the origin, scope and status of the proposals, the attitudes of the member states, and the attitudes of the member governments towards unification. These factors are important in determining the extent to

which integration will occur by placing different emphasis upon the role of the institutions, upon elite and popular attitudes, as well as upon economic, political and social motivations towards reforms aimed at developing unity between the member states.

2. European Union Proposals.

a. 1969: The Hague Summit Conference.

The reforms proposed at the Hague Summit Conference¹ originated from the Heads of State and Government² of the six member states. The Summit was held at the end of the twelve year transition period established by the Treaty of Rome. It was motivated by a concern in the member states and EC institutions over the lack of progress in the EC. Three periods of crisis had slowed economic integration and hindered decision-making.

The Luxembourg Accords agreed to by the member states in 1966 broke the spirit of the Treaty of Rome. Dominance of member states interests over those of the EC prevented the development of supranational institutions and qualified majority voting, thus inhibiting the unification process. This hindered agreement over enlargement, and stressed to the member states the importance of possessing the ability to control their own future in order to compete successfully in the international arena. Member state integration was largely economic and technical, not political.

The scope of the reforms was broad: "to pave the way for a united Europe".³ A political impetus to relaunch the

European integration process was needed. The political will of the member states was held as a symbol to reinforce the irreversible nature of the EC, and in so doing reinforced Europe's role in world affairs. A programme for further integration was proposed to consolidate, strengthen and enlarge the EC.

A major feature of the Hague Summit Conference was the affirmation of the principle of enlargement as an essential factor in European unity and agreement on the basis for negotiation (Treaty of Rome Article 237). Foreign Ministers were asked to compile, by 1970, a report on achieving political unification in the context of enlargement.

Policy measures proposed aimed to improve existing areas of agricultural, energy and social policy. New measures included the expansion of industrial and technological research and development, and a commitment to create an economic and monetary union (EMU). EMU was to be achieved in stages, based upon member state monetary cooperation and harmonisation of economic policies; both vital to expanding Europe's international role and in promoting internal stability and growth. Commitment was also made to provide EC independence through the creation of its own financial resources (Article 201).

Institutionally, the Council of Ministers was requested to provide the European Parliament with greater powers of supervision over the budget, as well as to examine provisions for direct election to the European Parliament by universal suffrage. This would increase citizen involvement in the EC

by extending its the democratic basis (Articles 206 and 138(3)).

The Hague Summit Conference did what the EC institutions had not been able to do: break the deadlock which prevented the development of European unification. In so doing, the political leaders of the member states reaffirmed the essentially political nature of the EC and their commitment to the creation of a European Union. The EC remained the "original nucleus from which European unity sprang"⁴ and efforts to relaunch European integration still had the same political objective - to achieve an "ever closer union".

This convergence of member government attitudes was made possible by the resignation of French President Charles de Gaulle earlier in 1969. With Georges Pompidou as President opposition to the supranational development of the EC was reduced. The importance of parallel political development in line with economic integration was stressed. The role of the EC in the world, summed up by Willy Brandt Chancellor of West Germany, was seen not as "another bloc, but [as] a model which could serve as a component of a balanced all-European peace order".⁵

In April 1970, as a result of the Hague Summit Conference, the Council of Ministers amended the Treaty of Rome budgetary provisions to give the EC its own financial resources, and extended European Parliament powers over the budget. In March 1971 the introductory stages of EMU were introduced to be implemented over ten years.

b. 1970: The Davignon Report.

The Davignon Report,⁶ compiled by the Heads of the Political Departments of the Council of Foreign Ministers, was made in response to the Hague Summit request for tangible ways to achieve progress in political unification. The subsequent proposals were adopted by the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg October 1970.

The Report was motivated by internal and external factors. Internally, parallel development between economic and political spheres was required. Externally, for Europe to increase its role and responsibilities internationally, greater cohesion and solidarity between member states and governments was needed.

The major feature of the Report was the creation of a procedure for political cooperation in the area of foreign policy (EPC). EPC was seen by the Council of Foreign Ministers as the best way of achieving parallel progress towards a political union; but it existed outside the framework and competence of the Treaty of Rome.

Regular six monthly meetings of the Foreign Ministers were held, which were chaired by the country holding the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. These meetings were kept separate from the regular EC Council of Ministers meetings. EPC procedure comprised discussion of major foreign policy questions, or any areas that member states wished to raise for political cooperation; a crisis procedure for extraordinary consultation; as well as informal exchanges of information. EPC aimed to achieve harmonisation of views

and voluntary joint action where possible to facilitate member states speaking with one voice.

Institutionally, a Political Committee responsible to the Council of Ministers was established to prepare for Foreign Minister EPC meetings and to carry out their instructions. It comprised the Heads of the Political Departments who meet four times a year. EPC included the Heads of State and Government for meetings of serious or significant concern. In addition, consultation of the Commission and a report to the European Parliament was made in order to associate the EPC procedure with the EC and with the democratic process. No provision, however, was made to take account of their views.

Applicant countries to the EC were included in the EPC machinery through information of objectives and progress on political cooperation, and they were expected to comply with EPC procedures when they joined the EC.

In all, EPC provided for consultation between member states in areas of international politics in order to increase solidarity and mutual understanding. But, EPC was not binding on the member states. Its methods and associated bodies were developed outside the EC institutional framework involving informal intergovernmental consultation and cooperation, beyond the legal jurisdiction of the Treaty of Rome.

The intergovernmental method continued the step by step process in gradually developing the means best calculated to promote political integration. But it was the attitudes of the member governments that were important in defining the limits of political unification as the nature of EPC impinged directly upon national sovereignty. Areas of security and defence policy were initially excluded from EPC (despite criticism from the European Parliament), as was the creation of a secretariat or central body to coordinate EPC machinery. Control was left, initially, in the hands of the member governments and national bureaucracies who retained individual freedom of action and decision-making power.

c. 1972: The Vedel Report.

The Vedel Report⁷ was initiated by the Commission as a submission to a Council of Ministers' study on the role of the European Parliament. Since the creation of EC financial autonomy, the European Parliament played a greater role in budgetary affairs. The proposals originated from an Ad hoc Working Party of Independent Experts whose scope was limited to review institutional strengthening, particularly with regard to increasing the powers of the European Parliament.

Proposals were motivated by lack of integrative progress in the EC institutions due to deadlock in the decision-making process. The use of unanimity and resulting intergovernmental-style diplomatic negotiation left the balance of power with the Council of Ministers, effectively limiting the development of the role of the Commission and

European Parliament in decision-making. This promoted national short term concerns over long term EC objectives.

The major features of the Vedel Report were proposals aimed at reform of the decision-making process. The recommendations were based upon gradual and practical ways to promote evolutionary progress through democratic and efficient institutional development. Measures aimed to restore the balance of power through use of Treaty of Rome procedures - in particular use of qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers - in order to offset the development of intergovernmental methods and organisation outside of the EC framework.

Proposals placed emphasis upon strengthening the administrative role of the Commission and the legislative role of the European Parliament. The authority and political character of the Commission Presidency was to be increased through its appointment and approval by the member governments and European Parliament. The President was to be consulted over the composition of the Commission members who were to be prominent political figures. The term of the Presidency was to be lengthened from two to four years. Reforms were also proposed to increase the efficiency of Commission working methods, in view of the implications of EC enlargement in 1973 to include Britain, Denmark and Ireland.

Proposals for reforms to the European Parliament included a programme for election by universal suffrage to increase public participation and democratic legitimacy. The latter was emphasized as the European Parliament was the only

EC institution where member state parliamentary opposition was represented, which, from a practical and legal point of view, was a key element in a constitutive system.⁸

European Parliament powers were also to be increased from a consultative to a legislative role. This entailed codecision with the Council of Ministers based upon the ability of the European Parliament to reject or accept a Council of Ministers decision. It was proposed that codecision be introduced gradually in two stages.

The first, a transitional stage, entailed adoption of codecision in areas concerning EC constitutive power or relations with others in international law. These comprised Treaty of Rome Articles 235 - implementation of additional powers; 236 - Treaty revision; 237 - admission of new member countries; and 238 - ratification of international agreements. In addition, the European Parliament was to receive a greater consultative power in the form of a suspensory veto. Using this power, the European Parliament had the right to request that the Council of Ministers reconsider a decision made in areas concerning the harmonisation of legislation affecting national laws and common policies.

In the second stage, the use of the suspensory veto was transformed into codecision power in all areas including budgetary and financial. In budgetary terms this power was of real significance as it ended the two category separation of EC expenditure so that the European Parliament gained real financial responsibility.

A timetable was proposed for the implementation of both stages, with the first beginning with Treaty amendment to increase European Parliament powers, and the second beginning by 1978 at the latest. The Commission was to play a greater intermediary role between the two legislative branches - the European Parliament and Council of Ministers - in order to promote cooperation and consensus necessary for joint decision-making. In addition, the Council of Ministers, Commission and European Parliament were to compile a long term work programme for the EC with timetables and regular meetings.

Other institutional reforms included the creation of a European Minister to represent each member state in the EC, as well as a European view in the national cabinets. The Heads of State and Government Conferences were also to be institutionalised into regular meetings for the purpose of providing long term guidelines for EC development.

Overall, the Vedel Report reinforced institutional provisions of the Treaty of Rome for balancing national and integrating forces. The Council of Ministers and Commission were recognised as the cornerstones of the EC system, but it was stressed that the European Parliament had a role to play in expressing European interests, and as a forum for member state public opinion. Thus, the reforms proposed entailed extension of the European Parliament role beyond the limits of the EC framework, requiring Treaty of Rome amendment which involved a further transfer of prerogative from member state

institutions to EC institutions.

This transfer of sovereignty away from the nation state caused major concern to some member governments. The Vedel Report represented a move away from the intergovernmental method in which they retained control. As a result few of these reforms were adopted by the Council of Ministers. Any measures that were implemented concerned minor adjustments to the consultation procedure with the European Parliament. In 1974, at the Paris Summit, agreement was reached to institutionalise the Heads of State and Government into the European Council, but it was not until 1975 at the Rome Summit that a date was set for the first direct elections to the European Parliament.

d. 1972: The Paris Summit Conference.

The Paris Summit Conference⁹ recommendations originated from the Heads of State and Government. The scope of the proposed measures was broad: "to transform, in absolute conformity with the Treaties, all relationships between member states into a European Union by 1980".¹⁰ Thus, political will at the highest level was expressed by the provision of a mandate for European unification to be continued by the EC institutions.

Major features of the proposals included policy areas, enlargement, institutional reforms and extra Treaty political cooperation. Policy measures proposed guidelines for the gradual creation of EMU by 1980, including timetables and deadlines in which to achieve that objective. Measures

included the creation of a European Monetary System (EMS). This was to be achieved through the establishment of a European Monetary Fund (EMF), which would facilitate parity between member state currencies through monetary defence and support mechanisms.

Social policies emphasized the improvement of living and working conditions for the European people, giving the EC a "human face". A Regional Development Fund (RDF) was proposed to help correct regional disparities and promote member state regional policies. Industrial science and technology, environment and energy policies were also promoted to assist in the advancement of member state integration.

External policy was promoted, first with regard to developing countries with historic, geographic or contract links with the EC. Commitment was made to their overall development through commodity agreements, import preferences and financial aid. Second, external policy was extended to industrialised countries in an endeavour to promote world trade development through bilateral talks with Japan, Canada and the United States, as well as through General Agreement on Tariff and Trade multilateral negotiations.

Institutionally, measures centred upon improving efficiency and relations between the Council of Ministers, Commission and European Parliament. The administrative role of the Commission was stressed, with measures to improve Council of Ministers decision-making procedures outlined (which included standardising national cabinet meetings in order to regularise Council of Minister meetings). Emphasis

was placed upon the use of all Treaty provisions, in particular Article 235, in achieving EC objectives. All institutions were to report, by 1975, upon steps they had taken in advancing European Union in anticipation of the shape of enlargement.

It was proposed that the EPC procedure be improved through intensified consultation on foreign policy in order to establish joint medium and long term positions. Foreign Ministers were to meet four times a year and to make a report on further methods for improving EPC.

The attitudes of the member governments reflected a commitment to Summit diplomacy at the highest level for producing measures to ensure the persistence of the EC system. The Heads of State and Government proposed an ambitious plan of action designed to lead to European Union involving time schedules and deadlines for specific goals. The concept of European Union was seen as a means to increase public identification with the EC. Greater emphasis on more human aspects of social, regional and environmental policies acknowledged the fact that the EC was more than an economic entity.

However, commitment by the Heads of State and Government to European Union was qualified by the clause that union must be in "absolute conformity with the Treaties", thus limiting the types of European Union proposals that could be made. The meaning of European Union was not defined and few practical measures were included to achieve policy goals or

to solve specific problems. The means to achieve political union were reasserted in political cooperation procedures despite the fact that they were outside the Treaty framework and competence. Thus supranational decision-making was excluded from the political sphere. Despite ambitious objectives, little political commitment was shown towards their implementation and completion.

e. 1975: The Tindemans Report on European Union.

The Tindemans Report¹¹ was initiated by the 1974 Paris Summit Conference within the context of achieving European Union by 1980. The Belgium Prime Minister, Leo Tindemans, was requested to prepare a report defining an overall concept on European Union, identifying EC objectives and recommending specific means for their achievement. The scope of the report was broad, including reports from EC institutions, member governments and public opinion.

The report was motivated by lack of progress towards European Union due to the absence of long term objectives and effective working methods, as well as concern over Europe's lack of influence in world events. The concept of European Union proposed by Tindemans aimed to produce dynamic progress towards the unification of Europe.

"European Union is a new phase in the history of the unification of Europe which can only be achieved by a continuous process".¹²

Interrelated measures with specific objectives were designed to produce a qualitative leap forward in member state relations. Major features of the report were institutional strengthening; greater progress in priority policy areas including EMU, industry, energy, and research; greater progress in defining a common foreign policy; and increased citizen involvement in and protection by the EC. The EC acquis communautaire and Treaty of Rome framework provided the basis upon which European Union would be built.

Institutional strengthening was proposed to ensure the decision-making process had the capacity to bring about the qualitative changes. Reforms to improve institutional functioning were based upon four criteria - authority, efficiency, legitimacy and coherence. Measures proposed included direct elections to the European Parliament, extension of European Parliament consultation and debating areas; a greater administrative and implementative role for the Commission, ratification of the appointment of the Commission President by the European Parliament, consultation of the Commission President over the appointment of Commissioners; greater use of qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers especially where a quick decision was needed, extension of the Presidency term of the Council of Ministers from six months to one year, delegation of responsibility for specific tasks to the Commission, a member state or individual; coordination of the specialist Councils by the Council of Foreign Ministers; and abolition of the distinction between EPC and Foreign Minister meetings.

Other institutional measures proposed more regular consultation of the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) with regard to developing economic and social policy, consumer protection and free trade; and an increased role for the Council of Ministers' Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper) at national level over proposals of European policy. In decision-making, if consensus existed between the Commission and Coreper, it was proposed that a decision be taken on the authority of the Council of Ministers.

EMU was seen as the crux of internal development towards European Union. Tindemans proposed a new approach designed to achieve faster progress towards the goal of EMU which entailed different rates of progress among the member states. Common objectives and action were agreed upon by the EC institutions, but those member states who could advance more quickly could do so. Slower states had to give their reasons for not advancing to the Commission and the Council of Ministers, but were expected to eventually reach the common objective. Article 233, which allowed regional unions within the EC, was used as the justification for some member states integrating more quickly than others.

Other EMU proposals designed to promote the convergence of economic and monetary policies included increasing the effectiveness and activity of the EMF, abolition of obstacles to free movement of capital, and extension of monetary stability measures to include all member states. Convergence of social and regional policies was also seen as contributing to the achievement of EMU.

Sectoral policies reflected current concerns in the EC, in particular in areas of energy and industrial scientific and technological research. The development of common policies was proposed in these areas to ensure the solidarity of EC industry, as well as to ensure the competitiveness of the EC on a world wide basis.

The Tindemans Report proposed a more structured and coordinated procedure for the extra-Treaty sphere of political cooperation. Measures included a single decision-making centre; definition of broad guidelines for a common foreign policy; binding obligations on the member states; the development of a crisis procedure; and inclusion of aspects of security in discussions with a view to ultimately leading to a common defence policy.

Measures proposed to involve European citizens in the day to day life of the EC included the creation of a European passport; abolition of internal frontier controls; improved transport and communications; student exchanges and integration of educational matters; increased media information; and the creation of a European Foundation. It was also proposed that individuals have direct right of appeal to the Court of Justice on matters relating to EC institutions.

All these proposals were designed as practical measures to facilitate major progress towards a European Union. The Tindemans Report proposed that the European Council play a major role in this process by providing the definition of European Union goals and political impetus necessary to

obtain those goals.

In all, the Tindemans Report provided comprehensive objectives and methods for increasing European dynamism and solving current problems. It reflected attitudes of public opinion in the member states in which concern was expressed over the lack of real political will shown towards the EC and European Union, as well as concern over how little had been achieved despite previous proposals.

