



**UNIVERSITÀ
DI TORINO**

Images of European Integration History

**Edited by
Umberto Morelli**



With the support of the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



Jean Monnet Chair
*The EU in a Challenging
World*



Images of European Integration History

Edited by

Umberto Morelli, *University of Turin*
with the collaboration of Elisabetta Tarasco

*To Umberto Morelli, who died suddenly and
prematurely during the work on this book.
Friend, colleague and passionate scholar of Europe*



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The volume is a tribute to Umberto Morelli. Some
editorial inconsistencies have to be attributed to
the will to minimize the intervention of the editor
who completed the work.



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Introduction

Images of European Integration History

European integration in contemporary historiography

Umberto Morelli

Nous ne coalisons pas des États, nous unissons des hommes.

This rightly celebrated statement by Jean Monnet, made in a speech delivered in Washington on April 30, 1952, was chosen as the epigraph to his memoirs (Monnet 1987). To form a union, however, people must be aware that they have something in common. Things that are completely different are hard to unite. In the case of interest to us here, Europeans, however different they may be in various ways, have a common aspiration — peace, after two world wars in the space of thirty years laid waste to the continent — and share a set of values: those standing at the foundation of the European Union. These values are listed in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union: respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, tolerance, justice, the rule of law, respect for human rights, pluralism, non-discrimination, solidarity, justice and equality between men and women.

The two documents, unanimously approved and thus agreed on by all the Member States¹, form a sort of European identity. Indeed, the MEP Elena Paciotti, one of the members of the European Convention that drafted the Charter, wrote that Europe’s “identity card is now essentially its Charter of Fundamental Rights, which enshrines the shared values and principles that identify the European Union and establish the content and the conditions that make it possible to be ‘united in diversity’ [as the EU motto goes], which is the Union’s salient characteristic: diversity of cultural traditions, of language, of religion, and of ethnicities, which can coexist in a community of law thanks to respect for the equal dignity of all people, guaranteed by the secularity of the common institutions” (Paciotti 2012).

For years, the EU has been caught in a long, severe polycrisis, which is not just economic, but extends to the Union’s very *ubi consistam*. As a result of this crisis, Europe can no longer stand only on such foundations as

¹ Poland and the Czech Republic (as well as the United Kingdom) opted out from applying the Charter.

the market, a balanced budget, or the stability pact. It must be sustained by something far more evocative, with much greater appeal.

Europe must become a source and font of identity for its citizens, conscious that sharing a common identity means having a common destiny. The *demos* must see itself in a shared *ethos*. In the history of European unification, the problem of the continental *demos* has been pushed to the background, upstaged by economic integration and the institutional construction. Europe has been built, but the European citizen has not been molded. There has been no process of Europeanization comparable to the nationalization of the masses that forged nation-states out of the various peoples of Europe in the nineteenth century. Bill Emmott, former editor-in-chief of *The Economist*, has scathingly described how the media, for example, have failed to contribute to making Europeans: “But is the European media doing a proper job reporting, analyzing and reflecting the shared, cross-border, cross-cultural nature of those crises? As a former editor of a European publication myself, I don’t think so. Too often, today’s European media — and the British are the worst culprits, but not the only ones — have been pandering to narrow, national interests and prejudices, and failed to explain the true nature of what has been going on. Worse still, some of the media — and here the British are true pioneers — have been conniving in the efforts of nationalists and anti-Europeans to close down the debate, to muzzle honest reporting by discrediting inconvenient views, and thereby choking off that most European, and quintessentially British, value of freedom of information and expression [...] the media failed their readers and viewers by not recognizing that they are European, rather than simply national” (Emmott 2015).

There is a specific reason that Europeanization has not taken place. The nationalization of the masses is a process pursued by States that, after succeeding in unifying their lands, have reinforced and spread — if not indeed created and imposed — a national identity by means of compulsory elementary schooling, military conscription, and the unifying effect of bureaucracy and the media (the popular press, television), as well as by inventing myths and traditions, dictating the use of a uniform language and a dominant religion, co-opting religious symbols to lend solemnity to the sense of belonging to a nation (altar of the fatherland, martyrs of the nation), creating derogatory stereotypes about foreigners, and touting ethnic purity. National history has created the national consciousness, shaped the

national citizen (the good patriot, the soldier ready to give his life for his country). Uniformity was the foundation of the nation-state's legitimacy.

The EU is not a State. In line with the original approach to integration, the interests of *homo economicus* took precedence over shaping the European citizen. The Resolution on the European Dimension in Education² dates to 1988, thirty years after the Treaties of Rome came into force; in 1992 the Maastricht Treaty reasserted the importance of the Resolution's goals in Article 126.2 ("Community action shall be aimed at developing the European dimension in education") and Article 128.1 ("The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore"). Nevertheless, though the EU thus recognizes that a sense of European identity is grounded in a shared cultural heritage and must be promoted, regarding oneself as a citizen of Europe does not seem to be a widespread attitude.

Education is still predominately national. The Erasmus exchange program, which numbers among the EU's most successful initiatives — and also aims at fostering a consciousness of being European — has involved only a few million students out of a population of 450 million citizens.

There is an inescapable need for identity. If there is no sense of belonging to Europe, its place will be taken by other identities, be they national, local, ethnic, or religious, which trigger processes of exclusion and conflict.

Individual identity, like collective identity, is not set in stone. It is constructed in a process that brings together past (what we have been) and future (what we want to be).

Globalization has brought increased mobility for people (through work, migrations, and tourism), goods (trade), and information (the In-

² The Council of the European Communities decided to reinforce the European dimension in education by adopting measures that would help strengthen a sense of European identity in young people and make clear to them the value of European civilization and of the foundations on which the European peoples intend to base their further development (viz., safeguarding the principles of democracy, social justice and respect for human rights). Moreover, the Resolution suggested that efforts should be made to prepare the young generations to take part in the Community's economic and social development and in making concrete progress towards European union; to make them aware of the advantages which the Community represents and the challenges it involves; to improve their knowledge of the Community and its Member States in their historical, cultural, economic and social aspects, and bring home to them the significance of the cooperation of the Member State with other countries of Europe and the world.

ternet and social networks). Even without moving physically, we can surf global digital networks and be exposed to other ways of life, broaden our social horizons, come into contact with and be influenced by other cultures, traditions, and attitudes. Identity is thus colored by processes of physical and virtual mobility, by ever more intense transnational contacts. It changes, becoming a composite identity, plural and shifting because it is formed, transformed, and enriched by a multitude of factors arising from different experiences and cultures, from the many contacts with an inconstant outside world, from varied streams of information. Identity is constructed by picking and choosing from the past (and anything and everything can be found in the past: war and peace, democracy and totalitarianism, nationalism and internationalism, solidarity and selfishness, equality and inequality, etc.); picking and choosing whatever can be of service for the problems of the present and the plans for the future (which, in addition to a multiethnic society, should provide for peace, eliminating inequalities, protecting the environment, and sustainable economic development).

European identity must ensure that different and increasingly mobile groups of people can live together in the same territory, in democracy and under a common political authority. If Europe ever becomes a State, it will not be a replica of the nation-state on a continental scale (Europeanism means overcoming nationalism). It will be a matter of constructing a model of society that can guarantee pluri-identity and pluri-belonging; a model of society that can guarantee political unity (so that we can live together peacefully and democratically) while preserving differences, and can guarantee the differences between us (because freedom also means being free to be unlike) while preserving political unity. By contrast with national identity, the European identity is neither exclusive nor ethnic. It is open to differences, cosmopolitan, based on sharing values. Only nationalism demands that citizens feel they belong to the nation alone. We can nourish several senses of belonging, all at the same time: we can be Europeans, Italians, Piedmontese, citizens of humankind, just as we can be citizens of the smallest homeland, the town where we were born. It is necessary to create a narrative of Europe that makes people identify with it, that encourages inclusion and sharing. The alternatives consist of raising walls — which block dialog between cultures — of defending narrow identities from having to live together with diversity, as is typical of com-

munities dominated by fear, of forming closed societies caught in an Us versus Them mentality, of ethnic cleansing, and of the totalitarian State.

European unification thus raises the question of European identity and calls for a rethinking of the concept of nation and citizenship: is the nation a social group identified by its common features (language, religion, history, traditions, customs, and blood), or is it a variegated community with shared ideals that has settled in a given area, and also includes those who were not born in that area? Is the nation defined by purity of blood (in which case the consequence is the aberration of the monoethnic state), or by shared principles, participation and a community that includes everyone living in an area, regardless of where they come from, who obey the same laws and enjoy equal rights? Is citizenship defined only by belonging to a nation-state, or must it encompass all residents, as anticipated by European citizenship which grants every resident the right to run for office and vote in local and European parliament elections?

The enjoyment of citizenship rights should be untethered to nationality in the traditional sense of the place of origin: it should be linked to residency and extended to everyone living in a given area. In the Middle Ages, as Fernando Savater observes, there were serfs who were bound to the land they worked; what we have today are citizen-serfs, or in other words citizens who are bound to the land, in that they can only exercise their rights as citizens in the country where they were born (Savater 2014). Savater argues that this new serfdom must be abolished, cutting citizenship free from the place of birth, from the genealogical community that shackles us to the past; it must depend on one law, on equal rights and obligations, linked no longer to local traditions but to the universal.

The nation should not be equated with the State, as it was following the formation of the nation-state. Just as the separation of Church and State enabled different religions to be practiced in the secular state, so does the separation of State and nation permit different peoples to live together under a common political authority, complying with the community's founding principles, whatever the color of their skin, professed religion, mother tongue and ethnicity.

The process of European unification runs counter to a cultural paradigm that since the nineteenth century has informed our view of the outside world: the nation-centric paradigm, an atavistic survival that

brought Europe to two world wars. With the rise of the nation-state, we have become used to tackling political, economic, and social problems only from our own country's perspective, convinced that they can be solved at home with the means available to us domestically. To this way of thinking, the whole world revolves around our own country, as if there were no such thing as globalization and its attendant interdependence. The nation-centric worldview is summed up in slogans — battle-cries, almost — like *Prima gli italiani*, *Britain First*, *Love Britain*, *America First*, *Make America Great Again*, *Oui, la France* and so forth. However effective at whipping up emotions they may be, these slogans not only carry a strong whiff of racism, but are also conceptually misguided. In other words, they are incapable of achieving their professed aim: the good of the nation's people. In the nation-centric interpretation of the contemporary world, each country's citizens believe that their own national viewpoint is the only one that reflects reality, and is justified beyond all doubt. As a result, they claim an arbitrary primacy, making any agreement between peoples impossible; inevitably, then, this sets irreconcilable national primacies and opposing nationalisms on a collision course, where mounting rhetoric leads eventually to violence.

As Emery Reves wrote in 1945: "Nothing can distort the true picture of conditions and events in this world more than to regard one's own country as the center of the universe, and to view all things solely in their relationship to this fixed point. It is inevitable that such a method of observation should create an entirely false perspective. [...] All the conclusions, principles and policies of the peoples are necessarily drawn from the warped picture of the world obtained by so primitive a method of observation. Within such a contorted system of assumed fixed points, it is easy to demonstrate that the view taken from each point corresponds to reality. If we admit and apply this method, the viewpoint of every single nation appears indisputably correct and wholly justified. But we arrive at a hopelessly confused and grotesque over-all picture of the world. [...] It is surely obvious that agreement, or common understanding, between different nations, basing their relations on such a primitive method of judgment, is an absolute impossibility. A picture of the world pieced together like a mosaic from its various national components is a picture that never and under no circumstances can have any relation to reality [...] The world and history cannot be as they appear to the different nations, un-

less we disavow objectivity, reason, and scientific methods of research [...] our inherited method of observation in political and social matters is childishly primitive, hopelessly inadequate, and thoroughly wrong. If we want to try to create at least the beginning of orderly relations between nations, we must try to arrive at a more scientific, more objective method of observation, without which we shall never be able to see social and political problems as they really are, nor to perceive their incidence. And without a correct diagnosis of the disease, there is no hope for a cure. [...] Our political and social conceptions are Ptolemaic. The world in which we live is Copernican” (Reves 1945 : 1,22-23, 29).

With a Ptolemaic nation-centric paradigm, we cannot get our bearings in an interdependent Copernican world. We need a Copernican revolution in our way of thinking, a revolution that overthrows the nation-centric conception with its focus on self-regarding interests and narrow dedication to entrenched privilege and short-term gains that are often imaginary, always incomplete, and never mindful of the more general good. Nation-centric thinking leads to exclusion, segregation, and division. It must be replaced by a conceptual paradigm that embraces other-regarding interests — summed up in slogans along the lines of *Humanity First* — that can ensure inclusion, integration, and security.

History’s task as a critical inquiry, we can say, is to trace and explain the doings of humankind. As such, it is one of the main tools for shaping knowledgeable citizens who understand the world they live in, helping them form a mature identity, take their place in society, comprehend its problems and face challenges responsibly. How well, then, has the historiography of European integration fulfilled this task? Has it merely listed facts, or has it also asked what these facts have meant for historical evolution? Has it narrated how markets were integrated and free trade took hold, or has it contributed in some way to shaping Europe’s citizens, stimulating them to “think European”, and instilling a sense of belonging to a cosmopolitan Europe? This latter task is by no means inconsiderable, given the importance of personal identity for the individual’s social behavior, as well as the impact that globalization has had on national historiography’s role in forming the nation-state’s citizens, the influence of international organizations, the relevance that sub-national histories have assumed, and the horrors perpetrated in the name of nationalism. Edward Carr tells us that “Historical facts, as we saw, presuppose some

measure of interpretation; and historical interpretations always involve moral judgements — or, if you prefer a more neutral-sounding term, value judgements” (Carr 1961)³. The historian not only narrates, but explains and, on the basis of the categories that inspire his research, asks questions, interprets and assesses events, and plumbs historiographical problems. Croce notes that Johann Gustav Droysen perceived that “historiography consists of the ‘Frage’, of putting the historical question”, but argues that “the formula of the ‘Frage’ remains generic and vague unless the character of the historiographical question is now strictly determined and distinguished from the philological question with which it is often confused. There is, for example, a great difference between asking what are the series of authentic documents, or what is the chronological succession of the facts of the Lutheran reformation, and what, on the other hand, was the nature and office of the Lutheran reformation. The first question arises out of the technical need of the erudite who want to collect and arrange the material for the history they are writing; the second comes from the moral need for intelligent orientation. The first, therefore, does not lead to direct knowledge, but to the practical preparation for a future knowledge; the second is this very knowledge itself” (Croce 1941: 133, Croce 1970 : 122-123).

The “Frage” that the historiography of European integration must put is not only a matter of establishing the chronological sequence of events. It also entails defining the reasons for joining together, searching for the roots of European identity and establishing its extent and pervasiveness, and tracing our common cultural heritage.

Historiography is essential for forming the historical memory of a people, for handing down its cultural legacy from generation to generation, and, consequently, for constructing its identity and its legitimization as a politico-historical entity. Here, the influence of national historiography in forging the idea of the nation springs to mind, as does that of Marxist historiography in casting light on the vital role of the workers’ movement. Historiography of this kind serves a maieutic function, un-

³ Croce criticizes erudite philological history, which consists of “the pouring out of one or more books” into new compilations that “do not contain any historical thought [...] learned ‘chronicles,’ sometimes of use for purposes of consultation, but lacking words that nourish and keep warm the minds and souls of men”; see Benedetto Croce, *Teoria e storia della storiografia*, Bari, Laterza, 1973, p. 20, English translation by Douglas Ainslie, *History and Theory of Historiography*, London, George G. Harrap & Co, 1921, p. 28.

earthing latent knowledge in a process that digs painstakingly down to the roots of the problem, to its origins. Often in this process, the historian is also the activist who spurs the efforts to identify and bring out the full originality of his subject (Landuyt 1989 : 299-300). Just how important history can be in shaping identity became tragically clear after the genocide in Rwanda, when the country's authorities temporarily suspended the teaching of history in 1995 in order to revise the curriculum and textbooks, rewriting history in the hope of reconciling the two ethnic groups and rebuilding a national consciousness.

How successful has the historiography of European integration been in nourishing pro-European feeling and bringing the continent's citizens closer to Europe?

This book will explore the vision of Europe that emerges from the textbooks of European integration history, the methodology they use, the key figures and events they emphasize most, and what changes in how they interpret the integration process have taken place over time (in this connection, the case of the pre- and post-1989 historiography in the three former Soviet bloc countries considered here is particularly interesting). Our survey encompassed textbooks published in and after 1979, year of the first elections to the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, or in other words around twenty years after the Treaties of Rome came into force, in order to consider books covering a fairly sizeable period in the history of integration. The survey did not extend to books dealing with specific events, biographies, memoirs, or, apart from a few rare exceptions, anthologies. The chapters dealing with certain countries were written by multiple authors, given the large number of textbooks in the language in question. All authors were free to organize their material as they saw fit, to best reflect the characteristics of each country's historiography.

National historiographies have been addressed by a long-standing stream of research which has included the studies carried out under the aegis of the Council of Europe since the Fifties (see the 2001 text edited by M.M. Matilde Benzoni and Brunello Vigizzi 2001) and, though it does not deal with Europe, the extensive debate in the US surrounding the *National Standards for United States History* (Arnaldo Testi, *Il passato in pubblico: un dibattito sull'insegnamento della storia nazionale negli Stati Uniti*). Also noteworthy is the work of French historiography and the im-

portant transalpine school of the history of international relations, an example of which is the research project entitled *Les identités européennes au XX^e siècle*, at the Sorbonne's Institut Pierre Renouvin (see Robert Frank, ed., *Les identités européennes au XX^e siècle. Diversités, convergences et solidarités*). Mention should also be made of the work done in Germany at the Georg Eckert Institute, the studies of textbooks by Italy's Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli during the Eighties and Nineties and the early years of the following decade (see *L'immagine dell'Europa nei manuali scolastici di Germania, Francia, Spagna, Gran Bretagna e Italia*; Falk Pingel, ed., *Insegnare l'Europa. Concetti e rappresentazioni nei libri di testo europei*), as well as the work stemming from the doctoral program in the history of federalism and European unity at the University of Pavia and its associated universities (see Umberto Baldocchi, *Dall'Europa delle Nazioni all'Unione Europea. Continuità e mutamenti nell'immagine dell'Europa e dello Stato-Nazione nei manuali di storia italiani e francesi 1950-1995*; Marco Silvani, *L'idea di nazione in Italia e nel Regno Unito. Indagine sui manuali di storia della scuola secondaria dell'obbligo*). What is specifically of interest to us here is that these studies often focus on the textbooks used in upper and lower secondary schools and, above all, on the more general modern and contemporary history of Europe or on the idea of Europe and its possible unity, with less attention to the concrete process of European construction.

The public's attitude towards Europe has changed over time. The early decades saw broad pro-European sentiment, though it was passive, ill-informed and, for the most part, hardly enthusiastic. But with the economic crisis and the rising tide of immigration, this "permissive consensus" has given way to widespread mistrust, Euroscepticism and disaffection that have led to such worrisome results as Brexit. The crucial task of the historiography of European integration is to shed light on all this for the public, and explain the meaning and significance of a process that has brought seventy years of peace, prosperity and democracy to the Member States.

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*Penser et construire l'Europe/
European integration in French historiography*

France I

Penser et construire l'Europe*

Elena Calandri

In 2007, fifty years after the Treaties of Rome, “*Penser et construire l'Europe de 1919 à 1992*” was announced — by Jacques Chirac at the Élysée and Dominique de Villepin at the Hôtel de Matignon — as the theme for the 2008 History *agrégation* — the competitive examination held every year to assign positions in French higher education, which is a de facto requirement for an academic career. A look at the themes from recent years shows just how exceptional this choice was. The period covered — 1919 to 1992 — is unusually close to us in time, if we consider that French historians belong very much to the *longue durée* tradition, are enamored of the nineteenth century, and often apply themselves to the turn of the twentieth. Here, however, rather than calling for grand sociopolitical sagas, frequently set in France, the choice fell to a European theme, and also indicated an “*evenementielle*” link to a specific timeframe. The implicit homage to an oft-unloved and controversial treaty — 1992’s Maastricht — forced a generation of new academics to delve into the formative process of what is now regarded as a fundamental aspect of contemporary life, and to go beyond commonplace conceptions and the present-day debate. The financial crisis did not begin until the year following the constitutional Treaty, but the EU had already failed two years earlier, as French voters were the first to reject it in the referendum, while the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003 had split the EU on the eve of the enlargement to the east. In France, the public debate was to a large extent dominated by present and future integration, with Jean-Marie Le Pen’s *Front national*, then at the height of its popularity, pushing to leave the Union in a country where

* The authors decided to organize the survey of French textbooks by chronological period. Elena Calandri wrote the general introduction and analyzed the French historiography for the most recent decades, from the Maastricht Treaty onwards. Umberto Morelli dealt with the period from the beginning of European integration to the Treaties of Rome, Paolo Caraffini with the years from the Treaties of Rome to the 1984 Spinelli Draft, and Eleonora Guasconi with the period from the Single European Act to the Maastricht Treaty.

ever since the Sixties Eurocritical or even openly Eurosceptical attitudes had hardly been taboo, at least outside official government circles.

But over and above its subject-matter, how the *agrégation* theme was worded provides insights into a distinctive French way of looking at integration. “*Penser*” and “*construire*” are two pillars of the French approach to studying the European process.

“*Penser*” encapsulates the role assigned to the ideational dimension, to how “Europe” is theorized, represented, and conceptualized, both in the *très longue durée* from the Middle Ages (as well as its Greco-Roman roots) to the nineteenth century in the history of political thought¹, and in the course of the post-1945 process, when discussion revolved around the issues of national sovereignty and its cession, the dialectical relationship between national identity and European identity, Europe as an international actor (*Europe marché* or *Europe puissance*), the social model, and borders. Attention centered on the ideas leading to a conception that was neither “realist” nor economic, thus contrasting with the approach commonly taken in the Anglo-American literature.

“*Penser l'Europe*” also brings us to a historiographical and cultural issue of which the history of European integration in the strict sense is only one last specialized segment. This is the 1995 renewal of teaching directives, which calls for the history of France to be treated as part of the history of Europe. The impetus for this decision came from the European organizations. The Permanent Conference of European Ministers of Education, in the final declaration for the session held in Vienna in October 1991, stated that

*l'éducation doit sensibiliser les jeunes au rapprochement des peuples et des États européens [...] Elle doit les aider à prendre conscience de leur identité européenne [...] Les jeunes doivent être incités à façonner l'Europe conformément aux valeurs qui constituent leur héritage commun*².

Likewise, the Maastricht Treaty had established that Community action should be aimed at developing the European dimension of education³ and

¹ See for example Elisabeth Du Réau, *L'idée d'Europe au XXe siècle: des mythes aux réalités*, Brussels, Complexe, 1996, as well as Jean-Baptiste Duroselle *L'idée d'Europe dans l'histoire*, Paris: Denoël, 1965 or Rotraud von Kulesa, Catriona Seth *L'idée de l'Europe: au Siècle des Lumières*, Open Books Publishers, 2017.

² Council of Europe, Conférence permanente des Ministres européens de l'éducation 17eme session Vienne 16-17 octobre 1991, La dimension européenne de l'éducation pratique de l'enseignement et contenu des programmes Rapport de la conférence, Strasbourg 1993, <https://rm.coe.int/09000016809da4d6>.

³ Article 126.2.

*contribuer à l'épanouissement des cultures des États membres dans le respect de leur diversité nationale et régionale, tout en mettant en évidence l'héritage culturel commun*⁴.

The first “histories of Europe” had been published in the early 1990s, led by Jean-Baptiste Duroselle’s *L’Europe. Histoire de ses peuples*⁵ and 1993 saw the launch of the series *Faire l’Europe*, edited by the Medieval historian Jacques Le Goff, published simultaneously in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Great Britain⁶, and authored by European intellectuals and scholars from the social sciences and humanities. All bore witness to a budding desire for “europeanization” in these disciplines’ approaches. The ministerial decision in 1995 was accompanied by a debate on the notion and the epistemological feasibility of a “History of Europe”⁷, conducted chiefly in *Vingtième siècle* by the most prominent historians of the day. Some — Pierre Milza, Serge Berstein — argued that the European peoples have a common heritage, and it is the historian’s task to bring it forward, out of the shadows cast by nation-centered or nationalistic historiographies. Others — Nicolas Roussellier, Jean-Pierre Rioux — claimed that there was no such thing as a “history of Europe”, since from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century there had been no “European doings”. Nevertheless, these naysayers believed that research and teaching dealt with different questions, and that teaching should seek to instill future citizens of Europe with the vision of a shared experience and values that inspired the common political path embarked on in the second half of the twentieth century⁸. Essentially, the debate revolved around key issues then being addressed in French

⁴ Article 128.1.

⁵ Paris, Perrin, 1990.

⁶ By Seuil, Beck, Laterza, Editorial Critica and Basil Blackwell, and translated in Portugal, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Turkey, Korea and Japan. A large number of volumes were published during the Nineties, by such authors as the feminist intellectual Gisela Bock, the architect Leonardo Benevolo, the semiologist Umberto Eco, the legal scholar Paolo Grossi, the demographer Massimo Livi Bacci, the philosopher Luciano Canfora, and the historian Franco Cardini.

⁷ Jean Leduc, “Enseigner l’histoire de l’Europe: un débat”, *Espace Temps* 1998 66-67 pp. 34-42.

⁸ Jean Leduc recalls the articles by Nicolas Roussellier “Pour une écriture européenne de l’histoire de l’Europe” *Vingtième siècle*, April/June 1993, pp. 74-89 ; Serge Berstein, Dominique Borne, Jean-Clément Martin, “L’enseignement de l’histoire au lycée”, *Vingtième siècle*, Jan/March 1996, pp. 122-142; Jean-Pierre Rioux, “Pour une histoire de l’Europe sans adjectif”, *Vingtième siècle*, April/June 1996, pp. 101-110; Jean-Clément Martin, “Pour une histoire ‘princielle’ de l’Europe”, *Vingtième siècle*, Jan/March 1997, pp. 124-128; Serge Berstein, Dominique Borne, Philippe Joutard, François Lebrun, Jacques Le Goff, Jean-

politico-cultural thought, the idea of “civilization” as applied to the European continent, the civil function assigned to the historian and of education and school as a means of civil formation, to be applied to being European after it had been applied to shaping the French national identity.

In the meantime, the question of “Europeanizing” historical research on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through common European initiatives dealing with the prelude to European integration had already been raised through such research projects as “*La politique de puissance en Europe au XX siècle*” and “*Identité et conscience européennes au XX siècle*”, promoted by René Girault and Robert Frank, Duroselle’s heirs at the Sorbonne⁹.

The second terminological question where a few words are in order is the use of “*construire*”. The choice of “*construction*” rather than “*intégration*”, which is more common in other historiographies, sets the boundaries of inquiry and signals an attitude. In French usage, “*intégration*” applies to the Continent’s experience of the worldwide and eminently economic process of globalization. Though it too is deliberate, it is to a large extent the effect of economic processes that unfold independently. The “*construction*” almost universally employed by the textbooks implies will, awareness; it is the result of intentions, actions, vision, key figures, progressive advances. And “*Europe*” is a metaconcept, bringing together the political, cultural, institutional and economic dimensions, but at the end, it is fundamentally “*civilisationnel*”. Appearing as early as 1983 in the first general history — and much more than a “textbook” — of integration, by the historian Pierre Gerbet, construction was also used in the second “classic”, by the Belgian historian Marie-Thérèse Bitsch. It then became canonical, with *intégration* relegated to the innermost pages. Something similar could be said of the alternative “*de l’Europe*” and “*européenne*”, more closely associated with post-1945 politico-institutional developments.

Clément Martin, “Enseigner l’histoire de l’Europe”, *Le Débat*, Nov/Dec 1993, Paris, Gallimard, pp. 158-187; Jean-Pierre Tizt, “Comment enseigner l’Europe?”, pp. 457-463; Jean-Jacques Becker, “Comment écrire l’histoire de l’Europe”, pp. 465-469, Jacques Aldebert, “Naissance d’un Euromanuel d’histoire”, pp. 471-474, all in *Historiens et Géographes*, n. 347, Feb 1995; also “L’Europe”, *IREHG*, Dec. 1995. The debate was resumed a decade or so later, see *Vingtième Siècle. Année 2001 71 Dossier : Apprendre l’histoire de l’Europe*, and in particular Robert Frank, “Une histoire problématique, une histoire du temps présent”, pp. 79-90.

⁹ For the background to these initiatives in the development of the historiography of European integration, see Wilfried Loth, “Explaining European Integration. The Contributions from Historians”, *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.14: Issue 1 (2008), pp. 9-26.

A final noteworthy feature of the *agrégation* theme, as it reflects a periodization which is also almost canonical, is its time span, which takes the Peace of Paris as its *terminus a quo*. It encompasses the years from 1919 to 1945, which in the French literature is not simply a period of first stirrings or of an incubation that was more or less latent and destined to fail. Rather, it is seen as a golden age in terms of ideas, of the idea of Europe and of forms of European cooperation taking shape, of the recognition that Europeans have a common identity and shared geopolitical interests, of reflection about the limits of the nation state and the about the prospects for a federal Europe, all of which remained alive during and after World War Two. A certain number of figures from the francophone world (France, Belgium, Switzerland and Luxembourg) rank in the French pantheon of the origins — political as much as cultural and intellection — of integration, with their thinking about federalism, subsidiarity, and so forth at its center.

