

Luke Van Middelmaer *The Passage
To Europe: How a Continent Became a Union*
Yale Press 2013

"Europe founded itself backwards" p 75

There are three major European
discourses "The words and concepts employed
1. The Europe of States ... are quite
intergovernmentalism "state power" different" p 2
goes back to 15th century

" " of Citizens
transfer ^{certain} national powers to a European
structure that deal with citizens directly
"civic spirit" conceivable only after French Revolution
" " of Officer

transferring specific functions to a
European bureaucracy
"Political life is seen as overrated
and superficial ... more fundamental
are the broad economic and social
forces" p 3
"administrative rule" emerged after 1945

"The political battle [between these views] regularly results in new power relationships, new ideological constellations and new terms" p 4

"institutional triangle"

3 hybrids developed "these determine how we think today" p 4

community of supranationalism (officer + citizens)
intergovernmentalism (officer and state)
constitutionalism (state and citizens)

"each has a cosy relationship with specific areas of academia"

Officer - scholars of integration
functionalism (brain child of economists, sociologists and political scientists)

focus on ^{measurable} results
administrative policy more popular than politics

State focus on cooperation

historians and external relations
think of state and people. Focus on study of war and peace, power and self-interest, flags and elections
create narratives see a "dark, uncivilized world" with the state as hero

Euro skepticism

Citizen lacks strong tie to academia - focus on concept of construction since the European citizen doesn't exist yet

mainly the language of lawyers supported by writers and intellectuals
Given status in 1992 initially an empty shell in constitutional law but may be gradually given content

The success of each approach has fluctuated over time

Initial importance of Ernest Haas
The Uniting of Europe (1958)

Economic more important than ideology
"policy brokers", "expansive logic of sector integration" adopted by Brander underestimated the importance of geopolitics

Haas "De Gaulle proved us wrong" came back in the mid 1990s

with the concept of "governance" from political scientists
"reports"

"experts, once they had listened to sectoral or functional interested parties, could take decisions outside classic territorial or democratic frameworks" p 7

Branch lobbyist became "respectable representative of European civil society" p 7

Regulating Europe (1976) by

Ciampi & Menico Majone

Governing in Europe (1999) by Fritz ~~Scharp~~
Scharp &

States

Alan Milward the community as the rescuer of the states

Andrew Moravcsik - integration reflects the will of the states

European constitutional law

These approaches "provide three pairs of spectacles, each with its own way of sharpening perceptions.

All three can exist happily side by side" p 9

"Each of the three academic discourses formulates a truth" p 9

" Politics is a game that creates a connection in the present between an open future and a closed past. Its historicity helps to explain how the three discourses can be both right and wrong" p 7

Raymond ~~son~~ Cron defined ideologies as "expectations that await the verdict of time" p 9

" Each of the three discourses encourages an illusion that can blind its supporters to the historicity of politics" p 10

Three European Spheres

" The simple question of whether Europe exists as a political entity ~~seems~~ turns out to be extremely tricky to answer" p 11

Concentric circles

" Each ~~outer~~ sphere has its own principles of dynamism and order, ... rules and etiquette "

~~the~~ outermost - wider Europe

the states of the continent driven by self interest

Innermost sphere the Community established by treaty - the 'European Project' : "a legally demarcated but ever expanding economic realm" p 12

Intermediate sphere - has received less attention - "the sphere of Europe's member states" p 12

The role of "a growing awareness of common interests" p 12

"Its most powerful ordering principle is membership, but both the law and the balance of power are important as well" p 12

The three spheres have all kinds of relationships

A key feature is the transition to majority voting.

The move from Community to Union with the Maastricht Treaty of 1992

"changed the nature of their association profoundly" This has been underestimated p 197

Member states now bear joint responsibility which generated "fundamental politicisation" p 197 and the MB

and the fiction of the equality of states
is gone under cut.

The community focused on following
the rules. The Union is "set up to
deal jointly with unforeseen
circumstances" p 192

The concept of "ever closer union"
"Permanent motion is built on, but
no ultimate goal defined" p 226

Three concepts that can lead
to 'We Europeans'

German - common cultural and historical
identity

Roman - benefit from functioning political
system "Rulers offer protection"

Greek - democracy that gives
the public a voice 223

An underlying tension in the founders'
goals - peace and power

Leo Tindemans, Belgium Premier 19757
"The European idea is partly a victim
of its own success"

The Community as a legal order
European rights view as a source of
legitimacy. With free migration
have both costs & benefits. The costs
have been more visible problems
Foreigners taking our jobs

"The power of the European ideal is such
that it is revived by every crisis.
In the confusion, the hope of redemption
gives way to an even more fundamental
desire: to face the future together" p 31

"so many shocks that push Europe
to continue to invent and reinvent
itself" 312