Political attitudes of the member governments towards the Tindemans Report differed and commitment remained non-explicit. Few of the proposals were implemented and the more contentious aspects of the Report criticised - the graduated integration concept; inclusion of security aspects; inclusion of a single decision-making centre for EPC; and the use of majority voting.

Overall the European Council endorsed the views of Tindemans, but actual agreement could not be reached when some member governments were opposed to extension of the EC beyond intergovernmental decision-making.

f. 1979: The Three Wise Men Report.

The Three Wise Men Report¹³ was initiated by the European Council at their Brussels Summit Conference December 1978. An Ad hoc Working Party of Independent Experts was established to propose improvements to the EC institutional structure, but whose scope was limited to making proposals within the terms of the Treaty of Rome. Specifically, the

Report proposed adjustment to EC decision-making procedures to ensure the proper operation of the EC and progress towards European Union. Consideration was also given to the implications of the accession to the EC of Greece, Spain and Portugal.

The motivation for the Report was reactive - to counter reforms proposed by the Tindemans Report considered to be too radical. Of particular concern were proposals requiring Treaty revision and those promoting the completion of EMU through graduated means of integration. Fears were expressed that the latter would promote the development of two types of European Union which would cause political stratification.

A major feature of the Report was the concentration on the role of the European Council in promoting EC and European Union progress. It was proposed that the European Council be integrated, as far as possible, within the operational framework of EC inter-institutional relations. Measures included strengthening European Council relations with the Council of Ministers, Commission and European Parliament; collaboration with the Commission in its role of political guidance - in identifying major tasks and directions for progress, drawing up a master plan of practical measures, and utilising Treaty procedures in conjunction with alternative procedures outside EC competence to extend into new areas of activity. The role of the President of the European Council was also strengthened to ensure the efficient operation and clear conclusions of meetings.

Reforms proposed to the EC institutions aimed at drawing relations and working methods of the European Parliament, Commission and Council of Ministers closer together. In particular this referred to improvement of the conciliation procedure established between the Commission, Council of Ministers and European Parliament in areas concerning financial and budgetary matters. Reforms to the Council of Ministers included delegation of work to the Commission and Coreper in order to allow the Council time to concentrate on genuine political issues. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers remained on a six monthly rotating basis and was strengthened to provide a clear work programme and efficient operation of procedures and the agenda. The veto clause was retained but qualified majority voting was recommended where the Treaty of Rome provided.

Reforms proposed to the Commission aimed to ensure its composition as a collective homogeneous body acting in its Treaty role of initiator, guardian and administrator. Commissioners were limited to one per member state, the President of the Commission was to be chosen by the European Council six months before the renewal of the Commission, to participate in the selection of Commission members and have a final say in the allocation of portfolios. Presidency authority was strengthened so as to coordinate departments and central services of the Commission (budget, personnel and administration). The Report also reaffirmed the contribution to be made by the ESC in socio-economic consultations.

By taking the implications of enlargement into account, the proposals aimed for overall improvement in the efficiency of the EC institutions. This was based on past experience in order to cater for increasingly diverse interests and to ease the functioning of twelve member states. The different speed integration approach was rejected as it created differences in status, but differentiated solutions were accepted for the application of common policies in the member states.

The response of the European Council and Council of Ministers to the Three Wise Men Report was negligible. Agreement was not reached upon a number of points and little action was taken. The 1980 Luxembourg European Council meeting did agree to appoint the President of the Commission six months in advance, but this type of change really amounted to little more than institutional tinkering and failed to meet the real needs in the EC.

g. 1980: 30th of May Mandate.

The report of the 30th of May Mandate¹⁴ originated from the Commission in response to a European Council request. Its scope was limited to proposing measures for the development of EC policies and adjustment of EC financing, with specific reference to budgetary problems of some member states. The measures aimed to reactivate economic and monetary solidarity and relaunch European integration by taking into account a second generation Europe.

The Report was motivated by lack of progress towards European Union. Its major features aimed to achieve better utilisation of existing policies through more equitable budgetary allocations and financial solidarity between members, as well as development of a comprehensive strategy for national and EC action to promote long term economic growth.

Policy areas considered vital to this strategy were EMU, energy, research and technology and competition. Completion of customs union was a priority in establishing a single EC market which would create a better economic environment.

In the budgetary area emphasis was placed upon equitable distribution of resources as the Common Agricultural Policy received 69 per cent of the budget in spite of producing only 0.5 per cent of the EC gross national product. Little was allocated to regional and social policies vital to EC cohesion. A medium term solution was proposed by the Commission to the budgetary problems experienced by some member states (especially Britain). Overall, the aim of the 30th of May Mandate Report was to increase coordination and harmonisation of member state policies to promote internal growth and employment in conjunction with competitiveness internationally. These measures were seen as necessary in creating the conditions for institutional change so that the EC could increase its capacity to develop economic, political and cultural autonomy.

Little agreement resulted from the member governments or Council of Ministers discussion of the 30th of May Mandate Report as to which measures should be taken. It was felt that the failure of the negotiations between the political leaders marked a waning commitment to Europe, or at least fundamental differences between the member states on the structure and purpose of the EC.¹⁵

h. 1981: The Draft European Act.

The Genscher-Colombo proposals for a European Act,¹⁶ unlike the earlier proposals, originated from an independent initiative by the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Italy, who presented their proposals to the European Council for approval. The objective of the two Foreign Ministers was the reintroduction of the concept of European Union in order to make the EC more relevant to the member states and their citizens.

In particular, the proposals aimed to make the role of the EC and its institutions more explicit by ending the "high/low" demarcation between Treaty and non-Treaty competence. Three forms of EC relations were identified which could promote European Union: integration within Treaty areas; political cooperation in foreign policy governed by EPC; and intergovernmental cooperation in other areas governed by formal and informal rules and procedures.

Proposals were motivated by external events which exposed EC vulnerability following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and events in the Middle East. Internally,

concern was expressed over decision-making problems, lack of progress in EC policy areas in solving economic and other problems, related to which was a decline in the spirit of European unification.

Political cooperation was the major feature of the Report as its framework was viewed as the way in which to continue European unification. The Draft European Act proposed amalgamation of the existing EC and EPC structures to establish a composite framework for major institutional areas of cooperation. However, within that structure it was proposed that EC matters be governed by the Treaty of Rome and EPC matters by procedures laid down in the Reports of Luxembourg (1970), Copenhagen (1973) and London (1981).

It was proposed that EPC be merged with the EC at European Council level, thus formally increasing the European Council's powers and role of political guidance through its assumption of responsibility for EC and EPC decision-making. The Council of Foreign Ministers remained responsible for EPC coordination and a secretariat was established to assist the European Council and Council of Minister in EPC affairs.

EPC procedure was developed into a more binding form of agreement on foreign policy; quick decision-making; and consultation between member states before the adoption of a final position. A common foreign policy was proposed to enable the EC to speak and act as one in international affairs, with joint action extended to security policy to safeguard European independence and Atlantic Alliance security. Provision was made for the establishment of a

different composition of Ministers when discussing security matters.

It was also proposed that the European Council appoint Councils with different responsibilities outside the Treaty framework to be serviced by the Council of Ministers secretariat. In particular this included a Council responsible for cultural cooperation and one responsible for Justice. Closer cultural cooperation and individual legal recourse were proposed as means to promote European identity by increasing public awareness, particularly among young people. These Councils were emanations of the European Council, not legislative bodies like the rest of the Council of Ministers but rather, were "consultative coordinating intergovernmental fora".¹⁷ However, the Draft European Act also proposed that legal union be achieved and the role of the Court of Justice be extended to interpretation and ratification of international agreements for member states.

The initiative and coordinating powers of the President of the Council of Ministers were strengthened to improve efficiency. A compromise to the Luxembourg Accords was proposed in decision-making procedures whereby majority voting became prevalent and member states abstained from using the veto, or its use was to be justified in writing to the Commission.

It was proposed that European Parliament powers of consultation, scrutiny and conciliation be extended so that its jurisdiction in these areas could be increased to include

all EPC matters. Other proposals for improving the role of the European Parliament merely reiterated former European Union proposals.

Previous policy proposals were reiterated and enlargement to include Spain and Portugal was supported in order to consolidate European democracy, expand and improve economic growth, and strengthen Europe's position internationally.

While the Draft European Act did not comprise a new Treaty or a legally binding document, it set out principles which were aimed at achieving political union. It was proposed that the European Council incorporate progress achieved towards European unification into a Treaty on European Union five years after the signing of the European Act.

Political reaction to the Draft European Act was mixed. The proposals implied that European Union was to be achieved through methods which were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Treaty of Rome. These included broadening the scope of intergovernmental cooperation by removing the differences between EC and EPC competence and combining them all under a general EC framework. This provoked criticism as it was felt that these measures could jeopardise European integration as changes to institutional relations were unsystematic and proposed reforms did not constitute a coherent programme for action in addressing the real problems in the EC.¹⁸

Considerable doubt was expressed as to whether some member states would accept the inclusion of security policy or the formulation of a common foreign policy (Denmark, Greece and Ireland). Opposition was also expressed to the expansion of areas outside the Treaty framework which inhibited the use of Article 235 for progressive measures. In all, in its original form, the Draft European Act was not acceptable to the member states.

i. 1983: The Solemn Declaration on European Union.

The Solemn Declaration on European Union¹⁹ originated from the Council of Ministers in response to the Draft European Act. Its scope was to achieve closer coordination between EC structures and EPC procedures in order to produce more consistent action towards European Union.

The motivation for the proposals was to counter reforms proposed by the Draft European Act that were considered too radical by the Council of Ministers. Their objective was political and pragmatic; to relaunch the EC by tackling pressing problems facing the EC as well as to provide the basis for further development.

The major features of the proposals were first, to reassert the EC as the nucleus of European Union by strengthening existing policies and elaborating new policies within the Treaty framework. Second, EPC was to be strengthened and developed by member states taking joint positions and action; intensification of foreign policy consultation; and coordination of political and economic

aspects of security. Third, the promotion of closer cultural cooperation and European citizen identity was proposed. In all, these measures were practical responses and no attempt was made to define European Union.

The importance of developing new and existing policy areas was emphasized. In particular economic, social, regional, internal, external, industrial, agricultural and monetary areas were seen as the basis for the overall progression of the EC. Continued convergence of member state interests and the development of overall strategies were proposed to overcome problem areas within the EC. The proposal of the Draft European Act for legal union was rejected in favour of harmonisation of laws within the EC through Treaty measures, with the power to ratify international agreements remaining with the member states.

In the area of political cooperation, the proposed measures stressed intensified consultation on foreign policy issues. The moral obligation to uphold common positions and to consult before positions were assumed or initiatives taken was emphasized, rather than a commitment to common foreign policy which would bind member state action. Of significance was the inclusion within EPC of an obligation to coordinate member state positions on political and economic aspects of security.

A number of measures were proposed to develop closer cultural links between European citizens. These included exchanges in education and the arts; emphasis upon EC languages; development of the activities of the European

Foundation and the European University Institute; all of which were designed to promote European awareness. However, no separate cultural Council was recommended as was proposed by the Draft European Act.

Institutionally, the status quo of the Treaty institutions was confirmed. The Council of Ministers was given the central position in areas of EC and EPC decision-making. A Council of General Affairs was to be responsible for European Council meetings as well as for measures undertaken in building European Union. Presidency powers of initiation, coordination and representation were strengthened in the operation of external affairs, which included EPC. With regard to decision-making procedures, no mention was made of majority voting, but instead the possibility of abstaining from voting when unanimity was required was recommended.

The consultative role of the European Parliament was extended by submission of written and oral questions to the Council of Minister and Commission; by its opinion on the appointment of the Commission President; and by its opinion before the conclusion of an international agreement or before the accession of a new state to the EC. The President of the Council of Ministers was to report to the European Parliament on progress in EPC, which would be debated by the European Parliament. The scope of the conciliation procedure between the Commission, the Council of Ministers and European Parliament over financial matters was extended. The European Parliament was also to hold an investiture debate on the

programme of the new Commission. However, no major changes were made to the position of the European Parliament, but rather, existing practices were restated.

A direct relationship was established between the European Council and European Parliament as the President of the former was to report to the European Parliament after each of its meetings, as well as give an annual written report to the European Parliament on progress towards European Union. A representative of the European Council was to be present when the report was debated in the European Parliament.

The European Council's role was outlined with reference to European Union by providing the political impetus, defining general guidelines and strategies for the EC and EPC, and by initiating new areas of cooperation. When the European Council took action in areas of EC competence, it was defined as doing so in its capacity as a "Council" within the meaning of the Treaty of Rome.

The role of the Court of Justice was emphasised in the development of European Union by ensuring compliance with and extension of EC law. An undertaking was made by the European Council to consider the inclusion of the right of the Court of Justice to interpret international conventions between member states.

The Solemn Declaration on European Union was signed by the Heads of State and Government and the Foreign Ministers of the Council of Ministers 19 June 1983. For the first time

EC and other forms of cooperation featured in a single text; albeit non-binding. It represented another small step in the continuing development of European Union. Five years following the adoption of the Solemn Declaration, member governments were to decide whether the text should be incorporated into a Treaty on European Union. Until that time it was acknowledged that European Union represented the totality of the acquis communautaire at any time, and that EC integration and cooperation acted together rather than being mutually exclusive, as was suggested by the Draft European Act.

Denmark expressed reservations to the Solemn Declaration with regard to: - strengthening and developing EPC, plus inclusion of political and economic aspects of security; European Parliament opinion on the appointment of the Commission President; extension of the conciliation procedure; harmonisation of member state social security systems; legal aspects; and the signing of a Treaty on European Union.

j. 1984: The Draft European Union Treaty.

The Draft European Union Treaty (EUT) ²⁰ was the culmination of an independent European Parliament initiative begun in 1981. It was compiled by the Institutional Affairs Committee of the European Parliament and passed by a European Parliament resolution February 14 1984.

The EUT is a unique European Union proposal. First, it represented the outcome of agreement between a political

majority in a universally elected body. Second, the EUT had a very wide scope: it represented a new constitutional framework for the EC replacing, but based upon the Treaty of Rome. Thus this new European Union proposal differed from earlier proposals which only changed the operation of the EC without altering the framework of the Treaty of Rome.

The motivation for the EUT was lack of progress towards European unification. EC institutions lacked sufficient powers and decision-making procedures required to adopt the measures necessary for the application of the Treaty of Rome. This situation was likely to worsen once the EC had enlarged to twelve member states.

The objective of the creation of a new Treaty was to initiate a qualitative leap forward towards the goal of "ever closer union". This goal embodied "a polity responsive to social, economic and political needs, capable of acting to meet those needs efficiently and promptly".²¹

The major features of the EUT were first, that this new Union would be founded upon Treaty of Rome guidelines, member state constitutions representing principles of liberal representative democracy, and principles of fundamental human rights. Second, transition to the new European Union was to be a gradual process allowing adaptation to new measures over time, as well as flexibility when dealing with national problems. Third, member state independence and diversity was acknowledged as the European Union was to be based upon the rationale of joint action only in specified areas where individual member states could not successfully act alone,

alongside intergovernmental cooperation in other spheres.

This principle of "subsidiarity" divided competence between the nation state and the supranational body.²² Competence was divided between exclusive, concurrent and cooperative action. Exclusive competence gave the European Union sole power to act; concurrent competence meant that the member states continued to act as long as the Union had not legislated, which would only occur if joint action was more effective; and cooperative competence meant agreement reached within European Union institutions was implemented by the member states - this mostly concerned EPC procedure which was included in the EUT framework without altering its function.

Institutionally, EUT reforms emphasized ideals of parliamentary democracy and accountable government. As an executive organ, the Commission was to receive real powers through its right to propose and implement draft laws, plus a suspensory veto in budgetary and legislative procedures which gave it the right to give an opinion in these vital areas. In addition the Commission received real authority through its appointment by the member governments and the people (European Parliament).

The Council of Ministers was to become a single Council of the Union with each member state representation to be led by a Minister specifically responsible for European Union affairs. In decision-making, the Council meetings were to be open to the public when the Council was acting in a legislative or budgetary capacity. Time limits were proposed to prevent one institution from blocking the decision-making

process indefinitely. In addition, Treaty of Rome voting procedures were to be applied and a ten year transition period was proposed for the abolition of veto usage. During the ten year period vital national interest could only be invoked if recognised as such by the Commission.

Reforms to the European Parliament included shared responsibility in legislative and budgetary decision-making with the Council of the Union, as well as greater power over the budget by the abolition of the division between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure. The European Parliament also increased its political supervision of the Commission by enabling it to take office.

Court of Justice competence was to be extended to include jurisdiction over European Union law. It was also proposed that half the Court of Justice and Court of Auditors be appointed by the European Parliament, with the other half being appointed by the Council of the Union.