The first stages of the French historiography of the “construction of Europe” bear the imprint of the leading historians of international relations, in particular Jean-Baptiste Duroselle and, after him, René Girault. As Jean-Michel Guieu and his co-authors emphasized in *Penser et construire l'Europe au XXe siècle* — a book we will return to later — early French historiography was molded in the

*perspective toute durosellienne, c'est à dire en se concentrant principalement sur les décideurs politiques, les stratèges et les diplomates, privilégiant ainsi le rôle des États-nations et les politiques nationales face à la construction européenne*¹⁰.

As horizons widened, different actors came onto the scene, and more space was assigned to economic dynamics, cultural aspects and transnational networks, yet inquiry remained dominated by historians of international relations who kept a firm focus on the dynamic function of the states as the drivers of the process, and on exploring the goals, the intentions, the perceptions, the strategies and the political and economic figures who had a part in making decisions.

François Mitterrand's intense engagement in the development of European policies spurred scholars and educators to address the historical route to European integration. Pierre Gerbet's *La construction de l'Europe* came out in 1983, followed in 1996 by Marie Thèrese Bitsch's *Histoire de la construction européenne*. Together with *L'Europa difficile*, an “in-

¹⁰ Jean-Michel Guieu, Christophe Le Dréau, Jenny Raffik, Laurent Warlouzet, p. 19.

sider's view" by the Italian spokesman for the European Commission Bino Olivi, which was immediately translated and has featured prominently on bookstore shelves ever since, these exhaustively informative texts laid the foundations for a generalist understanding (which is by no means intended to minimize its importance) of European integration. Gerbet and Bitsch mapped out a process that they did not regard as "the" dominant process in Europe's postwar history¹¹, though they were clearly heartened to see it gain strength over the years. As historians of international relations, they first emphasized the international setting and the catalyzing influence of the United States, and then shifted attention to the politico-diplomatic "invention" of the Monnet-Schuman duo in its decades-long but never smooth journey, where the institutions vs government dialectic was preeminent, mirroring a country in which the idea of the nation state was still politically central¹² and it was claimed that the European construction and national sovereignty were compatible, though the many tensions involved were fully acknowledged. At the initiative of René Girault and Robert Frank, thinking revolved around the "European identity" and "consciousness", a dyad seen beneath the surface of "*penser et construire*"¹³. An entire generation of scholars contributed to this effort, giving rise to a historiography that always centered on the problematics. As a result, for a number of years France was perhaps the country with the most extensive historiography of European integration. It was also a historiography that was engaged to some extent in the civil sphere, convinced of France's distinctive role in furthering the integration process — clearly reflected in the period's bumper crop of textbooks — and took an approach we might call "hierarchical" in concentrating attention first on France, and then on Ger-

¹¹ In 1996, Pierre Gerbet published his book on the history of international organizations in the twentieth century, *Le rêve d'un ordre mondial. De la SdN à l'ONU*, where his affinity for international cooperation and multilateralism is evident.

¹² Take, for example, the concept of "Gaullo-Mitterrandism" which has now led to a widespread tendency to underscore the continuity and cross-cutting nature of the French political world's underlying attitude towards the integration process, which is by no means in favor of federal solutions and swings between a selective functionalism and confederalism.

¹³ See the works of Robert Frank, "Les contretemps de l'aventure européenne", *Vingtième siècle*, n. 60 1998, pp. 82-101, and "Une histoire problématique, une histoire du temps présent", *Vingtième Siècle*. Année 2001 71 pp. 79-90, Robert Frank ed., *Les identités européennes au XXe siècle. Diversités, divergences et solidarités*, Paris, Editions de la Sorbonne, 2004.

many, the Franco-German relationship and Great Britain, with other countries assigned to marginal and sporadic roles.

The large number of French textbooks seeking to provide non-specialists with an overall understanding of the integration process — and thus addressed to secondary schools, courses preparing for admissions exams to the *grandes écoles*, and university undergraduate programs, as well as to the public at large — is a sign of a keen and essentially unflagging interest, though production slowed somewhat in the period from 2010 to 2020.

The 1990s saw a steep surge in textbooks, driven by the rapid spread of secondary school and university level courses. In many of these textbooks, the origins and the first three decades of the integration process were thus reconstructed in hindsight, while the period following Maastricht was described by scholars who wrote about contemporary events or the very recent past. In both cases, the context was conducive to critical reflection: for integration, the 1990s were replete with paradoxes. As the process picked up speed, it also became increasingly politicized on the domestic front, as demonstrated by the referendum and the heightened — and heated — public debate. Mitterrand's efforts to stabilize Europe after Germany's reunification and the demise of the bipolar world order had led to the Maastricht Treaty and the EMU, but were widely panned by the French public. The final period of Mitterrand's second term, which ended in 1995, and of Jacques Delors' third term at the helm of the European Commission saw the electorate shifting rightwards. That the political climate had changed was confirmed by Delors' decision not to seek the presidency, followed by the election of Jacques Chirac. The latter had begun his long slog to the Élysée in 1978, when he split with Giscard d'Estaing and re-founded the Gaullist party with an appeal to nationalistic and anti-European sentiment, the so-called "*appel de Cochin*". With the end of the Cold War and the birth of the European Union, the Danish rejection of and France's "*petit oui*" to the Maastricht Treaty, textbook authors were dealing with a historical process in full spate but much contested, explicitly opposed by political parties such as the *Front national*. Successive presidencies (Chirac 1995-2007 with the 1997-2002 *cohabitation* with Jospin's socialist government, Sarkozy 2007-2012, Hollande 2012-2017) took a stance that has been dubbed "Eurorealist" and seemed to regard the integration process as irreversible, but the fierce debate surrounding the Union's political and economic options made the process's future course hard to predict.

Several authors whose textbooks came out towards the end of the tumultuous 1990s took their narrative up to the Treaty of Maastricht, adding short concluding chapters about the then-ongoing developments. This brings at least three points to mind. First, it confirms the importance assigned to narrating and understanding the process at the time the current stages take concrete legal and institutional shape. Second, it confirms that 1992 was both a destination and, implicitly, a point of departure for a new and qualitatively different phase, where the historian acknowledges that it is necessary to stop and think for a moment about a system transition that will take time to historicize. Moreover, the message that 1992 was both the culmination of a process and the endpoint of the period on which the historian could already pass judgment was hammered home in 2007, when “*Penser et construire l'Europe au XXI^e siècle*” was chosen as the theme for the following year’s *agrégation*.

Textbook production continued in any case to be intense in the first decade of the new century, when integration efforts ran into a series of fundamental snags: the reform of the institutions and the constitutional process, the democratic deficit and lack of grassroots input, eastward enlargement, the crisis in US relations and the deterioration of the international climate caused by the war on terror, the destabilization of the Middle East, and geopolitical transition: difficulties that French voters reacted to by rejecting the Constitutional Treaty in 2005. The financial crisis in 2008 shone an unforgiving light on the Economic and Monetary Union, long heralded as a French success but now hotly contested.

The textbooks seem to fall essentially into four categories. The first consists of syntheses by specialists in twentieth century French and international history, reflecting French scholars’ liking for writing for educational institutions and the well-informed general public. The second consists of books by non-professional historians, often secondary school teachers. Ranging in length from a few dozen to hundreds of pages, these texts combine a presentation of Europe’s institutions and policies with a historical overview and a clear exposition of the “*enjeux*”. The third is hybrid in nature: collections of chapters by small groups of scholars who offer chronologies of European integration together with thematic chapters dealing with their specific areas of expertise. This category includes several books written with an eye to the 2008 *agrégation*, which provide opportunities for fruitful comparison because of their similarit-

ies and the fact that they were published at the same time. The fourth category consists of annotated anthologies of documents.

The following pages are organized chronologically, with analyses addressing the narratives of the process's cultural and political origins up to the mid-1950s, the period from the Treaties of Rome to the end of the 1970s, the “relance” of the 1980s, the Maastricht Treaty, and the post-1992 period.

The early years of the *construction de l'Europe*

Umberto Morelli

Looking at the French historiography of European integration, the first point we notice is how many publications there are on the topic. The interest that French authors have shown in European integration is remarkable, and even more so in view of the fact that this survey deliberately did not consider specialized texts dealing with specific events, memoirs, anthologies and collections of source documents, which are just as numerous as the books of a general nature examined here.

There are many reasons for the French historiographer's attention to European integration. First, France was not only one of the Communities' founding states, but thanks to Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, it was also their principal architect. Nor should we forget the role played by René Pleven in proposing that there be a European army, Charles de Gaulle's influence — contradictory but decisive — on how the integration process evolved, the impact of François Mitterrand on the creation of the single currency, and the weight carried by Jacques Delors, perhaps the most important president of the European Commission.

In addition, the new teaching curriculum introduced in 1995 put a stronger emphasis on Europe, fueling a wave of textbooks reflecting this fresh orientation.

France was the cradle of a particular school of federalism, one of the approaches that animated European integration. This was integral federalism, which originated in the thinking of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, was echoed in the personalism of Emmanuel Mounier, and was to number such staunch Europeanists as Alexandre Marc and the Francophone Swiss Denis de Rougemont among its adherents.

In addition, we must bear in mind that for France, Europe was an essential factor in enabling the country to continue to play a part on the international scene. After the end of the Second World War, France — both the Fourth and the Fifth Republic — was the only country that did

not resign itself to the loss of the great power status it had enjoyed for centuries, its demotion to the rank of a merely middle power, and its scaled-back international role. While Germany, the United Kingdom and Japan accepted American hegemony, France refused to consider itself subordinate and sought to preserve a certain influence in the wider world by retaining whatever it could of its colonial empire, modernizing the economic system, building up the *force de frappe*, and seeking alliances that could provide additional resources for opposing the bipolar hegemony (the Russian-American condominium). Hence the usefulness of a Europe that had achieved some measure of unity or was at least coordinated among governments, and could form a *grand ensemble* of sovereign states where France would inevitably dominate thanks to its permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, the atomic bomb, the absence of the United Kingdom, and Germany's defeat. To a weakened France that was no better able to impose its will than it had been in 1919, Europe was the way to regain credibility after the debacle of 1940, as it was a means of bolstering French international influence and perhaps even of pursuing national objectives in foreign policy while spreading the costs around Europe (by contrast, when the United Kingdom decided to join, European foreign policy was only a fallback, to be used in cases where the United States had no intention of intervening)¹.

Lastly, European integration enabled France — albeit at the cost of sacrificing some of its national sovereignty — to finally put paid to a series of problems that had long gone unsolved: it avoided the risk that new Germany industrial cartels would be formed, assured coal supplies, ended the age-old antagonism with Germany that had blighted the international politics of modern and contemporary Europe and caused three

¹ The German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, in commenting to the French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau on the conclusion of the 1956 Suez Crisis and the diplomatic defeat dealt to France and the United Kingdom, said "*La France et l'Angleterre ne seront plus jamais des puissances comparables aux États-Unis et à l'Union soviétique. L'Allemagne non plus d'ailleurs. Il leur reste donc un seul moyen de jouer dans le monde un rôle décisif, c'est de s'unir pour faire l'Europe. L'Angleterre n'est pas mûre mais l'affaire de Suez contribuera à y préparer les esprits. Nous, nous n'avons pas de temps à perdre: l'Europe sera votre revanche*". "See Christian Pineau, 1956, *Suez*, Paris, Laffont, 1976 in https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/christian_pineau_1956_suez-en-4606f9ba-8544-49e1-bbb2-5313968f8f2c.html. Many French historians agree that the Suez setback spurred France to push for European integration as a means of once again taking the lead on the international scene and asserting its independence from the Soviet-American supremacy.

wars in less than a century, paved the way to an approach to European unification that would accommodate the needs of the French economy, its agriculture in particular, and meant that France could take advantage of the reluctance shown by Great Britain — which at least in the early years had held aloof from the integration process — to seize the political initiative, and with it, the leadership of the continent.

Most of the textbook authors are either academics or officials in the Community institutions, and sometimes both. Consequently, they are students of the integration process or participants in it, a fact that ensures that their books show a high, if not indeed excellent, level of accuracy and rigor. This is true not only of the academic texts, but also of the many volumes written for a general audience, often by university professors who have turned their hand to informing (and shaping) public opinion through initiatives such as the noted *Que sais-je?* collection, an extensive series of paperbacks covering an encyclopedic array of topics, all authored by experts in the field. Though only a hundred-odd pages long, examples of “high popularization” like these can provide the reader with a clear, complete picture and an understanding of the crucial junctures of integration, the complex Community mechanisms and the dynamics of the process, starting from the knotty and still-unresolved problem of sovereignty.

This is a topic that almost all historians dwell on at length, comparing the two approaches to integration: the intergovernmental, based on the obdurate defense of national sovereignty, which found an ardent standard-bearer in Charles de Gaulle, and the tendentially supranational approach, with its belief in the transfer of broad powers to the Community bodies and shared sovereignty, which inspired Schuman and Monnet. Historiography emphasizes that Europe’s first steps in the late Forties followed the intergovernmental approach. This did not satisfy Monnet, who was convinced that no truly vital integration could ever come of the Council of Europe or the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. But with the Schuman Declaration, as we will see, there was a shift to the more supranational, communitarian, approach which was then scaled back with the later Treaties of Rome, though it is pointed out that the latter were not limited to creating a simple free trade zone.

Historians generally have a positive attitude towards integration, some more so than others. Several consider integration to be inevitable, given the States’ inability to meet citizens’ needs. Hamon and Keller, for example, write

Les États-nations prennent conscience de leur impuissance à assumer, séparément, le destin de leurs peuples et du continent [...] A beaucoup, de nouvelles institutions internationales et européennes paraissent indispensables pour assurer la paix, le redressement économique et la sécurité dans un cadre européen (p. 89).

Many French textbooks have titles that differ from those common in the historiography of other countries, where the term “integration” predominates: History of European integration, *Storia dell'integrazione europea*, *Historia de la integración europea*, *Geschichte der europäischen Integration*. As Elena Calandri has noted, almost all of the French texts prefer *construction* (*Histoire de la construction européenne*), a term that was perhaps first employed by Charles Zorgbibe in 1978 for his *La construction politique de l'Europe: 1946-1976*. It was later taken up by Pierre Gerbet in 1983 for the first edition of *La construction de l'Europe*, one of the most complete and comprehensive textbooks of European integration history, and then by Marie-Thérèse Bitsch in 1996 for another classic work on the subject, *Histoire de la construction européenne*. The term thus came into common use in French historiography. The meaning attached to *construction* is explained by the historian Sylvain Kahn:

À cet égard, le mot qui serait plus près de ce que nous, Européens, vivons depuis trois générations serait celui de 'reconstruction européenne', tant il est vrai qu'en mai 1945 nous étions détruits. Tant il est vrai qu'en juin 1989 la part orientale de nous-mêmes était encore brisée, asservie [...] Pour construire sa propre histoire, il est plus efficace de se tourner vers l'avenir, de bâtir. C'est le sens du mot construction. La construction européenne est un projet; un projet politique; un projet de société. Elle est un vouloir-vivre ensemble. Cela, le mot d'intégration ne le dit pas. Ce terme met l'accent sur le processus. Tandis que celui de construction met l'accent sur les acteurs et le projet (pp. 12-13).

If the *construction* of Europe is a project, what is this project's goal? The authors maintain that the goals of European integration are, above all, peace and democracy. Almost all French historians agree that unification would bring peace: Bitsch, Bossuat, Courty and Devin, du Réau 1996, Fontaine 1996, Gerbet, Grandjean, Hamon and Keller, Hen and Léonard, Houteer, Kahn, Lecerf, Lefebvre, Masclat, and Zorgbibe 1993 are all of this opinion. Leboutte, 2019, vividly expresses the equation *Europe = peace*:

seule la paix est l'avenir des pays qui composent l'Europe [...] vieux projets d'Union européenne qui circulent depuis cinq siècles de 'paix perpétuelle' dans une 'Europe unie', schémas de futurs États-Unis d'Europe [...] il était vital de

'construire avec ses mains la paix', d'oser ce que personne n'a fait dans l'histoire du continent européen: tendre la main à l'ennemi d'hier (p. 6).

In the Schuman Declaration, for that matter, peace — the term is repeated six times in two pages — is said to be the essential aim of pooling coal and steel production:

La solidarité de production qui sera ainsi nouée manifesterà que toute guerre entre la France et l'Allemagne devient non seulement impensable, mais matériellement impossible.

For Schuman and Monnet, European unification is a political process aiming to gradually bring peace to the continent

L'Europe ne se fera pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble: elle se fera par des réalisations concrètes, créant d'abord une solidarité de fait

by setting up common foundations for economic development which at the end of a lengthy process would culminate in the federation of Europe. In commenting on one of the passages in the Declaration

Par la mise en commun de production de base et l'institution d'une Haute Autorité nouvelle, dont les décisions lieront la France, l'Allemagne et les pays qui y adhéreront, cette proposition réalisera les premières assises concrètes d'une Fédération européenne indispensable à la préservation de la paix.

Monnet had this to say:

Je demandai que ce passage fût souligné parce qu'il décrivait à la fois la méthode, les moyens et l'objectif désormais indissociables. Le dernier mot était le maître mot: la paix ².

As was pointed out in the introduction, French historiography pairs *construire* with *penser l'Europe*. Gerbet's book opens by reminding us that

L'Europe d'aujourd'hui porte toujours le poids d'une histoire longue et tourmentée dont on ne peut faire abstraction pour comprendre les difficultés qu'elle éprouve actuellement à s'organiser [...] L'idée d'organiser pacifiquement cette Europe des États est apparue à maintes reprises, mais n'a jamais été prise en considération par les détenteurs du pouvoir, qui n'ont choisi qu'entre deux politiques : la domination ou l'équilibre³ (p. 3).

² See Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, Paris, Fayard, 1976, p. 353.

³ In 1948, the German historian Ludwig Dehio had published a book entitled *Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie: Betrachtungen über ein Grundproblem der neueren Staatengeschichte* (*The precarious balance; four centuries of the European power struggle*, 1962), reinterpreting Europe's modern and contemporary history as a sequence of attempts at hegemony (or,

The narrative of the construction of Europe from 1945 onwards is thus generally preceded by a section outlining how and when the idea of Europe took shape. The space the authors devote to the topic varies, as do their motivations for choosing a timeframe. Some trace the seeds of the idea to 1919 (Leboutte 2008, though the 2019 edition moves the date back by several centuries; du Réau, 2007, and Guieu also consider the *penser* in the course of Europe's *construire*, discussing the different visions of Europe that vied with each other during the integration process) or to the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century (Bitsch writes that Europeanism and pacifism moved in lockstep, and recalls the peace plans propounded by Saint-Simon, Rousseau and Kant) or, again, to the modern age (Zorgbibe mentions the plans by Crucé and Sully), the Middle Ages (Gerbet gives a fascinating picture of the growth of the idea of Europe in a few dozen pages) or to classical antiquity (du Réau 1996); while Grandjean, before turning to the *construction*, devotes 200 pages to a painstaking history of the idea of Europe from antiquity to World War Two, drawing on the work of Duroselle and Chabod⁴. In these pages, Grandjean presents topics that help further an understanding of what took place during the *construction*, discussing the most important peace plans penned in the modern age, the proposals advanced between the two wars, and during World War Two. Hamon and Keller mention a number of features of classical antiquity before dealing at greater length with the idea of Europe from the Middle Ages onwards; in the hundred or so pages preceding the history of the *construction*, particular attention is devoted to federalism and the American federal State. Similarly, Soulier, before describing the *construction*, goes back to antiquity and notes that it is only since the nineteenth century that the idea of Europe had shaken off the notion of Christianity that had been overlaid on it since the Middle Ages, and no longer had the connotation of being inseparable from the idea of the entire world that had been conveyed by many of the modern age's peace plans, addressed chiefly to the European powers by virtue of their hegemony. Soulier argues that from the end of the eighteenth-century Europe has been gaining autonomy, beginning to be considered as an entity in its own right, as distinct from Christianity and the world.

as Gerbet put it, *domination*) alternating with the pursuit of a shaky balance (*équilibre*). Hamon and Keller also use the concepts of equilibrium and hegemony to explain the policies that the European states fielded from the sixteenth century onwards to achieve a balance of power.

⁴ Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *L'idée d'Europe dans l'histoire*, Paris, Denoël, 1965; Federico Chabod, *Histoire de l'idée d'Europe*, Brussels, Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2014.

While French historiography sees peace, and hence overcoming Franco-German antagonism, as the primary goal of the European project, the Schuman Declaration that enshrines this goal is unanimously described as a milestone in the history of Europe, an exceptional, extraordinary, and even “revolutionary” event that laid out the continent’s destiny and put an end to business as usual for the international organizations. A number of statements bear quoting in this connection.

Houteer:

Monnet expose une conception à la fois révolutionnaire et pragmatique de la construction européenne (2007, 2000).

Fontaine:

la méthode du plan Schuman est révolutionnaire dans le domaine des relations internationales: elle met en place une autorité indépendante des gouvernements, dont les décisions lieront les États. En faisant porter l’action sur ‘un point limité, mais décisif’, Schuman et Monnet tranchent pour la méthode fonctionnaliste. La ‘supranationalité’ est le point de départ d’une construction plus vaste, érigeant, sur la base de ‘solidarités concrètes’, les premières assises d’une fédération européenne indispensable à la préservation de la paix (1996, 1994).

Maslet’s penetrating observations are particularly incisive:

la Déclaration du 9 mai 1950 conduit à la création d’une organisation d’un type nouveau dans l’histoire des relations internationales: la CECA dispose de pouvoirs souverains réservé jusqu’ici aux seuls États. Il s’agit de la première organisation à vocation fédérale établi sur le continent européen. Schuman propose à ses partenaires non plus seulement de coopérer mais de gouverner en commun. La CECA dispose d’organes de décision indépendant des gouvernements de pays membres ... Le choix d’institutions de ce type traduit la volonté des signataires du traité de dépasser le stade des organisations internationales classiques. Celles-ci sont caractérisés par le fait que les décisions y sont prises à l’unanimité. Le désaccord d’un seul gouvernement suffit à bloquer le développement de l’ensemble. Par ailleurs, il n’existe dans les organisations de ce type aucun organe chargé de représenter et de gérer l’intérêt commun. Lorsqu’un secrétariat est institué, ce dernier assume un rôle purement technique de préparation des dossiers et d’exécution. Il n’intervient jamais au niveau de l’opportunité ni du contenu de la décision. La discussion, de caractère diplomatique, se réduit donc le plus souvent à un affrontement des antagonismes nationaux. Elle ne peut déboucher que par miracle sur la solution que requiert l’intérêt commun. Aussi ces organisations se sont-elles montrées inadaptées à la poursuite de réalisations concrètes (2001).

Gerbet:

texte véritablement explosif [...] Le plan Schuman apparaissait comme un premier pas vers un marché européen unifié et une fédération européenne.

For Gerbet, the High Authority:

c'était là l'innovation institutionnelle capitale de la déclaration française. On aurait pu envisager, pour gérer ce marché commun, un organe de coopération intergouvernemental, comme il en existait déjà beaucoup (2007, 1999).

Bitsch:

La CECA: première communauté supranationale [...] Tirant les conséquences de la difficile coopération avec l'Angleterre, Paris opte pour la construction d'une Europe supranationale – mais sectorielle – autour d'un noyau franco-allemand [...] La CECA préconise la création d'une institution de type nouveau, la Haute Autorité, à caractère supranational. Certes ce mot n'est pas inscrit dans le texte mais le concept y est, là aussi, répété à deux reprises [...] la proposition " révolutionnaire " du 9 mai 1950 (2008).

Leboutte:

Enfin, la touche de génie: la Haute Autorité aura un caractère supranational [...] L'aspect révolutionnaire du Traité de Paris tient au caractère supranational de la nouvelle Communauté (2008 : 127,137).

Hamon and Keller:

C'est bien dans son esprit l'ébauche d'un gouvernement fédéral, les États se liant par un Traité à valeur constitutionnelle (1997 : 121).

I have included all these quotations because it is remarkable that the historians of a country that has traditionally espoused the intergovernmental view of integration and has strenuously defended national sovereignty should speak in such glowing terms of the importance of the supranational approach taken in the European communities' founding document, and stress its innovative, "revolutionary" character, though noting how it differs from the constitutionalist approach upheld by the federalist movement. Indeed, as Monnet tells us in his memoirs, he and Schuman decided to proceed with the utmost secrecy in order to benefit from the element of surprise and avoid alerting the interest groups that would have sought to quash the supranational aspect — though it applied only to certain sectors — which they felt was essential if the Community was to be effective. Before the press conference, only a handful of

people were informed of the proposal that France was about to make to the other European countries, a proposal destined to change the history of the continent. Not even the Quai d'Orsay had been told of the content of the Declaration; had they been consulted beforehand, the diplomats would have prevented the limitation of national sovereignty, turning the ECSC into just another of the many international organizations whose powers were insufficient to make them effective.

Monnet's experience with the League of Nations had already shown him how ineffective intergovernmental bodies can be. In 1919, he had been named Deputy to the League's Secretary-General, a position he held until 1923, when he resigned in order to return to the family business. At that time, Monnet was convinced that the League would prevail, by sheer moral strength, the appeal to public opinion, its authority based on reason and cooperative goodwill, and the force of habit. But he later concluded that an organization of the kind, based on respect for the States' sovereignty, had no means of expressing and imposing a common will. Monnet acknowledged that the idea of getting governments to cooperate was well-intentioned, but notes that the approach breaks down as soon as national interests conflict, unless there is an independent political body that can take a common view of problems and arrive at a common decision. He recognized that whatever successes the League had achieved had been possible only when the great powers — France and the United Kingdom — thought it to be in their interest to avoid a dispute. At the root of the League's difficulties was national sovereignty, which prevented the general interest from being seen in the Council, given that all of the delegates were obsessed by the effect that any decision could have on their own country. The result was that no one really tried to solve problem, as the main concern was to respect national interests. Nor could it be otherwise in an organization subject to the unanimity rule. Monnet concluded his reminiscences of the League of Nations by remarking that the veto was at once the cause and the symbol of the inability to go beyond national self-interest⁵.

The supranational character of the ECSC stemmed from the negative experience with the League of Nations; hence the May 9 Declaration's provision that its goals were to be pursued

⁵ See the chapter on the League of Nations in Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, op. cit., pp. 91-115.

par l'institution d'une Haute Autorité nouvelle, dont les décisions lieront la France, l'Allemagne et les pays qui y adhéreront [...] un président sera choisi d'un commun accord par les gouvernements; ses décisions seront exécutoires en France, en Allemagne et dans les autres pays adhérents.

This is an aspect that French historiography has quite rightly singled out, though it emphasizes that the national States did not divest themselves of their sovereignty, but placed independent institutions above the States in order to achieve common aims in energy and steel production (Kahn for example, uses the term *mutualisation sectorielle*). It is also stressed that the ECSC, as conceived in the May 9 Declaration, had the capacity to spill over into other sectors and lead eventually to political unification.

The Declaration was generally well received, though as Schuman and Monnet feared, there was no lack of criticism, which erupted on the following day, May 10. But by then the Declaration was official. Much of the criticism came from the nationalistic right, which could not stomach supranationalism, and the Communist Party. The latter not only peddled Soviet propaganda, but also used its trade union and the pages of the party newspaper *L'Humanité* to accuse the government of levying an attack on national sovereignty, of a “monstrous and cynical betrayal” of France, of laying the country open to the wiles of the German revanchists, and of slavishly doing America’s bidding. The French steel lobby was also opposed, fearing German competition as well as the High Authority’s planning ambitions (Monnet headed the *commissariat général au Plan*). The notion of a High Authority also drew harsh criticism from officials at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance; one of the latter’s senior staffers asked the minister to have Monnet’s “intrigues” put under surveillance (Bossuat 2009 : 163).

French historiography thus devotes considerable attention to the problem of sovereignty, which set its mark on the entire integration process: should integration go no farther than creating a free trade zone and leaving national sovereignty untouched, or should it proceed towards ever-closer forms of economic union — as well as social and political union — that would chip away at the States’ self-determination? And in the latter case, what powers should be vested in the common European bodies? The choice between the supranational vision, which aims at integration and at creating common institutions deciding by majority vote (federation), and the inter-governmental vision, which favors cooperation and institutions where all decisions must be unanimous (confederation), is widely used by French

historians as the key to explaining the unification process. It is a choice between two alternatives that arose at the very beginning of communitarian Europe and was reflected in the opposing attitudes to integration held by the founding Six and by the United Kingdom.

