

## **Course GA-05 POLITICAL FORMATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

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**45 CONTACT HOURS/3 SEMESTER CREDITS**

**THIS CLASS MEETS: TUES/THURS 1-3PM**

### OBJECTIVES

#### **Main Objective:**

**To make students aware of the historical milestones within the process of European construction. As the Course develops, reflexion upon the idea of Europe will be encouraged, as well as upon how to approach this same historical process from the perspective of the Social Sciences and Historiography, upon its evolution, upon the study of its institutional make-up, and upon the links between Spain and Europe.**

**With this basis in mind, the aim is to enable students:**

- **to reflect critically upon the key issues involved in the process of European construction**
- **to acquire an understanding of, and be capable of analyzing with rigor, the circumstances affecting this same process at the present time**
- **to become aware of the values upon which the foundations of European construction are founded**

### METHODOLOGY

**Class sessions will be based on two-hour modules, during the first of which lecturers will explore the key aspects of one of the units of syllabus content, while during the second hour, documentaries will be viewed, text commentaries will be carried out, and workshops will be held based on the readings prepared by students beforehand on a weekly basis.**

### SYLLABUS

*Unit I: The Historical Itinerary involving the Project geared toward the Political Construction of Europe.*

1. *The Christian Universitas.*
  - a. *Medieval Europe: between Papacy and Empire.*
  - b. *Renaissance Europe: between Humanism and Charles V's Policy of Leadership.*
2. *The Discourses concerning Supremacy.*
  - a. *The Concept of Europe in the Baroque Age: European Integration as a Rhetorical Concept at the Service of the Modern State.*

b. Enlightenment Thought with regard to the Concept of European Unity: the Projects of 'Perpetual Peace'.

3. The Birth of Contemporary Europe.

a. Liberalism and Romanticism: Europe as a Total Compendium of Identities and as a Channel for Political Transformation.

b. Two Visionaries: Giuseppe Mazzini and Victor Hugo.

4. The Europe of Nationalism and Imperialism.

*Unit II. Europe Between-the-Wars. The Undermining of the Continent's Leadership (1919-1939).*

1. The Break-up of an Age-Old Political Model.

a. The Great War and its Consequences.

b. The Hopes and Frustrations of the Society of Nations.

c. The Spread of the Totalitarian Alternative throughout the Continent.

2. The Response on the part of Thinkers and of Political Action.

a. *Pan-Europe*: Coudenhove-Kalergi's Proposal, the Expression of the Thought of a Generation of Intellectuals (1923).

b. The Revival of Proposals concerning Continental Integration.

c. The "Stresemann Era".

3. A Specific Program for Political Integration: Splendor and Failure of Briand's Proposal (1929).

4. The Economic Crash and its Political Consequences.

*Unit III. Europe as the Answer to Totalitarianism: European Construction during World War II (1939-1945).*

1. Within the Context of the Continent's History, the First Effective Project involving Supranational Integration: the Franco-British Union (1940).

a. The Fusion of Sovereignties.

b. The Pooling of Resources and the Establishment of Dual Citizenship.

2. Nazi Europe: Von Ribbentrop's Confederacy Project (1943).

3. The Europe of the Resistance.

a. The Manifesto of Ventotene (1941).

b. The Declaration of European Resistance Movements (1944).

4. Exile: a Scenario of Incessant Activity.

a. 'The City fit for Man' (1940).

b. Fernando de los Ríos and his Project for European Construction (1943).

c. The Footnote to "Reflections on Algeria" (1943).

d. Benelux (1944).

*Unit IV. Moral Reconciliation and Political Reconstruction: the Inevitable Institutionalization of European Cooperation (1945-1949).*

1. Integration within the West, in terms of the Criteria put forward by the United States.
  - a. The 'Marshall Plan'.
  - b. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation. (ECO).
2. Christian Democratic Europe.
  - a. The Concept of European Integration as an Alternative to Nationalisms and Stalinism.
  - b. Frustration concerning the Most Federalist Set of Ideas for Europe.
  - c. Putting Forward the Concept of Border Customs Union as an Exercise in Pragmatism.
3. The Birth of the Cold War: The Treaty of Brussels and its Atlantic Re-Definition.
  - a. The Franco-British Model of Defence.
  - b. The Crisis of Czechoslovakia and the Berlin Crisis: Europe's Reaction against the Division of the Continent into Blocks. The Conference of the Hague.
  - c. The Founding of the Council of Europe.
  - d. The Birth of the German Federal Republic.