Contemporary EC concerns and pressures governed the policy sectors of the EUT. Emphasis was placed on economic, social and external policy spheres. Competence was mainly concurrent, with exclusive competence limited to EMU, competition and commercial policies.

It was proposed that the European Council be included in the institutional framework through the reception of the powers of a traditional Head of State, but otherwise its role was to remain the same. The European Council kept overall responsibility for political cooperation with the Council of the Union responsible for its conduct. EPC was governed by

cooperative competence and was extended to include political and economic aspects of security. Provision was included to transfer cooperative competence to exclusive competence for a limited period if the European Council, Commission and European Parliament agreed. This was important for associating EPC affairs more closely to European Union institutions.

Proposals to increase public involvement in the EC included promotion of cultural, education and information policies. The European Union also guaranteed fundamental rights and freedoms and legal protection for all citizens of the European Union.

Provisions for the approval of the EUT deliberately by-passed the intergovernmental institutions of the European Council, Council of Ministers and Coreper. The EUT appealed directly to the national parliaments for ratification, thus removing the veto potential or ability of the member states to amend or reduce the EUT.

Entry into force of the EUT depended upon a gaining a majority in the member states whose populations amounted to two third's that of the total EC population. Thus a decision on whether to join the European Union was unavoidable and prevented those member states who had not ratified the EUT from holding the rest back. It was proposed that those member states who had been ratified would meet and decide the procedure and date of entry into force of the EUT, as well as their future relations with the non-ratified states.

Overall, the EUT attempted political and constitutional reform of the Treaty of Rome through the provision of a new framework with which to relaunch and invigorate the European ideal and EC towards genuine political and economic union. Reaction from the member governments has been mixed with those countries most supportive being those who were associated with the more recent European Union proposals - Germany, Italy and Belgium.

Britain, Greece and Denmark expressed opposition to certain measures which proposed phasing out the veto, a greater use of majority voting, as well as increased judicial and European Parliament powers. These measures were seen as a threat to national sovereignty. Neutral Ireland rejected the inclusion of security aspects within political cooperation. It was also questioned whether the national parliaments possessed the constitutional power to ratify international treaties such as the EUT.

In Chapter Four the EUT will be reviewed in more detail as integration approaches discussed in Chapter Two will be applied to the EUT proposals on European Union.

k. 1984: The Dooge Committee Report.

The Dooge Report on Institutional Affairs²³ originated from an Ad hoc Committee of Personal Representatives of the European Council and Commission. Its scope was to suggest ways to improve the operation of European cooperation within the EC, as well as through political or any other type of cooperation. The Report was mainly concerned with

institutional affairs and constitutional changes necessary to improve economic and political capabilities of the EC.

The motivation for the proposals derived from internal events which saw the resolution of the British budgetary dispute which had paralysed the European Council's role in providing political guidance.

The aim of the proposals was to achieve a qualitative leap forward towards European Union to demonstrate that the member governments possessed enough common political will to establish a genuine political entity for the EC. This entity was defined as a European Union "with the power to take decisions in the name of all citizens, by a democratic process according to their common interest in political and social development, economic progress and security, and according to procedures which could vary depending on whether the framework [was] that of intergovernmental cooperation, the Community Treaties or new instruments yet to be agreed", as well as being "in keeping with the personality of each of the constituent states".²⁴

Thus, the Dooge Report did not impose a theoretical framework on the evolution of European Union. Rather its proposals were flexible and practical designed to allow the sui generis relationship between the member states and the EC to develop.

The major features of the Report identified priority policy objectives which were to be achieved within efficient and democratic institutions. Policy objectives included the means and timetable to complete the internal market; the

means to create a technological EC; the means to strengthen the EMS to promote monetary integration; the means to establish a European social area in order to resolve employment problems; and the means to establish a homogeneous judicial area. Cultural policy was also proposed to strengthen links between member states and their citizens through the establishment of a European identity which retained individual member state values.

EPC was aligned to EC external policy in order to assist in extending a European identity internationally. A permanent secretariat for EPC was recommended to assist in achieving greater continuity and cohesiveness of action between member states in obtaining the goal of a common foreign policy. Other measures included a formalised commitment to a prior consultation procedure; greater use of majority voting for quick decision-making; codification of EPC rules and procedures; and common action in international organisations especially the United Nations.

Security and defence areas were included within political cooperation in order to increase solidarity and promote awareness of the common interest of the European Union in a wider western framework. Measures proposed included consultation on security problems as part of EPC and adoption of common standards and joint action for weapons systems and equipment.

Institutionally, measures aimed to restore the Treaty of Rome balance of power towards the Commission, by reinforcing its initiative, implementative and administrative role,

through greater delegation of responsibility from the Council of Ministers. The collegiate nature of the Commission was strengthened by the reduction of members to one from each member state; by the Presidency role in nominating the Commissioners for the member governments to approve; and by European Parliament approval of the Commissions' programme in an investiture debate.

The Council of Ministers work programme was made more efficient and vital by the delegation of responsibility to Coreper in decision-making and over bodies of national experts. The Council was to remain a single institution with the General Affairs Council responsible for ensuring internal cohesion. It was also proposed that Council of Minister voting procedures be simple or qualified majority, with resort to unanimity only in exceptional circumstances.

Time limits were included to ensure a decision was taken. The President of the Council of Ministers had to call for a vote within thirty days if the Commission or three member states so requested: thus ending the use of the veto for an indefinite time. In addition, graduated implementation of EC decisions was proposed for limited periods in economic, social and budgetary areas depending on national circumstances in each member state.

It was proposed that the European Parliament role be extended in three areas - legislative, supervisory and budgetary. The European Parliament was to effectively participate in legislation through joint decision-making with the Council of Ministers. Supervisory powers were increased

to include European Union policies and political cooperation, as well as increased control over the executive through the role of the European Parliament in the appointment of the Commission. The European Parliament was also to receive increased responsibility for decisions on financial matters.

The role of the Court of Justice was extended to that of supreme arbiter on all Treaty matters, including individual rights and interpretation of international agreements concluded by the EC. The role of the European Council was reinforced in provision of direction and political impetus for the EC, with meetings reduced to twice a year.

The Dooge Report went further than previous European Council or Council of Minister initiated reports in calling for the convention of an intergovernmental conference (as per Article 236 of the Treaty of Rome). This Conference was to implement European Union proposals through the negotiation of a treaty based upon the acquis communautaire, Dooge Report and Solemn Declaration on European Union, and to be guided by the spirit and method of the European Parliament draft European Union Treaty. This Intergovernmental Conference was agreed to by the European Council in Milan June 1985.

Attitudes towards the Dooge Report and Intergovernmental Conference indicated which member governments were in favour of closer union and which were not. With regard to the Dooge Report, reservations were expressed on various proposals. Ireland objected to the inclusion of security and defence matters, Britain and Denmark objected to institutional reform

being based upon democratic principles, opting instead for the reestablishment of Treaty of Rome provisions. In particular, they were opposed to the European Parliament having a role in EC legislation. Greece, Ireland, Britain and Denmark opposed the reforms to voting provisions, wanting instead the retention of vital national interest, for discussion to continue until unanimity was reached, as well as greater use of abstention. Use of majority voting where laid down by the Treaty of Rome was approved provided time was allowed for consensus to be reached.

With regard to the Intergovernmental Conference, Denmark, Greece and Britain opposed its convention. The decision to proceed was made at the Brussels European Council meeting in March 1985 on the basis of a majority vote which overruled the opposition (who wanted unanimity), but who nevertheless agreed to attend.

The original six member states most favoured Treaty amendment to promote further integrative measures, with Italian, Belgium and German national parliaments welcoming the Intergovernmental Conference. Britain opposed Treaty amendment as time wasting, favouring instead proposals for improving EC decision-making within the Treaty framework.

Support for the Conference was expressed by the two new applicant states - Spain and Portugal. They felt the decision by the EC to proceed with a third enlargement proved that the EC had not lost its ability to make decisions despite economic and institutional crisis. Both favoured restriction of the veto, more effective decision-making

procedures, and strengthening of political cooperation provided it was not at the expense of the Commission's role.

1. 1985: The Adonnino Report on A People's Europe.

The Adonnino Report²⁵ originated from an Ad hoc Committee of Personal Representatives of the Heads of State and Government and the Commission. The scope of the proposals was limited to suggesting measures which would strengthen and promote EC identity and image for its citizens as well as for the rest of the world.

The motivation for the Report was acknowledgement by the European Council that public support and participation was essential in EC internal development and in promoting Europe's role in the international community.

Major features of the Report were the introduction of immediate and long term practical measures to increase the relevance of the EC for its citizens. These measures included promotion of EC credibility by easing rules and practices which hindered EC citizens in the areas of freedom of movement between internal frontiers, as well as the freedom of movement of goods and transport services.

Second, measures centred on the rights of EC citizens to employment and residence within the EC, as well as special rights which included the introduction of a uniform electoral procedure and voting rights throughout the EC, and the introduction of a European driving licence.

Cultural provisions were designed to give greater information about EC evolution, and greater promotion of the

arts and cultural events. Promotion of youth, education and sporting exchanges were emphasized along with the coordination of volunteer work in Third World development.

Finally, external signs of EC image and identity were promoted, including an EC flag, emblem, anthem, stamps, common internal border signs and a European passport.

These measures have been approved by the European Council with the Commission and member states responsible for taking the necessary implementation measures. Reaction in the members states has been favourable overall but the instigation and promotion of the measures ultimately depends upon the individual member governments.

m. 1986: The Single European Act.

The Single European Act²⁴ is the result of agreement reached at the Intergovernmental Conference and Luxembourg European Council meeting, November-December 1985. The scope of their terms of reference was broad - to give substantial form to the improvement of the operation of the EC.

This was to be done by a treaty, or common foreign and security policy, to strengthen EPC in the general context of transition to European Union, and to be based upon proposals submitted by France, Germany and Britain. These measures required amendment to the Treaty of Rome - a step previously avoided by the member states; but a necessary step in achieving the institutional changes relating to completion of the internal market by 1992, Commission executive power,

increased European Parliament powers, and extension of EC activity into new policy areas based upon the Dooge and Adonnino Reports.

The measures introduced were designed to facilitate the gradual achievement of European Union by establishing the conditions for the EC to function as a unified institution so as to face the challenges of a third enlargement. This was to be achieved by strengthening the democratic basis of the EC, promotion of European identity, by relaunching economic and social policy, and foreign policy integration.

Motivation for the proposals was lack of progress towards European Union despite the numerous proposals discussed above. As a result of this stagnation the Commission, European Parliament and Dooge Committee exerted considerable pressure on the European Council and the Council of Ministers for tangible measures to be taken to solve pressing problems and relaunch European unification.

Major features of the Single European Act centred upon institutional and policy reforms, plus the creation of a political cooperation treaty which codified EPC and included security aspects. The measures agreed to required six changes plus one addition to the Treaty of Rome's 240 Articles.

EC and EPC aspects were joined in a Preamble which reaffirmed EC acquis communautaire and the will of the member states to transform relations into a European Union based upon the Treaty of Rome, EPC and other cooperation procedures. The Preamble also restated earlier proposals

promoting democratic principles, fundamental human rights and public participation of the European people through the European Parliament. Europe's international role in preserving peace and security was confirmed by the extension of EC activity and common policies into new areas which included the implementation of monetary cooperation through the EMS and the realisation of EMU.

The European Council's role as an EC institution was confirmed in a constitutional document for the first time. Provision was made for biannual meetings to comprise the Heads of State and Government and the President of the Commission to be assisted by the Foreign Ministers and a Commission member.

Treaty of Rome amendment provisions concerned additions or adjustments to areas relating to the completion of the internal market. This included provision for qualified majority voting in key areas; graduated implementation of policy measures; and extension of EC competence in policy areas of current concern - monetary, industrial research and technology, social and regional, and environment.

Institutional amendment included granting implementation powers to the Commission in order to increase efficiency; the introduction of a new "cooperation procedure" for decision-making between the European Parliament, Commission and Council of Ministers in legislative areas dealing with the internal market; extension of the European Parliament's supervisory role to give assent to Article 237 (accession of a new member state) and Article 238 (international

agreements); and the creation of a new court attached to the Court of Justice to deal with cases from individual European citizens only.

A third section was included which codified existing rules and procedures governing EPC with a view to the eventual creation of a common foreign policy. EC activity was extended to coordinate member state positions on political and economic aspects of security.

In all, agreement to the Single European Act by the European Council and Council of Ministers represents willingness on the part of the member governments to put time and effort into reform of the EC. Opposition to aspects of the Single European Act has been expressed by all member governments for the same reasons they opposed the Dooge Report. Despite the reservations, commitment to European Union in whatever form is supported by the member governments. Generally there is recognition that member state interests are bound in EC operations and procedures and that policy needs can not be met by individual member governments acting alone or through ad hoc collaboration. Thus institutional and policy reinforcement are virtues in their own right.²⁵

The Single European Act continues the gradualist process of step by step unity. The reforms represent modest changes to the constitution of the Treaty of Rome, but they have also assisted in modifying member government attitudes especially through majority voting in the Council of Ministers.

3. Summary of the European Union Proposals.

a. Constant Themes.

The constant themes of the European Union proposals which emerge throughout as the foci for progress towards European Union are: -

- i. EC institutional reform and development.
- ii. Policy development and extension of scope in existing and new areas of common interest.
- iii. Enlargement of the EC to include other democratic European states.
- iv. Extra-Treaty development in the field of political cooperation, as well as the extension of the role of the European Council in providing strategies and direction for European integration.
- v. Increased emphasis upon the importance of citizen participation in the unification process.

These themes represent elements important in advancing European unification. None of the themes can be mutually exclusive; they are interrelated and dependent upon each other. Parallel measures in the proposals tie in economic and other policy areas with political cooperation, institutional strengthening and measures to increase citizen awareness and enlargement of the EC.

Examination of the constant themes of the 13 European Union proposals highlight common areas promoting reform or development. See Table 3.

TABLE 3: ORIGINS AND MAJOR THEMES OF THE PROPOSALS ON EUROPEAN UNION.

Proposals and Origins	1969 Hague Summit H of S & G	1970 Davignon C of M	1972 Vedel Report Independent Experts	1972 Paris Summit H of S & G	1975 Tindemans Report Individual H of G	1979 Three Wise Men Report Independent Experts
<u>Themes</u> <u>Institutions</u>	-European Parliament	-Commission -European Parliament	-Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament -legislative -All Institutions	-Commission -Council of Ministers -All Institutions	-Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament -Court of Justice -Economic & Social Committee	-Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament -Economic & Social Committee
<u>Policy</u>	-EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Agriculture -Budget -Energy		-Budget	-EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Energy -External -Environment	-EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Energy -Legal -Graduated	
<u>Enlargement</u>	-2nd to include Britain, Denmark, Ireland, Norway	-applicant state EPC consultation				-3rd to include Greece Spain and Portugal
<u>Extra-Treaty</u>	-initiation of political aspects	<u>EPC</u> established -consultation -information -non-binding <u>H of S & G</u> -associated with EPC	<u>H of S & G</u> -Council established -political guidance	<u>EPC</u> -consultation	<u>EPC</u> -integrated to EC -binding foreign policy -security/defence -secretariat <u>European Council</u> -integrated to EC -political guidance	<u>European Council</u> -integrated to EC -political guidance
<u>Citizen Identity</u>	-European University -EP participation -youth association		-EP participation		-European Foundation -education exchanges -media/information -end internal barriers -legal recourse -external symbols	

<p>1980 30 May Mandate Commission</p>	<p>1981 Draft European Act Individual Ministers</p>	<p>1983 Solemn Declaration Council of Ministers</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament -Court of Justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament -Court of Justice
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Agriculture -Budget -Energy -Internal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EMU -Agriculture -Budget -Legal -Internal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Agriculture -External -Legal -Internal
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -inclusion of Portugal and Spain -accession of democratic European states 	
	<p><u>EPC</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -integrated to EC -binding foreign policy -security -secretariat <p><u>European Council</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -integrated EC/EPC -political guidance 	<p><u>EPC</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -consultation -non-binding -security pol/econ <u>European Council</u> -composition -political guidance EC/EPC -report to EP
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -youth association -legal recourse -cultural cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -University/Foundation -youth association -education exchanges -media/information -cultural cooperation

1984 European Union Treaty European Parliament	1984 Dooge Report Personal Experts	1985 Adonnino Report Personal Experts	1986 Single European Act European Council/Council of Ministers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -legislative -Court of Justice -Economic and Social Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -legislative -Court of Justice 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Commission -Council of Ministers -European Parliament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -legislative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Agriculture -Budget -Energy -External -Environment -Legal -Internal -Graduated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Budget -External -Environment -Legal -Internal -Graduated 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EMU -Social -Regional -Industrial R&D -Environment -Legal -Internal -Graduated
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -accession of democratic European states 			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>EPC</u> -integrated to EC -binding -security pol/econ <u>European Council</u> -integrated EC/EPC -political guidance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>EPC</u> -formalise & codify -binding -security/defence -secretariat <u>European Council</u> -integrated to EC -political guidance -biannual meetings 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>EPC</u> -Treaty integration -non-binding -security pol/econ <u>European Council</u> -integrated to EC -political guidance -biannual meetings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -education/research -media information -legal recourse -cultural cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -University/Foundation -education exchanges -media information -legal recourse -cultural cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -youth association -education exchanges -media information -end internal barriers -individual rights -external symbols -cultural cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -EP participation -individual rights

KEY

EMU = Economic and Monetary Union
 R&D = Research and Development
 EPC = European Political Cooperation
 EP = European Parliament
 C of M = Council of Ministers
 H of S & G = Heads of State and Government
 pol/econ = political and economic
 H of G = Head of Government
 EC = European Community

i. EC Institutional Reform and Development - in all 11 of 13 European Union proposals refer to the EC institutions.