The Schuman Declaration also signaled an unexpected swerve in French policy which was met with considerable concern and confusion. France, as the only European country with the power and the desire to take the initiative in integration, had until the late Forties always acted together with, and sought to involve, the United Kingdom. According to Bossuat⁶, who gives us a penetrating analysis of the proposals for integration advanced from the end of World War I to 1950, the United Kingdom, by opting for an institutionally weak Organization for European Economic Cooperation, failed to seize the historic opportunity to unite the Europeans when France was willing to accept British preeminence (p. 132). The Franco-British duo showed its utter inability to promote European unity with the Council of Europe. Given London's foot-dragging on integration and the British preference for pared-down institutions, Paris, which favored strong, permanent institutions, abandoned its hopes for an economic Europe under Anglo-French auspices, and decided to build Europe with Germany, which was less inclined to shy away from limits to sovereignty. Accordingly, Schuman was able to specify in the Declaration that the High Authority would be supranational. Thus was born the Franco-German duo: a radical development that turned France's traditional foreign policy on its head and drew much hostile comment. For example, Kahn quotes the rather colorful remarks by the French ambassador to London, René Massigli: "*Jean Monnet finira pendu et je tisserai la corde pour le pendre*" (p. 68). Similar worries surfaced when the *querelle* burst out about ratifying the treaty establishing the European Defence Community. One of the slogans that circulated against the European Army ran: "*on va fusionner avec l'ennemi d'hier — les Allemands — et on s'éloignera d'autant de nos alliés britanniques*" (Gerbet, p. 120). The Franco-German duo that came into being with the Schuman Declaration was to play a fundamental part in the integration process. Tellingly, Kahn calls

⁶ Bossuat's book, 2009, which ranks alongside those by Gerbet and Bitsch in the level of detail and wealth of information it provides, devotes extensive space to the institutional aspects of integration and the part played by the key figures (and not only the better-known among them). Bossuat is one of the historians who is most open about supporting unification, though his assessment of the process is always balanced and critical.

the ECSC the anti-Versailles Treaty (p. 64), as it put an end to the centuries-old discord between the two countries and ushered in the Europeanization of the European states' policies.

Kahn also emphasizes another function performed by the ECSC. Europe's economic reconstruction was accompanied by a new political and social compact that left no-one behind. A redistributive welfare state was built up that ensured social cohesion and made revolutionary programs less seductive for those hoping for the triumph of equality and justice. The ECSC made it impossible for employers and the propertied classes to regain their old, archetypal power and prevented a return to the non-competition agreements — where it was the workers, ultimately, who footed the bill. Ten years later, the Common Agricultural Policy served the same purpose, as it brought the working, agricultural and middle classes into the liberal and democratic state, stemming the rural exodus and modernizing the countryside, again leaving no-one behind. European integration was thus not simply a new experiment in diplomacy, a fresh aspect of the European concert. It was also a political project, democratic and liberal, for political, cultural and social integration. Though it was a project that each country pursued in its own fashion, it was shared by all the peoples of Europe. This convergence of European societies' hopes and aspirations is what Kahn calls Europeanization, referring to the process whereby public policies decided at the European level bring the continent's societies closer together (pp. 57-59).

French historiography also gives an interesting assessment of the Treaties of Rome. The Six undertook to develop their economies together, after centuries of protectionism and nationalism. Rather than warring or competing with each other, the European countries forswore power politics and agreed to share what had never been shared before: part of their national independence and sovereignty. They created common institutions tasked with pursuing common interests.

Were we to hazard a general, overall appraisal of the French historiography of the years when European integration got under way, we could say that scholarly and popularizing works alike are clear and comprehensive in explaining the events and helping the reader understand the historical significance of unification, why the process started, what forces drove it from within and without, what kinds of resistance it had to overcome, and what contradictions it entailed. Undoubtedly, the authors primarily

address the role played by France and the actions of the French protagonists, concentrating obviously on Schuman and Monnet. Very few authors deal at any length with Altiero Spinelli's role in these years. Aside from the Ventotene Manifesto, the textbooks largely ignore the contribution that Spinelli made in ensuring that the federalist movement espoused the "begin in the west" line (i.e., that the integration process would have to be achieved without the east after the Soviets rejected the Marshall Plan), rather than the neutralist or Third force lines, by explaining that unification would make Europe stronger, and thus independent of the United States. Little mention is also made of Spinelli's initiative to transform the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe into a constituent assembly, his work to flank the European army with a political institution — in the belief that there can be no army without a State — and his criticisms of the Treaties of Rome, which are still very relevant today. Similarly undervalued are the efforts by Alcide De Gasperi — who, convinced by Spinelli's arguments, worked to combine the political and defence communities, resulting in Article 38 of the EDC — and by the Italian negotiators from Messina (1955) to Rome (1957) who strove to include the social prospects of integration in the treaties.

Conversely, Leboutte (2008) rather surprisingly devotes considerable space to illustrating the federalist thinking of Luigi Einaudi, which is little known even in Italy.

In any case, the textbooks' narrative is on the whole balanced, scrupulous, accurate and impartial, even when the author's sympathies for integration tend to surface.

In conclusion, the image of Europe that emerges from the French historiography of the early years of the integration process is more than positive, though the authors do not hesitate to draw attention to its limits and contradictions, emphasizing the *longue durée* of *penser l'Europe* and the fundamental goal of the *construction* of Europe: bringing peace to the continent.

French-language textbooks from the entry in force of the Treaties of Rome to the 1984 Spinelli Draft

Paolo Caraffini

The Treaties of Rome and the birth of the Common Market

The period that stretched from the entry into force of the Treaties of Rome and the mid-Eighties was crucial to European integration, as the institutions created with the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) treaty were consolidated, powers were extended, and new policies took shape both at the community level and in the intergovernmental framework. In addition, the original core of the six founding states was expanded with the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark.

French-language historiography provides an extensive analysis of this lengthy period, which it explores in greater or less depth depending on the nature of the textbooks taken into consideration. The Gaullist proposals and contrasts with the Community partners are a particular focus, as are the relationship with the United States and the European Communities' external action in general, development cooperation, the initiatives in the 1970s — including the projected economic and monetary union — after the Hague Summit in December 1969, and such reforms as the introduction of elections to the European Parliament (EP) by direct universal suffrage.

Fabrice Larat, in the foreword to his *Histoire politique de l'intégration européenne 1945-2003*, states that while the European Economic Community (EEC) is undoubtedly the most substantial and far-reaching institution, there is in fact a series of other organisations, some with greater powers than others, that can legitimately speak on behalf of Europe (Larat 2003: 7-10, 62). Precisely for this reason, his book covers not only the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), the Brussels Pact, and the Council of Europe (which are discussed in most textbooks of European integration history), but also addresses the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the Nordic Council, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the forms of cooperation put in

place by the communist regimes in the East, such as Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) and the Warsaw Pact, and very specific initiatives like the Conseil européen pour la recherche nucléaire (CERN) established in 1952, the European Cultural Center, founded in Geneva in 1950 by Denis de Rougemont, the College of Europe, and the Union européenne de radio-télévision (UER), which was founded in 1950 and set up the Eurovision system in 1954.

However, as Marie-Thérèse Bitsch points out in her *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, the EEC is the most innovative (Bitsch 2004: 131) and original (Hen, Léonard 2004: 15-16)¹ of all the organisations dating from the 1950s. René Leboutte agrees, adding in *Histoire économique et sociale de la construction européenne* that the prospects for a European federation have come to naught because the idea “[...] était trop radicale et sous-estimait la viguer des intérêts nationaux”. In Leboutte’s view, the economic route proved more fruitful, enabling Europeans to find their way out of the maze of nationalism and protectionism, and look forward to creating a political Europe (Leboutte 2008: 195).

In her 1996 book *L’idée d’Europe au XXe siècle. Des mythes aux réalités*² and its later updated editions, Élisabeth Du Réau argues that the EEC Treaty’s call to “establish the foundations of an ever closer union among the European peoples” was general enough to be acceptable to all six founding States without obliging them to take a stance on federalism, and while the formula contained the idea of a “*Union européenne en devenir*”, it avoided espousing any particular model (Du Réau 2008: 246-249).

Similarly, Pascal Fontaine, a former assistant to Jean Monnet, maintains in *L’Union européenne. Bilan et perspectives de l’intégration communautaire* that the Community, as it was based on new principles that differed from those of the classic international organisations, lay midway between intergovernmental cooperation and federal union. Moreover, it was sufficiently well-structured to survive conjunctural factors and

¹ In emphasizing the originality of the system of the European Communities, the two authors concentrate on the principles of the primacy and direct applicability of Community law (Hen, Léonard 2004: 16-21). Camille Hubac also states that the Community is “une puissance d’un type nouveau”, but adds that “semble bien étrange, voire étrangère, à ses citoyens” (Hubac 2012 : 9). In this connection, Élisabeth Du Réau also stresses the public’s information deficit in the early decades of the integration process (Du Réau 2007: 78-79).

² Du Réau Elisabeth, *L’idée d’Europe au XXe siècle. Des mythes aux réalités*, Brussels, éditions Complexe, 1996, 2001, 2008.

changes in the Member States' political outlook, but at the same time flexible enough to respond to the needs and adapt to the new challenges of common action (Fontaine 1994: 63).

Dominique Hamon and Ivan Serge Keller, in *Fondements et étapes de la construction européenne*³, are of the same opinion, but see the Treaties of Rome and Paris as a sort of *de facto* constitution. The ECSC was a “law-treaty” that precisely laid out the powers assigned to the common institutions, the High Authority in particular. The EEC Treaty, by contrast, was less supranational than the ECSC or the failed attempts at establishing European Defence Community (EDC) and the Political Community, but, as it assigned greater weight to the Council of Ministers, it had ample potential for evolving towards supranationality, through the Commission and the Court of Justice in particular, but also through the European Parliament, given the possibility of direct elections (Hamon, Keller 1997: 155-157, 163). As Pierre Gerbet notes, the EEC Treaty was a framework that set general goals, but without going into the details of how they would be met (Gerbet 1994: 192).

Fontaine, whom we have already cited, asks whether a true communitarian Europe can be said to exist, apart from the Europe of the States. The entire community mechanism was designed so that expressing and defending divergent national priorities could be balanced by the ability to identify and pursue common interests and act collectively. Though there are abundant differences between the States, reliance on majority voting and compromise-seeking facilitate this voluntary coexistence and, gradually, bring about changes in the States' perceptions and in how they act. As we have said, the six Founding States in particular share the conviction of being the pioneers of a new and original enterprise. Nevertheless, French diplomacy is torn between the temptation to make Europe play a major role on the world stage, and the reluctance to allow it to gain any real sovereignty, preferring intergovernmentalism (Fontaine 1994: 41-43).

³ Though it is not an academic text in the strict sense, the book has the merit of setting the idea of European unity and the integration process firmly in the broader international context — political, economic and commercial, as well as cultural — and also devotes attention to the social context, discussing the education and university system, the influence on young people and their world in the 1960s and during the period of student protests and Marxist and internationalist movements, which were at odds with the European Communities' Western, Atlanticist and technocratic leanings, believing them to be under the sway of the US and the Vatican.

However, Fontaine sees the cleavage between the positions expressed by the Member States — between the Europe of the States and federal Europe — as more apparent than real. The national states are aware of the interdependence that binds them and of the need to cooperate, especially as new actors appear on the global scene. On the other hand,

les professions de foi fédéraliste des responsables politiques s'arrêteront aux portes d'un Conseil des ministres de la Communauté dès lors qu'il apparaît nécessaire de défendre un intérêt national ou sectoriel (Fontaine 1994: 54-55).

In *Les politiques communautaires*, a chapter in the multi-author volume *Penser et construire l'Europe: L'idée et la construction européenne de Versailles à Maastricht (1919-1992)*, the economic historian Dominique Barjot underscored the success of the customs union, as witnessed by the exponential growth in intracommunity trade (Barjot 2007: 178)⁴. Moreover, the new horizons opened up by the Common Market gave economic circles confidence in the future, making it possible to take a medium-long term view (Kahn 2020: 93).

The introduction of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was a major achievement, not only because it helped modernize European farming and led to a significant increase in production (Germanangue 1993: 29-30), but also because it proved that the Community was able to deploy original mechanisms for furthering a sectorial policy (Larat 2003: 62-64), even though over time the CAP was to become increasingly costly and ultimately unbalanced the European budget (Barjot 2007: 206). Formulating the CAP was in any case fraught with difficulties as a result of the major differences in the Member States' outlooks. The Federal Republic of Germany in particular harbored strong reservations at the beginning⁵.

⁴ In this connection, see also Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 43-44.

⁵ See Lecerf 1965: 102; Gerbet 1994: 215-216; Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 45-46; Kahn 2020: 96-97. The latter author notes that for the European countries, the CAP was also the means whereby "*le poids des campagnes dans leur imaginaire politique national*" could be maintained, albeit with the necessary changes, and the exodus from the countryside could be slowed, so that the rural population could continue to exist, but with access to the comforts of modern life (Kahn 2020: 94, 98 and 109). The CAP was also a factor in balancing out the industrial advantage over France that West Germany had acquired with the Common Market. Gaullist France thus opposed every request to reform the CAP advanced by the British, especially at the time of the first application for membership (ibidem: 96, 107). Great Britain, in fact, was heavily dependent on agricultural imports, with a system of preferential tariffs with the Commonwealth countries (Lecerf 1965: 142-144).

De Gaulle, the United Kingdom's accession applications and Euro-Atlantic relations

Again in connection with the contrasts between the Community partners, Jean-Claude Masclét's short book *L'Union politique de l'Europe*⁶ argues that France and the other Member States were deeply divided by the Fouchet Plans. The fundamental issue was that of Europe's international role, of the direction taken by its external policy. Facing off here were “*deux projets de civilisation concurrents*”, where that expressed by Gaullist France sought Europe's independence, its gradual emancipation from two hegemonies: Soviet and that of the United States (Masclét 1993: 55-56). As Sylvain Kahn writes, for de Gaulle the European construction was “*le théâtre de la mise en scène [...] de sa politique de grandeur de la France*” (Kahn 2020: 104).

For the Netherlands, the Gaullist project sought to impose a French or Franco-German hegemony, and risked weakening ties with the United States and the United Kingdom. This was the free-trade, Atlanticist viewpoint voiced by the Hague (Masclét 1993: 44-45). Belgium and the Netherlands could have accepted such a prospect, an alternative to supranational integration, only if the United Kingdom also joined (Bitsch 2004: 138-139).

Fabrice Larat notes, however, that the Fouchet Plans did in fact have a number of points of interest, and their outcome would not have differed overmuch from that of the later European Political Cooperation (EPC) and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) that was to arise out of Maastricht (Larat 2003: 65). According to Jean Lecerf⁷, moreover, the subsequent Élysée Treaty of January 22, 1963 repackaged the content of the Fouchet Plans at a bilateral level, between France and the Federal Republic of Germany (Lecerf 1965: 131 and 234).

Gérard Ducrey focuses on the United Kingdom's accession applications, pointing out that the Macmillan government's decision in August 1961 stemmed from an awareness that the times had changed since the early days of the European integration process: as trade with the Commonwealth declined, the British economy counted on entry to the EEC to

⁶ Jean-Claude Masclét, *L'Union politique de l'Europe*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1st edition in 1973 and 5th edition in 1993.

⁷ Jean Lecerf (1918 - 2012) was a journalist with the daily paper “Le Figaro”, an expert in European issues and Brussels correspondent from 1975 to 1981. Jean Monnet wrote the foreword to the first of his three books on the history of European integration, *Histoire de l'unité européenne*, published by Gallimard in 1965.

boost its exports⁸. In addition, the United Kingdom realized that it had fallen behind the US technologically, and that there was thus a need to cooperate with the rest of Europe in this area⁹. It should also be added that London had to bear the effects of community policies without being able to influence the decision-making processes or benefit fully from the EEC's economic expansion (Kahn 2020: 103).

Regarding Britain's first application for membership, Marie-Thérèse Bitsch argues that its failure was not only due to de Gaulle: Macmillan also shares the blame, as the British had not made a clear choice for Europe (Bitsch 2004: 154). The situation, in any case, must be framed as part of Euro-Atlantic relations, given that the Kennedy administration supported the UK's application so that it could bank on London's help in keeping the Gaullist initiatives in check and preserving an "Atlantic Europe" open to trade with the United States (Hubac 2012: 34).

By contrast, Hamon and Keller center their attention on the attempt to restore balance in Europe's dealings with the US, where two different routes were being pursued:

- 1) The approach supported by Jean Monnet, of an equal partnership in economic, commercial, political and military matters and in development aid. This was also to be the position taken by the Kennedy administration, which — as Gerbet tells us — had looked askance at the British proposal for an OEEC-wide free trade zone, which would have provided protection as regards American trade, but would not have strengthened the European construction as a whole (Gerbet 1994: 208)¹⁰.
- 2) The Gaullist line, which called for a *Europe européenne* independent of the US, and opposed the United Kingdom's accession, seeing it as a "Trojan horse" orchestrated by Washington (Hamon, Keller 1997: 210-214; Leboutte 2008: 374-375; Hubac 2012: 36).

⁸ On the Commonwealth countries' concerns about the possibility that the UK would join the European communities, see Lecerf 1965: 191-204.

⁹ See Gérard Ducrey, *Vers le premier élargissement*, in Barjot Dominique (ed.), *Penser et construire l'Europe: L'idée et la construction européenne de Versailles à Maastricht (1919-1992)*, Paris, SEDES, 2007, p. 162.

¹⁰ Gerbet specifies that what Monnet wanted was not simply an Atlantic free trade zone, as he wished to go beyond merely commercial considerations and create an equal partnership between the EEC and the US (Gerbet 1994: pp. 257-258).

As for the commercial aspects, the US talking points centered chiefly on the protectionist CAP and the reliance on preferential agreements (the Yaoundé, and later, the Lomé Conventions), which was deemed a violation of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) rules. Nevertheless — as several authors are at pains to make clear — the Community was not the “fortress” that the United States at times made it out to be. After the Kennedy Round and the free-trade agreements with the EFTA countries, it emerged as the regional grouping that was most liberal in commercial matters, open to foreign products and capital¹¹, and it was Brussels’ turn to take the US to task for its agricultural and industrial protectionism (Barjot 2007: 201).

The years of de Gaulle’s presidency were also fraught with institutional tensions between the Community partners. While the Luxembourg Compromise — a sort of “gentlemen’s agreement (Germanangue 1993: 38) — did not result in the change to the Treaties that France had sought, it did alter inter-institutional relationships, weakening the Commission and giving it less power to introduce legislation than the Council. This slowed the Community dynamic and aggravated the friction among the Six (Masclat 1993: 62-63; Hamon, Keller 1997: 170). Sylvain Kahn is critical of the Commission’s “*opération ambitieuse*” (Lecerf 1975: 25), the initiative that led to the “Empty Chair Crisis”, maintaining that Hallstein’s proposals ultimately backfired, eroding the Commission’s political role (Kahn 2020: 112-113)¹². According to Bitsch, one of the reasons was that the Compromise did not specify the criteria for determining that a national interest was vital, and that the principle of unanimity would thus apply (Bitsch 2004: 164).

The Hague Summit and the 1970s

The December 1969 relaunch of the integration process at The Hague — which according to Lecerf “*a fait francir à l’Europe un pas immense*” (Lecerf 1975: 157) — was based on the “triptych” of completion, deepening

¹¹ See Bitsch 2004: 189-190; Gerbet 1994: 215; Kahn 2020: 93; Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 44-45.

¹² Sylvain Kahn, while noting that it was not until the Single European Act that a substantial extension of majority voting took place in the Council, nevertheless comments that “*à l’aune d’une révolution qui rompt avec un trend pluriséculaire, qu’est-ce que vingt ans de plus sinon un modeste détour ?*” (Kahn 2020: 111).

and enlargement. Fabrice Larat notes that the way deepening and enlargement go hand in hand is characteristic of the Community dynamic: there is a push to consolidate and deepen the existing structures whenever accessions are in the offing, as the new members might be hostile to these measures (Larat 2003: 65).

The new French president, Georges Pompidou, wanted “*continuer le gaullisme tout en l’humanisant*”, as Jean-Baptiste Duroselle put it in his 1978 book, *Les Relations internationales de 1968 à nos jours*¹³. France’s global vocation was to some extent scaled back: at this point, French diplomacy’s prime goals were to strengthen ties with the European partners and the country’s ability to face international competition¹⁴. Moreover, countenancing the United Kingdom’s membership bid meant making any move towards European federalism more complicated, and thus was not only in line with Pompidou’s traditional Gaullist outlook, but also offset Germany’s growing clout (Kahn 2020: 118).

As regards the latter, Willy Brandt, though he promoted *Ostpolitik*, was by no means aloof to the European integration process, both out of personal conviction and to fend off criticism from the CDU (*Christlich Demokratische Union*) and preserve solidarity with France. His views of Europe, however, differed from Pompidou’s: while favoring the entry of the United Kingdom¹⁵, he also advocated reforms to reinforce the Community’s institutions. Bitsch observes that his “federalist” commitment, however, was less rigorous than the CDU’s: he took a rather gradualist, non-doctrinaire, stance, partly in order not to irritate Paris (Bitsch 2004: 174-175).

One of the outcomes of the Hague Summit was the Werner Plan, and the textbooks devote considerable space to monetary issues. The topics discussed range from the Bretton Woods system, the first signs of its collapse and the lack of a common European policy in the 1960s (Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 53-54), to the projects for European monetary cooperation or

¹³ Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Les Relations internationales de 1968 à nos jours*, Paris, Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1978.

¹⁴ See Gérard Ducrey, *Vers le premier élargissement*, in Barjot Dominique (ed.), *Penser et construire l’Europe: L’idée et la construction européenne de Versailles à Maastricht (1919-1992)*, Paris, SEDES, 2007, p. 162.

¹⁵ Brandt also supported the accession of Denmark and Norway, which would have reinforced European social democracy as well as the strong currency bloc, with its competitive economies, high wages and robust social safety nets (Kahn 2020: 118). On the Danish, Norwegian and Irish candidacies in the early 1960s, as well as the positions of Switzerland, Austria and Sweden, see Lecerf 1965: 239-261.

integration¹⁶, and the two Barre Plans (of February 1969 and March 1970) in particular, as well as the declaration of the dollar's non-convertibility into gold of August 15, 1971 and the currency snake (Gerbet 1994: 224; 344-345). The latter, however, failed to meet expectations, and the idea of monetary union was relaunched by the president of the European Commission, Roy Jenkins, in an address at the European University Institute in Florence on October 27, 1977. This was followed in March 1979 by the creation of the European Monetary System (EMS), ensuring greater currency stability and infra-European trade (Leboutte 2008: 239-240 and 351; Germanangue 1993: 49). In this connection, Lecerf calls the birth of the ECU (European Currency Unit) “*une date importante de l'histoire de l'unité européenne*”, which led to better coordination in monetary policies (Lecerf 1984: 269-271).

As regards the Community's international relations, Barjot sees no consistent policy until the 1970s (Barjot 2007: 199), and the Europe of the Six continued to be a “political dwarf” on the larger world stage (Hamon, Keller 1997: 204-208; Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 17). Gerbet, however, does not entirely agree, as he says that “*en dépit dell'insuffisance de son intégration, la CEE est apparue comme un ensemble cohérent dans ses relations extérieurs*”, though here he refers to the common trade policy and the association agreements, whereby the EEC made its weight felt in decolonization efforts, creating “*un modèle d'aide au développement dans un cadre régional*” (Gerbet 1994: 225-226 and 269).

As for the Davignon Report, Jean-Claude Masclat notes that although it was a step forward, it left the optional nature of foreign policy coordination unchanged (Masclat 1993: 72-73). Pascal Fontaine, for example, writes of the lack of solidarity and of a collective response at the time of the Yom Kippur War and the oil crisis (Fontaine 1994: 37), while Gerbet counters by recalling the European Council's Venice Declaration of June 1980 and the effective coordination of foreign policies at the United Nations (UN) and during the Conference on Security and Cooperation in

¹⁶ Pierre Gerbet mentions, for example, the proposal formulated by the Comité d'action pour le États-Unis d'Europe on November 20, 1959, calling on the Six to liberalize capital movements, coordinate budget and credit policies and create a European Reserve Fund consisting of a portion of the Member States' reserves (Gerbet 1994: 224). André Gauthier and Gérard Dorel also emphasize that some States hoped that economic union would precede monetary union, while others — including France — did not see coordinating economic policies as a priority (Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 55-56).

Europe (Gerbet 1994: 376-379). This position is shared by Jean Lecerf, who sees Brussels as “*l’un des centres diplomatiques les plus actifs du monde*”, and also credits the Mediterranean policy and Euro-Arab dialog, despite all the limits resulting from the absence of a true European defense policy (Lecerf 1984: 55, 114-115, 123-124, 221).

Another significant aspect is that of the relationships with developing countries, and here Élisabeth Du Réau recalls that during the negotiations for the Treaties of Rome, France had called for the association of the overseas territories (Du Réau 2008: 247). A five-year implementing convention (1958-1963) annexed to the Treaty progressively gave these countries free access to the Common Market for their products, and also provided for aid from the European Development Fund (Leboutte 2008: 379). In this connection, Lecerf also devotes attention to the viewpoints expressed by the African countries (Lecerf 1965: 263-283), as well as to the contributions made over the years by the French Commission members Robert Lemaigen, Henri Rochereau, Jean-François Deniau and Claude Cheysson (Lecerf 1984: 75, 371-375). When the first convention expired, the Yaoundé agreements were signed on July 20, 1963 and then renewed in July 1969. They were followed by the September 1969 Arusha agreements with Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 340-342). After the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in New Delhi from January 31 to March 29, 1968, the Community applied the generalized system of preferences from July 1, 1971 onwards (Hamon, Keller 1997: 242-243). Many authors also dwell at some length on the 1975 Lomé Convention and the subsequent renewals — a political success for Lecerf (Lecerf 1984: 75-76) — and on the STABEX and Sysmin mechanisms, the latter introduced by the second Lomé Convention.

The institutional reforms and direct elections to the European Parliament

Institutional issues occupy a prominent place in the textbooks considered here. Discussing the birth of the European Council, Masclat wonders why what had been rejected in 1962, with the Fouchet Plans, had become acceptable in 1974. The answer, he argues, lay in the fact that the Council of Ministers’ work had become unmanageable after the Luxembourg Compromise. The European Council thus filled a gap in the right of initiative,

while supporters of the Community method were placated by the introduction of direct elections to the European Parliament, achieved thanks to the joint efforts of several national governments, MEPs and a number of Europeanist movements (Du Réau 2007: 84). Citizen participation, it was felt, would bring new dynamism to the Community system, or at least help make it somewhat less technocratic (Masclat 1993: 77 – 86).

The drive for direct elections was a joint Franco-German effort, spearheaded at this stage by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt¹⁷, who, as Lecerf emphasizes, were very much in agreement on a range of European and other issues, despite their differing political orientation (Lecerf 1984: 63).

However, as Dominique Barjot and Christophe Réveillard point out, party leaders devoted little attention to the European elections, juxtaposed on national elections with nationally based electoral campaigns and weak European party federations¹⁸. This is confirmed by Charles Zorgbibe (Zorgbibe 1993: 236-240) and Pascal Fontaine, for whom the EP is the center of impetus for increasing the Community's cohesion; however, it is perceived as being out of touch with Europe's citizens even though it is democratically elected (Fontaine 1994: 75).

As regards parliamentary initiatives, it should be noted that most authors dedicate little space to the Spinelli Draft. One of the few exceptions is Gerbet, who offers a positive assessment: the treaty was a coherent, non-abstract whole, dynamic in nature in that it called for a gradual progression from the intergovernmental to the Community model (Gerbet 1994: 411-413). Du Réau credits the draft, which she calls “*audacieux*”, with having drawn the attention of governments and the public to the urgent need to come together in thinking about the future of the European Community, before the enlargement to Spain and Portugal and in view of the challenges on the international front (Du Réau 2007: 87). For his part, Zorgbibe notes that the new treaty would have provided a unitary framework, going beyond the legal instruments then in force (Zorgbibe 1993: 194).

¹⁷ As we have already emphasized, an important characteristic of the various textbooks is the attention devoted to the key figures in the European construction, the national and Community decision-makers.

¹⁸ Dominique Barjot and Christophe Réveillard, *Le tournant de 1979*, in Barjot Dominique (ed.), *Penser et construire l'Europe: L'idée et la construction européenne de Versailles à Maastricht (1919-1992)*, Paris, SEDES, 2007, pp. 233-234.

The 1980s opened with severe international tensions, both political and economic: the Euromissile question, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Poland's declaration of martial law in December 1981, and the second oil crisis¹⁹ (Du Réau 2007: 85-86).

According to Masclet, the Community's institutional problems seemed to have worsened midway through the decade. The Tindemans Report²⁰, the Genscher-Colombo Plan and the Spinelli Draft itself had all yielded underwhelming results (Masclet 1993: 87).

But momentum picked up again from the mid-1980s. In any case, as Pascal Fontaine tells us, the history of the European Communities is one of alternating periods of progress and stagnation. When the international economic outlook is favorable, advances in European integration are more readily achieved, while nations become more inward-looking in times of crisis (Fontaine 1994: 39).

There can be little doubt that the arrival of Margaret Thatcher in Downing Street in May 1979 had a major impact on the Community. According to Gauthier and Dorel, after the United Kingdom joined in 1973, it had tried to wring the maximum benefit out of membership while shirking its responsibilities whenever possible. Not only did this cast doubt on London's European bonafides, but it also sparked disputes with the other Member States, in particular as regards the UK's contribution to the Community budget, resulting in the adoption of corrective mechanisms (Gauthier, Dorel 1993: 153-156).