*Unit V. Europe as the Expression of Real Solidarity (1949-1954).*

1. The Genesis and the Implementation of the 'Schuman Plan'.
  - a. The Political and Diplomatic Environment.
  - b. A New 'Reflective Footnote' by Jean Monnet.
  - c. The Declaration of May 9, 1950.
  - d. The United Kingdom's Rejection.
2. The Creation of the European Steel and Coal Community: the Treaty of Paris, 1951 (TECSC).
  - a. An Innovative Institutional Design.
  - b. Toward a New Sphere for the Assigning of Competences.
3. The Failure of the European Defence Community and of the European Political Union (1954).
  - a. The Historical Framework.
  - b. The Problem of the Creation of an European Army.
  - c. The Community Factor within Political Integration.
  - d. France says 'no'.

*Unit VI. The Reaffirmation of the Communities of Europe. (1954-1959).*

1. The Difficult Re-launching of the Construction of Europe.
  - a. The Messina Summit.
  - b. The 'Spaak Report'.
2. Monnet's New Field of Action: the 'Committee of Action on behalf of the United States of Europe'.

3. The Final Destination of the Foundational Itinerary for European Integration: The Treaty of Rome (1957).
  - a. The Common Market.
  - b. EURATOM.
4. The Failure of the Alternative Formula for Integration: the European Association for Free Trade (EFTA).

*Unit VII. The Critical Decade (1959-1968).*

1. The Return of 'the most illustrious of Frenchmen': Charles De Gaulle and the New Axis within the Debate on Europe.
  - a. The Europe of Homelands.
  - b. The United Kingdom Veto.
  - c. The Attempted Creation of a Third Strategic and Political Pole.
2. The Fouchet Plans.
3. The Response of the Liberal Political Tradition to the Gaullist Challenge: the Kennedy Administration's Stance in the face of European Construction.
  - a. Jean Monnet and American Liberal Thought.
  - b. France leaves the NATO Military Command.
4. The Ultimate French Challenge: the 'Empty Seat Policy' and the "Luxembourg Compromise".
5. 1968.

*Unit VIII. The Expansion of the European Communities (1968-1979).*

1. The Renewal of Political Leadership within the European State and the 'Europe of the Nine'.
  - a. A Generation of Statesmen united in their European Convictions.
  - b. A New Political Climate for the Continent.
2. The Summit of the Hague (1969).
  - a. 'Finalize, deepen, broaden'.
  - b. Revising Britain's Candidacy.
3. The Economic and Monetary Union.
  - a. Political and Technical Foundations.
  - b. The 'Werner Plan' of 1971.
4. A New Institutional Framework for Community Summits.
  - a. The 'Davignon Report'.
  - b. Jean Monnet's Project for a 'Provisional European Government'.
  - c. The Creation and the Institutionalization of the Council of Europe.
5. The New Europe.
  - a. The Conference for European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki (1975).
  - b. The "Tindemans Report" (1975-1976).
6. The Birth of the European Monetary System (1978).
7. An European Parliament Elected by Direct Universal Suffrage (1979).

*Unit IX. A Significant Move Forward within the Continent's Construction: the Route in the Direction of 'The Single Europe Act' (SEA), (1980-1986).*

1. 'The Committee of Experts Report'.
2. The Renewal of Compromise on the part of Key States.
  - a. The Polemical Attitude of the New British Cabinet.
  - b. The Continental Response to the "Genscher-Colombo Initiative".
  - c. The Solemn Declaration of Stuttgart (1981-1983).
3. The Re-appearance of the Federalist Tradition: 'The Spinelli Plan' for European Union (1984).
4. The Intensification of the Community's Work.
  - a. 'The Schengen Agreements'.
  - b. 'The Dooge Report' (1985).
5. 'The Single Europe Act' (1986).