Commission - 10 of 11 proposals refer to the Commission.

- 6 of 10 proposals for reform centre primarily upon restoring its Treaty of Rome executive role of initiator, guardian and administrator.

- 7 of 10 proposals for development of the role of the Commission centre upon strengthening Presidency authority by measures which include the appointment of the Commission by the European Council; Presidency role in appointment of Commission members and portfolio allocation; lengthening the term of the Presidency from two to four years; and appointment of the President six months before Commission renewal. Other measures for developing the role of the Commission include a European Parliament investiture debate on the Commission's programme and for the Commission to comprise of one representative from each member state.

- 7 of 10 proposals for new areas of Commission involvement include implementation of Council of Minister decisions; a role in the Extra-Treaty EPC procedure; and cooperation with the European Council in developing long term goals for the EC.

Council of Ministers - 9 of 11 European Union proposals refer to the Council.

- 8 of 9 proposals for reform centre upon Treaty of Rome application of qualified majority voting in decision-making. Alternatively, where unanimity is required

2 proposals recommend abstention and 3 proposals recommend some form of veto restriction.

- 8 of 9 proposals for development of the political role of the Council of Ministers recommend improved working methods which include delegation of responsibility to the Commission, Coreper, member states or individuals; Presidency strengthening; coordination of national and EC agendas and timetables; and introduction of a European Minister for each member state.

European Parliament - 9 of 11 European Union proposals refer to the European Parliament.

- 3 of 9 propose direct elections.

- 8 of 9 proposals centre upon the development of the consultative, advisory and supervisory role of the European Parliament through measures which include debating, resolutions, written and oral questioning on any matter of EC and EPC concern; a role in the appointment of the Commission President; increased involvement with national parliaments.

- 4 of 9 proposals for new areas of European Parliament involvement include some degree of participation in budgetary and legislative spheres of EC activity (be it through conciliation or cooperation procedures, codecision or joint decision-making with the Council of Ministers). In particular this includes Article 237 - admission of a new member state, and Article 238 - agreement on the conclusion of an international agreement.

Court of Justice - 5 of 11 European Union proposals refer to the Court of Justice.

- 5 of 5 proposals centre upon the development of the jurisdiction of the Court to interpretation and arbitration of international agreements between member states; and to protection of individual rights.

- 3 of 5 proposals recommend new areas of involvement to extend to a full legal union.

Economic and Social Committee - 3 of 11 European Union proposals refer to the Economic and Social Committee.

- 3 of 3 proposals centre upon emphasising the importance of the consultative role of the ESC in economic and social policy and extension of its authority to the initiation of opinion in these fields.

ii. Policy Development and Extension of Scope in Existing and New Areas of Common Interest - in all 11 of 13 European Union proposals refer to policy aspects.

EMU - 9 of 11 proposals stress the importance of achieving an economic and monetary union for promoting integration. Measures include harmonisation of economic policy and monetary cooperation based upon the EMS.

Related to this goal is achievement of a single internal market - 6 of 11 proposals; social policy aimed at creating conditions for full employment - 8 of 11 proposals; regional policy aimed at reducing diversity between regions and member states - 8 of 11 proposals.

Sectoral policies reflect current concerns - energy - 5 of 11 proposals; industrial research and development - 8 of 11 proposals; environment - 4 of 11 proposals; agriculture - 5 of 11 proposals. All are vital in creating conditions for European competitiveness and industrial viability in the international community.

Budgetary - 6 of 11 proposals centre upon budgetary and financial measures aimed at ensuring the EC has sufficient resources to achieve policy goals.

Legal - 6 of 11 proposals deal with areas of judicial concern ranging from the extension of legal jurisdiction to the creation of a legal union.

External - 4 of 11 proposals concern extending EC links world-wide in industrial and Third World countries in trade and development aid. Later proposals also include aspects of EPC.

Graduated - 5 of 11 proposals recommend the graduated application of measures within the member states to ensure continued integration of EC measures.

iii. Enlargement of the EC to include other democratic European states - while 5 of 13 European Union proposals explicitly reaffirm the Treaty of Rome principle of enlargement by supporting the accession of other democratic European states, all proposals tacitly support enlargement as an essential factor in European unity.

iv. Extra-Treaty Development - 11 of 13 European Union proposals refer to extra-Treaty aspects of Political Cooperation and the European Council.

Political Cooperation - 9 of 11 refer to EPC.

Proposals are divided between cooperation in terms of foreign policy consultation - 4 of 9 proposals; and a more binding obligation to a common foreign policy - 4 of 9 proposals. Associated with the latter is recommendations for a secretariat or single decision-making centre - 3 of 9 proposals, and with the former commitment to consult before a final position is taken - 3 of 9 proposals.

- 6 of 9 proposals include security aspects into EPC and 2 of 9 proposals include aspects of defence.

- 5 of 9 proposals recommend the integration of EPC with the EC.

European Council - 9 of 11 proposals refer to the European Council.

- 7 of the 9 proposals recommend that European Council meetings be institutionalised within the EC framework.

- 7 of 9 proposals confine the European Council role as providing overall political strategy and objectives to the EC.

- 4 of 9 proposals associate the role of the European Council with EPC.

v. Citizen Participation - 9 of 13 European Union proposals refer to citizen participation.

Measures centre upon cultural cooperation - 5 of 9 proposals; education/language exchanges 5 of 9 proposals; media and information promotion - 5 of 9 proposals; establishment and development of a European University and Foundation - 4 of 9 proposals; external signs of unity - 2 of 9 proposals; ending internal restrictions - 2 of 9 proposals; right of individual recourse - 6 of 9 proposals; participation through the European Parliament - 3 of 9 proposals; and the association of young people with the EC - 4 of 9 proposals.

b. Factors Determining the Level of Integration.

Examination of the origin, scope and status of each of the proposals and attitudes towards them assists in determining the extent to which integration can occur, and thus identifies the factors which promote or hinder European Union.

The European Union proposals originate from the Heads of State and Government; EC institutions - the Council of Ministers, Commission and European Parliament; initiatives from individual Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers; and Ad hoc Working Parties of Independent Experts or Representatives of Heads of Government.

Lack of progress in EC development is the major motivation behind the proposals. Most proposals have been made in response to internal difficulties or in reaction to

perceived external threats. Measures to alleviate or solve these areas of concern have dominated the European Union proposals. Whether of broad or narrow scope, each of the proposals reflects EC reality in which a gap exists between the potential political role of the EC and its actual ability to influence events. See Table 4 for a summary of the major themes of the European Union proposals in terms of measures implemented, ignored, and the introduction of new measures additional to Treaty of Rome guidelines.

Table 4: Summary of European Union proposals implemented; proposals ignored; and new proposals.

1. Proposals Implemented

a. EC Institutional Reform and Development.

Commission

- President appointed six months in advance.
- to approve the application of the veto by a member state.
- implementation of Council of Ministers decisions extended.

Council of Ministers

- limited use of majority voting.
- time limits imposed on decision-making.

European Parliament

- direct election by universal suffrage.
- budgetary control over non-compulsory expenditure.
- supervisory powers over the whole budget.
- greater legislative role through the conciliation and cooperation procedures.
- codecision role in the accession of new member states and signing of international agreements.
- extension of consultative and debating role over the Commission and Councils.
- consultation before the appointment of the Commission President.

b. Policy Development.

Budgetary - EC financial independence.

Economic and Monetary - EMS and ecu established.

Social and Regional - RSF and RDF established.

External - Third World agreements.

- EC participation in international organisations.

- c. Enlargement.
 - 2nd and 3rd enlargements from 6 to 12 member states completed.
- d. Extra-Treaty Development.
 EPC - codified procedures brought within the legal EC framework.
 - creation of a Secretariat.
 - inclusion of some security aspects into foreign policy consultation.
 European Council - included in the EC framework.
- e. Citizen Participation.
 - direct participation through European Parliament representation.
 - medium and long term measures implemented to increase public interest and participation in the EC.
2. Proposals Ignored.
- a. EC Institutional Reform and Development.
- Commission
- 1 member from each state.
 - strengthening of Presidency authority.
 - increasing implementative and administrative roles.
 - real role in EPC.
- Council of Ministers
- making the use of majority voting the rule.
 - real restrictions on the veto.
 - delegation of administrative authority.
 - use of Article 235 for expansion of new policy areas.
 - extension of the Presidency term to 1 year.
 - establishment of a European Minister.
 - open meetings when acting in a legislative or budgetary role.
- European Parliament
- real legislative and budgetary role.
 - real role in EPC.
 - extension of the conciliation procedure to all legal acts.
 - approval of the Commission's programme through an investiture debate.
 - role in the appointment of the Court's of Justice and Auditors.
 - full budgetary powers.
- Court of Justice
- real role in interpretation, arbitration and ratification of international agreements between member states.
- Economic and Social Committee
- extension of role beyond consultation.

All Institutions

- coordination of a joint long term programme of objectives for the EC.

b. Policy Development.

Economic and Monetary - commitment to measures that would complete EMU.

Budgetary - abolition of divisions between areas of expenditure.

Graduated - use of measures that would allow some member states to integrate faster than others.

Legal - commitment to full legal union in the establishment of a homogeneous judicial area.

c. Extra-Treaty Development.

EPC - real commitment to a common foreign policy.

- inclusion of defence aspects.

- consistence in speaking and acting as one in international forums.

3. New Proposals.

a. EC Institutional Reform and Development.

Commission

- Presidency role in the composition of the Commission.
- appointment of members to be shared by the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament.

European Parliament

- joint decision-making to be shared with the Council of Ministers in legislative and budgetary affairs.
- cooperation procedure in specific legislative areas

Court of Justice

- creation of subsidiary courts for individual recourse.

b. Policy Development.

environmental - included within the EC framework.

graduated - alternative means for policy integration.

industrial research and technology - included within the EC framework.

legal - extension of scope to include individual rights.

cultural - to establish a European identity.

c. Extra-Treaty Development.

EPC - political and economic aspects of security

- inclusion of EPC within the legal framework of the Treaty of Rome.

European Council - inclusion as an EC institution.

- role defined as promoting European Union.

d. Citizen Participation.

- specific measures introduced and approved to promote EC identity and image, and to increase public support and participation.

Institutional proposals aim to solve decision-making problems through a return to the use of Treaty of Rome voting procedures in the Council of Ministers, as well as by restrictions on the use of the veto which protects member state vital national interests at the expense of European interests. Greater decision-making roles are also proposed for the Commission and European Parliament to balance European interests by reinforcing principles of efficiency and democratic accountability.

However, institutional proposals which have actually been implemented are minimalist in terms of altering the balance of power. In particular, only limited use of majority voting has been agreed to in the Council of Ministers. Changes to the European Parliament have been piecemeal, mainly concerning the extension of their consultative and scrutiny roles. Areas where a form of joint decision-making exists are restricted as the Council of Minister has the final say.

More far reaching institutional reforms and developments have been largely ignored. These concern the development of EC supranational authority, in particular through the granting to the European Parliament of a joint legislative and budgetary role, control over the executive and involvement in political cooperation.

Policy measures throughout reflect concern in alleviating the impact of economic recession (unemployment and regional disparities) by promotion of policy areas (internal, social, regional) which will lead to economic and

monetary union and the creation of greater growth and stability. At the same time new policy measures promoting competitiveness in industry and technology are stressed as areas where Europe can reassert its role internationally. Development in these areas is balanced by policies protecting the environment, safety and health.

However, policy proposals which promote integrative steps requiring further delegation of sovereignty from the member state have been largely ignored. These include greater EC financial authority, the extension of EC legal authority, and greater use of graduated means to implement policy measures. In addition, full commitment by all the member states to measures that will complete economic and monetary union has yet to be given.

The European Union proposals reiterate the idealistic aspects of the Treaty of Rome by promoting enlargement of the EC to include any democratic European state. This aspect is extremely important as Greece, Spain and Portugal have all been accepted for political rather than economic reasons. All have previously been governed by dictatorships so accession to the EC reinforces their democracy and their political institutions. For the EC however, enlargement has created further economic and political difficulties by increasing the farming population of the EC, placing greater stress on the financial capacity of the Common Agricultural Policy, intensifying regional disparities in the EC between West European and Mediterranean type economies, as well as increasing the number of national interests and opinions

which have to be catered for in the decision-making process.

The European Union proposals also emphasize integrative development parallel to the Treaty of Rome framework. The role of European political cooperation and the European Council in providing integrative measures is of major importance to the unification of the EC. However, the continued separation of political and economic aspects and unwillingness to accept binding commitments has often highlighted the differences between the member states. In addition, the past preoccupation of the European Council with day-to-day affairs of the EC has reduced its ability to provide medium and long term objectives and strategies for the EC.

The inclusion of EC and EPC affairs in the Solemn Declaration on European Union, and more recently codification of EPC rules and procedures in association with the Treaty of Rome in the Single European Act, are important steps in ending the artificial barriers between Treaty and extra-Treaty spheres of influence. Of significance also is the inclusion of economic and political aspects of security in the formal relations of the member states.

However, while political cooperation has been included within the formal treaty of Rome framework, commitment to establishing a common foreign policy is still lacking, as is member state consistency in joint political endeavours.

Finally, the European Union proposals acknowledge the importance of public awareness of and participation in EC life. Citizen support is seen as a vital element in

strengthening EC credibility and legitimacy, thereby promoting European unity. The measures proposed by the Adonnino Report have been approved by the European Council and await implementation by the member states.

4. Salient Factors.

a. Bargaining Power.

Proposals which originate from the European Council (Heads of State and Government) or their representatives in the Council of Ministers are those most likely to be implemented. These include measures proposed in the Hague Summit Declaration; Davignon Report; Solemn Declaration on European Union; and the Single European Act.

The European Council and Council of Ministers represent the highest levels of political authority as elected Heads and Ministers of Government from each of the member states. This political authority has asserted itself in the EC framework. The balance of power in the EC remains in the hands of the nation state as EC institutions have failed to maintain EC integration at the expense of national interest.

It is this high level intervention outside the framework of the Treaty of Rome which has reactivated the unification process. After the crises in the transition years the capacity of the EC institutions to maintain forward movement has been reduced. Thus it was the national governments represented at the Hague Summit Conference in 1969 who provided the means and the political will to continue the unification of Europe; but on their terms.

The Commission and European Parliament are institutions whose Treaty of Rome roles have been limited by the existing balance of power in the EC. Their proposals on European Union (30th May Mandate, European Union Treaty), together with those originating from individual initiatives from a Head of Government (Tindemans Report), two Foreign Ministers (Draft European Act), and from Ad hoc Working Parties of Experts (Vedel, Dooge and Adonnino Reports) all represent the most integrative proposals for advancing unification, whether limited in scope to a particular theme (Vedel, Adonnino) or broad in scope covering the total concept of European Union (Tindemans, Dooge, European Union Treaty).

All of their proposals are based on the gradualist approach to unification and represent principles of efficiency and democracy; reaffirming the sui generis approach by dividing competence between national and European spheres. All propose methods for advancing integration which extend beyond the limits of the Treaty of Rome into new areas, including foreign and security policy; a legislative role for the European Parliament; Treaty amendment or replacement. But, all proposals also reaffirm the basic principles of the Treaty of Rome as the nucleus for a European Union and endeavour to reduce the barriers between EC and intergovernmental methods.

However, the success of these more progressive proposals has been limited by the fact that the unification of Europe is a political process. While measures promoting unity can be initiated by any interested party, their implementation

requires a political decision. Each of the above parties, while possessing considerable influence, lacks sufficient bargaining power to act alone in bringing about change.

Individual Heads of Government - cannot bring about change without the support of the other members of the European Council, and the bargaining power of the smaller states like Belgium is less than that of the larger member states.

Individual Foreign Ministers - are in a similar position to the individual Heads of Government as the proposals have to be agreed to by all members of the Council of Ministers.

Ad hoc Committees of Experts - lack political power, but have nothing to gain or lose in the process and therefore produce the most integrative proposals.

Commission - an independent European based body whose role is to promote unification, but whose power is limited to proposing and is therefore dependent on the Council of Ministers or European Council for a decision to be taken.