In *Le tournant de 1979*, their chapter in the volume *Penser et construire l'Europe: L'idée et la construction européenne de Versailles à Maastricht (1919-1992)* cited above, Dominique Barjot and Christophe Réveillard argue that Thatcher's "Conservative revolution" did not just bring the United Kingdom back on the scene. Above all, it brought a more liberal, pragmatic vision of Europe, rejecting a federalism that the two authors regard as utopian in certain respects²¹.

¹⁹ On the second oil crisis, see Lecerf 1984: 295-303.

²⁰ Charles Zorgbibe speaks of "prudent pragmatism" in connection with the Tindemans Report (Zorgbibe 1993: 185), while Jean Lecerf emphasizes that it was by no means a draft constitution, but a set of specific goals and a catalog of possible concrete actions. In any case, the Report was not greeted with enthusiasm, precisely because of its prudence and, in the case of France, because Giscard d'Estaing had to deal with a divided majority in parliament, where Chirac's neo-Gaullists were opposed to supranational developments of any kind (Lecerf 1984: 107-108).

²¹ Dominique Barjot and Christophe Réveillard, *Le tournant de 1979*, in Barjot Dominique (ed.), *Penser et construire l'Europe: L'idée et la construction européenne de Versailles à Maastricht (1919-1992)*, 2007, op. cit., pp. 209, 216-219.

In the *Conclusions* to their chapter, Barjot and Réveillard's take on those years is rather different from the interpretation offered by the other textbooks examined here, speaking of the waning influence of Mitterrand's France, due in part to the country's weakness on the monetary front, and Germany's ascendancy. In their view, the Europe of the 1980s was no longer dominated by Franco-German initiatives, but was torn between two models: that of Germany, with its economic and monetary power and strong social system, and that of the United Kingdom, as an alternative to Rhine capitalism or the social Europe advocated by the French socialists, and rooted in the ideas of small government and of curbing what was called Brussels' "bureaucratic overreach"²².

René Leboutte, however, argues that the "fair return" demanded by the British was in principle highly problematic, as it ran counter to the Community solidarity called for in the Treaties (Leboutte 2008: 324). Lecerf agrees with this interpretation in the main, but also observes that the United Kingdom could have been asked to adapt gradually to the principle of Community preference in trade, and especially in agricultural trade, thus reducing the imbalance in its budget contribution, but that continuing for any length of time as the main net contributor was not acceptable to London. The agreements regarding the British rebate were an acceptable compromise that made it possible to continue along the path towards European unity (Lecerf 1984: 311-317).

²² Ivi, p. 234.

The Eighties

Maria Eleonora Guasconi

The “relance” of the Eighties

As described in French historiography, the relaunch of the Eighties was not a straightforward linear process running from the creation of the Common Market with the Single European Act to the signing of the Maastricht Treaty and the EMU, in a teleological reading of the European construction, but was a decade of fits and starts.

Sylvain Khan, author of one of the more recent textbooks of the history of European integration (*Histoire de la construction de l'Europe*) thus writes: “La cronologie peut donner le sentiment d’une continuité qui mènerait de la relance de Fontainebleau (1984) à l’euro (1999). Il s’agit davantage d’un chaînage que d’une continuité. Si Fontainebleau débloque la vie politique communautaire, ses acteurs n’ont alors ni prévu ni planifié ce qui en a découlé. Il n’y a pas de plan conçu puis appliqué, comme on écrit une pièce de théâtre ensuite mise en scène”¹.

In analyzing the period from 1980 to 1993, French historiography is virtually unanimous in pointing to the June 1984 Council meeting in Fontainebleau — when the knotty problem of the British contribution to the Community budget was resolved, the stalled negotiations for the entry of Spain and Portugal in the EEC got under way again, and the Dooge and Adonnino committees were set up to investigate new proposals for reforming the Treaties — as the starting point of a new stage in the process of European integration².

Above all, the Fontainebleau meeting is seen as the moment when the Franco-German duo consisting of the French president François Mitterrand and the German chancellor Helmut Kohl gained fresh momentum,

¹ S. Kahn, *Histoire de la construction de l'Europe*, Paris, Puf, 2011, p. 165.

² P. Gerbet, *La construction de l'Europe*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2007, 4th edition, pp. 337-344; M.T. Bitsch, *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, Paris, Ed. Complexe, 1999, pp. 226-227.

becoming the driving force behind the relaunch that was to bring the Community out of the stagnation of the early 1980's.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the phrase that is most commonly used to describe the relations between France and Germany is “*couple franco-allemand*”, a duo that is studied from various angles and perspectives: historical, geopolitical, strategic and psychological, with particular attention to the role of the key figures, and the lives of the two political leaders as well as the human side of their relationship³.

In particular, both Pierre Gerbet (*La construction de l'Europe*)⁴ and Sylvain Kahn discuss the parallels and differences between the two pairs — Mitterrand-Kohl and Giscard d'Estaing-Schmidt — emphasizing that the alchemy between these men cannot be compared, given that Giscard and Schmidt had an understanding that went well beyond national interests, as demonstrated by the frequent meetings in which the two leaders enjoyed getting together and discussing world finance in English⁵.

The relaunch of the Franco-German pairing with Mitterrand and Kohl thus did not reflect an ideological affinity, given the two leaders' different political leanings. Rather, its motivations were strategic, rooted on the one hand in the French president's wide reading and his experience as a soldier and prisoner of war in World War II, and on the other in the fundamental lesson that Kohl had absorbed from Konrad Adenauer, whose goal was to anchor the German nation's destiny to Europe⁶.

As Pierre Gerbet notes, while Mitterrand and Kohl were joined by a common strategic purpose at the outset, as the years went by this purpose became a fully-fledged political project, which finally took tangible shape with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty and the creation of the EMU⁷.

Thus, though the Franco-German duo is at the center of the French narrative of the relaunch in the 1980's, the perspective taken by the textbooks — a perspective dear to leaders from de Gaulle to Mitterrand — is that of European France. This does not mean a French Europe, but a nation whose fate is tied up with that of the EEC and the EU. With this in

³ M.T. Bitsch, *Le couple franco-allemand et les institutions de l'Europe*, Brussels, Bruylant, 2001; G. H. Soutou, *L'alliance incertaine: les rapports politico-stratégiques franco-allemand, 1945-1996*, Paris, Fayard, 1996.

⁴ P. Gerbet, pp. 337-344.

⁵ S. Kahn, pp.168-169.

⁶ Ivi, p. 168.

⁷ P. Gerbet, pp. 337-344.

mind, we can understand why French textbooks devote so little space to the June 1985 Council Meeting in Milan, which is often only mentioned in passing, or described in a few short lines⁸.

Such little interest in an event that was central to the European integration process in the Eighties was not simply a question of “nationalistic shortsightedness”. As Elena Calandri has already pointed out, it stemmed from an interpretation of the European construction that was “hierarchical” inasmuch as it focused on the role of the principal actors — France, Germany and Great Britain — with little consideration for the so-called “minor” countries.

Among the few exceptions, Marie-Thérèse Bitsch’s *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours* accurately describes the geometric equilibria and the strategies that played out in Milan⁹, while Maxime Lefebvre’s *La construction de l’Europe et l’avenir des nations* offers an extensive discussion of the role played by Italy and other countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Spain and Portugal, though it maintains that Italy’s contribution to the European construction was not especially impactful.

As Lefebvre writes

*l’appartenance à l’Union a permis à l’Italie de compenser la faiblesse des ses capacités administratives nationales. La qualification pour la monnaie unique a été un moyen de se maintenir dans le peloton de tête de l’intégration européenne, de ne pas se voir dégrader dans une Europe du ‘club med’, une Europe de seconde zone*¹⁰.

Interestingly, Lefebvre’s description of Italy’s Europeanism falls back on the well-worn stereotype of a highly pro-European country that, with the exception of a few illuminated politicians such as Alcide De Gasperi, Mario Monti and Romano Prodi, paradoxically never sent well-prepared officials with international experience to Brussels. And here, Lefebvre mentions the case of Franco Maria Malfatti, who in 1972 resigned as president of the European Commission in order to run in the Italian national elections, as an example of the very limited appeal that a European career had for Italian politicians, who often considered it more as an exile than as a springboard for their advancement¹¹.

⁸ For example, P. Gerbet devotes a single page to the Milan meeting, *ivi*, p. 351.

⁹ M.T. Bitsch, pp. 226-228.

¹⁰ M. Lefebvre, *La construction de l’Europe et l’avenir des nations*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2013, p. 74.

¹¹ J.M. Guieu, C. le Dréau, J. Raffik, L. Walrouzet, p. 294.

The Single European Act and the Common Market

All French textbooks cover the Single European Act and the creation of the Common Market in considerable detail, regarding them as the true turning point in the European integration process of the 1980's, after the economic and financial crisis of the previous decade.

For Christophe Reveillard (*Les dates-clés de la construction européenne*), the completion of the Common Market signaled Europe's conversion to international free trade, whose spirit was embodied by Delors¹².

The textbooks point out that the completion of the Common Market was grounded in political as well as economic motivations, in that it showed that the European governments had abandoned Keynesian policies of state support for the economy and accepted the neoliberal program advanced by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. Thus began a new stage in the European integration process that was to throw the European market open to competition, radically transforming such key sectors of the economy as air transport, telecommunications and the food industry¹³. This transformation, which cut all ties with the ideals of full employment dear to the postwar welfare state, is said to have brought us to the European Union we know today, with little in common with the Communities of the early days and of the founding fathers.

In this debate, Marie-Therese Bitsch and Pierre Gerbet are among the small number of French textbooks authors who also deal with France's domestic affairs. They describe the failure of the attempt made by François Mitterrand and the social-communist government headed by Pierre Mauroy to resume a socialist program of nationalizations, in a move against Europe Inc. and big business's domination. Both Bitsch and Gerbet point to the need for German support for the beleaguered franc and Mitterrand's 1983 decision to keep the franc in the EMS as the Road to Damascus moment when the socialist President converted to the neoliberal European creed¹⁴.

All of the textbooks devote considerable space to the people and the negotiations that led to the signing of the Single European Act, which is often described as the outcome of the strategic and diplomatic design outlined by the key figures in the European politics of the Eighties, from

¹² C. Reveillard, *Les dates-clés de la construction européenne*, 3^e édition, Paris, Ellipses, 2020, pp. 113-114.

¹³ S. Kahn, p. 175.

¹⁴ See M.T. Bitsch, pp. 219-232; P. Gerbet, pp. 342-344; S. Kahn, pp.181-183.

François Mitterrand to Helmut Kohl, and from Margaret Thatcher to Jacques Delors.

The President of the Commission in particular is presented as one of the major protagonists of this period. All the textbooks offer a biography, describing his political career, interest in social issues and the world of labor — reflecting his experience as a trade union official at the Bank of France — his Christian-socialist background, and his managerial and authoritarian style in running the Commission, which contrasted sharply with his usual image as a Christian trade unionist, open to dialogue and negotiation¹⁵.

Thus, most of the textbooks describe the stepping stones towards the Common Market chiefly as the result of negotiations between the European leaders and the institutions: the European Court of Justice with its landmark *Cassis de Dijon* judgement, the European Parliament with Spinelli's draft Treaty on European Union, the Commission with the 1985 White Paper.

Henri Malosse and Laure Limousin buck this trend. Their textbook, *La construction européenne*, stresses the role played by the business lobby in promoting the single market. It thus describes the 1983 creation of the European Round Table, whose members — including industrialists of the caliber of Peyr Gyllenhammar for Volvo, Umberto Agnelli for Fiat and Wisse Dekker for Philips — were able to exert considerable influence on the European Commission¹⁶.

While Henri Malosse's interest in the business lobby's role stemmed from the fact that he had been a member of the Economic and Social Committee, it is interesting to note that the historiographical debate on what kind of Europe was created with the Single European Act is far from settled in France, as is also demonstrated by the recent book by Laurent Walrouzet, who rejects the traditional narratives' perhaps over-hasty acceptance of the idea that there was an inexorable march towards a neoliberal Europe, preferring to frame the SEA's economic and institutional reforms as an attempt to regulate the globalization that between the late 1970's and the early 1980's threatened Western Europe's economic and social wellbeing¹⁷.

¹⁵ J.M. Guieu, C. Le Dréau, J. Raffik, L. Walrouzet, pp. 296-297.

¹⁶ H. Malosse and L. Limousin, *La construction européenne*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2012, pp. 64-68.

¹⁷ L. Walrouzet, *Governing Europe in a Globalizing World: Neoliberalism and its Alternatives following the 1973 Oil Crisis*, London, Routledge, 2019.

The end of the Cold War and the new direction taken by the 1992 Maastricht Treaty

It goes without saying that all of the textbooks dwell at length on the end of the Cold War and the revolutionary events that roiled Eastern Europe in 1989. German reunification takes pride of place, testifying to its importance for France and the enormous impact it had on French public opinion.

A fundamental question regards the link between the birth of the EU and the events of 1989: had the communist regimes not fallen, and without Germany reunification, many French authors ask, would the EMU negotiations still have led to an agreement spelling out binding timeframes and commitments? Or had the political, economic and institutional dynamics of the Eighties already paved the way for a leap forward in integration, and 1989 only provided the final boost?

In particular, many textbooks doubt the historiographical myth of the Mitterrand-Kohl *do ut des*, viz., that the French president supposed stated his approval of German reunification, and in return the German chancellor approved the euro, forgoing full sovereignty over the deutschmark.

The debate is far from over, nor is there much consensus among the authors: Sylvain Kahn and Christophe Réveillard, for example, connect the projected EMU to the SEA and the liberalization of capital movements called for by the single market agenda, which led to the asymmetry of the “impossible quartet” of the free market, fixed exchange rates, free circulation of capital and independent national monetary policies, and argue that the EMU got its start with the 1988 European Council meeting in Hannover, when the committee of central bank governors was set up under the chairmanship of Jacques Delors, and with the Delors Report of June 1989¹⁸.

By contrast, Pierre Gerbet and René Leboutte’s *Pro Europa 1919-2019* argues that German reunification and the events in Eastern Europe were central reasons for convening the IGC on the EU’s political union, leading to the introduction of the CFSP and JHA as the second and third pillars. Gerbet and Leboutte thus link the decision to organize an IGC on foreign and internal security with the problems arising from the downfall of Eastern Europe’s pro-Soviet regimes and the need for the EU to assist the CEECs’ transition to a market economy¹⁹.

¹⁸ S. Khan, pp. 193-194; C. Reveillard, pp. 120.

¹⁹ R. Leboutte, *Pro Europa 1919-2019*, Wrocław, Edilivre, 2019, pp. 223-224.

The relationship with the East is described as the Soviet bloc countries' return to the "European family", and the EEC's external action is likened to a true *Ostpolitik*.

Two movements began to take shape in 1985: the Western European countries created a vast market without barriers to the free movement of goods, capital, services and people, thus reinforcing the European project, while Gorbachev's USSR embarked on domestic political reforms and loosened its ties to the Eastern European countries²⁰. Pierre Gerbet and Marie Thérèse Bitsch offer interesting insights into the role of the CSCE, a pan-European body that reflected the idea of a common European home, and of the Council of Europe, newly enlivened by its part in the Eastern European countries' homecoming²¹.

In this triumphal picture of the end of the Cold War and the enlargement to the east, textbook authors often portray the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty as the beginning of a new stage in Europeanism, in which the public debate turned to criticisms of European integration.

All the textbooks devote ample space to the French and Danish referendums and the unexpected verdict in France, the so-called "*petit oui*", when only 51% of the electorate voted in favor of ratification. The referendum, as the public's first opportunity to be directly involved in European questions, demonstrated how much the EU's image had changed, and how deep the criticisms ran of the democratic deficit and the technicality-laden negotiations preceding the Maastricht Treaty.

According to Christophe Reveillard, the technicalities surrounding the Maastricht Treaty, little known to the public and even less understood, opened up a "Pandora's box" of ill-feeling about the European project, fomenting Euroscepticism and attacks on the idea of Europe²².

In particular, Reveillard makes an interesting comparison between the debates that took place for the Maastricht referendum and the EDC in 1954: for the latter, the point at issue was defense, whereas in the case of Maastricht it was the single currency, but both questions had enormous implications for state sovereignty.

In general, then, the French debate on the European Union at the time of Maastricht was heated to say the least, and several textbooks see the

²⁰ G. Noël (ed.), *Penser et construire l'Europe (1919-1992)*, Paris, Atlante, 2008, pp. 315-318.

²¹ M. T. Bitsch, op.cit., pp. 241-244; P. Gerbet, pp. 337-348.

²² C. Reveillard, pp. 124-125.

1980's and the early 1990's as heralding a shift away from the origins of the European integration process. In this new period, we can see the roots of the profound political, economic and social crisis gripping today's Europe.

Twenty years of the European Union: *enjeux, défis, épines*

Elena Calandri

With the birth of the European Union, the construction of Europe became a more complex process, involving a wider range of decision-making procedures and mechanisms, a larger number of institutional, governmental and civil or social actors, and more spheres of common action, against a backdrop of waning public support and rising tensions between national interests. At the same time, the once-stable international order became bipolar, shifting and heterogeneous, while economic, technological and cultural globalization picked up speed. The French textbooks do not shirk from this growing complexity, though they present it in different ways, in many cases in a light which if not exactly critical is nevertheless well aware of the many difficulties entailed. Among the relatively few textbooks covering this period, Gerbet and Bitsch continue with their perceptive multilateral narratives, rich in analysis and detail, though the fact that the events they relate are close to us in time makes it hard in some cases to take a sufficiently long view¹. For this period as for others, both Gerbet and Bitsch assume that there would be a natural progression in integration, an idea to which all governments and governing parties gave at least lip service, though the oppositions had already begun to exploit anti-European feeling for their own political gain. Other textbooks offer more concise narratives of this recent past, aiming to provide an understanding of the “*enjeux*”², the open issues, the alternatives and the fundamental questions: can a single currency hold together without federal glue? And how can enlargement to countries that are jealous of their na-

¹ For example, see Bitsch on the external policy initiatives of the second half of the Nineties, *Histoire de la construction européenne*, Brussels, Complexe, 2011, p.296.

² See in particular Dominique Hamon and Ivan Serge Keller, *Fondements et étapes de la construction européenne*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1997. S. Kahn also takes an outspoken approach, especially in the 2018 edition. Sylvain Kahn, *Histoire de la construction européenne*, Paris, PUF, 2011 e 2018.

tional sovereignty take place in the midst of economic inequalities? The narrative abandons chronological order in favor of sections dealing with specific issues, revealing difficulties and tensions, and often antinomies and contradictions that do not always appear to be reconcilable.

Though space limitations prevent us from doing full justice to these wide-ranging analyses, it is interesting to note that French authors devote ample space to three areas of the integration process, which they see as deeply interconnected, both conceptually and on the basis of their observation of the European debate: enlargement, the “*question budgétaire*” and the institutional question. Echoing Mitterrand’s openness to various suggested architectures for post-Cold War Europe, enlargement is covered in especial depth, with a sharp focus on the economic aspects and the “*questions de sens*”³, the meanings underlying each step taken towards integration, which in the case of Sylvain Kahn leads to an embrace of the spatial turn⁴. From the European Economic Area⁵ to the (generous⁶) concessions to the 1995 candidate countries, from the difficulties posed by the CEECs’ economic weakness and backwardness in production to the Community’s financial system⁷, down to the question of Europe’s borders, hurdles abounded for the 1995 and 2004/2007 enlargements, and the complications and consequences they entailed weighed heavily on the economy of the European construction as well as on the budget question⁸.

By general agreement, in fact, the “*question budgétaire*” is presented as the key to understanding the twenty years following Maastricht. Contrasting interests and visions of the budget, community expenditure, resources and the economic philosophy underpinning the Economic and Monetary Union seem to be where tensions came to a head in the mid-1990s, not least as regards the role taken by the institutions: from the De-

³ Sylvain Kahn, *Histoire de la construction européenne*, Paris, PUF, 2011, p. 249.

⁴ As a geographer, Kahn naturally shows a sensitivity to spatial and geographical connotations and cultural framing in his approach.

⁵ The 1994 agreement that adapted the earlier agreements between the EEC and the EFTA countries to the Maastricht Treaty.

⁶ Bitsch, 1999, p. 262, Gerbet, *Histoire*, Kindle ed.

⁷ Hamon and Keller offer a comprehensive — but implicitly skeptical — picture of the prospects for enlargement, while Bitsch emphasizes the role of the Prodi Commission: *Histoire*, 2004, p. 319.

⁸ For an original approach to the relationship between Eastern and Western Europe, see Elisabeth Du Réau (ed.), Marc Dusautoy, Michèle Lagny, Svetla Moussakova, Nicolas Provokas *L'Europe en construction. Le second XXe siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 2001 and 2007.

lors White Paper “*Croissance, compétitivité, emploi*”, to the inadequacies of *Europe sociale*⁹, and from the eurozone austerity rules — a chokehold blamed on the *Bundesbank* that made it impossible to react to lackluster growth with expansionary policies — to the lack of resources for external policy. Taking this line of thought to its extremes, Sylvain Kahn maintains that budget decisions show trends in their true light. What resources are available and how they are allocated point to a resurgence of intergovernmentalism and the hollowing out of the concept of the Community’s own resources, “*souci d’économie*” has suffocated the European construction, conflicts over “net balances” and a “fair return” have tarnished the image of the integration process, while enlargement has been bogged down in petty disputes. And the public casts an increasingly jaundiced eye on the euro. Though few textbooks have come out after the sovereign debt crisis, the 2018 second edition of Kahn’s book gives a full account of the positions taken by the economists and scholars who saw it as a tragic collective folly that, against all expectations and intentions, weighed disproportionately on the weakest economies and ended by widening the gap between the Member States’ economies¹⁰.

For its part, the institutional question has historically tied in with all the other issues, and has been brought to bear on every conflict, every contentious point, be it enlargement, foreign policy, the euro, fiscal and budget policy, social policy, the role of parliament, or large state/small state relations. Every stumbling block that history has put in the path of the European construction is mirrored and reflected in the institutional question. Though Gerbet and Bitsch speak favorably of the impetus provided by the Commission and Parliament, intergovernmental dynamics dominate the analysis, where France is never considered a structural obstacle to the European construction¹¹. “Partial mutualization of sovereignty” must preserve national sovereignty¹².

The institutional issue also has a profound impact on foreign and security policy, where intergovernmentalism and unanimous voting are ob-

⁹ “S’ils sont tous attachés à l’économie sociale de marché, [...] ils n’ont pas d’emblée un projet économique et sociale commun”: Bitsch, *Histoire*, 2004, p. 306.

¹⁰ S. Kahn, *Histoire*, 2018, pp. 275-280.

¹¹ In *La France et la construction de l’unité européenne*, G. Bossuat depicts Chirac and Sarkozy as being committed to “bousculer le processus d’unité”, not as isolationists: pp. 189-230.

¹² Kahn, *passim*.

vious procedural difficulties. While the second half of the 1990s is presented as a productive period, with the global expansion of the CFSP, there were many sources of unsustainable tension: the Kosovo and 2003 crises, dealings with the US, the new relationships with China, the ACP countries, the Mediterranean, and the posture vis-à-vis Russia. Cultural and structural divergencies are discussed, as is the split between the countries that seek a role for Europe inspired by the imperial past and the countries with no such background that oppose a policy “*de puissance*”, even though European public opinion seems to have left pacifism behind and is reconciled to the use of force and the EU’s normative role¹³. Here again, complexity reigns, not just because so many geographical areas are involved, but also because of the multitude of institutional and procedural aspects and, with the usual attention to “*penser*”, of the divergent conceptions vying with each other. The Kosovo crisis stands out, with its heavy burden of contradictions. It was a turning point, with an effective European diplomatic initiative followed by German leadership in unrolling Joschka Fischer’s Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and the common defence policy, but it was also a symbol of powerlessness since military operations were headed by the US¹⁴. Reading between the lines, we can see that all of the authors believe that the success or failure of the foreign and security policy should be assessed in terms of whether it is able to assert the EU’s international leadership. Thus, as Gerbet writes, while integration is a process of continental unification whose aim is to guarantee peace, after 1989 it must also provide an alternative to neoliberalism and imported American-style democracy: a civilizing Europe, with a social model based on fairness and solidarity, that can exert a moderating and mediating influence on the international scene¹⁵.

¹³ E.g., Kahn, pp. 282-287.

¹⁴ Bitsch, ed. 2004, p. 309.

¹⁵ Gerbet, *Histoire*, Kindle ed.

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Between specific historiographical frameworks and multi-perspective interpretations. A journey through the narratives on European integration in the German-speaking area of the EU

Stefano Dell'Acqua

To examine how European integration is represented in the most commonly used German-language textbooks, a list of titles assigned or recommended in university programs dealing with the history of the integration process was compiled.

As the selection criteria excluded partial, monographic and biographical studies, a number of well-known works were not taken into consideration, viz., Helmut Kaelble's book on the social history of Europe, Hans Peter Schwarz's biography of Adenauer, the work of Werner Abelshauser on the Marshall Plan's impact on West Germany and the causes of the German economic miracle, the books by Klaus Schwabe on the Schuman Plan and of Hanns Jürgen Küsters on the origins of the EEC, Andreas Wilkens' studies of Franco-German relations, and the investigations of Clemens Wurm and Wolfram Kaiser.

The survey considered textbooks published from 1979 onwards, with the single exception of Walter Lipgens' *Die Anfänge der europäischen Einigungspolitik*: though published in 1977, an expanded version was reissued in English in 1982 under the title *A History of European Integration 1945 — 1947. The Formation of the European Unity Movement*.

The German language is used in several countries. If we think, for example, of historians such as Michael Gehler who was born in Austria but teaches in Hildesheim, or Wolfgang Schmale, who is German but teaches in Vienna, and consider that the textbooks are addressed to all German speakers, we prefer to speak of the European Union's entire German-speaking area rather than of Germany alone. However, the survey does not extend to Swiss historiography and textbooks, as doing so would probably open a further strand of research.

Almost all of the surveyed studies share a common historical-chronological approach, with few notes and little use of secondary sources. By contrast, they differ in their target audience: on the one hand we have scholarly works of considerable historical and interpretive depth that aim to give a “reading” of the facts (Walter Lipgens, Wilfried Loth, Franz Knipping, Peter Kruger, Hagen Schultze), and on the other, we have works that are chiefly addressed to students as textbooks, and are less interested in a critical interpretation of how the integration process developed than in providing information about it, and thus feature a wealth of tables and graphs (Jürgen Mittag, Michael Gehler). There is also a third category, midway between the other two (Gerhard Brunn, Jürgen Elvert, Wolfgang Schmale).

As for the approaches taken by the surveyed studies, the first noteworthy point regards the distinctly German dichotomy between the national and European perspectives, or rather, that of the national interest as opposed to the European interest: while other countries’ historiography could take these dichotomies into their stride with relative ease, this was far from true for Germany after the Second World War.

Postwar German historiography had to come to grips with the schemes of explanation associated with the *Sonderweg* (literally, “special path”) thesis that were prominent in the historical culture of the Weimar period, and even more so during the Nazi regime. It was thus necessary to move past the idea the Germany had followed its own distinctive pathway to the Nation State, a particular route to developing its economy and modernizing its political system; essentially, a path that gave Germany an exceptional status among the European nations and justified its ambitions. The history of European integration put this thesis to the test.

The first step in shedding light on how the surveyed textbooks are situated historiographically consists of focusing on the indicators — the lexicon, the periodization, the politico-cultural attitude to the major milestones of integration — that are essential to understanding what idea of the European integration process the author seeks to convey.

As regards the lexicon, the key terms are clearly *Einigung*, *Integration*, *Prozess* and their derivatives and combinations (*Einigungspolitik*, *Einigungsprozess*, *Integrationsprozess*), given the German language’s extensive reliance on compound words. The term corresponding to the French *construction* makes few appearances in the German lexicon of European in-

tegration, where *Einigung*, or unification, is preferred chiefly (though not invariably) by authors whose historical narratives take a federalist approach, devoting attention to the transnational perspective, the grassroots initiatives of the federalist parties and movements, the advances towards political unity, and the process's contributions to democratization. We can say that even the use of the concept of *Prozess* implies a viewpoint, and specifically a “federalist” viewpoint which if nothing else sees the course of history as moving in a particular direction. Once again, however, it should be borne in mind that this is not always the case.

Lipgens, who undoubtedly pioneered the federalist school, uses the German term *Integration* (which is rendered as Integration even in the titles of their English translations) from the time of his earliest works, though the topic's complexity is also conveyed by the use of the concepts of *Einigungspolitik* (unification policy) and *Einigungsbewegung* (unification movement). Interestingly, German historiography generally uses *Einigungspolitik* when speaking of Bismarck's policy, but rarely for European unification (a totally different question, though it was the political aim of postwar Europeanist and federalist movements and statesmen). Lipgens uses *Einigungsbewegung* as a single umbrella term for the whole transnational movement addressed in his studies, covering everyone who strove to unify Europe, including single individuals, intellectuals, associations, pressure groups, transnational movements, national parties, political elites, diplomats, ministers and statesmen.

Lipgens' student Wilfried Loth uses *Integration* in the title of his first overall historical reconstruction — arriving only as far as the Treaties of Rome, however — of the process (Loth 1990), but in his more recent work covering the events almost as far as our own day, he employs *Einigung* to illustrate what he sees as an “unfinished story” (Loth 2014).