*Unit X. The Transformation of Europe's Political Space (1986-1991).*

1. 'The Delors Plan' of 1987.
2. The End of 'Real Socialism' (1989-1990).
  - a. The Collapse of the Soviet Block.
  - b. The Progressive Consolidation of States based on Rights in Central and Eastern Europe.
3. The Reunification of Germany.
4. The Route toward Effective Political Reintegration in Europe.
  - a. The 'Paris Charter for a New Europe'.
  - b. The Transformation of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of the Council of Europe.
5. Toward the Treaty of Maastricht.

*Unit XI. 'The Treaty of European Union' (Maastricht 1992).*

- a. The European Union and its Three Pillars.
- b. Objectives and Actions of the European Union.
- c. Citizenship within the Union.
- d. Economic and Social Cohesion.
- e. The 'New Policies'.
- f. Economic and Monetary Union.
- g. Foreign Policy and a Common Security Policy.
- h. Matters concerning the System of Justice and Home Affairs.
- i. Institutional Reforms.

*Unit XII. The European Union (1992-2002).*

- a. The Europe of the Fifteen.
- b. The First Revision of the Treaty of Union: The Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997.
- c. The Second Revision of the Treaty of Union: The Treaty of Nice, 2000.
- d. The European Union's Charter of Rights.
- e. The European Convention.

f. The Process of Enlargement toward Central and Eastern Europe.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **a) General**

**ABELLÁN, J.L.** “El significado de la idea de Europa en la política y en la historia de España”, en *Sistema*, 86-87 (1988), pp. 31-43.

**MARTÍN DE LA GUARDIA, R. M.-PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ, G.A.** *Historia de la integración europea*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2001.

**NIETO SOLIS, J.A.** *Fundamentos y políticas de la Unión Europea*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1995.

**PEREIRA, J.C.-MORENO, A.** “España ante el proyecto de integración europea desde una perspectiva histórica: panorama historiográfico y líneas de investigación”, en *Studia Histórica*, IX (1991), pp. 129-152.

### **b) Complementary**

**AHIJADO, M.** *Historia de la unidad europea. Desde los precedentes a la ampliación al Este*. Madrid: Pirámide, 2000.

**ALDECOA LUZURRAGA, F.** *La integración europea. Análisis histórico-insitucional con textos y documentos*. Madrid: Tecnos, 2002, 2 vols.

**BASSOLS, R.** *España en Europa. Historia de la adhesión a la CE (1957-1985)*. Madrid: Política Exterior, 1995.

**BOSSUAT, G.** *Histoire de la construction européenne au XXè siècle*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1994.

**COMISIÓN ESPAÑOLA DE HISTORIA DE LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES (ed.)** *Cincuentenario de la Declaración Schuman (9 de mayo de 1950). El impulso de la idea de Europa y el proceso de integración, (II Jornadas de la Comisión Española de Historia de las Relaciones Internacionales)*. Madrid: CEHRI, 2002.

**FERNÁNDEZ NAVARRETE, D.** *Historia y economía de la Unión Europea*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces, 1999, pp. 1-175.

**FOLGUERA, P.** *Historia de la Unidad Europea*. Madrid: UAM, 1998.

**GERBET, P.** *La construction de l'Europe*. Paris: Imprimerie National, 1983 (3ª ed. rev. y puesta al día en 1999).

**PÉREZ-BUSTAMANTE, R.** *Historia de la Unión Europea*. Madrid: Dykinson, 1997.

**STIRK, P.** *A History of European Integration since 1914*. London: Piner, 1996.

## **ASSESSMENT**

a) Two exams will be set, one mid-way through the Course and the other at the close of the semester. The exercise will be based on the comparative analysis of, and commentary on, historical documents explored in class sessions.

b) The handing-in of a group-based assignment, consisting of the first number of a specialist journal dealing with European subject-matter.