European Parliament - also depends on the European Council or Council of Ministers for a decision to be taken as its bargaining power is via the executive EC institutions or through direct recourse to national parliaments (who ultimately depend on their political leaders).

The balance of power favouring intergovernmental bodies in the EC (European Council, Council of Ministers, Coreper, national working parties and Political Committees) has meant

that they are reluctant to promote or approve European Union proposals that will reduce their involvement in the decision-making process or threaten their national interest.

b. Attitudes Towards European Union.

While specific factors - economic, enlargement, international - have slowed the development of European Union, these factors alone have not been sufficient to hinder the integration process. If all of the member governments possessed political will towards European Union, then these problems could have been overcome.

"the stronger the belief in being involved together in a great enterprise, the greater the chance of support for integration approaches even to the more serious problems." ²⁷

The European Council plays a major role in affecting the balance between EC and national interests. The Heads of State and Government and their representatives in the Council of Ministers have been shown to possess the greatest bargaining power and political initiative in EC affairs. Therefore, they possess the greatest ability to bring about change. It is the attitudes of the national governments towards European unification which determines their political will. Their political will is necessary to relaunch and maintain European unification. Alternatively, their disagreement can prevent further measures from being taken which would extend the level of integration towards greater unity.

"without political will there can be no solution to the Community's malaise, but it is a very fuzzy term, and a difficult variable to operationalise".²⁸

Each member government has different economic, social and political interests in the domestic and international environment which influence their attitudes towards European Union. Convergence of twelve member government attitudes depends upon individual motives for joining the EC, the maintenance of economic benefits of membership, the degree of congruence between economic and political interests at national and European level, and the relationship between the individual Heads of State and Government.

"for the European Council to work together effectively they must have the same European will and be prepared to act as a collective authority in order to transfer additional sovereignty required to achieve a true European Union".²⁹

Appendix 1 lists the political composition of the Heads of State and Government from 1969 to 1986. Analysis shows that party political affiliation within the European Council is of little significance in influencing convergence of member government attitudes. Rather, the relationship between the Heads of State and Government and continuity of membership appear to be important factors in determining attitudes towards European Union.

Between 1969 to 1974 and 1981 to 1986, there was less continuity of membership as political leaders in the member states changed several times (in Ireland, Italy and the Netherlands up to 4 times). During these periods, the Heads of State and Government increased from 6 to 12, which also meant that a greater number of views and interests

needed to be taken into account. Thus, it became more difficult for relationships to develop and for coalitions to be built.

During the periods, the greatest number of European Union proposals were produced (10 of 13). The concept of European Union was promoted as a means to build political will among the member governments. Their role in promoting the integration process was recognised as the EC institutions had not been able to maintain European unification.

During 1975 to 1980 European Council membership was more stable as there was fewer changes of leaders. This provided the opportunity for relations between political leaders to develop and for coalitions to form. This in particular occurred between French and German leaders - d'Estaing and Schmidt. Historically, European unification was based upon French and German reconciliation. Mutual trust between these member states facilitated integrative measures (EMS, enlargement, European Parliament direct elections), as well as persuaded other political leaders to concur. Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands were also used to coalition building as it is their form of government. During this period, fewer European Union proposals were produced (3 of 13).

Thus, European Union proposals can be seen as a response to lack of convergence in member government attitudes resulting in an absence of political will towards European Union. This lack of continuity has meant that supranational development has been limited by the national interests of

each member state.

Taylor notes that the overall concept of European unity and supranational development has been replaced by that of national sovereignty and short term interests. Each member government weighs up whether the EC is the appropriate level to achieve those interests, or whether they can be achieved elsewhere. Thus, the environment in the European Council is less conducive to consensus where mutual confidence is lacking, general expectations of European unity are reduced and an overall sense of direction is missing.³⁰

As a result of political elite attitudes, the types of European Union proposals most likely to be implemented are those which do not significantly alter the EC balance of power away from the intergovernmental negotiations. Problem solving is based upon the issue at stake and taking account of twelve member state national interests.

5. Summary: European Union Proposals and Political Will.

To summarise, for a proposal on European Union to succeed it is necessary that the political leaders of the nation states be in accord and able to see the need for or benefits of the proposal. But, in so doing, their ultimate commitment to such a proposal promoting further integration is governed by national considerations and by how the political elites in each member state perceive the EC.

Thus the attitude of the political elites towards the EC and European Union is an important factor in determining the nature of the proposals and agreement with regard to the

measures to be taken. Jacques Delors, President of the Commission, notes that attitudes among the member governments are split into four basic concepts. First, those who are loyal to the spirit of the Treaty of Rome in wanting continued economic and social integration within the single framework. Second, those who want no more than a free trade area with political cooperation on external issues. In between these two were those who want limited social and economic integration and therefore tacitly a two speed Europe; while finally there are those who want progress through intergovernmental agreement so as to avoid EC bureaucracy.³¹

Attitudes vary depending upon whether the member governments perceive the EC in unitary or utilitarian terms. Member governments favouring the first option are more likely to be from the original six member states (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg), with the smaller states of this group sponsoring the proposal that those states which could integrate faster should to so. The most recent states to accede to the EC (Spain and Portugal) can also be viewed as pro-integrative in favouring the movement towards political union.³²

Member governments who favour less integrative and more cooperative measures are member states who joined the EC for more utilitarian motives - economic gain or increased status internationally. These states (Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Greece) favour a cooperative approach in which no binding commitment is made that would curtail their freedom of

manoeuvre or dominance of the national governments in the EC.

Denmark joined the EC primarily for motives of economic interest, while politically its interests lie in the Nordic region. Britain also joined for economic reasons, as well as to help restore the influence that Britain had lost in international affairs since World War Two. Greek application to join the EC was made following the restoration of democracy in Greece by a political party which was pro-European. Since then it has been replaced by a party which favours a foreign policy of neutralism and non-alignment, and therefore opposes many EPC measures and attempts to find a common foreign policy. Ireland is similarly placed in its policy of neutrality being the only EC state not to belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and thus opposes the inclusion of security and defence aspects into the EPC procedure.

Those states favouring a cooperative intergovernmental approach have consistently opposed limitations on the veto as well as the use of majority voting in Council of Minister decision-making, which would override the national interest of a member state.

In the unification process, the tension between sovereignty and integration remains central. The European Union proposals seek to find a acceptable balance between national and EC interests, while the attitudes of the national governments provide the limits on the implementation of more progressive reforms.

To date, European Union proposals which have been actioned and implemented are more in line with the status quo in reinforcing and codifying existing EC rules and procedures. Many of the proposals introduced reiterate measures already in force, without making major alterations to the balance that exists with the intergovernmental Council of Ministers having the final say.

The more innovative proposals (Vedel, Tindemans, Dooge and European Union Treaty) promoting extensive changes to the structure and balance of institutional power, more far reaching policy measures, and the inclusion of aspects of political cooperation into a more formal commitment to produce a qualitative change in EC relations have not been fully implemented. These proposals originate from parties lacking bargaining and decision-making power and have produced a divergence of attitudes between the political leaders of the member states.

In all, the crux of the development towards a European Union is dependent upon the commitment of the member states' political elites in showing the will and introducing the means to promote further integration.

ENDNOTES

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- 4 Ibid.
- 5 "The Summit Conference At The Hague", Bulletin 3 (2/1970), 36.
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- 9 "The First Summit Conference of the Enlarged Community", Bulletin 5 (10/1972), 9-26.
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- 25 "Adonnino Report on a People's Europe", Bulletin 18 (3/1985), 111-117, and (6/1985), 21-23.
- 26 "The Single European Act", Bulletin Supplement 2 (1986).
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- 28 Luciano Bardi and Gianfranco Pasquino, "The institutionalisation process under the Draft Treaty", in An Ever Closer Union: A critical analysis of the Draft Treaty establishing the European Union, eds. Roland Bieber, Jean-Paul Jacqué and Joseph H. H. Weiler, with a Preface by Altiero Spinelli, The European Perspective Series (Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985), p.147.
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- 30 Taylor. *Ibid.*, p.78.
- 31 Jacques Delors quoted in "Institutions and Organs of the Communities: Parliament", Bulletin 18 (7-8/1985), 108.
- 32 "Instruments of Accession", Bulletin 18 (6/1985), 7-12.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EUROPEAN UNION TREATY AND INTEGRATION

1. Introduction.

The intention in this chapter is to examine the implications of the proposals on European Union in terms of integration. This will be done by relating them to the integration approaches applicable to the European Community (EC). Examination of the integration approaches in Chapter Two has revealed that each approach contains elements which help to explain the reality of the EC by emphasis on the differing unifying conditions and strategies. Each approach also highlights a level or stage of union which is achieved through the unification process. Chapter Three has revealed constant themes in the European Union proposals as areas from which European Union could emerge. Factors likely to facilitate or hinder union are also identified.

The method used to examine the European Union proposals in terms of integration is a case study of the European Parliaments' draft treaty establishing the European Union (EUT). The EUT is taken as the sum of all the European Union proposals and its major themes are applied to the major emphases of the integration approaches. Both the EUT themes and the emphases of the integration approaches are ranked ordered to establish which approach is likely to be most useful in explicating the proposals, as well as demonstrating

the current reality of the EC. The rank ordering is subjectively made according to a personal judgement of the emphases of the themes and of the integration approaches.

The EUT is also used to build scenarios which depict the different levels of union achieved in the unification process. Four levels of integration representing high, medium, low, and regressive stages of union are discussed. Each level emphasizes different conditions and strategies which could cause the unification process to proceed, to stagnate, or to disintegrate. Thus, each level, to a certain extent, predicts possible outcomes by suggesting different paths that European Union could take.

2. EUT Themes and Integration Approaches.

a. The EUT: Major Themes.

The EUT is taken as the sum of all the European Union proposals reviewed. Its major themes are evident in the other European Union proposals discussed from 1969 to 1986. These themes are EC institutional reform and development (institutions); enlargement to include other European states (enlargement); policy development and extension (policy); citizen involvement in European unification (citizen); and development in areas outside the framework of the Treaty of Rome - especially political cooperation and the role of the European Council (extra-Treaty). These constant themes represent the major foci for areas where union can legitimately emerge or be expanded.

Chapter Three has revealed that the EUT is the result of agreement between a political majority in a universally elected body. The EUT is the most ambitious European Union proposal. It advances a qualitative leap forward in the unification process by means of a new treaty which incorporates many principles of the Treaty of Rome. The EUT is intended as a further stage in the unification process beyond the earlier Treaty of Rome. The scope of the EUT is broad, involving a more formal commitment to member state relations through policy and institutional measures intended to make the EC more efficient, democratic and accountable. Areas outside the EC framework which are an integral part of member state collaboration - political cooperation, the European Council, and European Monetary System - are included in the new Treaty.

b. EUT Themes: Rank Order

The EUT aims to produce a revival of European integration by the inclusion of "a further development of existing policies, the introduction of new policies and establishment of a new institutional balance".¹ Policy development and the extension of scope in existing and new areas of interest reinforces the intentions of the Treaty of Rome to expand economic and social sectors of common interest, to build solidarity between member states and to include political aspects of this union. Policy development aims to promote balanced expansion and to reduce regional imbalance. Thus, specific priorities of the EUT are the

completion of economic and monetary union, and associated expansion of sectoral, external and societal policies.

Effective institutions and decision-making procedures are necessary to ensure successful policy development and expansion. The EUT proposes reforms to and development of the EC institutional structure based upon an efficient democracy. The institutional balance is based upon more traditional forms of representative government where power is divided between the executive, judicial and legislative authorities. Thus, the powers of the Commission are strengthened, while budgetary and legislative authority is shared between the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament.

The EUT recognises the existing balance of power within the EC by the inclusion of the extra-Treaty European Council within the formal Treaty framework, which is also a means to bring political cooperation under the Treaty umbrella.

Citizen involvement in and support for the unification process is acknowledged by the EUT as a source of legitimacy for the union, while ideals of the Treaty of Rome are reiterated in the call for other European peoples to join in the union.

Rank order of EUT themes - based upon the priority the EUT gives to the major themes.

Policy - Institutions - Extra-Treaty - Citizens - Enlargement

c. Integration Approaches: Rank Order.

The major European Union themes are rank ordered according to the emphasis that each integration approach gives.

Federal emphasizes: - the role of the political elite in establishing institutional sharing of power according to policy sectors, citizen support exists for both levels of government.

Extra-Treaty - Institutions - Policy - Citizens - Enlargement

Confederal emphasizes: - national government interdependence but authority over supranational institutions, broad-linked social and economic policy areas, whilst citizen involvement and enlargement are less important.

Extra-Treaty - Institutions - Policy - Citizens - Enlargement

Functional emphasizes: - social, economic and technological policy requisites and development, producing citizen well being and support, determined by functional cross-national organisations on the basis of the common good, thus causing more people to transfer loyalty away from the nation state and high political values.

Policy - Citizens - Institutions - Enlargement - Extra-Treaty

Neofunctional emphasizes: - social, economic and technological policy interests pursued in supranational institutions by cross-national political groups, causing "spillover" to

include other sectors and interests and political aspects of national sovereignty. Citizen support is not a priority.
 Policy - Institutions - Extra-Treaty - Enlargement - Citizens

Consociational emphasizes: - the will of the political leaders acting within highly centralised unitary institutions to reach a consensus of policy interests and to maintain cohesion between the diverse interests of its citizens. Enlargement is not emphasized as it introduced further diversity and stress on the political will and ability to counter cleavage.

Extra-Treaty - Institutions - Policy - Citizens - Enlargement

Intergovernmental emphasizes: - national government will and recognition of common advantage in specific policy sectors (including areas of national sovereignty) - can be bilateral or multilateral cooperation in areas of interdependence using international institutions to adjust or adapt to changes in its environment. Citizen participation is not emphasized.

Extra-Treaty - Policy - Enlargement - Institutions - Citizens

Domestic Politics emphasizes: - government leaders of each nation state seeking to balance external and domestic policy demands which determines the extent of association or interdependence. Supranational institutions are not important.

Extra-Treaty - Policy - Enlargement - Citizens - Institutions

Graduated Integration emphasizes: - the political and economic policy-making process where the institutions grant exceptions according to national circumstance to cater for diversity, whilst agreeing to reach common objectives at different rates of progress.

Institutions - Policy - Extra-Treaty - Enlargement - Citizens

d. Rank Order: Themes and Emphases.

The following table relates the rank ordered themes and the order of emphasis of the integration approaches to establish how far the EUT exemplifies any of the integration approaches.

Table 5: Rank Order of the EUT Themes and the Emphases of the Integration Approaches.

Themes: - 1 = Policy; 2 = Institutions; 3 = Extra-Treaty;
4 = Citizens; 5 = Enlargement.

<u>Themes</u>	1	2	3	4	5

<u>Approaches</u>					
Federal	3	2	1	4	5
Confederal	3	2	1	4	5
Functional	1	3	5	2	4
Neofunctional	1	2	3	5	4
Consociational	3	2	1	4	5
Intergovernmental	2	4	1	5	3
Domestic Politics	2	5	1	4	3
Graduated	2	1	3	5	4

The EUT themes best exemplify the neofunctional integration approach. The neofunctional approach is most useful in highlighting the emphasis that all the European Union proposals have placed upon policy development and extension (11 of 13 European Union proposals mention policy aspects). This approach reinforces gradual sectoral policy development beginning in economic and societal policy areas.

The neofunctional integration approach is designed to encourage multi-level contact and convergence of interests between the member states, which facilitates further policy development and extension into more contentious political areas of national sovereignty. To date, whilst there has been a broadening of policy areas in the EC, there also has been resistance to authority being transferred to the supranational institutions in areas of national sovereignty. However, some inroads have been made in political cooperation by member state acknowledgement of the political nature of their affairs.

The neofunctional approach also emphasizes associated institutional development as a strategy for integration. The nature of the supranational institutional structure and decision-making procedures are stressed as factors facilitating the transfer of authority and loyalty from the nation state to the single decision-making centre. Neofunctionalism acknowledges the fact that current European unification is an overtly political process involving the interaction of political actors, each pursuing their own interests within the supranational institutional structure.

In addition, the importance of extra-Treaty development is recognised as a condition for success by the inclusion of the intergovernmental European Council and political cooperation procedure (EPC) within the EC institutional and policy-making framework. Member state agreement to the Single European Act means the European Council and EPC are now part of the Treaty of Rome.

While enlargement to include other democratic European states is considered a by-product of neofunctionalism, less emphasis is placed upon citizen participation and support as a condition for successful integration.

e. EUT: Integration Implications and Current Reality.

While the EUT themes best exemplify the neofunctional integration approach, the rank ordering also helps account for the current status of the integration process by identifying factors which determine how far the European Union proposals can go in terms of integration. These factors become apparent when the major emphasis of each integration approach in Table 5 is taken into account.

Table 6: The Major Emphasis of the Integration Approaches.