The titles of the other texts considered here suggest their authors' federalist leanings, which a reading of the works serves to confirm: rather than interpretations that go beyond those offered by Lipgens and Loth, what we find are simply collections, although their methodological and interpretive orientation is absolutely clear. *Die Europäische Einigung* by Gerhard Brunn (Brunn 2002) has been one of the most widely used textbooks in recent years: Brunn combines several research perspectives, exploring not only the relationships between states and the tension between the national and European levels, but also the contribution made

by parties and movements, the European federalist movements in particular. Like Lipgens, Brunn also provides documentation on the history of European integration in a 100-page appendix: as is often the case in such publications, the reasons for selecting certain documents rather than others can be questioned. Here, though the political aspects and history of integration ideas are foregrounded, it is striking that the 1941 Ventotene Manifesto is not included.

Jürgen Mittag, in his *Kleine Geschichte der Europäischen Union* (Mittag 2008), a textbook addressed to university students and faculty — where “*kleine*” is belied by the book’s 344 pages — sees the history of European integration as a unification process (*Einigungsprozess*) without which it would not be possible to imagine and narrate contemporary history; an asymmetric process (Mittag 2008: 15) punctuated by fast-paced changes and leaps towards integration, as well as crises and periods of stagnation. According to Mittag, there is no prior model for the integration process. Thus, though the EU is neither a pure confederation or a federal State, there are signs of a “parallel validity” of different models, and for some time now the Union has created “its own historical model [...] its own myth” (Mittag 2008 :324).

Jürgen Elvert, though eschewing the term *Einigung* and using *Integration* in his title (Elvert 2006), is not far from the federalist perspective: his book centers on the recurrent theme of the *Integrationsprozess* and the concept of *Integration* is always accompanied by a qualifying adjective, becoming first partial with the ECSC, then economic and, prospectively, political.

By contrast, there are also authors who use *Einigung* but certainly cannot be numbered among the federalists. This is the case of Franz Knipping who has *Einigung* in his book’s title but often uses the handy though rather hazy term “Europe” in referring to the “deep forces” underlying integration: the lived Europe, the imagined Europe and the desired Europe. This is a habit we also find in Gehler (the Europe of the institutions), Schulze (the “phoenix” Europe) and Krüger (with his “unpredictable Europe”).

As for *Integration*, Gehler never uses the concept as a goal to be reached, employing it only in connection with what has been achieved at any given time. He thus eliminates the very idea of a process, and also makes no mention of the federalist movements or of the history of pro-European ideas (curiously, the only reference to Altiero Spinelli is in a

short passage about his proposed treaty voted on by the European Parliament, while there is nothing about his many years of activism in the federalist cause, starting from the Ventotene Manifesto).

Krüger sees a number of attempts at an *Integrationsprozess* in European history. One example is the order resulting from the Congress of Vienna, which Krüger regards as a fundamental step towards European integration: all this holds true if, like Krüger, we believe it is possible to speak of integration between States when we have the level of uniformity in systems of governance that is indispensable for political cooperation and stability. But it is completely off target if we associate the concept of integration with the postwar route that led Europe's democratic states to share competences and sovereignty in a process that has nothing to do with the Europe of the Restoration.

In addition to the lexicon, another indicator of the idea of integration that authors wish to convey is their choice of where to begin their reconstruction, of where to place the roots of the integration process.

The surveyed books frequently start with a review of the history of the idea of integration since antiquity (Mittag) or the Middle Ages (Gehler), in some cases (Elvert) dealing with the turbulent cultural history of the idea of "Europe" as a geographical concept. These sections usually end with the ideas of European unity during the Second World War.

Other authors choose to look at the broad panorama from a *longue durée* perspective starting from the eighteenth century (Elvert, Schultze, Krüger), linking the advances in integration with the earlier dynamics of the relationships between the *ancien régime* European states.

Given their federalist approach, both Lippens and Loth see the fundamental starting points of the process as being both the period between the two wars (with the birth of the PanEuropa movement and the Briand Plan), and the Second World War, when the Resistance movements across the continent brought an exceptional surge in the number and quality of projects for the federal unification of Europe. Knipping agrees, devoting considerable attention to the Resistance movements' Europeanism, as does Schmale (who like Lippens also discusses the national socialist and fascist European unification projects).

In addition to deciding where to begin and what lexicon to use, the choice of periodization is also crucial, as it is in any long-term historical reconstruction.

German historians seem to be particularly fond of organizing the history of European integration schematically, in 10-year blocks.

Such a predominately decade-by-decade periodization is used by Werner Weidenfeld: though a political scientist by training who usually addresses the European Union's current problems and open questions for the future with only a few references to the statesmen and events of the past (Weidenfeld 2014), he has also given us a concise history of European integration. This "historical panorama" (as he calls it) is presented as the introduction to *Europa von A-Z*, a reference book edited by Weidenfeld and Wessels in which a number of European scholars explain topics and terms from politics, economics and the history of European integration (Weidenfeld, Wessels (eds.) 2014).

In the first chapter of his overview, Weidenfeld runs through the five main reasons that led Europeans to embark on the great experiment of integration (the desire for a new self-image after the nationalistic aberrations, the desire for peace and security, the desire for freedom and mobility, the hopes for economic prosperity, and the expectation that common power would make it possible to regain much of the power that the states had lost individually). In the second chapter — entitled "Founding moment and the story of development" — after the major innovations of the ECSC, the European Defence Community and the political Community (though they failed, they are discussed in terms of the importance to be assigned to the first European constitutional experiment) and the Treaties of Rome, Weidenfeld's periodization turns to the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties.

And then came '89, the year that marked the end of a division that was both European and German at the same time, as if it opened a new era (the subject of the third chapter), that of the "marathon of reforms" and of the "biggest enlargement in the history of the EU". The following two chapters cover the Convention on the Future of Europe and the euro area's subsequent economic and financial crisis: in narrating the complex course taken by integration, Weidenfeld depicts it as the result of the gradual, parallel rise of different integration approaches: the functionalist, the federal (supranational and constitutional) and the intergovernmentalist. At times, Weidenfeld seems to see the strategy of seeking compromise as the leitmotif of the history of integration (Weidenfeld, Wessels (eds.) 2014: 21), at others, he says that Europe's Achilles' heel is its complete lack of strategy (Weidenfeld 2014: 70).

Gerhard Brunn also adopts a decade-by-decade periodization, referring, after the community's beginnings in the Fifties, to the "The EEC in the Sixties" as a stop-and-go affair, to the Seventies with the question "Departure for new horizons", and to the Eighties as the route "From Euro-sclerosis to takeoff". Brunn subscribes to the current opinion that the real turning point was the Single European Act: "The EC overcame its crisis and paralysis only in the first half of the Eighties" (Brunn, 2020: 228).

Recently, the decade-by-decade treatment of history showed itself to be enduringly attractive in a book edited by Gabriele Clemens, Alexander Reinfeldt and Gerhard Wille (Clemens et al. 2008). The authors deal separately with the Fifties, Sixties and Seventies, referring explicitly to their breakdown by decades. Like Brunn, they emphasize that a turning point can be seen only in the mid-Eighties, and it is only here that they depart from their favored periodization, stating that "the integration process was relaunched only from the mid-Eighties onwards, with the Single European Act, against the backdrop of new growth in the world economy" (Clemens et al. 2008: 222).

By contrast, Walter Lipgens rejects the simplistic decade-by-decade perspective: in a posthumous book (Lipgens 1986), a selection of documents is accompanied by a general introduction and lengthy prefaces to each of the four chapters corresponding to the blocks of Lipgens' periodization (1939-1944, 1945-1954, 1954-1969, 1970-1984), thus presenting his interpretation of the process's essential lines of development through events that can be considered as watershed moments (the end of the Second World War, the French Parliament's refusal to ratify the EDC in August 1954, De Gaulle's resignation).

Elvert also rejects the decade-by-decade approach in favor of a breakdown into three periods: "foundation" (1952-1973), "consolidation" (1973-1991), and "Europeanization" (from 1991), where the latter period is marked by the enlargement to three EFTA countries (Austria, Sweden, Finland) in 1995 and the lifting of the Iron Curtain that had divided the continent in two (followed by the great enlargement of 2004).

Loth and Knipping are also among the scholars who have abandoned decade-by-decade periodization, and share certain similarities in their preferred approach. Both base their divisions on transitional moments such as the signing of the Treaties of Rome, De Gaulle's resignation in 1969, the European Parliament's approval of the Spinelli Treaty in 1984, the

Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the early years of this century (for Loth, the milepost is the 2001 Nice Treaty, while for Knipping it is the completion of the European Convention's work in 2003). In Knipping's book, the chapter on the years 1969-1984 is entitled "Now Departing for Europe 2.0" (Knipping 2004: 156): an upbeat formulation that proved successful enough to serve as the title of a subsequent collection (Knipping, Schönwald (eds.) 2004) of articles emphasizing the importance of the achievements made in the Seventies and early Eighties, or at least of the foundations that were then laid for the future of European integration. Contributors to the book included Wolfgang Wessels and Jürgen Mittag (Jürgen Mittag, Wolfgang Wessels, 2004: 3-27), who argued that it was in this period that the "merger" of European and state administrations took place, from the highest level of political decision-making — the European Council, particularly important in the authors' view — down to civil servants at nearly all lower levels. Thus, while Jürgen Mittag (Mittag 2008) chooses the agreements entered into by the States during the Fifties (the ECSC's Treaty of Paris, the Treaties of Rome) as the first markers in his periodization, he sees the entry of the European Council on the scene as the event that turned the page between the next two chapters of his history: "From the Economic Community to the creation of the European Council (1958-1974)" and "From Eurosclerosis to the Single European Act (1975-1987)".

Turning to another level of periodization, for the last four decades or so an effort has been made to provide a year-by-year account of how European integration is proceeding in the *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration*, or *Yearbook of European Integration*, a project of Berlin's Institute for European Politics in cooperation with the Center for Applied Policy Research at the University of Munich and the Center for Turkey and European Studies at the University of Cologne. Funded by the German Federal Foreign Office and edited from the first issue in 1980 by Werner Weidenfeld and Wolfgang Wessels, the *Yearbook* documents and assesses the European integration process, providing a comprehensive account of events in a format that has remained largely unchanged over the years. Each issue starts with Weidenfeld's review — which he calls a "balance sheet" — of the year in question, while the issues that have been addressed since the *Yearbook's* inauguration in 1980 have included the community institutions, policies, the political infrastructure (national parties, European parties, transnational movements, lobbies, religious organizations, public

opinion), the Member States' European policies, and the policies of other European organizations such as the Council of Europe or NATO, while topic areas added in subsequent years include the European Union's external policy, enlargement, and the Neighbourhood Policy.

While at the beginning there were thirty contributions and nine Member States of the European Communities, forty years later the Yearbook has grown to 111 articles, and the EU has 27 Member States: the contributors review the year's political events in their areas of expertise, providing information on the work of the European institutions, the developments in different policy areas of the EU, Europe's role in global politics and the member and candidate states' European policy.

Returning to the textbooks, the attention and weight assigned to certain historical events and facts is another important means of gauging the interpretation the author seeks to convey.

Gehler directs considerable attention (and his viewpoint undoubtedly reflects his Austrian origin) to the Communities' parallel organizations, and in particular to the development of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA): Austria and Switzerland were among the founding members in 1960, and it can readily be imagined that the topic was considered of interest to German speakers outside the Federal Republic. In addition, Gehler is chiefly concerned with the international divisions of the Cold War, and it could even be said that he sees the integration process as part and parcel of the East-West rivalry. After the Cold War's end, Gehler thus views Maastricht as holding out the prospect of a third "relaunch" of the unification project, after the consolidation of the "Europe of the Six" in the 1957 Treaties of Rome and the turning point that was the first enlargement after the Hague Congress in 1969. Mittag, too, argues that this historical period provided opportunities for development, seeing Germany's reunification not as a difficulty or a hindrance, but as an incentive to integration. For Mittag, and indeed for many of the authors considered here, the enlargement and "deepening" of the Union are the key issues in this stage of the process, the "signposts of the history of integration" (Mittag 2008: 11).

Although a certain amount of information about an author's chosen interpretation, methods and approaches can be deduced from the lexicon, type of chronology and stances expressed in connection with various mileposts on the integration process, not all of the surveyed books at-

tempt to interpret the process as a whole in a particular light, providing a general interpretative framework. Of the authors considered here, only five (Lipgens, Loth, Knipping, Schulze, Krüger) do so, albeit starting from different methods and standpoints.

In his only truly Europeanist work, Walter Lipgens (Lipgens 1977) presents a reconstruction of the first years of the integration process (1945-1947), essentially continuing from where Ludwig Dehio left off, with his observations regarding the success of the “lateral” and continental powers and the loss of Europe’s political significance.

Lipgens explains his working method, based on exploring three successive levels, in the introduction to the expanded English edition of the book (Lipgens 1982: 92):

first the challenge presented by the world situation is broadly outlined; then the attitudes of the various national governments are examined; finally, the main emphasis is placed on the lowest or ground level, viz. the history of the unofficial associations. The course of the narrative will, it is hoped, make clear that what at first sight appears a complicated method of procedure was in fact the only one adequate to describe the progress of the European unity movement from theory to practice.

The 1977 study displays great originality in setting the great powers and the Europeanist and federalist movements against the broad backdrop of the old continent’s political decay. Lipgens describes an international system in the years immediately following the war (1945-1947) that first hindered and then encouraged integration: in the evolution of the “international constellation”, the success of the idea of integration advocated by the movements and pressure groups appears to have been inversely proportionate to the level of cooperation between the superpowers.

Russian-American cooperation is held responsible for blocking the European idea in the first two years after the war: though the Allies themselves had fueled expectations that they would be in favor of the European States’ autonomy and unification, and would be on the same wavelength as the Europeanist movements and parties, these hopes were soon dashed. The “restoration” of the system of European nation-states (with the obvious exception of Germany) was the result of a decision that can only be ascribed to the two superpowers and stemmed from the Soviets’ categorical rejection of any form of European supranational unity, a rejection the United States did nothing to oppose. This was the situation

that persisted until the US abandoned any idea of a peaceful world order based on cooperation with the Russians, and which thus ruled out the creation of a regional European organization.

In these years, Great Britain and France still sought to pursue pure national egoism in the new world framework, with the former striving to rank as the “third power” and the latter, spurred by De Gaulle, renewing an ultimately unsuccessful anti-German alliance with Russia. Only countries that were too weak to have the slightest influence on the world stage (Belgium, for instance, or Italy) were declaredly in favor of integration, while Germany did not yet have a government that could express its opinion. In the meantime, the federalists forces banded together in the Union of European Federalists, founded in Paris in December 1946, upholding the idea of Europe as an alternative model to the political, economic and social systems of the two superpowers, and aiming to make a decisive contribution to moving beyond the bipolar world order.

The “turning point”, the real start of integration, came when the policy of cooperation faded, giving way to a latent opposition between the superpowers: the United States decided to pin Marshall Plan aid to cooperation between the European countries.

Thanks to the powerful impetus of the Marshall Plan, the OEEC and then the Council of Europe came into being, and an alternative to the pipe dream of Europe as a “third force” began to take shape: that of “starting from the West”, as the notion was succinctly put at the Union of European Federalists’ Montreux Congress in August 1947. Lipgens retraces the organizational development of the federalist and Europeanist movements, their theoretical underpinnings, and the political role they played in those years as the direct successors of the Resistance and the independent European counterfoil to the US’s pro-European policy, which would not have been successful without it. Lipgens rejects the idea that the European integration process began only as a result of the East-West conflict, the Soviet threat and American pressure: though the superpowers’ attitudes did indeed induce the governments of Western Europe to work to make European unity a reality, the concept had solidified in Europe far earlier.

In Lipgens’ posthumously published selection of documents (Lipgens 1986), we find that his reconstruction identifies three basic approaches to European unification — the federalist, the functionalist, and the confederalist — and clarifies the influence that each had on how the process ac-

tually developed. Lipgens demonstrates that in their structure and goals, the European Communities were ultimately the result of compromise between these approaches. The strong point of the confederalist approach, he maintains, is the role it assigns to the Council of Ministers, which has gradually eroded the centrality that the functionalist approach sought to give to a supranational entity independent of the national governments (first the High Authority of the ECSC, and later the Commission), while we find signs of the federalist approach's successes in the direct election of the European parliament and in the latter's approval of Altiero Spinelli's draft treaty.

Lipgens' views have been faulted by the British economic historian Alan Milward, for whom European integration is an attempt on the part of the individual nation-states to increase their strength. However, Lipgens' student Wilfried Loth argues that on closer examination, the two opinions are not so very far apart: while Milward speaks abstractly of states that respond to their citizens' needs, Lipgens concentrates on the citizens who take action themselves after having had the same type of experience in their respective nation-states and in their institutions. According to Loth, the process described by both scholars is identical in its structure and the contrast between the two standpoints is less extreme than it seems, essentially because of each position's particular weaknesses. Indeed, Loth maintains, the two scholars' views could be said to reinforce rather than undercut each other.

In his own work, Loth has attempted to overcome the weak points of the approaches taken by Lipgens and Milward with an interpretive framework that singles out four types of problem that have served as driving forces for European integration.

The first of the four forces stemmed from the need to maintain peace among sovereign states, or in other words, to deal with the problem of anarchy among states which had sparked the plans for European unification in earlier centuries, from Dante to Immanuel Kant and Victor Hugo, but had become far more urgent with the development of modern military technology in the twentieth century. From the Second World War onwards, the threat of nuclear self-destruction and the rise of new nationalisms after the East-West conflict ended exacerbated this problem in new ways.

Second, the German question must be seen as a special challenge to maintaining peace: because of its population and economic power, a Ger-

man nation-state at the center of Europe was a latent threat to its neighbors' independence. This set a vicious circle of containment and expansion into motion that could be broken only by integrating the Germans and their neighbors in a broader community.

The economy in the strict sense is Loth's third problem, the third driving force: over the long term, walling off Europe's national markets results in a loss of productivity, and thus erodes the individual states' legitimacy. Hence the fourth problem, viz., a loss of power and competitiveness with American economic and political supremacy or Soviet military power. Consequently, Europe's need to assert itself vis-à-vis the new world powers became another motive for European unification plans.

Though these four forces were not always equally strong, Loth argues that that they can explain both the timing of specific integration initiatives, and the choice of specific forms of integration.

Franz Knipping is also concerned with identifying the "deep forces" behind unification, though he concentrates for the most part on the "most mysterious historical factor", that of individual personalities, which he sees as essential to understanding the unification of Europe.

Knipping's "deep forces" include the "lived Europe" ("civilized society" as developed over the years through the homogenizing influence of antiquity and Christianity), the "imagined Europe" (the political and ideological efforts to unite the continent politically, economically and culturally) and, lastly, the "desired Europe" (the concrete steps towards this unification, be they hegemonic, economic, religious or cultural).

For Knipping, the world wars were the factor that transformed the idea into concrete reality, though the route the process would have taken was by no means clear at the beginning: the priorities of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) founded in connection with the Marshall Plan in 1948, were fundamentally different from those of the Council of Europe established a year later. The decisive factor was the Schuman Plan for coal and steel, whereby the legal principle of supranationality was applied for the first time in history. In any case, Knipping believes that individual political figures were the main drivers of integration, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany and in France: these politicians shaped the European unification process, whether in the national interest, by identifying European solutions for problems that went beyond the limited possibilities of the individual nation-state, whether in

the service of the ideal of finally ensuring the continent's peace. Social actors, associations, trade unions, intellectuals, and national and supra-national parties and movements play a secondary role in Knipping's depiction, a historico-political synthesis that is very much in keeping with his scholarly lineage. Knipping's chief interest, in which he followed in the footsteps of his master Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, is the history of international relations, and it was Pierre Renouvin, one of the leaders of this historiographic school as well as Duroselle's mentor, who advocated investigating the "deep forces" behind the action of statesmen and diplomats.

Other scholars advance overarching interpretations that put a much greater emphasis on Europe as the set of its Member States, and when reconstructing the integration process see more "continuity" than "discontinuity" with the earlier European system of nation-states.

Hagen Schulze, for example, describes the European system as a "family of States" where "the political emotions of industrial mass society precipitated the European catastrophes of the twentieth century, Europe's immaturity in the Cold War decades, and lastly the reorganization of this state system that we are now observing" (Schulze 1998 :10) The emergence of industrial mass society thus proved epochal, with effects that culminated in the First World War. Schulze narrates a *longue durée* cycle of the rise (1740-1914), fall (1914-1949) and rebirth (from 1949 to the present) of the old continent's "family of States" where the influence of nationalism is secondary: both world wars have their roots in the growth of industrial mass society. Schulze's use of the concept of "rebirth" clearly shows that he sees postwar integration as a continuation of earlier efforts rather than a break with the past, and specifically as a continuation of the relationships between states that were typical of the European system before the "fall" of the two world wars.

Thus, Schulze's book is tellingly entitled "Phoenix Europe", after the mythical bird that is reborn from its ashes. And to make the metaphor even clearer, the Afterword is headed "The new Europe is the old Europe".

However, something has been sacrificed to this underlying idea of Europe's return, of the phoenix arising from its ashes: the period between the two wars is conspicuously underexplored, and European thought during the Resistance receives only the barest mention.

Several parallels can be seen between Schulze's interpretation and that offered a few years later by Peter Krüger, one of the foremost scholars of

the Weimar Republic. In his book “Unpredictable Europe”, Krüger sets out to examine the most important milestones in European history from the eighteenth century to the present day: his starting point is the Age of Enlightenment which, over and above its historico-cultural significance, also produced a “European sense of Us” (Krüger 2006: 24). Krüger then assesses the many attempts at European unification, and the continual seesawing between integrative and hegemonic approaches; but it is questionable whether — as Krüger maintains — the order established by the Congress of Vienna can and must be regarded as “a fundamental step towards European integration” (Krüger 2006: 38). Krüger sees the subsequent spread of liberal democratic rule of law throughout much of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, alongside the triumph of the free market economic system and growing economic interdependence, as an essential prerequisite for further integration, since he argues that integration calls for a structural similarity among the subjects to be integrated. As both economic liberalization and the development of the rule of law first took place in the nation-states, Krüger assigns them a much more positive role than is usually the case, seeing them as providing the indispensable foundation for today’s integration process rather than working against it.

While integration initiatives increased in the interwar period, they were interrupted by World War Two, returning stronger than ever once hostilities ended: Krüger credits the continuity between the three “epochs” (the period between the wars, World War Two, and the postwar years) to key figures such as Monnet (Krüger 2006: 174). The shape European unification took was determined by the fact that integration was preceded by the restoration of liberal democratic nation-states, which are still the decisive factors in the process today. Consequently, Krüger also states that “European integration [...] is in fact very far from having disavowed the politics of power and interests; rather, it has transferred them to another jointly regulated multilateral level which thus prevents escalation and promotes equalization” (Krüger 2006: 162). He sees integration as a further development of the nineteenth century’s Concert of European great powers, and thus considers the European Council as “basically taking the Concert of Europe to its highest attainable level” (Krüger 2006: 325). This is reflected in Krüger’s special fondness for inter-governmentalist approaches, which leads him, for example, to take an ex-

tremely positive view of the Fouchet plans, based as they were on an intergovernmental structure (Krüger 2006: 315). In addition, he clearly takes little stock of the EU's supranational aspects: he is sceptical of extending the powers of the European Parliament (Krüger 2006: 365), and considers the rulings of the Court of Justice to be "reckless", and a threat to the EU's standing and diversity (Krüger 2006: 368).

Krüger's insistence on interpreting European integration as a further development of the Concert of Europe leads to a tendency to posit dubious lines of continuity: the Ruhr Statute is presented as a forerunner of the coal and steel agreements (Krüger 2006: 217) and the Fouchet plans are seen as precursors of Maastricht (Krüger 2006: 300).

As a process that has been advancing for over half a century, European integration is now one of the key themes of contemporary history: as this survey has indicated, the interest shown in this process by German-speaking scholars, like that of their counterparts elsewhere, continues to grow.

There is undoubtedly an awareness that understanding this change in European history is crucial in making sense of our recent past: the integration process continually raises questions about the nature of the European state and what it means. For historians anywhere in Europe, this is a field that provides excellent opportunities for arriving at a historiographical contribution that goes beyond any national history, but for German historians it is especially challenging, since it involves coming to terms with their country's past and earlier schemes of explanation.

The problem shared by all authors who have undertaken to reconstruct the history of European integration has been to identify the motives for the decisions made by an increasing number of European states from the end of the Second World War onwards: in the books surveyed here, this effort has centered on different goals, some more popularizing, some more scholarly, and has taken different routes towards interpretation, in some cases complementary, and in others diametrically opposed.

With all its many nuances, the panorama that emerges is of compelling interest not only for historians, but also for legal scholars, economists, sociologists, politologists and anyone seeking theoretical and historical insights into our increasingly interdependent world and the correlations between the international system and national actors that have shaped the European institutions.

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Images of European Integration History

Italy |

Overview*

Giuliana Laschi

The range of Italian-language textbooks on the history of European integration is truly wide and varied. This is the first point that comes to light from even a summary comparison with the textbooks published in other European countries. As a brief introduction to our study, this section will begin by presenting several features which we believe to be particularly important, followed by further details and direct quotations from the textbooks examined here.

Naturally, the textbooks' objectives, framing and quality are highly variable, making it absolutely impossible to make general statements about these characteristics that would apply to the entire category. What we can say, however, is that the overwhelming majority of the books have a solid structure and are published by reputable houses; the authors are for the most part professional historians and thus deploy appropriate historical methods.

There are a number of reasons for such a broad panorama of Italian-language textbooks, the chief undoubtedly lying in Italy's profound ideological and political interest in the integration process, as demonstrated

* The authors of the survey of Italian-language textbooks of the history of European integration chose to organize their work in four sections selected on the basis of the analytic and interpretative criteria used in the texts. Giuliana Laschi (Overview) wrote the general introduction, analyzing how Italian historiography has developed as a whole, discussing the time period and geographical area covered by the textbooks and the usage they employ, as well as their purpose, method, orientation, etc. Fabio Casini (Methodology) discussed the textbook's disciplinary perspective and narrative organization, use of sources and circulation. Filippo Maria Giordano (Content) explored the politico-cultural perspective and conceptual tools underlying the narrative approach taken by the authors. In addition, he details the textbooks' coverage (or lack thereof) of such actors in the integration process as the European institutions, Europeanist and federalist movements, public opinion, etc.. Andrea Becherucci (Thematization and periodization) focused attention on determining how the textbooks' thematic approach differs according to the object of their historical reconstruction, which in turn affects the interpretation they advance.

by the *Movimento Federalista Europeo* and successive Italian governments' participation in the first Communities, in which Italy was a founding state. It is thus not surprising that the integration process attracted Italian historians' attention very early on, and that many of them were ideologically engaged in it, and in some cases were even among its architects. Accordingly, we can say that Italian-language textbooks were produced in several stages. The first could be called that of the precursors of integration history. In the second, an array of historical archives helped fill in the picture. In this stage, integration history took its place as part of the pluridisciplinary field of European Studies — which can be fully understood only if seen as the sum of its branches — and showed itself to be a “boundary discipline”, at the intersection between contemporary history and the history of international relations, and between economic history and the history of political parties and movements. In the third stage, the latest generation of textbooks has been able to draw on wide-ranging primary and secondary sources.

From the chronological standpoint, most of the textbooks cover a period stretching from the end of World War Two to the present, though obviously the present means the year of their publication. When the integration process is said to have begun, however, largely depends on how individual scholars define the process and their historiographic interpretations. For the majority of writers, in any case, the real beginning was during and immediately after the war, though many textbooks also refer to the earlier years — and centuries — when the idea of an increasingly cooperative Europe began to take shape with the first proposals for international European entities, as well as for European federations or confederations. While these are brief mentions, they nevertheless frame the integration process within a broad period in the history of contemporary Europe.

The geographical area considered by most of the textbooks is, naturally, Europe, though some volumes stress Italy's role and thus devote more space to it, saying little about the other member states. Other textbooks concentrate on the international setting and the part it played in the Communities' birth and development. In the majority of the textbooks, the focus is on Europe as a community rather than as a geographical entity. They thus present histories of only one part of contemporary Europe, given that the Community has never covered the entire political map of

Europe. But the fact that it has come close to doing so through the enlargements is usually considered one of the main successes of integration.

The majority of the textbooks follow customary Italian usage in not employing footnotes or endnotes. Nevertheless, many of them show a profound knowledge of the main archives of the history of the European construction. They are thus the fruit of many years of research and teaching, and almost all of them are designed chiefly for teaching purposes.

Some of the volumes were written as textbooks in the full sense of the word, while others can be (and are) used to provide students with supplementary information on certain subjects, as in the case of several short works on the history and institutions of the EEC/EU. Many books were considered in this study not because they were written specifically as textbooks, but because they have been used as such in courses on European integration history. We thus catalogued them as textbooks even though there are important differences in their goals and structure. For a closer look at the differences, a few details of how these books were classified are briefly outlined below.