<u>Integration Approach</u>					
<u>Major Emphasis</u>	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Themes</u>					
Policy	2	3	3	-	-
Institutions	1	4	1	1	1
Extra-Treaty	5	-	2	-	1
Enlargement	-	-	2	3	3
Citizens	-	1	1	3	3

Extra-Treaty development is considered the most important factor contributing to the shape of European Union by five of the eight integration approaches analysed. This is of particular significance as they stress that the unification process is overtly political, with integration dependent upon the involvement of the major political actors (Heads of State and Government), as well as stressing that the achievement of European Union requires political integration as well as economic.

Institutional arrangements and policy issues at stake are considered the next two most important factors in determining the extent of integration, whilst enlargement and citizen involvement act as less of an integrative dynamic.

f. Summary: Between Neofunctional and Intergovernmental.

EC reality lies somewhere between the neofunctional integration approach and the intergovernmental integration approach. The institution most representative of European citizens and common political will - the European Parliament - lacks effective democratic powers in EC decision-making. Few of the reforms and developments put forward in the EUT have been implemented despite support from some member governments. The EUT can, however, be considered to have had some success in pressuring the European Council and the Council of Ministers to convene an Intergovernmental Conference which has resulted in agreement being reached on some reform measures, with renewed commitment to European Union being formalised in the Single European Act.

However, the use of qualified majority voting to achieve policy goals is still dependent upon the will of the intergovernmental bodies and their attitudes to supranational decision-making.

3. Levels of Union: Which Path to Follow?

Scenarios representing different levels of union based upon the integration approaches are now considered in relation to the EUT. Each level of union highlights aspects of the EUT and suggests outcomes by depicting different paths of possible development.

As observed in Chapter Two, no one set of assumptions or given conditions can confidently predict patterns of future change, thus the scenarios are used to analyse the conditions that are important in determining the extent to which political integration will take place.

Four types of European Union are discussed representing high, medium, low and regressive levels of union. The high level of union is based upon the intentions of the founders of the Treaty of Rome to achieve a federal form of political community. Each level can be viewed as step building in a strategy for peace. Union among people is to be built by developing the broadest common European interest through policies, institutions, expenditure and laws.

Thus each level is viewed as a stage in the unification process in which the balance between European and member state interests depends upon necessary prerequisites and conditions. It is these factors which facilitate or hinder

unification and the prospect of further sovereignty being transferred from the nation state to the European decision-making centre. Each level of union can not remain static - if the necessary conditions are met then unification can advance to the next stage; but if the conditions are not fulfilled then unification must regress to a lower level of union.

As unification is not a one-way process, the level of union may fluctuate. However, for the period of time the scope and level of integration remain unchanged, thus each level of union is observable. Both the level and scope of integration contribute to the level of union. To recap, the level of integration refers to the extent of vertical integration where functional areas are governed from supranational centres which can act independently of national governments; while the scope of integration refers to the extent of horizontal integration whereby functional areas are linked together at European level.² Thus, the higher the level of union, the greater the level of integration and the broader the scope of integration will be.

Scenario 1 - Regressive: Nation State Association.

Integration Approaches - Domestic Politics and Graduated Integration.

Level of Integration - minimal as national sovereignty remains in the hands of the nation state.

Scope of Integration - restricted mostly to the economic sphere.

Goal - the primacy of the nation state as the fundamental unit in a European order based upon voluntary association or intergovernmental cooperation. At most, a free trade area with limited political cooperation on some external issues.

Means - integration by association between nation states' in areas of mutual interest.

Disintegrative/Integrative Dynamic - national government attitudes in response to pressure from domestic or external factors. The degree of convergence between national government attitudes determines the likelihood of integration (general expectations, sense of common interest/destiny).

The beginnings of the EC, with the signing of the Treaties of Paris and Rome, are the result of convergence between six national government attitudes in response to the need for national reconciliation, economic necessity, and the maintenance of peace. The EUT tries to ensure that national government attitudes increasingly converge through its general principles and reiteration of the ideals of the Treaty of Rome as a strategy for peace. Common values (democracy, individual rights and freedoms) are emphasized in the conditions for membership with an obligation to adhere to these principles. Article 2 emphasizes the prospect of enlargement to include other democratic European States who share similar aspirations and common interests.

If, however, attitudes do not converge then the possibility of disintegration increases. Etzioni considers the question of regression with regard to enlargement by

pointing out that enlargement for the sake of maintaining democracy could stress the level of union by including more people than the union could support.³

Further enlargement of the EC has produced a more heterogeneous grouping of member states. The motives of the national governments who have acceded to the EC since 1972 have been based primarily upon utilitarian grounds for economic benefits. As a result, short term economic gain has been emphasized, rather than long term political ideals of union.

Newer member states (Britain, Denmark, Greece and Ireland) have been more reluctant to accept any proposal that is likely to increase the level of integration by granting further sovereignty to EC institutions. Rather, their interest has focused upon policy development to produce the looked for economic gains or international prestige. However, expectation of benefits can act as a regressive factor if these benefits are not fulfilled or sustained.

Provision for the entry into force of the EUT (Article 82) allows for those member states willing to accede to the EUT to do so, thus accepting that some member states can integrate faster than others. Those member states not wanting to commit themselves to this next stage of union must renegotiate their relations with the European Union based upon the rights they received under the Treaty of Rome. This graduated approach ensures that slower member states can not prevent the implementation of the EUT, and means that the more reluctant member states do not immediately have to take

the next integrative steps with the rest.

Recent enlargement to include Spain and Portugal has increased the EC to 320 million citizens. This enlargement has introduced further diversity, thus potentially reducing the chances of converging national government attitudes. A greater number of factors need to be taken into account: - economic - stressing competition and economic growth; social - creating greater cleavage between regions, languages, religions; political - reducing the likelihood of consensus decision-making and agreement over policy goals. These additional factors produce greater pressures on each national government through increased domestic and external demands.

Enlargement is what largely motivated agreement to the Single European Act as member governments have been concerned about the inability of the EC to deal with the further demands being made upon the system. The measures introduced by the Single European Act are designed to ease the pressure by agreement to use majority decision-making in order to achieve policy goals such as economic and monetary union. Etzioni maintains that the economic union which the EUT seeks to complete requires political unification through supranational decision-making, not consensus, in order to prevent regression to an economic EC rather than a United States of Europe.⁴

The EUT does not exemplify this level of union. Despite twenty years of slowing economic growth and limited institutional development, the EC has not disintegrated to a voluntary economic union between independent nation states.

It is unlikely that the EC will regress to this level of union as there has been increased realisation that economic and political aspects of union can not be kept separate. Member state interdependence has become entwined at supranational level; further sovereignty has been transferred to EC institutions; and enlargement has been successfully completed, with the number of member states in the EC doubling.

However, for the convergence of national government attitudes to continue other factors come into play such as more formalised consultation and cooperation within limited supranational bodies to achieve specific objectives and to meet new demands.

Scenario 2 - Low: Consultation and Cooperation.

Integration Approaches - Intergovernmental, Confederal, and Graduated.

Level of Integration - is low as sovereignty delegated to the supranational institutions is restricted to suit the objectives of the national governments.

Scope of Integration - can cover broad areas of interdependence.

Goals - a minimal form of European political union in which the supranational level remains legally and politically subordinate to the national governments especially in areas concerning national sovereignty (defence, security, foreign policy).

Means - a formalised system of consultation and cooperation to reach common positions. Specific policy objectives are achieved based upon mutual benefit, or to respond to internal or external crisis. Bilateral and multilateral relations build interdependence and alliances between national governments. Decision-making is by diplomatic negotiation focused upon the policy issue and aimed at building consensus and unanimity. There is minimal development at supranational level as intergovernmental bodies predominate, decisions are made on the basis of the lowest common denominator, and supranational authority and resources are limited to specific areas and objectives.

Integrative Dynamic - national governments act as key actors in promoting and hindering integrative measures. National governments, representing the highest political authority, have the capacity to carry out integrative measures. But, while the national governments aim to protect their national interests, the extent of integration is restricted as, beyond the recognition of European interdependence, the will to integrate is lacking.

The intergovernmental integration approach builds habits of consultation and cooperation between the national governments; the confederal integration approach formalises and institutionalises the process; and the graduated integration approach builds up solidarity by allowing for national circumstance and encouraging integrative measures to be taken in specific policy areas by national governments able to do so.

The European Council is dominant in the current EC decision-making structure, emphasizing intergovernmental decision-making methods over EC procedures. The EUT acknowledges the role of the twelve national governments in the unification process by their inclusion of the European Council into the new Treaty framework. The existing EC balance of power is also recognised as, while the European Council is institutionalised, it is also allowed to set its own procedures. The composition and role of the European Council are defined in Articles 31 and 32. Traditional powers of a parliamentary head of state are granted as the European Council appoints the head of the executive (Commission) and has the right to address other institutions. The European Council is also required to answer European Parliament written and oral questions, thus giving the European Parliament a potential involvement in political cooperation.

Through the European Council political cooperation is incorporated under the formal Treaty umbrella. Existing EPC practice is codified, which in itself is important as the EUT recognises that economic and political aspects of foreign affairs can not be kept separate. However, the European Council retains control of the political aspects of international policy, which includes economic and political aspects of security in the Treaty framework (Article 66). Thus, political cooperation is institutionalised without altering its function.

The EUT recognises the value of intergovernmental habits of consultation and cooperation in harmonising views in order to reach consensus and unanimity where possible. Political issues have to be introduced by the national governments to ensure their success. EPC is seen by some member states as a means to reassert Europe's role in world affairs. Thus, through EPC communication, greater mutual understanding and similarity of views within a European context has resulted. This is particularly the case between the larger member states (Britain, France, Germany); whilst differences are more apparent among the smaller member states (Ireland, Greece) who often take contrary views over foreign policy issues.

Intergovernmental consultation and cooperation is seen by the EUT as a realistic means to undertake new forms of joint action not covered by the Treaty of Rome. Article 68 provides for the extension of political cooperation into new fields of action (armament, defence, disarmament). These new areas of foreign policy are thus loosely incorporated into the Treaty framework as areas for future cooperation, provided the European Council decides the time is right. Cooperation may also be extended to common action without all member states being obliged to participate. This process can also be transferred back to cooperation. Thus, the potential exists for a future defence role for Europe, whilst member state interests are safeguarded as the decisions have to be taken unanimously. All political decision-making "remains in the hands of the European Council, which represents the heads

of government of the Member States and requires unanimity for all its votes, thus retaining for each head of government a veto".⁵

The problem with intergovernmental consultation and cooperation is that its potential for agreement is limited to national interests and objectives on the basis of consultation between national leaders and bodies. Decision-making and problem solving, while carried out in a limited supranational setting, are most often reactive and addressed on the basis of the lowest common denominator, rather than creating an ongoing decision-making procedure which decides for all member states.

The EUT recognises that this level of union is representative of EC reality because of the existing national balance of power - hence the inclusion of the European Council into the Treaty of Rome framework. This level of union is likely to predominate because some member states do not have the political will to commit further sovereignty to the supranational level (Britain, Denmark, Greece, Ireland). However, reliance on intergovernmental methods has weakened the EC system as predominance of intergovernmental bodies, such as the Committee of Permanent Representatives, ad hoc committees and national bodies, has reduced decision-making to consensus of national interest. The EC is seen as a collection of individual states rather than a collective unit. If the European Council does not agree, the result is likely to be adverse public reaction.⁶

But, at the same time, the EUT recognises the importance of this level of union to build up and to formalise political aspects of member state relations. EPC has now been formalised within the Treaty of Rome. This process of consultation, cooperation and formalisation may be seen as a strategy for future EC development in other fields, starting "with a loose, at any time revocable, cooperation that subsequently and gradually gains in intensity and ultimately becomes a legal binding commitment".⁷

After habits of cooperation and consultation are established and formalised, it is necessary to build up involvement of national bodies and groups in decision-making at European level - a collective image in which the EC is seen to represent the member states.

Scenario 3 - Medium: Supranational Consolidation.

Integration Approaches - Functional, Neofunctional, Consociational, and Graduated Integration.

Level of Integration - increasing, as a greater amount of sovereignty is delegated to supranational institutions.

Scope of Integration - an increasing number of functional areas are linked.

Goals - functional - a consensual welfare community of European states with functionally based organisation.

- neofunctional/consociational - European political union with a supranational decision-making centre.

Means - functional/neofunctional/graduated - a gradual sectoral strategy based on utilitarian transactions beginning

in economic and social policy sectors and designed to include political aspects of national sovereignty.

- consociational - role of the political elite cartel and structural elements in the centralised decision-making process aimed at building consensus of interest and commitment to maintain the integration of diverse cleavage groups.

Integration Dynamic - the learning process where citizens and political elites see the advantage of interaction at supranational level in producing greater benefits, consensus of interests, and capacity to meet demands made from diverse sector and groups.

- functional - produces citizen attitude change and loyalty shift from the nation state to functional organisations.

- neofunctional - produces a transfer of authority and legitimacy via the broad elite to the decision-making process in the supranational institutions.

- consociational - produces the will to support the new system in the political elite cartel.

- graduated - allows those member states who can integrate policy measures faster to do so.

The EUT places major emphasis upon policy development to complete Treaty of Rome economic and social goals so as to create the conditions for further expansion into new areas of common action. EUT policy measures provide a framework for the full development of the European economy which could

produce the benefits that would promote social well-being generally. The EUT places greater emphasis upon the rights, welfare and concerns of the individual European citizen, thus humanising the face of the European Union even more.

Priorities are the creation of a homogeneous internal market through the completion of economic and monetary union (Articles 47-54), expansion of sectoral policies (Article 54), development in parallel areas of social and external policy (Articles 55-69), and the rationalisation of financial policy (Articles 70-81).

Policy areas developing outside the EC framework are incorporated into the EUT. These include the European Monetary System, through the European Monetary Fund and the European Currency Unit. External policy includes political and economic aspects of international relations by the division of competences between European action (economic areas) and member state cooperation in the European Council (political aspects). Financial policy is streamlined to end the EC division of competence between compulsory and non-compulsory expenditure. Increased democratic control is granted to the European Parliament over EUT financial affairs in the areas of European Union financial and budgetary resources, (including the power to increase domestic taxes).

The EUT emphasizes the importance of graduated application of policy measures to facilitate the implementation of agreed measures. Article 35 introduces differentiated implementation of laws, transition measures, and time limits. These are dependent upon national

circumstances in each member state. Graduated measures are to be implemented by the authorities of the member states concerned to adjust their conditions to those of the European Union, so that shared objectives can eventually be achieved by all.

Article 68/2 provides for differentiation in political cooperation. One or more member states can derogate from measures taken if political cooperation is being extended to common action. This is an important safeguard for member states not wanting to proceed as quickly in certain areas, (for example Denmark or Ireland in defence or security matters). In all, this pragmatic approach is designed to maintain the momentum of integration by acknowledging and catering for diversity and minority rights.

Citizen participation and support is seen as a vital element in the unification process. The preamble of the EUT determines to increase solidarity of the European peoples whilst protecting their national identity, dignity and freedom. Article 4 guarantees fundamental human rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Article 43 grants individuals legal recourse against EUT laws adversely affecting them. The EUT aims to complete full legal union (Article 46), as a homogeneous judicial area is seen as a means of individual protection and identity as well as an effective counter against international crime and terrorism.

New policy areas - education and research, cultural and information (Articles 60-62) promote public awareness and

European identity. The European Foundation and European University Institute are brought into the Treaty framework. Citizen participation is also promoted by an effective directly elected Parliament with democratic powers.

The EUT aims to counter the present pattern of intergovernmental decision-making by basing decision-making procedures on principles of democracy and efficiency. Measures aim to prevent one institution from blocking decision-making by refusing to act. Competence is gradually divided and shared between member state and European institutions, with a greater say going to the democratically elected European Parliament.

This gradual handover of competence, from intergovernmental to supranational, along with a system of checks and balances is designed to prevent the decision-making deadlock. In addition, convergence of broad elite group interests, attitudes and demands is also facilitated in order to bring about common agreement. A supportive elite (media, political leaders, civil servants, business and trade union groups) is considered vital to the European decision-making process where perceptions of problems and solutions transcend national interests.⁸

Structural elements in the decision-making process are designed to safeguard or promote the roles and status of these broad elite groups in order to encourage them to support European Union.⁹ Thus, European level decision-making powers are limited and used under certain

restrictions. Proportional representation is retained in the executive (Commission), with the larger member states having more members. The Council of Ministers and European Council Presidencies are rotated on a six monthly basis with office holders interchanging. Interest group, party and public representation is increased through changes to the European Parliament, Commission and Economic and Social Committee. The Economic and Social Committee gains the right to initiate its own investigations and to report to the EUT institutions on them (Article 33).

Structural elements in the decision-making process also retain certain EC restrictions so as to promote the will of the political elite leaders to supranational, rather than intergovernmental, decision-making. The EUT specifies important situations and issue areas whereby absolute or qualified majority voting is necessary.¹⁰ These provisions require a convergence of interests and opinions and encourage the European Parliament and Council of Ministers to reach agreement. In addition, the veto clause is retained for a ten year period before it is phased out (Article 23/3). During this ten year period political leaders can protect their vital national interest (provided it is recognised as such by the Commission) while confidence is built up in supranational decision-making.

Thus, structural elements in decision-making procedures protect minority rights and build up the political will of the elite groups. The importance of key political leaders is stressed in encouraging other member state leaders to

converge in their views, to find common ground, and to promote integrative measures.¹¹ Key member states are France, Germany and Britain. French support is considered especially important as others will follow their lead.¹² French/German and British initiatives at the 1985 Milan Summit proposed the inclusion of political and economic aspects of security, which has now been incorporated into the Single European Act. French and German bilateral negotiations before the 1986 London Summit brought about agreement to establish a common communications network as part of coordinated security responses to terrorism and drug trafficking in EC member states.

The EUT exemplifies this level of union as it continues the Treaty of Rome gradualist strategy aimed at achieving economic and political union. Policy development and expansion aim to incorporate EC relations to date, with gradual means of implementation ensuring that policy objectives are eventually achieved by all. Citizen support, as a means of legitimacy, is actively promoted through the incorporation of new policy areas. Structural elements in the EC institutions aim to promote effective decision-making. Certain measures have been accepted by all the member states in the Single European Act. These include the use of qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers to facilitate the completion of the internal market - a prerequisite in the completion of economic union.

At this stage, it is uncertain whether these reforms will be successfully carried out. Unless the Council of Ministers is prepared to accept qualified majority voting, it is unlikely that this level of union will predominate, despite policy development and expansion. Further institutional development is necessary and is dependent on a shift in the balance of power away from member state national interests to encourage broad elite support for the supranational decision-making process.

Overall, elements of support are built up for the European level in diverse groups which are encouraged to look to the European level decision-making process for problem solving, interest articulation and policy goals. Provided the decision-making process has the capacity to meet their various demands, citizen and broad elite support is given. This provides the conditions for further national sovereignty to be delegated to the central institutions, creating a new balance in European and member state relations.

Scenario 4 - High: A United States of Europe.

Integration Approaches - Federal and Graduated. •

Level of Integration - is high as a considerable amount of sovereignty is delegated to supranational institutions.

Scope of Integration - is correspondingly broad.

Goal - A United States of Europe; a political union where power is divided between two equal levels of government - supranational and national - who are interdependent but have autonomous competence. Areas of national sovereignty

(defence, security, foreign policy) are delegated to the supranational level.

Means - constitutional/legal guarantees of democratic division of power which are based on the premise that the supranational European government will only act in areas where national governments can not act effectively alone. Constitutional division of power protects the level of agreement reached and builds solidarity between the two levels of government. Diversity and regional identity are protected, whilst unity is promoted as the resulting citizen support for both levels of government provides legitimacy, and new areas of common action are encouraged.

Integrative Dynamic - the role played by the major political actors in the two levels of government, who have the will and the capacity to transform the system.

The EUT is not a federal Treaty, but it does contain some federal characteristics in its institutional structure. Institutional reform and development is seen by the members of the European Parliament as the key to progress towards political union. Their strategy entails efficient and democratic institutional development and reform. The result is designed to produce a qualitative step forward in the unification process through a form of political organisation with federal implications; rather than the creation of a federal state.

Efficient and democratic institutions are seen as a means to unification, through the removal of obstacles to EC

development which encourages the European peoples to see that contemporary problems are common to all and need to be solved by common solutions.¹³ Gradual progress in breaking down solely national interests is envisaged, whilst member state identity is retained within a European framework.

a. Constitutional Basis.

The EUT is based upon, but replaces the Treaty of Rome. Article 3 lays down principles of dual citizenship in the nation state and the European Union, as well as citing citizen obligations and political rights. Article 4 guarantees citizen rights based upon member state constitutions, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the European Social Charter.

Constitutional provisions are protected by the Court of Justice as the EUT gives it powers of interpretation and arbitration of EUT law (Article 30) to ensure Treaty law is applied by the member states and the European Union. Thus, the supremacy of Union law over national law is acknowledged in areas of Union competence.

b. Divided Competence Between Two Levels of Government.

The EUT contains the federal principle of "subsidiarity" which divides competence between national and supranational elements. "Subsidiarity" is based on the principle that common action will only occur in areas where the European Union can act more successfully than the member states acting

alone. Like the Treaty of Rome, EUT legislation only relates to areas of common action and only establishes fundamental principles, leaving implementation procedures to be filled out by the EUT institutions and member states (Article 34). In so doing, unity is promoted but member state independence is safeguarded.

Article 12 is based on the federal practice of dividing the competence of policy responsibilities between the Union and the members states. In areas of common action, exclusive and concurrent competence allows the European institutions to act alone or in partnership with the member states. Provision is also made for concurrent competence to be transferred to exclusive competence with member state approval.

The other means of action - cooperation, between the member states within the European Council, ensures intergovernmental procedures are acted out within the EUT framework. Provision is made for cooperation to be transferred to concurrent competence with European Council agreement. This is significant as it concerns such areas of national sovereignty as political cooperation in matters of security and defence.

Integration, to a higher level of union, is promoted through the division of competences between common action where supranational institutions dominate, and cooperation where member state independence is safeguarded (Article 10). However, regression from European Union/member state action to cooperation is prevented (Article 11/12). European common

action is combined alongside intergovernmental cooperation in other areas of member state interest. Thus, the division of competence has legal and constitutional implications as well as operational implications.¹⁴

c. Institutional Structure.

"It is clear that the institutional set-up envisaged for the European Union accords with a vision of a federal system of open government and representative democracy in which an elected chamber plays a pivotal role scrutinising and controlling the executive and legislating for the people on the basis of the majority view of the "common good" instead of according to a blocking minority compact of national interests".¹⁵

EUT institutional development and reforms are based on principles of efficiency, democracy and accountability. The Treaty of Rome institutions are retained, but their balance of power is altered based upon EC experience. The EUT seeks a new balance of power which can effectively cater for a greater amount of sovereignty being transferred from the national parliaments. This will also help to reduce the intergovernmental balance of power held by the Council of Ministers. The issue is whether the (Council of Ministers) acting as EC legislature should continue to escape democratic control at national and supranational level.¹⁶

EUT changes stress the importance of the Commission as the executive of a European Government which requires a democratic role for the European Parliament. In addition, the European Council is institutionalised within the Treaty framework and the Council of Ministers is modified to become the Council of the Union; thus establishing a single institutional framework.

The federal concept of a bicameral legislature is introduced by the EUT with the Council of the Union and the European Parliament jointly sharing budgetary and legislative authority. The Council of the Union is perceived as an upper chamber or European senate, representative of the member states, while the directly elected European Parliament represents the European citizens. Active involvement of the executive government in legislation is also envisaged (Article 36), and its Treaty of Rome role of guardian, administrator and initiator of law is supplemented by an implementation role.

The Commission receives real democratic authority from its responsibility to the European Parliament (Article 29). The Commission is to take office once the European Parliament has approved its political programme. This is to be done within six months of European Parliament elections, thus correlating the terms of office. In addition, the role of the Commission President is strengthened and made more cohesive through appointment by the European Council, and their joint consultation over the appointment of the remaining Commission members (Article 25). Thus, the Commission receives authority from the European peoples, as well as from the member states.

The EUT grants the European Parliament greater democratic authority through its joint legislative and budgetary authority and its role in the conclusion of international agreements. As the European Union receives greater supranational authority from the national

parliaments, a parallel increase in parliamentary powers on the European level is envisaged.¹⁷ The European Parliament retains its Treaty of Rome supervisory role and ability to force the Commission to resign as a whole (Article 16).

The EUT seeks to make the Council of Union membership more stable by having each member state representation led by a European Minister who is specifically and permanently responsible for Union affairs (Article 20). This role covers both member government and Union activities and aims to produce greater coordination within the Council of the Union. Council of the Union budgetary and legislative meetings are to be open to public scrutiny (Article 24).

Other institutional changes include a role for the European Parliament in the appointment of members of the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors (Articles 30-33).

These arrangements restore the institutional balance in favour of the European Commission and European Parliament which are regarded as the cornerstones of integration against national interest. They create the conditions for further integration as the European Union receives more supranational authority.

d. Graduated Implementation of the EUT.

Like the Treaty of Rome the EUT is intended to come gradually into effect after a transition period. The EUT is also concluded for an unlimited period (Article 87). This gradual approach allows for adaptation to new arrangements and builds political authority through the use of concurrent

competence. This means that a broad consensus can be reached through qualified majority voting, or through unanimous decision-making where political cooperation is concerned. The transition period of ten years to phase out the veto (Article 23/3) means that vital national interest can be protected during the transition to European Union when political solidarity should be strong.¹⁸

Overall, the EUT is attempting to achieve a more democratic division of power between the executive, legislature and judiciary. The EUT does not intend to replace the member states but rather, by incorporating federal principles of open government and representative democracy ensure a more equal balance between national and supranational levels. Thus, the EUT represents more of a form of political organisation than an attempt to establish a federal state, although if the institutional and constitutional arrangements were to be carried through the result should be a type of United States of Europe.

The EUT does not exemplify this level of union. Equal balance does not exist between national and European level institutions. Insufficient sovereignty has been delegated from the member states to the European level. Until sufficient political will and solidarity is built up between the member governments it is unlikely that this level of union will be achieved. However, it must be remembered that European Union is a gradual process and the time span of the EC is comparatively short - only thirty years.

4. Summary: Between Medium and Low Levels of Union.

The case study of the EUT and its relation to the integration approaches, through rank ordering and scenarios, has helped to explain the reality of the EC and the likely development of European Union.

The reality of the EC reflects aspects of all levels of union, and therein, elements of each of the integration approaches. Each level of union illustrates necessary conditions which facilitate or hinder further integration. If these conditions are fulfilled then integration can proceed further. But if they are not fulfilled then disintegration or regression to a lower level of union is likely to occur. Regression need not mean the end of the EC, but rather a lower level of union in which certain aspects of member state relations are strengthened.

The four levels of union overlap to give the EC its sui generis nature and balance between European and member state relations. Each level of union gives some indication of outcomes by predicting the extent to which European Union could possibly develop. The current status of European Union falls somewhere between the neofunctional and intergovernmental integration approaches, fluctuating between medium and low on the unification spectrum.

The neofunctional approach is the most useful approach in highlighting the emphasis placed by the European Union proposals upon policy development and extension as a strategy for union. The intergovernmental approach highlights the role of the national governments in determining which

measures are implemented and therefore, the extent to which European Union can progress.

Lack of agreement exists between the member governments over the type of union they want. Some support a minimal form of union in which the European level remains politically and legally subordinate to the member governments. Others encourage a more formal relationship entailing political union and supranational decision-making. This lack of agreement has meant that member government attitudes have not converged. Reaching a common position depends upon the issue at stake and whether the member governments can achieve enough benefits to outweigh the cost of union. As a result, broad elite groups and citizens do not see the advantages of supranational decision-making so the commitment to the European level is lacking. Supranational institutional development is likely to remain at the low level of union as conditions for further integration have not been fulfilled.

As a result of this intergovernmental decision-making the horizontal extent of integration continues to broaden. Enlargement continues to include other democratic European states and an increasing number of internal and external policy areas are linked and interwoven at European level. In addition associated intergovernmental development of political aspects are now included within the framework of the Treaty of Rome. However, the vertical level of integration, in which European institutions can act independently of national governments, has remained low as member governments are reluctant to extend European level

decision-making by granting further sovereignty to the supranational institutions.

It may be considered that the horizontal extent of integration has been achieved at the expense of the level of integration, as the Commission's independence has been reduced by member government desire for unanimity in decision-making. National interest has become the priority, not EC common interest.¹⁹

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER FIVE

EUROPEAN UNION: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Summary.

European Union emerges as an ongoing peace strategy which constantly reinforces the common interests and benefits of nation state collaboration. It is an evolutionary process, flexible enough to change over time, as well as to cater for circumstances confronting it. As a concept, European Union is seen as a means to build political will among the political leaders of the European Community (EC) member governments. No final form is envisaged as European Union has a different meaning according to the differing perceptions of its proponents.

The Treaty of Rome represents a stage in the development of European Union. The initiators of the Treaty of Rome intended a federal form of European Union, not replacing the nation state with a European superstate, but instead building union among European people. The Treaty advocates a gradualist integration strategy to achieve a balanced collaboration between the nation state and the European Union.

This is based upon a division of competence requiring delegation of national sovereignty to European institutions only in areas where joint action will be more successful. This shared rule entails equal obligation to promote and to

protect each others interests, to ensure a balance which avoids reliance upon the national government. This equilibrium provides the dynamic element which maintains European Union development.

However, the Treaty of Rome equilibrium has not been maintained because of member government reluctance to delegate sovereignty and democratic authority to the EC institutions. EC areas of competence are limited, decision-making procedures are slow and democratic legitimacy is uncertain. The proposals on European Union are made in response to the lack of progress towards European Union. All attempt to promote forward movement towards European Union because loss of momentum creates instability.⁴ Each European Union proposal seeks to balance EC-member state relations, but that balance depends upon whether a unitary or a utilitarian union is sought.

Today, the EC is described as a sui generis form of union: A multilevel political entity with increasingly regular, diverse and complex relationships. While the EC is representative of no one integration approach, it reflects aspects of a number of integration approaches applicable to EC experience. Each approach places different emphasis upon the conditions and strategies facilitating or hindering European Union.

The rank ordering of the major themes of the European Parliament's draft European Union Treaty (EUT) and of the major emphases of the integration approaches has helped to explain EC reality and, with the scenarios representing

different levels of union, has suggested possible ways European Union may develop. Thus, the relation of the European Union proposals to the integration approaches has helped to facilitate an understanding of the proposals in terms of integration.

The EUT is the result of an evolutionary process which has its origins in the Treaty of Rome.² At most, the EUT could represent a constitution for the European Union; At the least the EUT represents a form of political organisation designed to manage varying degrees of political and economic integration and interdependence between twelve EC member states.³

EC reality fluctuates between medium and low levels of union. The medium level illustrates the gradual sectoral policy approach which emphasizes extension of policy scope, and is designed to build broad political elite and citizen support for the supranational level. The low level of union emphasizes the role of the national governments in determining to what extent European Union can develop.

As the EUT originates from the European Parliament (a supranational institution whose role and bargaining power is limited by the existing balance of power in the EC) few of its proposals, particularly those concerned with institutional reform and development, have been implemented. The reality of the EC reflects a balance of power which is held by the intergovernmental institutions of the Council of Ministers and the extra-Treaty European Council. As the European Parliament lacks bargaining power recourse must be

through executive EC institutions or directly to national parliaments, which in turn are dependent upon the will of the political leaders.

Member government and national bodies have greater influence in the decision-making process. It has been extra-Treaty intervention which has reactivated the unification process. The political will of the Heads of State and Government in the European Council and their representatives in the Council of Ministers is necessary to relaunch and maintain European unification. It is their lack of agreement which prevents further measures being taken to increase the level of integration.

The spirit of the Treaty of Rome, or the political will of the member governments, has faltered. While the member governments seek to protect national interests in the face of economic and external difficulties, EC institutions and decision-making procedures are restricted in providing the momentum necessary for progress towards European Union. Further integration remains dependent upon the member governments which, to date, have only accepted piecemeal changes to achieve Treaty of Rome objectives.

Decision-making is governed by national considerations, involving both intergovernmental diplomacy and consensus and the attitudes of the political elites towards European Union. European unification is a political process in which political elites must be in accord, be able to benefit from proposals, and have the capacity to implement them.

The attitudes of the political elites are governed by differing social, economic and political factors both domestically and internationally. Much depends upon the policy issue involved as to whether the EC is the appropriate level for response. Continuity is needed for coherent development towards European Union.⁴ Where continuity does not exist decision-making remains at the level of the lowest common denominator involving political bargaining between member governments to achieve their own national interests, while they resist pressure to complete common European policies and to expand into new policy areas.

The problem with intergovernmental decision-making is that it only occasionally facilitates agreement depending on the issue involved, but it does not create ongoing decision-making machinery. The transfer of further sovereignty to the EC is seen as too high a price to pay for perceived benefits the member states stand to gain.⁵ This has hindered further integration to a higher level of union and unbalanced the equilibrium between EC and member states established by the Treaty of Rome. This situation is likely to continue unless certain conditions (such as majority voting) are fulfilled so the balance of power between the EC and the member states moves away from the national governments and national interests. Such a shift will require a conscious effort of will and delegation of more sovereignty by the member governments.

The European Union proposals have all attempted to restore that balance. While in principle there has been a good deal of support for the proposals, in practice the measures agreed to have been minimal.