Among the volumes that are not strictly speaking textbooks, we have some that have been widely used for that purpose: LAN 2004; MA 1996; RAI 1997-2001; PS 2014; ME 2001. Others are not textbooks in the classic sense, but nevertheless can be used for teaching purposes: LE 1983; LM 1994; DO 1981. Some textbooks are intended for secondary schools rather than universities (MO a 2007; BO 1981). Others do not take a rigorous historical/scientific approach, but are chiefly narrative, as their objective is to tell the story of integration, in some cases providing direct testimony (MAS a 2001; AL 1960; FA 2009). There are also extensive accounts of European integration used specifically as textbooks, and consequently considered as such (GI 2005; MC 1998-2013; MAS b 2002-2206; MIS 1977; O a 1979; CA 2004; O b 1993-2001; OS 2005-2015; OR 1996-2003; PA 2006-2017; PI 1999; RAP 2002-2015). Lastly, we have included works that are classified as textbooks by their publishers and written for that purpose (MO b 2011; CGR 2015; LAS b 2021). Some are general textbooks on the EU (GR 2000-2011; LAS a 2001-2005; MAG c 2021; MAM 1994), while there is also a significant number of economic history textbooks (FAR 2006; FAU a 2006; FAU b 2017)¹.

¹ See the key for the books abbreviations.

Key

Albonetti 1960-1964: A
Badaloni 2004: BA
Bonfanti 1981: BO
Calandri-Guasconi-Ranieri 2015: CGR
Castronovo 2004: C
Dell’Omodarme 1981: DO
Fagiolo 2009: FA
Farolfi 2006: FAR
Fauri 2006: FAU a
Fauri 2017: FAU b
Gilbert 2005-2011: GI
Graglia 2000-2011: GR
Landuyt 2004: LAN
Laschi 2001-2005: LAS a
Laschi 2021: LAS b
Levi 1983: LE
Levi-Morelli 1994: LM
Maggiorani 2004: MAG a
Maggiorani 2012: MAG b
Maggiorani 2021: MAG c
Majocchi 1996: MA
Mammarella 1994: MAM
Mammarella-Cacace 1998-2013: MC
Mastronardi 2001: MAS a
Mastronardi 2002-2006: MAS b
Melchionni 2001: ME
Mirabile 2010: MIR
Mistri 1977: MIS
Morelli 2007: MO a
Morelli 2011: MO b
Olivi 1979: O a
Olivi 1993-2001: O b
Olivi-Santaniello 2005-2015: OS
Orsello 1996-2003: OR
Padoa-Schioppa 2014: PS
Papa 2006-2017: PA
Pistone 1999: PI
Rainero 1997-2001: RAI
Rapone 2002-2015: RA

Disciplinary perspective and narrative organization

Fabio Casini

The authors' methodological approach depends largely on the objectives their books are intended to serve.

In the textbooks whose sole objective is to provide a historical reconstruction (CGR 2015; CA 2004; GI 2005; LAS b 2021, MC 1998-2013; MAS b 2002-2006; MI 1977; MO b 2011; O a 1979; O b 1993-2000; OS 2005-2015 — the latter three books devote particular attention to the political history and role of the institutions — ; OR 1996-2003 — which focuses on the treaties — ; PA 2006-2017; PI 1999; RAP 2002-2015) or a historical/economic reconstruction (FA 2006; FAU a 2006; FAU b 2017) of the process of European integration, the disciplinary perspective is exclusively historical or historical/economic and the narrative is organized chronologically, though the books are normally divided into chapters dealing with certain specific events rather than others. Only MAS b 2002-2006 and MIS 1977 feature a thematic appendix.

By contrast, a multidisciplinary perspective is adopted in the textbooks that do not concentrate only on the history of the integration process, but also seek to present the European Union as a whole, and in some cases are also directed towards a more general audience (GR 2000-2011; LAS a 2001-2005; MAG c 2021, MAM 1994) or secondary schools (MO a 2007). In addition to an opening section on the history of the integration process, these books also include a presentation of the EU's institutions and sections dealing in greater depth with certain of the Union's policies or distinctive features. Their perspective is thus not simply historical, but multidisciplinary.

An exception is the secondary school textbook BO 1981 whose approach is grounded in the history of thought, and which includes an anthology of documents concerning the history of European integration.

As some of the books considered in the study are not intended purely as textbooks, the author's approach depends on the volume's purpose and

target readership. We thus have books whose perspective is strictly historical (LAN 2004, ME 2001), historical/philosophical (MA 1996), legal (PS 2014) and interdisciplinary (DO 1981, Levi 1983, LM 1994, RAI 1997). Some of the textbooks adopt a primarily cultural/narrative approach (for example, MAS a 2001) or reflect the fact that their authors were among the protagonists of the events they discuss or the European integration process (AL 1960, BA 2004, FA 2009).

Since these books were not conceived as textbooks of European integration history, they are usually organized by topic rather than chronologically. The sole exception is DO 1981: though its objective is almost biographical, being dictated by disappointment with the European elections of 1979, the narrative follows a strictly chronological organization.

Bibliographic apparatus and notes, use of sources, circulation

The majority of European integration history textbooks do not use footnotes or endnotes (AL 1960; BA 2004; BO 1981; GR 2000-2011; LAS a 2001-2005; MAM 1994; MAS a 2001; MAS b 2002-2006; O a 1979; O b 1993-2000; OS 2005-2015; OR 1996-2003; PA 2006-2017; PI 1999; RAP 2002-2015) or use them very sparingly (CGR 2015; FA 2009; FAR 2006; GI 2005; LAS b 2021; LE 1983; LM 1994; MAG c 2021; MC 1998-2013; MO a 2007; MO b 2011; PS 2014). There are, however, a few exceptions, and some textbooks feature fairly extensive notes (CA 2004; DO 1981, FAU a 2006; FAU b 2017; MIS 1977).

By contrast, the textbooks presenting a study of a specific topic make ample use of notes (LAN 2004, MA 1996, ME 2001, RAI 1997).

As regards whether or not they have a bibliographic apparatus, the textbooks considered in this study are far from uniform: thirteen (BA 2004; BO 1981; CGR 2015; CA 2004; FA 2009; FAU a 2006; FAU b 2017; GI 2005; MA 1996; MC 1998-2013; MAM 1994; MIS 1977; MO b 2011 — for this work, however, an online bibliography is available among the supplementary material on the publisher's website —) have no bibliography whatsoever, whereas in other cases a bibliography is provided, and can be quite extensive (DO 1981; ME 2001).

Essentially, the textbooks considered here use secondary sources, as this type of work does not generally rely on archival research to flesh out selected topics. The only exceptions, in fact, are those books that were included in the study because they are assigned as required reading in

European integration history programs but do not have the typical characteristics of a textbook (LAN 2004; ME 2001; RAI 1997). As these books explore specific topics, they make use of primary sources and archival research.

In all the other textbooks, the only use of primary sources is to quote excerpts or include them as documents (BO 1981; LE 1983; LM 1994; PA 2006-2017).

Many of the textbooks considered were published by major houses and have enjoyed wide circulation, in some cases running into several editions (GR 2000-2011; LAS 2001-2005; MC 1998-2013; MAS b 2002-2006; O b 1993-2000; OS 2005-2015; PA 2006-2017; RAP 2002-2015). In other cases, the publisher is prominent in the area for which the book is intended, *e.g.*, the university textbook MO b 2011, or the high school textbooks MO a 2007 and BO 1981.

Content

Filippo M. Giordano

A matter of perspective

One of the first questions raised by this study of the images of Europe emerging from historical discourse — and specifically the discourse framed and honed by Italian university textbooks on European integration history — concerns how we define the object of investigation — Europe, in other words — together with the scholar's vantage point. Object and optic, in fact, are never writ in stone. Even without going beyond our own country's borders, the former is subject to any number of nuanced interpretations changing its face, form and features, while the latter is often affected by many variables depending on the historical moment in which the observer is immersed, as well as by the scholar's background, political sensitivity or degree of involvement in national and European affairs. So much indeterminacy can only confirm E. H. Carr's dictum that "the historian is obliged to choose". Europe and its process of "integration" or, as others would have it, "unification" — and here certain fundamental nuances are already evident in the choice of terms — are subject to these conditions, lacking "a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian" (Carr 1961: 6). And so, mindful of what Benedetto Croce famously maintained, like many histories, this particular history of a rather substantial slice of Europe's life is a "contemporary history" given that historians engaged in studying its antecedents, rationale and fundamental passages are "seeing the past through the eyes of [their] present and in the light of its problems" (Carr 1961: 15), and in cataloguing the facts they have done nothing more than base their judgement on a "practical requirement" if not indeed on a deep-seated conviction (Croce 1941: 19).

Accordingly, the first question to be addressed concerns the perspective that the authors considered here have taken in reconstructing the facts about the European integration process. We will start by determin-

ing what sort of lens they have used in analyzing this process in the light of the relationship between national and European identity, and in what historical depth. A close reading of the textbooks indicates that the “European” outlook clearly predominates over the “national” perspective (29 textbooks out of 36) in the authors’ exploration, although there is no lack of exceptions, accentuations, shadings and gradations in both camps, at times influenced by imported historiographical currents (*e.g.*, GI 2005), in others reflecting the authors’ deliberately neutral attitude (*e.g.*, MC 1998), a bias deriving from their background or training (*e.g.*, FA 2009) or their stated intention put a particular slant — biographical, for instance — on their narrative (*e.g.*, DO 1981). In other cases, a clue to why the author has chosen a particular emphasis comes from the year of the book’s publication, indicating that how current events have advanced or threatened the integration process has lent a sense of urgency to the narrative, as the author feels a need to take stock of the entire process (*e.g.*, MA 1994; PS 2014).

Politico-cultural approach: conceptual tools and questions of identity

As we have seen that most of the textbooks favor a “European” view of community history, we will now look at the stance taken by the authors regarding the process of “integration” or, in fact, “unification”¹, terms which at times — though not always — can reveal the authors’ inclinations, in the first case hinting at a desire to strike a more cautious, objective or realistic tone, and in the second indicating a politico-cultural readiness to regard the process as tending towards a goal. If we take the standard tripartite classification of European integration theories as federalist, confederalist or functionalist, which can also point to the author’s attitude towards analyzing the process, we see that the majority of the textbooks (26 out of 40) tend to take neutral positions, though they are more inclined to see the process as having an objective value (the Europeanist standpoint) than to limit themselves to a dispassionate examination of facts and episodes that produced a new historical subject

¹ The term “integration” figures in the title of as many as 14 textbooks — at times accompanied by the adjective “economic” or “political” in addition to “European” — whereas the concept of “unity”, excluding instances where it appears as “European Union” but including combinations with “federation” and “United States of Europe” which refer clearly to the political objective, is found in only 7 out of 40 textbooks.

worthy of study. This increases the number of nuances with which the authors approach events, as their historical discourse conveys a specific attitude towards the European integration process. We can thus identify a federalist approach (10 textbooks), where the historian's interpretation of the facts is clearly in favor of Europe's political unification and may even result from a known or declared activism, a confederalist approach, where the author is more critical of the process and takes an intergovernmentalist stance (1 textbook), and a functionalist and pragmatic-realist approach on the part of authors who believe more in a cooperative structure than in a new economic, social and polity entity in the fullest sense (3 textbooks). In between the three, however, starting from those who take an axiological and critical-constructive, or in other words "Europeanist" view of community building, we have an entire gamut of interpretations: federalist-Europeanist (e.g., FAU a 2006; MO b 2011), moderately or strongly objective-Europeanist (e.g., OS 2005; LAS b 2021 and MAG c 2021), neutral-Europeanist (e.g., MAS a 2001) and pragmatic-Europeanist (e.g., MC 1998). These authors chiefly show a reflexive and analytic-constructive attitude to the complexities of the European integration process, which calls for rethinking the role of the nation-state and of European governance.

In this connection, the authors' choice and use of the conceptual tools underlying their interpretive slant have a major influence on the approach to investigating and understanding the process of European integration/unification. Such tools include references to notions to which identity is pinned (peace, democracy, and so forth) that reflect the depth of a shared historical path and shed light on certain characteristics of the process from a long-term perspective, or theoretical-exegetic criteria (the crisis of the nation-state, economic interdependence, etc.) whereby certain transformative mechanisms of political and institutional systems can be identified and, consequently, historical phenomena and developments can be interpreted in positivist terms. As regards the latter criteria, the concept of the crisis of the nation-state — like that of the causal nexus of global interdependence and the considerations about international anarchy arising from it — can be found more or less explicitly or between the lines of slightly over a quarter (11) of the textbooks, both as a criterion adopted by the author (e.g., LE a 1983; MA 1996) and as a theory cited to illustrate the approach taken by certain schools of thought — the federalist school

in particular — to European integration (*e.g.*, RA 2015). More often than not, this is the tack taken by an internationalist interpretation (in the history of international relations or the history of regionalism) of the European integration process (*e.g.*, FA 2009; MO b 2011) or a forward-looking interpretation of history that frames the phenomenon in terms of what it will become in the long run, where the reasons for the state's crisis and transformation are also explained as a question of identity arising out of the many pacifist projects and proposals for the continent's unity advanced over the centuries (*e.g.*, ME 2001; LAS a 2001-2005; 2021; PA 2006).

Apropos of this last point, it is apparent in a fair number of the textbooks that the authors set out to explain the characteristics, prospects and outcomes of the European integration/unification process — or in other words to give it historical depth — in the light of a series of facts and experiences occurring in different epochs (medieval, modern and contemporary) which over time have enriched the common European narrative in a number of ways that have become part of the sense of a shared identity, often in connection with the idea of Europe (19 textbooks). Such building blocks of European identity (peace, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, subsidiarity, pluralism, etc.) are frequently mentioned by most of the textbooks and show a certain interpretive continuity even where they have been cherry-picked on the basis of the authors' narrative or descriptive intent (*e.g.*, MO a 2007; PS 2014), or relate to particular phases in the integration process, like the debate on the European constitution (*e.g.*, CA 2004). Similarly, the idea of Europe, with its roots and branches, is merely alluded to in some textbooks (*e.g.*, RAP 2015; MAG c 2021) but in others serves almost as the impetus for a historical journey leading to Europe's present integration (*e.g.*, RAI 1997-2001; PI 1999).

The role of the institutions, governments, movements and public opinion

Now that we have mapped how the textbooks present theoretical and conceptual questions, interpretations and values, it is time to turn to their handling of the politico-institutional and social dynamics of the European construction. We will thus look at the textbooks' coverage of the role that the European institutions, national governments and parliaments, political parties at the national and community level, Europeanist

and federalist movements, regional and local agencies, the mass media and public opinion have in the integration process. Not all of the textbooks deal with all of these entities, nor do they investigate them all to the same extent or using the same methodological criterion or viewpoint (*e.g.*, that of the history of thought, of institutions or of institutional dynamics, or of the history of diplomacy, social history, the history of movements, etc.). Some roles are given greater prominence than others, at times because of the particular slant the authors wish to give to the book, while in other cases the choice of roles to be emphasized results from the authors' background, experience or intentions, as well as from their orientation or degree of engagement. For example, some textbooks present an outline of the institutions and subjects who are active in the integration process only as a means of introducing the institutions and policies (*e.g.*, GR 2000). The majority of the textbooks, however, use these subjects as protagonists in describing how they affect the process of European construction, both as regards the European interplay as a whole (*e.g.*, LM 1994; RAI 1997; MC 1998-2013; MAS b 2002-2006; MO a 2007; RAP 2002-2015), and prospectively in terms of national contributions to building a united Europe (*e.g.*, LAN 2004). In particular, certain textbooks devote more space to the role of the community institutions and national governments (*e.g.*, AL 1960; GI 2005). This group includes texts that go into the part played by governments in greater detail (DO 1981; FA 2009) and others that concentrate on community institutions such as the European Parliament (*e.g.*, BO 1981). Yet others expand their scope to include the Europeanist and federalist movements (*e.g.*, LE 1983; MA 1996; PI 1999; PA 2006-2017) and the political parties (*e.g.*, O a 1979; LAS a 2001-2005). There are also some textbooks that deal with these subjects but do not consider trends in public opinion (*e.g.*, CGR 2015; FAU a 2006, FAU b 2017) or present a distorted view (*e.g.*, CA 2004).

Nevertheless, a fair number of textbooks (11) engage in a more thorough and balanced discussion of public opinion and its reactions to the community's policies and institutions, especially at the time of particular historical moments (European elections, post-89 crises, wars in the Balkans and the Middle East, etc.) (*e.g.*, O b 1993-2001; OS 2005-2015) or in connection with more recent events in the integration process that involved Europe's citizens and civil society more directly (the debate on the European constitution), and also underscoring such disruptive episodes

as the Brexit referendum that signaled a mounting disgruntlement with the community project. The textbook's scrutiny of public opinion has thus increased along with the crises — economic and financial, migratory, structural, and of consensus — that have swept the European Union in recent decades, and in view of the widening gap between citizens and the institutions (Europe's democratic deficit) they have caused (*e.g.*, LAS b 2021; MAG c 2021). All of this has awakened scholars of European integration history to public opinion's importance in the European construction, leading them in particular to analyze and contextualize the recent Eurosceptic backlash and the proliferation of national populist and sovereignist movements in all Member States.

In conclusion, if we look at the more general picture without considering the various nuances, we can say that most of the textbooks devote at least some space to the subjects mentioned above (31 textbooks), while few ignore them entirely (5 textbooks, one example being FAR 2006). In the first group, eleven textbooks delve deeply into trends in public opinion, relating them directly to the movements that have steered them in favor of the European project (the Europeanists and federalists) or against it (the Eurosceptics). By contrast, little or nothing of substance is said of the creation of a European public space, while the same is true of the regional and local actors.

Thematization and periodization

Andrea Becherucci

The first point to be made concerns the highly varied nature of the books examined here, which include true textbooks, multi-author studies, collections of essays by a single author, popularizing books and volumes addressed to an audience that simply want to be better informed about the history and politics of European integration. This multitude of approaches inevitably affects how events are narrated and what interpretations are advanced. In examining these approaches, we will seek answers to four questions: do the narratives deal with the individuals who were the protagonists of the integration process? Do they discuss the international scene? Do they mention Europe's "memory space"? And lastly, do they acknowledge the barriers to the integration process?

At times, there is essentially no accent on the activities of individual figures, either because the book seeks to offer a diachronic overview of the European integration process (LAN), or because the type of narrative dictates a certain concision (GR). In other cases (GI), the importance of individual contributions is underscored by focusing on the role of figures such as Charles De Gaulle and Margaret Thatcher who are normally thought of as extraneous to this process. (LAS b, LAS a) does not give particular attention to individuals in 2005, but devotes adequate space to them in 2021. Likewise, the book discusses sectorial aspects of integration such as the creation of the OEEC. (MAG c) takes a popularizing approach which is useful in introducing the subject, but also has room for the initiatives of the federalist movements. Two books by Bino Olivi, the first written on his own and the second in collaboration with Roberto Santaniello (O b, OS) center their narrative on the political nature of the European integration process, partly as a result of the authors' backgrounds (both Olivi and Santaniello were officials of the EEC/EU). The two texts devote sufficient space to the international context and to the activities of individual figures where the authors felt this to be necessary.

The textbook by a scholar of community law (OR) takes a judicial slant that leaves other aspects in the background. However, the work of the federalist movements is also mentioned. Papa's book (PA) follows the federalist line, while at the same time adopting an approach that leaves space for discussing the international scene and the key figures involved.

Sergio Pistone, former official of the *Movimento Federalista Europe* (PI), takes a staunchly federalist view, dealing extensively with bottom-up initiatives and the European elections of 1979. The approach in RAP is neutral but with federalist leanings. Though balanced, the book does not emphasize the factors that were particularly likely to affect the course of the integration process except when mentioning the influence of US policy on the beginnings of the European project.

As the oldest of the textbooks considered here, A shows its age. Starting from a decidedly pro-Europe viewpoint, it devotes ample space to the international setting and expresses what we might call a "demiurgic" view of the key figures, regarding them as the custodians of political Europe's future. Any barriers to integration are seen as being due to the persistence of national interests. FAR shows an interest in European integration that is more economic than political, providing no details of the crucial moments and key players in the process, and making no mention of potential obstacles. CGR's approach is composite, attentive to the international setting but less so to the key figures, and making no attempt to address the other two questions of interest to us here. In Fauri, (FAU a, FAU b), the approach is entirely sectorial (viz., economic integration). BO is an anthology of documents focusing specifically on the history of thought. Attention to individual players is for the most part limited to the Italians, while sufficient prominence is given to the crucial moments of integration. DO is a pragmatic text dealing with how the historical process unfolded, accurately retracing the events. It could be numbered among the functionalist contributions. BA, whose author was the Brussels correspondent for RAI, the Italian state television network, is a small popularizing work of no interest for our purposes here. The book by Ambassador Silvio Fagiolo (FA) displays an intergovernmentalist outlook that appears to overshadow all others, given the author's long-standing engagement in international relations. C takes a critical, intergovernmentalist approach that leaves little room for a carefully weighed reconstruction of the European integration process, devoting no attention to the international setting and very little to the crucial issues and key figures.

MAS a is an exception among the books considered here, as it sets out to tell the tale of the European Union in a historical narrative that presents important events and major players. However, it gives insufficient prominence to the international setting, and refers to a European cultural heritage but not to “memory space”. The obstinacy of the nation-state is cited as one of the barriers to integration. MAS b gives due weight to the European protagonists of the integration process as well as to events on the international scene (where necessary for a better understanding of the stages of integration) and the decisive moments of the narrative. Issues regarding the potential for a common European identity are discussed in several appendices. The prerogatives of the nation-state are mentioned as clashing with the integration process. ME, as its title “Europa sogno dei saggi” [Europe, the Sages’ Dream] implies, devotes most of its attention to the key figures of integration, but does not neglect the international setting and the decisive moments of the process. There are extensive references to the European cultural identity, while the fact that the nation-state continues to maintain its prerogatives is once again mentioned as the main limit to integration. MAM provides a correct but very succinct account (as the book is very short) of the protagonists, the international setting and the decisive moments. It does not mention the “memory space” and, once again, emphasizes the opposition on the part of the phantom of the nation-state. The same considerations apply to MIS, which is correct in its presentation of the facts and in the prominence assigned to the protagonists, international setting and decisive moments. And like MAM, it does not speak of the “memory space”, nor does it go beyond mentioning the prerogatives of the sovereign state as an obstacle to realizing the “European dream”. MO a and MO b approach the argument from a forthrightly federalist perspective where due prominence is given to the main protagonists (some of whom are discussed in detail) and to the international scene and decisive moments. No mention is made of the “memory space” and the obstacles that stand in the way of European integration, nor are interpretations offered that have not been advanced elsewhere by the same author. O a chiefly directs its attention to the period of Gaullist opposition to Europe. Accordingly, more is said about the French president than about the other figures, although the latter are discussed at some length. As regards the international setting, the spotlight is on Euro-Atlantic relations. Among significant events, the

Gaullist decade receives particular attention, while the politico-diplomatic approach used by the member states in dealing with European issues is listed among the obstacles to integration.

Some textbooks concentrate on the leading figures in the federalist battle, in particular Altiero Spinelli (LE, LM), though they do not omit other actors. Other textbooks (MC) narrate the events from a neutral perspective, devoting sufficient space to all the protagonists. This is also true of the most complete of our textbooks (RAI), which takes a long-term view. From this standpoint, the textbook by a legal scholar (PS) is an exemplary exception which, by virtue of its author's background, takes a "constitutional" approach. Generally speaking, the various textbooks seem to be fairly uniform in the prominence they give to the international setting and the crucial events in the integration process, as these aspects are almost always covered (LAN, GR, GI, LE, LM, MC, RAI). Once again, PS is an exception.

The answer to our third question about whether the books deal with Europe's "memory space" is more interesting. As we have seen, the answer is a resounding no, but it is clear that it does not apply to the entire "state of the art" here. The concept of "memory space" or "sites of memory"—which was introduced in the mid-Eighties by the French historian Pierre Nora and arrived in Italy via Mario Isnenghi's studies of Italian history—has struggled to gain ground in historical research. By the same token, it has not yet been widely applied in Italian studies of European integration history. Nevertheless, the topic is highly relevant today in view of its impact on the most recent deliberations of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament on European memory, which were a response to demands on the part of the Eastern European countries and have sparked heated debate, even quite recently. The issue is divisive, and the current climate does not appear to encourage more dispassionate consideration even among historiographers.

The answer to the fourth question about whether the books discuss significant tangible or intangible barriers to more complete integration is also negative. However, though such barriers make an appearance in only one volume (LAN), several of the textbooks show an awareness that public opinion is on average more Eurosceptical in Northern Europe than elsewhere. As indicated earlier, the only obstacle mentioned in the more obsolete books (and at times even in the more recent ones) is the nation-state's resistance to relinquishing part of its sovereignty.

- Albonetti Achille (1964, 1st edition 1960). *Preistoria degli Stati Uniti d'Europa*. Milano: Giuffrè editore, 416.
- Badaloni Piero (2004). *Europa al bivio. Le Origini e le tappe di un cammino*. Casale Monferrato: Portalupi, 158.
- Bonfanti Giuseppe (1981). *Costruiamo l'Europa, documenti e testimonianze di storia contemporanea*. Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 196.
- Calandri Elena, Guasconi, Maria Elena, Ranieri Ruggero (2015). *Storia politica e economica dell'integrazione europea. Dal 1945 ad oggi*. Naples: Edises, 346.
- Castronovo Valerio (2004). *L'avventura dell'unità europea. Una sfida con la storia e il futuro*. Torino: Einaudi, VII-330.
- Dell'Omodarme Marcello (1981). *Europa. Mito e realtà del processo d'integrazione*. Milano: Marzorati, 381.
- Fagiolo Silvio (2009). *L'idea dell'Europa nelle relazioni internazionali*. With a preface by Mario Monti. Milano: Franco Angeli, 250.
- Farolfi Bernardino (2006). *L'integrazione economica europea in una prospettiva storica*. Torino: G. Giappichelli, 103.
- Fauri Francesca Angela (2006). *L'integrazione economica europea (1947-2006)*. Bologna: il Mulino, 303.
- Fauri Francesca Angela (2017). *L'Unione europea. Una storia economica*. Bologna: il Mulino, 281.
- Gilbert Mark (2011). *Storia politica dell'integrazione europea*, Roma-Bari: GLF editori Laterza, pp. 251; English-language edition (2020): *European Integration. A Political History*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 358.
- Graglia Piero S. (2011, 1st edition 2000). *L'Unione europea*. Bologna: il Mulino, 144.
- Landuyt Ariane (ed.) (2004). *Idee d'Europa e integrazione europea*. Bologna: il Mulino, 561.
- Laschi Giuliana (2005, 1st edition 2001). *L'Unione europea. Storia, istituzioni, politiche*. Roma: Carocci, 149.
- Laschi Giuliana (2021). *Storia dell'integrazione europea*. Florence: Le Monnier, VIII-240.
- Levi Lucio (1988, 1st edition 1979). *L'unificazione europea. Trent'anni di storia*, Torino: SEI, 312.
- Levi Lucio, Morelli Umberto (1994). *L'unificazione europea. Cinquant'anni di storia*. Torino: Celid, 435.

Maggiorani Mauro (2004). *La sfida dell'Unione. Storia, economia e culture dell'Europa unita*. Bologna: CLUEB, 201.

Maggiorani Mauro (2012). *Unire l'Europa. Storia, società e istituzioni dell'Unione europea dalle premesse a oggi*. Bologna: CLUEB, 191.

Maggiorani Mauro (2021). *Un sogno chiamato Europa. Storia, economia, politica e istituzioni dell'Unione europea*. Bologna: CLUEB, 224.

Majocchi Luigi Vittorio (1996). *La difficile costruzione dell'unità europea*. Milano: Jaca Book, 339.

Mammarella Giuseppe (1994). *Imparare l'Europa*, Bologna: il Mulino, 118.

Mammarella Giuseppe, Cacace Paolo (2013, 1st edition 1998). *Storia e politica dell'Unione europea*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, XIV-405.

Mastronardi Francesco (2001). *Il Racconto Dell'Europa. La Vera Storia Dell'Unione europea*. Città di Castello (PG): Edimond, 185.

Mastronardi Francesco (2006, 1st edition 2002). *Storia dell'integrazione europea. L'Europa alla ricerca della propria identità*. Naples: Edizioni Simone, 431.

Melchionni Maria Grazia (2001). *Europa sogno dei saggi*. Venice: Marsilio, 406.

Mirabile Manlio (2010). *L'Unione europea 1945-2009. Piccola storia di una grande illusione*. Viterbo: Gruppo Albatros Il Filo, 112.

Mistri Maurizio (1977). *Lineamenti di storia dell'integrazione europea*. Padova: Liviana, IX-218.

Morelli Umberto (2007). *L'Unione europea. Storia, istituzioni, politiche. Materiali e proposte di lavoro interdisciplinari*. Torino: Loescher, 176.

Morelli Umberto (2011). *Storia dell'integrazione europea*. Rome: Guerini Editore, 284.

Olivi Bino (1979). *Il tentativo Europa: storia politica della Comunità europea*. With a preface by Antonio Giolitti. Milano: Etas libri, 309.

Olivi Bino (2001, 1st edition 1993, under the title *L'Europa difficile, storia politica della Comunità europea*). *L'Europa difficile. Storia politica dell'integrazione europea (1948-2000)*. Bologna: il Mulino, 679.