"While the EC member governments (have) pledged verbal support for European integration, they (have) continued to vacillate over even relatively minor alterations to existing practices within the EC (while tentatively exploring the clearly intergovernmental external areas of high diplomacy within the framework of European Political Cooperation)".⁶

As long as the more reluctant member states favour the maintenance of the veto and unanimous voting, all member government interests are protected. Therefore there has been much rhetoric spoken in favour of European Union without tangible threat to member governments own circumstances.

Proposals accepted to date are reconfirmations or extensions of the Treaty of Rome. No qualitative leap forward has been accepted or achieved. Instead reforms have been made to protect and consolidate the EC acquis communautaire.

European Union proposals seek to find an acceptable balance between national and EC interests while intergovernmental bodies and their attitudes towards European Union provide the limits to the reforms and developments proposed and explain why the more far-reaching proposals have not been implemented. For the level of integration to increase the political leaders must give up their power in the decision-making process and sacrifice some aspects of their national sovereignty.

2. Conclusions: The Way Forward?

The most likely outcome is that the development of European Union will continue along the same lines - a gradual sectoral process in policy areas and continued involvement of the member governments in decision-making.

However, in order to facilitate a more equitable balance between EC and member state interests, as well as the continuation of the unification process, it has been suggested that the objective of a qualitative leap forward in European Union or a new Treaty be deferred. Attention should instead be focused on medium and short term goals which do not threaten national sovereignty and the position of the national political elites.

Developments and reforms could be made more acceptable if they do not have the concept of European Union attached to them. EC functions should be limited in scope to a manageable proportion, procedures be restricted to those which build consensus, and broad elite groups be included more directly into the decision-making procedures.⁷

Short to medium term planning is even more relevant today with the inclusion of Spain and Portugal. The focus on specific objectives to be achieved would reduce the potential for division and diversity. The Single European Act has already set certain objectives - the completion of the internal market by 1992, and inclusion of the European Monetary System into the Treaty of Rome framework. Both provide the basis for the completion of economic and monetary union, which is necessary before more complex forms of

political union are attempted.

In addition to the achieving of limited objectives, graduated integration means should be used to promote forward movement. It is apparent that there are member states who are willing and able to integrate more quickly. Measures need to be taken to allow these member states to do so without more reluctant member states preventing their progress.

Provided policy objectives are agreed to by all and procedures are established catering for differentiation between the twelve, then this graduated approach can facilitate further unification. Indeed, it may well encourage the more reluctant states to compromise rather than be left behind. This approach is favoured by French President Mitterand, provided it complements and does not compete with the central structure.⁸ Thus the phrase "European Union" may have to convey different meanings to individual member states in order that their separate aspirations may coexist.⁹

The completion of further common policies should also facilitate the completion of economic union and promote growth. These include sectoral policies - fisheries, transport, industrial research and development. Regional and social policies need to be adjusted so that they receive greater funding to cope with the implications of greater diversity. Agreement also needs to be reached to increase the level of funding in the EC, as well as the harmonisation of taxation systems between the member states. It is vital

to complete the Treaty of Rome objective of economic union in order that greater benefits are produced, so as to stress the advantages of the combined political weight of the member states against external influences.

Institutionally, development hinges on the acceptance of qualified majority voting to complete the internal market. Majority voting is a priority in unblocking decision-making. The Single European Act represents a cautious move towards increased majority voting. In addition, the Council of Ministers need to make greater use of Treaty of Rome articles 235 and 100 for expansion into new areas of action not requiring Treaty amendment. The establishment of a European Minister representing the member states and European interests would be a great advantage in coordinating Council of Minister representatives and their agendas.

It is up to the Commission to maximise its implementative role received from the Council of Ministers, to show efficient management, and to encourage greater interaction with broad elite interests groups. In this way, the granting of an initiation role to the Economic and Social Committee would encourage further interest group representation.

It is unlikely that the European Parliament will receive further codecision powers in legislation or budgetary authority in the near future, although European Parliament powers will need to be strengthened upon the completion of the internal market to compensate for the powers given up by the national parliaments. Until such a time it is up to the

European Parliament to continue to maximise what power they have - cooperation and conciliation procedures with the Council of Ministers in legislative areas related to the internal market. These procedures give further opportunity for the European Parliament to build closer contacts with the Council of Ministers.

While further enlargement is not likely in the near future, it can not be entirely ruled out. Turkey applied to join the EC in April 1987, and with Turkey exists the possibility of Malta and Cyprus. Austria and Norway are also known to have considered membership. Thus, the potential exists for further diversity, and greater differences in member governments attitudes towards European Union. It is vital that the EC has the capacity to adapt and accommodate new members.

Measures for citizen participation and support in the Adonnino Report have already been agreed to. It is up to the authorities in the member states to implement these measures, and it is up to the EC institutions to enforce these measures. European citizens need to see the effects that European Union has on them.

Extra-Treaty areas of the European Council and European Political Cooperation (EPC) have now been institutionalised within the framework of the Treaty of Rome. Thus, political cooperation at intergovernmental level has now been formalised. This was seen by Monnet as a necessary step and a step forward.¹⁰ What effect will it have? Time will tell, but it is certain that the European Council has a vital role

to play in promoting further unification. This can be done by avoiding the day to day affairs of the EC, concentrating instead on the provision of objectives and priorities for the EC to achieve. The European Council can act as a dynamic institution provided agreement on objectives is reached. Otherwise it presents a divided front to the citizens of Europe.

The establishment of a secretariat and codification of EPC procedures should strengthen political cooperation. While it remains a non-binding process the base is there to build upon, especially with the inclusion of economic and political aspects of security (in particular against terrorism). The secretariat provides the opportunity for increased consultation between national officials, thus encouraging the harmonisation of attitudes. This represents a step on the way to the formulation of a common foreign policy as the distinction between political cooperation and EC competence can be ended. Increased capacity for common action and common instruments is facilitated so that EPC may become more active than reactive.

Recent positive developments promoting European Union have been first, the acceptance of the challenge that Spanish and Portuguese accession offers. Further enlargement means greater diversity and a greater number of member government attitudes to accommodate. In addition, a broad consensus has been achieved and encapsulated in the Single European Act. The Single European Act, seen in a historical context, is of

significance as the Draft European Act, the Solemn Declaration on European Union, the European Union Treaty, and the Dooge Report have all contributed to it. The Single European Act is not a qualitative leap forward in member state relations, but it continues the evolutionary cumulative process. It provides a platform for the Treaty of Rome objectives by being flexible enough to allow for fluctuation between the intergovernmental and the supranational levels.

Like the EUT, the Single European Act involves the member governments in EC institutions and activities, while allowing for member government intervention in the decision-making process in order to promote interaction at European level.¹¹ Acceptance depends upon the political will in the Council of Ministers and the European Council as the initiative still remains in their hands.

The Single European Act has been ratified by all the member governments despite serious problems in Denmark and Ireland. Withdrawal has again proved difficult. The EC remains intact and there are no signs of a return to the nation state. The EC shows that the nation state can continue within the wider political structure of shared rule.¹²

However, it may be considered that the Single European Act comprises the maximum of reforms acceptable to the political leaders as a whole.¹³ Beyond the achievement of the objectives of the Single European Act, member states have to assess their relationship, especially if integration to a higher level of union is not acceptable to all member states.

At this point a new Treaty or constitutional framework might be necessary for member state relations. The Treaty of Rome only goes so far in terms of guidelines for action. New areas of collaboration, especially political, will require renewed commitment and expression of common political will in the form of further delegation of national sovereignty to advance towards a federal type of union. It will require a deliberate act by the member governments to create a new constitution and institutional arrangements for a political federation of Europe.¹⁴

A United States of Europe is unlikely in the short to medium term. The safest prediction is that the EC sui generis system is likely to continue.¹⁵ The EC is inbetween national sovereignty and European common interest. This balance has remained and not disintegrated. It has been noted that the EC is still an embryonic political system so it would be naive to expect a high degree of institutionalisation of decision-making bodies.¹⁶ Away from the spotlight of institution and decision-making problems there has been increased "multilevel contacts in everyday common market life" and an increasing web of interaction creating "a densely woven ply of lasting inter-European economic and social relations".¹⁷

In thirty years the EC has doubled in size. It may be that the problems and diversity enlargement has brought in promoting democracy and union among people have to be seen as necessary evils which slow economic and political

development. 1969 to 1986 can be regarded as an epoch in EC development. From the Hague Summit to the Single European Act European Union proposals all attempt to reinforce or extend Treaty of Rome guidelines so as to overcome obstacles and promote unity. In 1986 is the EC back on course to achieve Treaty of Rome objectives? Or "are we perhaps in the process of building up a library of forgotten reports? If I was of the Mandarin class I would propose writing a book entitled "Remembrance of Past Reports" or perhaps publishing a dictionary of wasted European ideas".¹⁸

The Single European Act offers the opportunity for renewed commitment to the unification process. Tangible progress has been achieved.

"What is needed here is a renewed effort for further decisions to consolidate what has been achieved, to foster the new developments that are under way, to correct the shortcomings that have emerged and to guide the (EC) cautiously, as reality dictates, towards the ultimate goal of political union. Seen in this light, European integration poses a ceaseless challenge to all those concerned, and its progress and realisation depends essentially on the political will of the Member States."¹⁹

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Appendix I

POLITICAL COMPOSITION OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL
AND ITS PRESIDENCY 1969-1986

This appendix lists the political composition of the 38 Heads of State and Government meetings held since 1969 (and known as the European Council since 1975). Each member state Head of State and Government and their political affiliation is identified.

The ideological basis of each political party is classified on a five category political spectrum of Left (L), Centre Left (CL), Centre (C), Centre Right (CR), and Right (R). However only two classifications are applicable, being Centre Left (CL) and Centre Right (CR).

These categories are based upon the classification of Western European political parties presented in G. Smith, Politics in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis, 4th Ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1984), pp. 104-105.

That member state occupying the Presidency at each Council is underlined. An asterix (*) positioned before the venue and date of European Council meetings indicates the composition of the Council was the same.

My thanks go to Murray Spence for his help in compiling this appendix.

1969 The Hague Summit

Bel: Eyskens	CR	It: Rumor	CR
Fr: Pompidou	CR	Lux: Werner	CR
Ger: Brandt	CL	<u>Nl</u> : de Jong	CR

Majority: CR 5/6

1972 Paris Summit

Bel: Eyskens	CR	It: Andreotti	CR
<u>Fr</u> : Pompidou	CR	Lux: Werner	CR
Ger: Brandt	CL	Nl: Biesheuvel	CR

Majority: CR 5/6

1974 Paris Summit

Bel:	Tindemans	CR	It:	Rumor	CR
Den:	Hartling	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	den Uyl	CL
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Wilson	CL
Ire:	Cosgrove	CL			

Majority: CL 6/9

1975 Dublin (March)

Bel:	Tindemans	CR	It:	Moro	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	den Uyl	CL
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Wilson	CL
<u>Ire:</u>	Cosgrove	CL			

Majority: CL 6/9

*Brussels (July) / Rome (December)

Bel:	Tindemans	CR	<u>It:</u>	Moro	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	den Uyl	CL
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Wilson	CL
Ire:	Cosgrove	CL			

Majority: CL 6/9

1976 Luxembourg (April)

Bel:	Tindemans	CR	It:	Moro	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	<u>Lux:</u>	Thorn	CL
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	den Uyl	CL
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
Ire:	Cosgrove	CL			

Majority: CL 6/9

*Brussels (July) / The Hague (November)

Bel:	Tindemans	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	<u>Nl:</u>	den Uyl	CL
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
Ire:	Cosgrove	CL			

Majority: CL 6/9

1977*Rome (March) / London (June)

Bel:	Tindemans	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	den Uyl	CL
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	<u>UK:</u>	Callaghan	CL
Ire:	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CL 5/9

Brussels (December)

<u>Bel</u> :	Tindemans	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	den Uyl	CL
<u>Ger</u> :	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
<u>Ire</u> :	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CL 5/9

1978 Copenhagen (April)

<u>Bel</u> :	Tindemans	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
<u>Ger</u> :	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
<u>Ire</u> :	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CR 5/9

Bremen (July)

<u>Bel</u> :	Tindemans	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
<u>Ger</u> :	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
<u>Ire</u> :	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CR 5/9

Brussels (December)

<u>Bel</u> :	Boeynants	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
<u>Ger</u> :	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
<u>Ire</u> :	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CR 5/9

1979 Paris (March)

<u>Bel</u> :	Boeynants	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
<u>Ger</u> :	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Callaghan	CL
<u>Ire</u> :	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CR 5/9

Strasbourg (June)

<u>Bel</u> :	Martens	CR	It:	Andreotti	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Thorn	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
<u>Ger</u> :	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR
<u>Ire</u> :	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CR 6/9

Dublin (November)

Bel:	Martens	CR	It:	Cossiga	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR
<u>Ire:</u>	Lynch	CR			

Majority: CR 7/9

1980*Luxembourg (April) / Venice (June)

Bel:	Martens	CR	<u>It:</u>	Cossiga	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR
Ire:	Haughey	CR			

Majority: CR 7/9

Luxembourg (December)

Bel:	Martens	CR	It:	Forlani	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	<u>Lux:</u>	Werner	CR
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR
Ire:	Haughey	CR			

Majority: CR 7/9

1981 Maastricht (March)

Bel:	Martens	CR	It:	Forlani	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Fr:	d'Estaing	CR	<u>Nl:</u>	Van Agt	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR
Ire:	Haughey	CR			

Majority: CR 7/9

Luxembourg (June)

Bel:	Eysken	CR	Ire:	Fitzgerald	CL
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	It:	Spadolini	CL
Fr:	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	<u>Nl:</u>	Van Agt	CR
Gre:	Rallis	CR	UK:	Thatcher	CR

Majority: Even 5/10

London (November)

Bel:	Eysken	CR	Ire:	Fitzgerald	CL
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	It:	Spadolini	CL
Fr:	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
Gre:	Papandreou	CL	<u>UK:</u>	Thatcher	CR

Majority: CL 6/10

1982*Brussels (March) / (June)

<u>Bel</u> :	Martens	CR	Ire:	Haughey	CR
Den:	Jorgensen	CL	It:	Spadolini	CL
Fr:	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Ger:	Schmidt	CL	Nl:	Van Agt	CR
Gre:	Papandreou	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR

Majority: Even 5/10

Copenhagen (December)

Bel:	Martens	CR	Ire:	Haughey	CR
<u>Den</u> :	Schluter	CR	It:	Fanfani	CR
Fr:	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Ger:	Kohl	CR	Nl:	Lubbers	CR
Gre:	Papandreou	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 8/10

1983*Brussels (March) / Stuttgart (June)

Bel:	Martens	CR	Ire:	Fitzgerald	CL
Den:	Schluter	CR	It:	Fanfani	CR
Fr:	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
<u>Ger</u> :	Kohl	CR	Nl:	Lubbers	CR
Gre:	Papandreou	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 7/10

Athens (December)

Bel:	Martens	CR	Ire:	Fitzgerald	CL
Den:	Schluter	CR	It:	Craxi	CL
Fr:	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Ger:	Kohl	CR	Nl:	Lubbers	CR
<u>Gre</u> :	Papandreou	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 6/10

1984*Brussels (March) / Fontainbleau (June)

Bel:	Martens	CR	Ire:	Fitzgerald	CL
Den:	Schluter	CR	It:	Craxi	CL
<u>Fr</u> :	Mitterand	CL	Lux:	Werner	CR
Ger:	Kohl	CR	Nl:	Lubbers	CR
Gre:	Papandreou	CL	UK:	Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 6/10

Dublin (December)

Bel: Martens	CR	<u>Ire:</u> Fitzgerald	CL
Den: Schluter	CR	It: Craxi	CL
Fr: Mitterand	CL	Lux: Santer	CR
Ger: Kohl	CR	Nl: Lubbers	CR
Gre: Papandreou	CL	UK: Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 6/10

1985*Brussels (March) / Milan (June)

Bel: Martens	CR	<u>Ire:</u> Fitzgerald	CL
Den: Schluter	CR	<u>It:</u> Craxi	CL
Fr: Mitterand	CL	Lux: Santer	CR
Ger: Kohl	CR	Nl: Lubbers	CR
Gre: Papandreou	CL	UK: Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 6/10

Luxembourg (December)

Bel: Martens	CR	<u>Ire:</u> Fitzgerald	CL
Den: Schluter	CR	It: Craxi	CL
Fr: Mitterand	CL	<u>Lux:</u> Santer	CR
Ger: Kohl	CR	Nl: Lubbers	CR
Gre: Papandreou	CL	UK: Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 6/10

1986*The Hague (June) / London (December)

Bel: Martens	CR	It: Craxi	CL
Den: Schluter	CR	Lux: Santer	CR
Fr: Mitterand	CL	<u>Nl:</u> Lubbers	CR
Ger: Kohl	CR	Por: Silva	CR
Gre: Papandreou	CL	Sp: Gonzalez	CL
Ire: Fitzgerald	CL	UK: Thatcher	CR

Majority: CR 7/12

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