Olivi Bino, Santaniello Roberto (2015, 1st edition 2005). *Storia dell'integrazione europea: dalla guerra fredda alla costituzione europea*. Bologna: il Mulino, 361.

Orsello Gian Piero (2003, 1st edition 1996). *L'Unione europea*. Rome: Newton & Compton Editori, 288.

Padoa-Schioppa Antonio (2014). *Verso la federazione europea? Tappe e svolte di un lungo cammino*. Bologna: il Mulino, 541.

Papa Emilio (2017 1st edition 2006). *Storia dell'unificazione europea. Dall'idea di Europa al Trattato per una nuova Costituzione europea*. Milano: Bompiani, 305.

Pistone Sergio (1999). *L'integrazione europea. Uno schizzo storico*. Torino: UTET, 120.

Rainero Romain H. (ed.) (2001-1997). *Storia dell'integrazione europea*. 3 vol. (I. *L'integrazione europea dalle origini alla nascita della CEE*; II. *L'Europa dai Trattati di Roma alla caduta del Muro di Berlino*; III. *L'Europa dal Trattato di Maastricht a... domani*). Settimo Milanese (MI): Marzorati – Rome: Editalia.

Rapone Leonardo (2015 1st edition 2002). *Storia dell'integrazione europea*, Rome, Carocci, 128.

Union, OK, but what about the Europeans? The Dutch narrative of the history of continental integration

Giulia Vassallo

Few and far between: this is the immediate impression upon setting out to investigate the Dutch-language university textbooks on the history of European integration. Yet, even in the face of such difficulties, it is an investigation that can offer insights and original interpretive frameworks, leading to a fuller understanding and wider-ranging debate.

But one step at a time. To explain what we have just said, we must start from a few preliminary notes on methodology. We will then turn to the structure and themes addressed in the textbooks surveyed here, discussing the features they all have in common and the aspects that set some of them apart from the rest, and concluding with a few remarks on the European identity.

First, then, our mention of the fact that Dutch-language textbooks of the history of European integration are few in number and far from easy to find calls for methodological clarification: this study started from a systematic survey of the holdings at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, and then of the examination descriptions for the European integration history programs, or the European studies programs in general, offered at the major universities in the Netherlands. In both cases, we found that not only was the number of textbooks quite limited (a total of fifteen textbooks, all published between 1979 and 2020), but it seems that they were also scarcely used. This in any case was also emphasized by the authors of one of the volumes analyzed here, *Europa in alle staten* (2013), which is one of the handful of textbooks — no more than six in all — that are still in use today, or at least can be found without too much difficulty. Of the others, all of which came out from the mid-Nineties to 2019, *Uitgerekend Europa. Geschiedenis van de Europese integratie* (2004)¹

¹ In this connection, I would like to thank Prof. Robin de Bruin, who lectures in Modern European History at the University of Amsterdam, for sending me the digital version of the latest (2004) edition of Jules Hermans' textbook, as the hardcopy book is now available only in the first edition, which came out in 1996.

by Jules Hermans et al., and *De integratie van Europa* (2002) by Bram Boxhoorn and Max Jansen are now out of print. Finding the textbooks published between 1979 and the second half of the Nineties² was even more difficult. This was especially true because of the Covid-19 lockdown, as it was only possible to view the digital versions of these books, only small portions of which are available online. This situation was to some extent compensated by the fact that many of the textbooks that were in fact analyzed were reissues of editions that first appeared in the previous decade. This, on the one hand, could explain why there are so few publications, and on the other is typical of Dutch textbooks on European integration history. Another typical feature of these textbooks is that most of them are written by historians, as is reflected in their extensive use of footnotes or endnotes and their rich bibliographies, not to mention their rigorous use of sources (see below).

Our opening remark that the textbooks are few and far between brings us to two further features that are typical of the Dutch approach to European Studies, and in particular to the history of European integration. First, universities in the Netherlands have a high level of international enrollment, especially in European Studies programs, and consequently many students speak English. It is perhaps no coincidence that the most recent textbooks — *De passage naar Europa* by Luuk van Middelaar (the first edition was in 2009, but here we used the latest edition, from 2015) and *Europa in alle staten* — have been translated into English. Specifically, the English version of the former book came out in 2013, with its title translated literally as *The Passage to Europe. How a Continent became a Union*³, while the English translation of the latter text was published in 2018, under the new title, *The Unfinished History of European In-*

² We refer here to the following textbooks: S. Hoogmoed, J.M. Monteiro (1995), *Integratie van Europa: geschiedenis, structuur en perspectief van de Europese politiek*, Amsterdam: International Institute of Interdisciplinary Integration; W.J.P. Hermans, Chr.L. Balje (eds.) (1991), *Leidraad bij de geschiedenis van de Europese integratie*, Alkmaar: Europese Platform voor het Nederlandse Onderwijs; W.F. Kalkwiek, A.C. de Beer (1991), *Europese integratie 1945-1990: eenheid in verscheidenheid*, Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Educatief.

³ The English translation was published under the imprint of the Yale University Press. It is interesting to note that an English translation of Mathieu Segers' book on the relationship between the Netherlands and European unification, *Reis naar het continent*, was published in 2020 (M. Segers, *The Netherlands and European integration, 1950 to present*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).

tegration. Nor would it appear to be by chance that a very sizable proportion of the reference books used in Dutch university programs on the history of European integration are in the major European languages: English, but also French and German. Indeed, the bibliographies of the surveyed textbooks are made up for the most part of books written by authors outside the Netherlands in languages other than Dutch⁴.

This tendency to use English in European Studies could 1) be due to some extent to the conviction that these topics are essentially addressed to a broader public rather than just the domestic audience; or more simply, 2) bear witness to the importance attached to the issues or arguments being dealt with in the textbooks, and hence to the authors' ambitions to achieve a wide circulation; or again, 3) reflect the distinctly international character of the student body in Dutch universities, and thus the need for courses and textbooks in English, or even 4) all of the above. Moreover, as Robin de Bruin has pointed out, a certain international, as well as Dutch, historiography is striving to free itself from a national or even Eurocentric perspective in narrating the continent's integration⁵.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain: the amount of material in "*nederlandse taal*" available to scholars, especially as regards the historical aspects of European integration, is largely insufficient (as the authors of *Europa in alle staten* pointed out as early as 2013), independently of the quality of its content. But we will discuss the question of quality later.

The second point raised by the lack of textbooks on European integration history concerns a problem that Wiel P.H. Lenders brought to light at the beginning of this century in his foreword (*Voorwoord*) to Hermans' book, viz., that the intellectual debate on Europe and European integra-

⁴ Take, for example, the texts cited by the authors of *Europa in alle staten* as references for the history of European integration: Kiran Klaus Patel (ed.) (2009), *Fertile ground for Europe? The history of European integration and the Common Agricultural Policy since 1945*, Baden-Baden; Martin Conway and Kiran Klaus Patel (eds.) (2010), *Europeanization in the twentieth century. Historical approaches*, Basingstoke; Gabriele Clemens, A. Reinfeldt et al. (2008), *Geschichte der europäischen Integration. Ein Lehrbuch*, Paderborn; and above all Wolfram Kaiser, Antonio Varsori (eds.), (2013), *European Union History. Themes and debates*, Basingstoke, indicated by the authors of *Europa in alle staten* as a sort of counterweight to Alan Milward's *European Rescue of the Nation State*, as with the German historian's approach, "more attention is again being given to transnational non-state political and economic networks (political parties, the labour movement) as driving forces in the process of Europeanization" (van Meurs et al., 2013: 63).

⁵ <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2020/01/15/the-unfinished-history-of-europe-an-interview-with-robin-de-bruin/>

tion — “though one of the most important processes in the post-1945 Western world” (Lenders: XII) — can certainly not be said to be “particularly extensive” in the Netherlands (*ibidem*).

This does not mean that the Dutch-language literature is devoid of valuable works on European Studies, but only that what it has to offer are mostly specialized publications — or at least more specialized than integration history textbooks — which tend to focus on the European Union as it is today rather than attempt to retrace the route to continental unification from its beginnings. Indeed — as van Meurs, de Bruin, Hoetink, van Leeuwen, Reijnen and van de Grift go on to say — the picture that emerges from these studies is a far cry from “the chequered life story of Europe” (van Meurs et al., 2013:11). However, there are many good monographs in Dutch — which we included in our survey — centering on the path taken by the Netherlands in the Community/Union. Some recent, some less so, these works by accredited historians (including Mathieu Segers, Anjo Harryvan, Jan van der Harst and Klaus Kiram Patel) figure largely in the examinations held by Dutch universities’ humanities programs. This brings us to another point that this study made very clear: when writing in their own language, Dutch historians of integration (precious few, in fact, as Robin de Bruin has noted, at least regarding the Dutch perspective of European integration history⁶) tend to view the integration process through a national rather than transnational lens⁷. In other words, their history of European integration is presented from the standpoint of the Netherlands’ eventful, not to say tumultuous, approach to Europe.

Still by way of introduction, it should be noted that the following pages will scrutinize the five textbooks mentioned earlier: *Passage naar Europa*, *Europa in alle staten*, *Uitgerekend Europa*, *De integratie van Europa: een balans*, and *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie*. All published and adopted in Dutch universities between the mid-Nineties and 2018, these five books

⁶ de Bruin expressed this view during an event entitled “The Dutch and German contribution to European unification projects from the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. An interdisciplinary reflection between history and political thought” organized as part of the “United States of Europe and Internationalism” project at La Sapienza University of Rome on October 28, 2020.

⁷ It is worth noting that the English translation of van Middelaar’s volume maintains unaltered if not the “national” perspective, at least the tendency to emphasize Dutch initiative, action and perception in Europe and of Europe.

were and still are the bedrock of European integration history programs, totaling around 2000 pages between them. Our survey also extended to the multi-author volume edited by W.A.F. Camphuis and C.G.J. Wildeboer Schut, *Europese eenwording in historisch perspectief* (1991), a collection of essays by the major Dutch historians of integration which explores the main and most controversial aspects of the European construction, as well as the more recent books by J. De Visser (2019), *Spagaat óf balans. Een verkenning van de nooit eindigende spanning tussen nationalisme en Europese integratie*, and by Mathieu Segers (2016), *Europa en de terugkeer van de geschiedenis*, which in addition to presenting a rapid overview of the route to integration, focus on a number of hot topics in today's EU. To form a more complete picture, the survey included *Europa. Het spel en de knikkers* (1983), whose authors, Guido Naets and Hans van der Werf, are journalists specializing in European issues. Here, their attention centers on the process of constructing the Community from 1945 to the Eighties.

On the methodological front, it should be emphasized that the survey sought to identify recurrent features and differences, not only in how the textbooks interpret events, but also in the amount of space devoted — and hence the importance assigned — to individual episodes, issues and people. Particular attention was given to the perceived or potential factors involved in constructing the European identity, a sense of belonging and a shared heritage of values, a question each of the surveyed textbooks considers in some depth.

One last point before entering *in medias res*: our survey found that the textbooks have many features in common and, to a lesser extent, characteristics that set each volume apart from the others. In the following pages, we will thus examine the shared topics, methodologies and approaches, detailing any specificities or alternative viewpoints offered by individual texts.

1. Democratic deficit and forming the European demos

We will start from the authors' statements regarding the rationale underlying their books, where one of the frequently mentioned episodes, at least for the books published from 2006 onwards, is the June 2005 referendum, when the Netherlands rejected the European Constitutional Treaty even more resoundingly than France, with 61.5 percent voting against and 38.5 percent in favor. Luuk van Middelaar, for example, sees this outcome

as resulting from citizens' sense of estrangement from the European project, a detachment that was undoubtedly increased, if not indeed glibly underestimated, by the Dutch government's "offhand treatment of the public", or in other words by the Dutch institutions' official communication about Europe and the EU's operation. Indeed — as van Middelaar emphasizes, not without a tinge of blame — Europe seems to be perceived, especially by "Dutch parliamentarians" in The Hague, as "an occupying power"⁸ (van Middelaar, 2015: 7). This idea has a very real and deep-seated presence in the Dutch mind, given the five years of German occupation of the Netherlands and the many psychological scars it left.

Similarly, *Europa in alle staten* brands the slogan "Europe, quite important" (*Europa, best belangrijk*) coined by the Dutch government in the run-up to the 2005 referendum as "timid" and inevitably ineffective (van Meurs et al., 2013: 11). Hence — and unsurprisingly — the authors of both books maintain that the Netherlands needs a greater knowledge of the history of European integration, or in other words, a complete and accurate textbook that can compensate for, or rather, heal the estrangement mentioned earlier. This call for greater knowledge had been anticipated in 2004 by Jules Hermans, whose *Uitgerekend Europa* (literally, "Exactly Europe") argued that "the Dutch public's lack of feeling for Europe stems largely from an inadequate, not to say distorted, understanding of the EU as it really is, especially as regards even the most elementary notions of the history of its formation". "This deficit — again according to Hermans — is absolutely unacceptable in a democratic society" (Hermans, 2004: XI).

A history that needs to be told, then, for the semi-exclusive use of Dutch readers and written strictly in *nederlandse taal*. Or at least — if we look at the structure and the topics addressed in each textbook — it is a history that needs to be rewritten and made known 1) with close, constant attention to the theme of forming the European *demos*, and 2) emphasizing the aspects and moments in which the Netherlands' contribution to European unification was most concrete and recognizable, or, as Joris Voorhoeve put it in his well-known though dated analysis (Voorhoeve, 1979), the circumstances in which Holland was more European and continental than maritime and projected towards the English-speaking world⁹.

⁸ In the original, "*een buitenlandse bezettingsmacht*".

⁹ This is also a central theme in Mathieu Segers' (2013), *Reis naar het continent. Nederland en de Europese integratie, 1950 tot heden*, (Amsterdam: Bakker).

As regards the first point, all of the textbooks surveyed here — including that by Bram Boxhoorn and Max Jansen¹⁰, which puts particular emphasis on the international setting and its decisive influence on the integration process — set aside ample space for the EU’s democratic dimension, which virtually all authors see as the “weak link” of the European construction in each and every stage of its development. Considerations of this kind can be found, for instance, in *Europa in alle staten*, whose authors stress that “the public’s undeniable disenchantment with the European project” (van Meurs et al., 2013: 11) cannot be limited to the episode, vitally important though it was, of the constitutional referendum. Even in the early Eighties, the democratic deficit of the then-EEC emerged as an endemic problem, as clearly shown by the decline of trust in the entire democratic political process and institutions, and the resulting rise of left- and right-wing populist parties (Ivi: 276). And indeed, the book edited by Anna van der Vleuten, *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie* — which went into its fifth edition in 2018 (the first was in 2007) — devotes an entire chapter to the issue, tellingly entitled “*De kloof tussen de burger en Brussel*”, or “the gulf between the citizen and Brussels” (Binnema, 2018: 265-283). For an idea of how wide this gulf is, we need only look at the shrinking turnout for the European elections from 1979 to the present — where the Netherlands’ 37.3 percent in 2014 is even lower than the European average (Ivi: 266) — which shines a dramatic light on the legitimacy problems besetting European politics (Ivi: 278). Here again, then, the question is one of providing correct information to the public, including information about the EU’s history and origins. Above all, this information must be readily useable as a precondition not only for reinforcing Europe’s legitimacy, but also for boosting acceptance of the common policies of the Union (Ivi: 279). Such acceptance, moreover, is seen as essential in reducing the gap between the countries with a longstanding European tradition and the new members, where — as most of the textbooks maintain — the public has little or no trust in the EU (Ivi: 274).

On the same topic but from a broader perspective, Hermans makes some valuable points concerning the democratic dimension of the EU. In

¹⁰ Take, for instance, their concluding remarks on the notion of “unity in diversity”: “There does not seem to be a feeling of unity and solidarity; the average citizen still has no idea of having a great deal in common with the citizens of other Member States. And so the question of citizenship simply does not work, because the public is entirely lacking in a sense of community” (B. Boxhoorn, M. Jansen, 2002: 350).

discussing the post-Maastricht introduction of the European Council as a forum for debating the “sensitive” and more specifically political issues involving the Union, or in other words as a policy-setting body, and at the same time in linking the efforts to reinforce the Council (although at the time it had not yet been recognized by the treaties as a fully-fledged institution) with the ramped-up debate on democratic control and the transparency of the decision-making process in Europe, Hermans noted that whereas such control and transparency were repeatedly called for by the Northern European countries, they were entirely opposed by the member states in the south (Hermans, 2004: 201). This — as *Uitgerekend Europa* goes on to say — translated into an even more intergovernmentalistic Union, or in other words, into a weakening of the Commission and a resulting tendency on the part of the large states to “be less shy about throwing their weight behind decisions to the detriment of the smaller countries” (*Ibidem*). This was bound to cause particular apprehension in the Netherlands, who as we know cited the need for a balance of power and influence between the six founding signatories of the European Coal and Steel Community as a reason for demanding that the supranational High Authority be flanked by the intergovernmental Special Council of Ministers.

And so, to sum up before moving on to another topic, we can say that Dutch scholars’ reflections on the EU’s democratic deficit touch on a number of the thorniest issues, or rather, the unsolved problems, of the relationship between the Netherlands and Europe. As we have seen, the first is the *vexata quaestio* of the balance of power between large and small countries, a question hinging — and by no means incidentally — on self-perceptions and perceptions of otherness. Nor is this all. The problem of the gulf between the EU and its citizens is also linked to the question of different traditions and outlooks, of the gap between Northern and Southern Europe, and, by extension, of the Netherlands’ uneasy residence in post-Brexit Europe, not to mention of all the issues associated with identity and values. These are the themes we will address in the following pages.

2. Unity in diversity?

We have mentioned two of the recurrent topics in Dutch textbooks on the history of European integration: the unsteady equilibrium between the Union’s large and small states that, always taking into consideration a

certain well known Dutch perspective, has plagued the EU since the early days of integration and was the reason the ECSC's Special Council of Ministers was proposed and set up, and the strained dialog between the Union's Northern and Southern reaches.

Starting from the first of these questions, we find an explicit reference to the long-standing dichotomy between “*grote en kleine lidstaten*” (Large and small EU Member states) in the most dated — if we may be allowed the term — of the books surveyed here, *Europa. Het spel en de knikkers*. Published in 1983 and intended for a general audience, the book calls the European construction “*een geluk voor de kleine landen*” (a godsend for the small states), thanks to the “*EG extra vertegenwoordigd, in alle organen*” (overrepresentation in all the EEC institutions) and above all because they can act together as a cohesive whole, as in the specific case of the three Benelux countries (Naets, van der Werf, 1983: 161). This, aside from presenting a positive assessment of the Community's role as a guarantor, entails a dichotomous view of the common European edifice, if not indeed one of permanent contrast between the large and small partner states. Such a perspective, albeit framed in other terms and starting from different assumptions, can be found in *Europa in alle staten*, where we read that at least until the first expansion “the consolidation of political power relations in the new Europe [was] the result of struggle between the larger and smaller member states and between member states and European institutions” (van Meurs et al., 2013: 17). This injects a third component — the European institutions — into the complicated dynamics between actors of mismatched size. The theme is taken up again by Boxhoorn and Jansen, who argue that European integration was seen from the outset as an effective way of preventing the great continental powers from overwhelming the smaller countries, as well as of guaranteeing a climate of civil dealings among sovereign states. In other words, the Six opted for a community chiefly as a means of achieving a balance of power (*machtsevenwicht*) between the partners. While this was undoubtedly true for the government in The Hague, it may have been less so for other countries. And yet, many Dutch historians of European integration undeniably regard the question as absolutely central. For example, the historical reconstruction offered by Mathieu Segers at the beginning of the textbook edited by Anna van der Vleuten opens by stating that the “logic of the balance of power” (*logica van het machtsevenwicht*) has dominated postwar

European politics together with the “dilemma of security” (Segers, 2018: 15). In any case, Segers continues, balance and security were also the lynchpins of Monnet’s first idea of cooperation in 1943, an idea that was then honed into the functionalist formula at the roots of the European community (Ivi: 17).

As we mentioned previously, the circumstances surrounding the introduction of ECSC’s Special Council of Ministers were directly connected with maintaining a balance between large and small states. Each of the surveyed textbooks devotes considerable space to how events unspooled from the time the idea was advanced by the Dutch government, discussing the content and rationale for the initiative and, in some cases, the efforts of Dirk Spierenburg, who represented the government at the negotiating table. Luuk van Middelaar even presents the dialog between Monnet and Spierenburg that preceded the official negotiations (van Middelaar, 2015: 71-73), observing that the compromise that led to the Council of Ministers was “the best that could have been achieved for Europe” (Ivi: 73). Jules Hermans also homes in on these events, though he argues that the sole aim pursued by Spierenburg — read: the Dutch government — was to “limit the powers of the High Authority to the greatest possible extent” (J. Hermans, 2004: 72) and, consequently, to provide individual states with the utmost freedom to express their will, which for the small countries was a crucial safeguard against permanent subjection to the larger partners.

In this connection, however, Hermans makes another important point that also ties in with the EU’s North/South question. He notes that protecting the “little countries”, which once fell entirely to the intergovernmental institution, is now the responsibility of the Commission, i.e., the quintessential supranational body. This signals a shift in perspective that is far from irrelevant, especially for a state like the Netherlands which has perennially hovered between being a faithful interpreter of British-style Euroscepticism or a staunch advocate of an increasingly supranational, if not indeed federal, Union. It goes without saying that Brexit dealt a blow to the Netherlands’ alliances in European institutions (this is clearly described in the book edited by Anna van der Vleuten), as it tore a gaping hole in that “coalition of Northwestern Europe” — made up of Denmark, Finland, Ireland and Sweden as well as Holland. At the same time, Brexit also forced the Netherlands to seek

out reliable new partners sharing the same principles and goals in Eastern and Southern Europe¹¹.

It should be added that Anna van der Vleuten's edited volume, and in particular the chapter dealing with borders by Carlos Reijnen, returns frequently to the tensions and "contradictions" between Northern Europe and Southern Europe, as well as to the split between the Western and Eastern states. It seems, at least from a Dutch vantage point, almost as if the continent were intersected by dividing lines of all kinds, economic and cultural even more than political. Concentrating on the North/South division, Carlos Reijnen argues that the financial crisis brought the full extent of the gap between the two regions to light, in terms of how they handled the crisis and of their long-term economic planning. Likewise, *Europa in alle staten* maintains that the 2009 crisis played a decisive part in lifting the veil from the "structural causes" afflicting the Southern European states: "an inefficient and disproportional state bureaucracy, widespread corruption and mass tax evasion" (van Meurs et al., 2013: 272). In addition to casting light on the Northern European governments' mistrust of their Southern counterparts, this revealed that EU solidarity has rather clear "limits" (Ivi: 16). The moment that was most emblematic of this mistrust — according to Harmen Binnema — was Mario Draghi's appointment as president of the ECB in 2011. This was viewed with concern, especially in Germany and the Netherlands, given that "Mario Draghi, as a 'Southern president' (*Zuidelijke president*), would presumably not be able to perform his duties with the necessary parsimony and rigor" (Binnema, 2018: 173). This expectation was soon belied by Draghi's more-than-convincing performance throughout his term, as Binnema himself readily acknowledges.

¹¹ "The United Kingdom will leave the European Union. Brexit is important for the Netherlands, because the Netherlands and the United Kingdom see eye to eye on many issues, such as economic policy, energy liberalization, the environment and social policy, and the control of European finances. With a smoothly operating internal market, the Dutch and British negotiators often worked together. With the United Kingdom out of the picture, the Netherlands, together with Denmark, Sweden, Ireland and Finland, will lose a coalition partner. This Northern European coalition's voting power in the Council is also shrinking. This is why the Dutch government pays increasing attention to how European policy is set in the Commission and the European Parliament. The government is also seeking to form alternative coalitions with other countries. For this purpose, good contacts with the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe are important. The Netherlands is thus working to reinforce such contacts". (M. van Keulen, 2018: 295-296).

In Harmen Binnema's view, the North/South split takes on the contours — less defined, perhaps, but nevertheless perceptible — of contrasting cultures and values, or the “difficulty in stating shared principles in concrete terms” (Ivi: 314). Indeed, as Binnema observes, efforts to stitch the continent's two regions together by appealing to “typically European values and principles” (*Ibidem*) seem only to have deepened the divide, adding layers of complexity to a picture that was already complicated enough. Essentially, then, even when values are shared and formally acknowledged throughout the EU — that of democracy, for instance — we see substantive differences emerging in how they are interpreted and applied in the Northern and Southern regions, and in the older and younger members of the Union. For all its upbeat bravado, the EU's motto, “Unity in Diversity”, cannot gainsay the crushing uncertainty surrounding how this diversity is to be managed in actual fact, or how states that are culturally so far apart can find common ground for dialog, especially after the enlargements expected for the future. This, at any rate, is the most common view in The Hague and thereabouts.

3. A long common history

One of the most strikingly original features of Dutch-language textbooks of European integration history is their periodization, which presents continental unification as a *longue durée* process, at least as regards its ideational tension and cultural underpinnings, and is thus no longer fenced in by the notion that Europe's shared history started only after the Second World War. Luuk van Middelaar's book even traces the origins of the “Concert of Europe” (*Het Europese concert*)¹² back to the sixteenth century (van Middelaar, 2015: 33), revealing dynamics — such as the closed loop running from a stable balance of power (*machtsbalans*) to wars, changing alliances, and then to treaties resulting in a new balance

¹² “The Concert of Europe had existed since the sixteenth century. Political relationships between states, visible in shifting national boundaries and changing alliances, were shaped by a balance of power. That was the unwritten rule that sustained the system. The balance was upset by every war or threat of war, and was recovered through negotiations, concessions and compromises at the next peace conference. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) after the Thirty Years War and the Napoleonic Wars respectively, brought about a drastic reordering of borders and alliances. The Paris conference that resulted in the Treaty of Versailles (1919) after the First World War is a more recent example.” (L. van Middelaar, 2015: 33).

— which were repeated over and over in the Old Continent, almost in the same way, until World War II. And it does not end there. Van Middelaar also devotes considerable space to seventeenth and eighteenth century thinkers, and especially to the work of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, which he regards as essential to understanding the passage from the nation-state to European unification and, to an even greater extent, the current debate on eliminating the veto.

Given its long-term perspective, van Middelaar's book differs from the other textbooks in having little to say about the theoretical thinking of the interwar years. In this respect, the book edited by Anna van der Vleuten is another exception, as it is the only narrative that begins in the postwar period. Above all, it stands out for its multidisciplinary approach and thematic organization. In addition, it focuses on the EU as it is today (its institutions and the economic, social and political issues it now faces) rather than on its history, which is covered only in the first of the book's seventeen chapters. In sharp contrast, most of the other textbooks take a monodisciplinary approach and favor a chronological narrative, though they may explore specific themes after presenting the integration process as a whole.

To return to the question of periodization, both *Europa in alle Staten* and *De integratie van Europa* open with the Congress of Vienna, regarding it as the starting point of the unending pursuit of a "balance of power" between the continent's heavyweights; as we have seen, most Dutch historians of European integration consider this pursuit to be the main driver of unification. In this connection, the book by Bram Boxhoorn and Max Jansens is particularly noteworthy, as it features an ample discussion of the entire season of peace conferences and, more generally, the emergence of pacifism as the theoretical basis for imagining future inter-European relations. The book divides the preliminaries to the integration process into two lengthy periods of preparation (1814-1914 and 1914-1945) each of which, according to the authors' Durosellian perspective, furthered the idea of "Europe as unity" (*Het idee van Europa als eenheid*) in important ways. The first period saw the "United States of Europe" become much more than an occasional rallying cry, as well as the contributions of individuals such as Adam Smith and Victor Hugo, and the "the political plans of Napoleon III to construct the United States of Europe" (Boxhoorn, Jansen, 2002: 36-37). In the second period, ideological aspirations took firmer form in the plans advanced by Aristide Briand and Richard Couden-

hove-Kalergi. As regards the latter, Boxhoorn and Jansen recall the Austrian count's meeting with Mussolini in May 1933 to discuss the Pan-europa project, an episode they argue demonstrates that even "the promoters of authoritarian and fascist ideas" (Ivi: 54) nurtured an interest in continental unity, though with differences "from regime to regime" (*Ibidem*) and certainly without offering their "unconditional approval" (Ivi: 55). In addition to this interest in Italy, which in any case can be seen fairly frequently in Dutch textbooks on European integration¹³, attention is no less frequently directed towards the ideas of unification that arose in Nazi Germany, not only among Hitler's opponents, but even among his closest associates. Boxhoorn and Jansen point to the mentions of a "*nieuwe orde*" (new order) and a "*nieuwe Europa*" (new Europe) made in 1943 by the Third Reich's Foreign Ministry, admittedly with "anti-Bolshevik" intent, but explicitly alluding to "a Pan-European organization", albeit one centering chiefly on economic cooperation between Germany and the other European states (Boxhoorn, Jansen; 2002: 55).

The European vision that developed in Nazi Germany is explored even more thoroughly in *Europa in alle staten*. The authors devote an entire section to "*Hitlers Nieuwe Orde en het federalistische Europa van het verzet*" (Hitler's New Order and the Federalist Europe of the Resistance), dealing in particular with Albert Speer, a key economic figure in the Third Reich who during the war had proposed an organization similar to the ECSC in its economic goals, though undemocratic in nature, as well with the far better known Rudolf Hess, Hitler's "right-hand man" (*plaatsvervanger*), who not infrequently voiced his appreciation of Coudenhove-Kalergi's project. Nor do they neglect the plan presented by the German minister for Economic Affairs on July 25, 1940, which resembled the European Payment Union subsequently created in August 1950 (van Meurs et al., 2013: 36). As the authors of *Europa in alle staten* point out, although more than a few plans were put forth in Nazi Germany, including one for a customs union, none managed to become a priority for the political leadership. It was thus up to the organized Resistance to develop a "vision for Europe", i.e., coherent plans for the future of the continent. Varying in their ambi-

¹³ For one example out of many, see the chapter by L.F. Bruyning, *De europese gedachte: gebruik en misbruik van een idee*, in W.A.F. Camphuis and C.G.J. Wildeboer Schut, eds. (1991), *Europese Eenwording in historisch perspectief*, which describes the interesting parallels between Italian history (specifically, the Risorgimento and the Mussolini years) and the history of European integration.

tion, some of these plans (like that by Carl Goerdeler) were intended chiefly to forestall the Soviet advance, while others proposed by the Kreisauer Kreis championed federalism or the principle of subsidiarity.

For the later years, from the postwar period onwards, there is a fairly consistent tendency to narrate the progress of integration decade by decade, but identifying certain key moments that virtually all the textbooks regard as decisive in speeding or slowing the process of unification, or in inaugurating a new season in Europe's shared journey. Specifically, these key episodes are the Cold War, decolonization, the Beyen Plan and the Treaties of Rome, the Empty Chair crisis and the Gaullist period in general, as well as the Treaty of Maastricht from the preparations of the Eighties to its entry in force in November 1993. For the books published after 2004, these moments of major historical significance also include the story of the Constitutional treaty, from the work of the Convention to the referendums that rejected it.

4. Being Europeans

Our last few remarks have illuminated an all too clear — though never openly admitted — feature of Dutch university textbooks on the history of European integration: their tendency to magnify the scope and significance of those moments or processes that played a decisive part in Dutch domestic affairs or bear witness to some vital contribution that the Netherlands made to the European construction.

This is not to say that these episodes or phenomena are in themselves irrelevant or lacking in significance for the history of the community. To take only the examples of US influence, the Cold War and decolonialization, there can be no doubt that they had direct, profound repercussions on the Old Continent's push towards unification. But this does not mean that they had the same centrality, the same weight, or the same impact on deciding to join the Community for all governments as they did for The Hague. By the same token, we can perhaps say that there is no universal consensus regarding Hermans' argument that "the term integration" was "cooked up by the Americans" to contrast the perceived threat of "disintegration" and then transposed by Schuman in his celebrated *Déclaration* (Hermans, 2004: 3). Likewise, we could take issue with Boxhoorn and Jansen's statement that "the form and content of the cooperation

between Western European states was irrevocable determined by three international questions: the Cold War, decolonization and Germany”¹⁴ (Boxhoorn, Jansen, 2004: 97).

In other words, at least on first examination, it would appear that in selecting what to stress and what topics to cover, as well as how they should be interpreted, the Dutch narrative of the history of integration favors a national rather than European perspective.

Be that as it may, however, it must also be admitted that this approach has at least two positive corollaries. First, it means that Dutch textbooks illustrate and discuss aspects, episodes and people that are undoubtedly less familiar to an international audience, scholars included. From this standpoint, the most emblematic case is that of *Uitgerekend Europa*, which devotes an entire chapter to the two-fold and antithetical function of Benelux as the “model and bugbear” of European integration (Hermans, 2004: 31-47). The Benelux experience had a direct precedent in another experiment in economic cooperation between states that is little known or at least rarely mentioned in integration history textbooks published outside of the Netherlands. This was the Oslo Convention, signed in December 1930 by Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg and intended to lower the barriers to international trade. In July 1932, the Oslo accord inspired the “more ambitious” Ouchy Convention (van Meurs et al., 2013: 34), also centering specifically on trade and also cited regularly in Dutch textbooks.

The same can be said of the key figures and their contributions discussed in the surveyed textbooks. Alongside the usual roster — Mitrany¹⁵, Monnet, Spinelli, Schuman, Adenauer, Spaak, Delors, Mitterrand and Kohl — we find figures such as Dirk Spierenburg, mentioned above in connection with the ECSC Council of Ministers; Max Kohnstamm, self-declared “lobbyist for Europe” and Monnet’s faithful follower, who even during the war advocated a “European solution” for Ger-

¹⁴ “In the Fifties, three international problems determined the form and content of cooperation between Western European states. The three international questions that led Western European states to adopt integration as a means of cooperation—the Cold War, decolonization and Germany—had already made themselves felt at the end of the preceding decade, but intensified in the Fifties”.

¹⁵ It should be noted that Hermans mistakenly states that David Mitrany was Canadian: “De Canadees David Mitrany had al vroeg in de jaren veertig de toon gezet voor het functionalisme.” (Hermans, 2004: 3). This error also appears in the first edition of 1996.

many (Segers, 2015: 21); Johan Willem Beyen and Sicco Mansholt, better known to the general public for their crucial contributions to the 1955 “relaunch” and the CAP; Joseph Luns, whom van Middelaar credits with introducing the idea of “the interests of the Community” at the time of the Luxembourg Compromise (van Middelaar, 2009: 105) and according to Guido Naets and Hans van der Werf was “on the barricades” in fighting de Gaulle’s attempts to crush supranational Europe (Naets, van der Werf: 1983: 38); and Hendrik Brugmans, the federalist who in Hermans’ view was unjustly pushed off the stage by the “*koopman*” (salesman) Monnet in the pantheon of Europe’s founding fathers (Hermans, 1996: 198).

As for the second corollary, all of what we have just described seems almost intended to emphasize that the idea of European cooperation, and especially of economic cooperation, was also cultivated and bore fruit in the Northern European states — spearheaded by the Netherlands — that are better known for their caution and resistance to supranational unification than for pro-European fervor. This message is addressed to the other continental partners, to be sure, but also to the Dutch readers who in the final analysis are the intended recipients of the textbooks we have surveyed here, readers who are implicitly invited to rediscover and return to their own continental dimension and their own European culture.

5. Sources, notes, historiography and bibliography

As we mentioned earlier, most Dutch-language textbooks were written by historians. This is an important point, as it explains their rigorous use of primary sources — van Middelaar’s book being an excellent example — extensive footnotes or endnotes — especially in the case of Boxhoorn and Jansen — and rich bibliographies.

In this connection, *Europa in alle staten* deserves special attention. Rather than citing its sources case by case and thus burdening itself with many notes, the book opens and closes each chapter with a discussion of the theories underpinning the described processes, a review of the relevant historiography, and a description of the archival material consulted and available to scholars for each historical moment examined in the text. As the book points out, the historian can draw on “a full range of sources” including “official documents, internal documents and correspondence from the archives, speeches, media reports and the memoirs of the civil

servants and politicians involved” (van Meurs et al., 2013: 294)¹⁶. Interestingly, the book notes that “egodocuments” must be analyzed critically, as they can be less than entirely reliable, especially in the case of diaries, memoirs and autobiographies, though they are nevertheless valuable as sources (*bronnen*). Likewise, it regrets that it is impossible to gain further insights by interviewing the protagonists of the time, nearly all of whom have since died. Hence the importance of egodocuments, as they can provide “a glimpse behind the scenes and show what was locked away in utmost secrecy” (van Meurs et al., 2013: 71).

Europa in alle staten also offers a detailed overview of the archives of material for European studies, belonging both to the national bodies dealing with European policy — which “contain important sources that can shed new light on the interaction between national governments and European institutions” (Ivi: 21) — and to the European institutions themselves. The national and European policy documents available online are mentioned as being especially useful for analyzing “current or very recent policy processes”, as no systematic archives yet exist (Ivi: 294).

Mention should also be made of the problematic approach taken by Hermans and the textbook edited by Anna van der Vleuten. Both books feature an appendix containing the questions addressed in each chapter as an aid to students preparing for their exams. Something similar is provided in the online version of *Bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie*, which has a section entitled “Online studiemateriaal” (online study material), with 1) open-ended questions, 2) topics, 3) multiple choice questions, a quiz on the concepts, a set of links, and a list of recommended reading. Instructors can also access answers to the open-ended questions.

6. Building an identity. A few concluding remarks

We will now turn to the question of identity, which not only recurs frequently in the textbooks, but also seems to offer the best framework for some final thoughts. As a starting point, we will take Luuk van Middelaar’s conviction that there has long been a “sense of a shared European historical and cultural space” (van Middelaar, 2015: 46). Similar observations can be found in *Uitgerekend Europa*, where they are taken a step further: Hermans argues that there is an ongoing process in the EU towards

¹⁶ Personal documents of any kind are evocatively referred to as “egodocuments”.

“the discovery of our own identity”, seen as “looking for our own past, for the traditions in which we are rooted” (Hermans, 2004: 203). Put differently, this means that European culture is an aspect of identity that can be extraordinarily powerful and effective in “steering the future of integration”, and should thus be cultivated in all its “rich complexity” (*Ibidem*). Nevertheless, as the authors of *Europa in alle staten* note in following a strand of thought currently engaging Dutch historians¹⁷, there is still a clear “tension between European identity and national identity” (van Meurs et al., 2013: 279) expressed in the largely psychological resistance shown by the citizens of the EU to identifying with Europe as a political community.

In other words — coming back to a concept we expressed at the outset and which underpins most of the textbooks examined here — when all is said and done, the great weakness of this European construction which aspires to be, in van Middelaar’s phrase, “the Europe of States, of Citizens and of Offices” (van Middelaar, 2015: 17) lies in the essential area of citizenship. Accordingly, the textbooks conclude with a sober assessment of the root causes of this weakness, together with a review of the measures that have been planned or adopted to correct it.

One such corrective is “the promotion of European identity amongst a political community and the gradual creation of a European cultural policy”, to quote *Europa in alle staten* once again. Hence, according to the book, the EU institutions’ fielding of “state-like symbols and rituals as well as schooling, mobilization and networking initiatives” (van Meurs et al., 2013: 284). But not only. The invitation implicit in *Europa in alle staten* is also addressed to historians, who are urged to seek a better understanding of the meaning and content of a territory that “historians are only beginning to explore” (*Ibidem*), viz., European citizenship, especially as regards the transfer to the EU institutions of what has always been the “classic and exclusive prerogative of the nation-state”: the rights and protections available to citizens, the right to vote, and so forth. As the book concludes, “policy fields, identity and representation are new topics of study. Consequently, relations between Europe and its citizens, or between transnational interest groups and European institutions, come to the fore” (Ivi: 284).

¹⁶ Take, for example, Justus de Visser’s *Spagaat óf balans*, which focuses specifically on this theme.

Very briefly stated, then, our survey of Dutch textbooks of European integration has brought a new and vital function of history to light: that of interpreting and identifying unprecedented processes, but also of smoothing communication between the public and the institutions, be they European or national, with the common goal of consolidating the shared cultural heritage, and of building — where necessary — or strengthening — where it now exists — a European *demos* with a recognized and recognizable identity of its own.

- Binnema Harmen (2018). “De kloof tussen de burger en Brussel”. In: Anna van der Vleuten (ed.). *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie, Instellingen, besluitvorming en beleid*. Bussum: Coutinho, 265-282.
- Boxhoorn Bram, Jansen Max (2002). *De integratie van Europa: een historische balans*. Bussum: Coutinho, 2nd edition (1st edition 1997).
- Bruyning L.F. (1991). “De Europese gedachte: gebruik en misbruik van een idee”. In: W.A.F. Camphuis, C.G.J. Wildeboer Schut. *Europese eenwording in historisch perspectief: factoren van integratie en disintegratie*. Nijmegen: Stichting Annales Noviomanagenses, 10-21.
- Camphuis W.A.F., Wilderboer Schut C.G.J. (1991). *Europese eenwording in historisch perspectief: factoren van integratie en disintegratie*. Nijmegen: Stichting Annales Noviomanagenses.
- Hermans Jules (2004, 1996). *Uitgerekend Europa: geschiedenis van de Europese integratie*. (geactualiseerd door A.G. Harryvan & J. van der Harst). Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 4th edition (1st edition 1996).
- Hoogmoed Sylvester, Monteiro Marty (1995). *Integratie van Europa: geschiedenis, structuur en perspectief van de Europese politiek*. Amsterdam: International Institute of Interdisciplinary Integration. English translation: *Integration of Europe: the history, structure and prospects of European politics*. Amsterdam: International Institute of Interdisciplinary Integration.
- Lenders Wile P.H. (2004). “Voorwoord”. In: Hermans Jules. *Uitgerekend Europa: geschiedenis van de Europese integratie* (geactualiseerd door A.G. Harryvan & J. van der Harst). Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis XI-XIII.
- Keulen Mendeltje van (2018). “Retourtje Brussel-Den Haag: Nederland in de EU”. In: Anna van der Vleuten (ed.). *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie, Instellingen, besluitvorming en beleid*. Bussum: Coutinho, 283-300.
- Naets Guido (1979). *Europa ABC*. Leuven: Davidsfonds.
- Naets Guido, Werf Hans van der (1983). *Europa: het spel en de knikkers*. Antwerpen-Amsterdam: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel-Becht.
- Reijnen Carlos (2018). “De grenzen van Europa”. In: Anna van der Vleuten (ed.). *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie, Instellingen, besluitvorming en beleid*. Bussum: Coutinho, 301-315.
- Segers Mathieu (2018). “Van slagveld tot onderhandelingstafel: de geschiedenis van de Europese samenwerking”. In: Anna van der Vleuten (ed.). *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie, Instellingen, besluitvorming en beleid*. Bussum: Coutinho, 15-37.
- Segers Mathieu (2016). *Europa en de terugkeer van de geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Segers Mathieu (2013). *Reis naar het continent. Nederland en de Europese integratie, 1950 tot heden*. Amsterdam: Bakker.

van Meurs Wim, De Bruin Robin, Hoetink Carla, Leeuwen Karin van, Reijnen Carlos, Grift Liesbeth van de (2013). *Europa in alle staten. Zestig jaar geschiedenis van de Europese integratie*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Visser Justus de (2019). *Spagaat of balans. Een verkenning van de nooit eindigende spanning tussen nationalisme en Europese integratie*. Maastricht: Uitgave van Boekenplan.

Vleuten Anna van der (ed.) (2018, 1997). *De bestuurlijke kaart van de Europese Unie, Instellingen, besluitvorming en beleid*. Bussum: Coutinho, 5th edition (1st edition 1997).

Voorhoeve Joris J.C. (1979). *Peace, Profits and Principles. A study of Dutch Foreign Policy*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff.

Paths of Portuguese Literature on the European Construction and the Integration of Portugal in the European Project

Isabel Maria Freitas Valente, Eliane Cristina da Silva Nascimento

1. Introduction

Taking stock of academic production in a given area of knowledge means trying to understand which “aspects and dimensions [have] received the greatest emphasis in different times and places”¹. As part of the Images of European Integration History Project, this chapter will seek to understand the trajectory taken by the theme of European integration in publications intended for higher education by Portuguese authors. Our objective is not to present an exhaustive literature review, but to offer a thematic analysis based on publications adopted as textbooks² in Portuguese universities, and which deal with the European construction and Portugal’s integration in the European project.

Currently, Portuguese universities offer eight undergraduate programs, eight master’s degree programs, one PhD program and two postdoctoral programs in European Studies, so many of the publications serve the needs of these programs. To give an example, the first training course in European Studies for high-ranking state officials dates back to 1980, and was held at the National Institute of Administration, which published the first textbook in 1981³.

The remainder of this chapter will be organized in two sections. The first, consisting of two subsections, will provide a chronological overview of the textbooks considered here, focusing on the themes proposed by the authors.

¹ Ferreira Norma (2002). “As pesquisas denominadas ‘Estado da Arte’”. *Educação & Sociedade*, 79, 257-272: 258.

² In Portugal, the term textbook applies to books adopted in secondary education. In higher education, the idea of a textbook is not limited to works classified as such, but also to applies books of acknowledged academic relevance and which are often used as a basic bibliography for academic disciplines.

³ Guerra Ruy Teixeira, Ferreira Antonio de Siqueira, Magalhães José Calvet de (1981). *Movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Administração.

A more detailed explanation will also be provided, with greater emphasis on the core issues pursued in the textbooks.

The second section will offer a historical summary of the process of European integration in Portugal.

In broad terms, this chapter will attempt to achieve two essential objectives: to understand the process of European construction as well as Portugal's integration in this project, and the interpretation given by the textbooks and their authors.

1.1 Methodological notes

Forty books were selected from the Portuguese-language literature dealing with the history of European construction, which also includes the history of Portugal's integration in this process. Drawn from various fields of knowledge, the books — all by Portuguese authors — were selected on the basis of being regarded as required reading in higher education programs, which in Portugal means that they are classified as textbooks.

To present an overview, the first stage of the analysis consisted of specifying the following data for each work: year of publication; area of knowledge; type of periodization; perspective adopted (national or European); single- or multidisciplinary approach; and type of publisher.

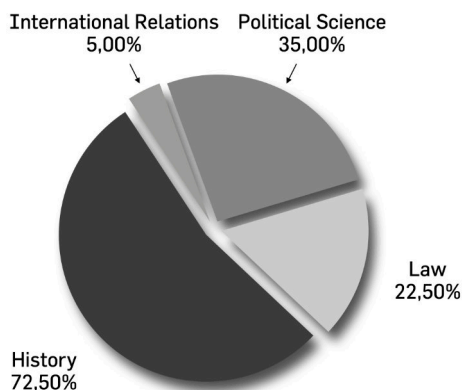
The next step was to identify and bring together the main themes present in the textbooks, i.e., the aspects emphasized by Portuguese authors in narrating the history of European integration.

2. Portuguese literature on the European construction and Portugal's integration

2.1 General data

The books selected for this study are distributed among four areas of knowledge, with History being the predominant area (Graph 1).

Knowledge Areas
Graph 1: Distribution of selected Portuguese literature on European integration by area of knowledge
(Source: authors' calculations)⁴



⁴ The sum of the percentages exceeds 100%, as some books are referenced in more than one area of knowledge.

In grouping the textbooks by year of release, we see that the first publication dates from 1981, followed by a decade-long gap until the second publication in 1991, and that the years 2007 and 2011 had the highest numbers of published works (Table 1).

Methodologically, thirty-three of the forty books are organized by historical themes, which will be presented in the next section; those that are organized chronologically (five) do so through periodization by decades, by dates of crucial events for integration, by historical periods and by phases of the integration process. Two books mix chronology and thematic history. There is also an abundant use of primary sources, such as original texts of treaties, interviews, photographs and documents from ministerial meetings and agreements.

The predominant initial timeframe is the post-World War II period, although in a few books Greek mythology is used to provide a historical retrospective of the idea of Europe⁵.

There is a certain balance in the authors' approaches to the history of European integration: nineteen books take a single-disciplinary approach (History or Law), while— twenty books and a dictionary take a multidisciplinary approach. As for the perspective adopted by the authors, eighteen books were written from a national perspective; sixteen from a European perspective; and five take a hybrid perspective.

Year of Publication	Number of Books
1981	1
1991	2
1997	1
2000	1
2001	2
2003	2
2005	3
2006	1
2007	5
2010	3
2011	5
2012	1
2013	2
2014	3
2015	2
2016	1
2017	4
2019	1
Total	40

Table 1: Number of books by year of publication
(Source: authors' calculations)

⁵ See Ribeiro Maria Manuela Tavares (2003). *A Ideia de Europa – Uma perspectiva histórica*. Quarteto; Campos João Mota de, Campos João Luís Mota de (2007). *Manual de Direito Comunitário: O sistema institucional – A ordem jurídica – O ordenamento económico da União Europeia*. 5ª Edição. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora; Gorjão-Henriques Miguel (2003). *Direito Comunitário. Sumários Desenvolvidos*. 2ª edição. Coimbra: Almedina; Valério Nuno (2010). *História da União Europeia*. Queluz de Baixo: Editorial Presença.

Lastly, grouping books by type of publisher shows that commercial publishers prevail (twenty-eight), followed by public institutions (seven), university publishers (four) and one classified as independent.

2.2 Thematic paths

This section presents the core themes that Portuguese authors use in addressing the history of the European construction and Portugal's integration in the European project.

In general, the books that focus on European issues engage in political, economic and legal analyses, at times highlighting aspects of federalism in the legal structures of the European Union.

Among the authors who express positions, the federalist approach predominates, though nuanced views are also presented, such as the defense of neo-federalism as a promising opportunity for overcoming the tension between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism⁶, as well as the statement that

[...] this is not the appropriate place or time for an analysis of the federal conception of the European construction, given the multiple meanings of the terms and contents inherent to it. [...] its value, today and for now, is greater as a future process and strategy than as an explanatory model of the legal and political reality⁷.

References to the idea of Europe as security, prosperity and democracy are reinforced by noting that Europe can also be a way of responding to the globalization movement. Peace as a fundamental value of the integration process is a factor that should not be forgotten⁸, and indeed, one of the books is a collection of articles exclusively dedicated to “thinking peace” by personalities who did so between 1849 and 1939⁹.

The question of European identity is seen as a challenge to national identity. Despite a Europeanist feeling, the European Union still seems to

⁶ Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís (2005). *Construir a Europa – O processo de integração entre a teoria e a história*. Cascais: Editora Príncipe.

⁷ Gorjão-Henriques Miguel (2003). *Direito Comunitário. Sumários Desenvolvidos*. 2ª edição. Coimbra: Almedina, 27.

⁸ Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís, *Construir a Europa ...*, op. cit.

⁹ Ribeiro Maria Manuela Tavares, Rollo Maria Fernanda, Valente Isabel Maria Freitas (eds.) (2014). *Pela Paz! For Peace! Pour la Paix! (1849-1939)*. Bern, Switzerland: P.I.E-Peter Lang S.A.

be something external to people or a second-order identity. One of the books analyzes the role of Christianity in constructing an idea of Europe, and the author introduces the text by stating that “Christianity was the great element of European unity, capable of impressing all Europeans with a common shared identity”¹⁰.

A forward-looking perspective is also evident in the concern for Europe’s future. Authors taking this perspective address such themes as Europe in a globalized world, the challenges of enlargement, including future ones, and the need for bold responses to the crises and transitions of the 21st century.

Lastly, we come the theme that pervades twenty-two of the selected books and which will be studied in depth in the next section of this text — Portugal’s integration in the European project.

This theme was analyzed from various standpoints, from the negotiation stages, through the political and diplomatic aspects of Portugal’s application for membership in the European Community; impacts of integration on democracy, adaptation of national structures, economic, political and social evolution; the period of Salazarist Portugal and the transition to democracy and decolonization; Portuguese participation in collective institutions and, very prominently, the importance of national figures. To help understand this story, the books present the thoughts, actions, testimonies and writings of the main protagonists of Portugal’s process of accession to Europe, including José Calvet de Magalhães, Ruy Teixeira Guerra, Valentim Xavier Pintado, José da Silva Lopes, João Cravinho, António de Siqueira Ferreira, Ernâni Rodrigues Lopes, Jaime Gama and Mário Soares.

It can be inferred that the approach to narrating the history of the European construction in terms of the history of Portugal’s integration reflects a concern with the Portuguese public’s involvement in this process.

The European issue in Portugal has always been a matter for academic and political elites. Calvet de Magalhães, one of the leading figures of Portugal’s participation in economic cooperation movements in the post-World War II years, was a pioneer in these issues, as he criticized the Portuguese public’s lack of interest and even a certain disbelief in European affairs¹¹. The concern remains: as Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes¹² point

¹⁰ Amaral Carlos E. Pacheco (ed.) (2015). *Cristianismo e Europa*. Coimbra: Almedina/CEIS20.

¹¹ Valente Isabel Maria Freitas (2015). *Calvet de Magalhães: Pensamento e Acção*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG.

¹² Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís (2005). *Construir a Europa – O processo de integração entre a teoria e a história*. Cascais: Editora Príncipeia, 21.

out in the introduction to their 2005 book, “debate and information on Portugal's European option” is still important.

Accordingly, the third part of this chapter will demonstrate that Portugal's approach to international movements resulted mainly from a combination of various personal efforts and initiatives, rather than being the outcome of a conscious government policy. We will thus analyze Portugal's integration in the European construction as a full member of the European Economic Community on the basis of how these movements are reflected in the literature used in higher education.

This literature can be grouped by four major themes:

- Political-legal analysis of the European Union
- Portugal and international organizations
- Portugal and the European construction
- The milestone of 20-25 years of Portuguese integration.

3. Historical summary

As we know, the genesis and evolution of the Idea of Europe trod a long historical path. It has been a complex process, a movement with continuities, ruptures and contradictions that has always sparked critical dialog and questioning among intellectuals, politicians and many other thinkers. An intense debate of ideas challenged and divided the defenders of different projects: the defenders of federalism and those who share the idea of union.

Was there, in Portugal, room for deep reflection and sufficient clarification on European issues? As a general rule, Portuguese politicians and intellectuals have not always shown much interest in the European movement, nor have they systematically participated in the various international meetings held after World War II.

Between 1945 and 1974, two political factors weighed on Portugal's integration in the process of European unification: the dictatorial nature of the Salazar regime and its tenacious resistance to decolonization. In 1974-1975, the first serious steps were taken towards integrating Portugal in the then EEC, as a strategic objective, and this became a consensual policy of the young democracy's moderate parties.

Europe had to reinvent itself after the torments of war, and one of these forms this reinvention took was that of European cooperation and integ-

ration, in which Portugal and its Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, MNE) participated. The emergence and growth of a pro-European internationalist current in the MNE during the *Estado Novo* (“New State”), is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the post-war history of Portuguese diplomacy.

In fact, ambassadors Ruy Teixeira Guerra and José Thomaz Calvet de Magalhães were two of the protagonists (and not infrequently they acted in what they considered to be the country's interest, without the government's explicit support) of Portugal's internationalization. As such, they were also protagonists of the country's involvement in the European construction, though this was initially presented in the form of cooperation — first with the OEEC (later OECD) in 1948 and the Marshall Plan, then in 1960 with EFTA (and indirectly and consequently in GATT), and lastly in the EEC, with whom Portugal signed a free-trade agreement in 1972.

After April 25, 1974, this rapprochement with Europe continued and EEC membership was taken as a kind of national objective.

3.1 Appearance of a pro-European and internationalist current in the MNE during the *Estado Novo*

At a time when the Portuguese government claimed that the future of Portugal was inextricably linked to our sovereignty over the overseas territories, a small group of diplomats (such as Ruy Teixeira Guerra and Calvet de Magalhães) thought differently. They considered our connection to Europe, a fundamental pillar of our culture, to be essential for future national economic and social development. As Calvet de Magalhães stated,

Initially, our efforts to establish a rapport with the European institutions were mainly the result of a combination of various personal initiatives, rather than a conscious government policy, and I found myself personally connected with these efforts at some crucial moments of this approach. [...] [at the official level] not only was there at that time no enthusiasm on the part of the Portuguese government for the idea of a European union, there was even marked hostility and disbelief about the viability of any initiatives in this direction¹³.

¹³ Magalhães José Calvet de (1981). “Os movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-Guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos”. In: Ruy Teixeira Guerra, A. Siqueira and J. C. Magalhães (eds.). *Os movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos*. Lisboa: INA, 44-45.

Thus, from 1948 Teixeira Guerra, joined by Calvet de Magalhães in 1956, discreetly but persistently exercised a significant influence in bringing Portugal closer to the great European economic organizations that emerged in the post-war period.

It is worth noting that both men were involved from the beginning in the negotiations for cooperating in the OEEC and Marshall Plan and later for the construction of the European union itself (EFTA, EEC). Moreover, Calvet de Magalhães acted simultaneously as the head of the Portuguese delegation to the Committee of European Economic Cooperation and the country's representative in the OEEC/OECD.

It is against this backdrop that we can appreciate these diplomats' strength in making an invaluable contribution to one of Portugal's most fruitful foreign policy strategies — that of the internationalization of the Portuguese economy through full participation in international and European institutions in the aftermath of the war.

In 1956, Calvet de Magalhães was posted to Paris, where his competence and prestige opened the doors of some of the most important institutions for European cooperation. In a flurry of activity, as we shall see, he put his concept of economic diplomacy into practice. João Rosas states that it was with

Calvet de Magalhães that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to take an interest in the economic part of international agreements. Before becoming Secretary General of the MNE, right at the beginning of his career, Calvet had a very important role in the MNE's intervention in economic agreements. He managed to assemble a team of diplomats with economic training and thus created the source of what became the economic diplomacy of the MNE, which took over the economic part of international agreements. Until then, ambassadors were not interested in economics, which was referred to in the corridors of the *Palácio das Necessidades* as “gravel”. In my opinion, this was one of the two reasons that made Calvet de Magalhães' action, as a diplomat, exceptional. The second was the approach and opening to Europe that he provided Portugal. In this area, his negotiating capacity flourished¹⁴.

The success that Calvet de Magalhães had in pursuing his objectives, in achieving Portugal's very much desired (and almost unattainable) participation in the cooperation movements that were then bubbling up in Europe

¹⁴ Interview with João Rosas, Rio de Janeiro, June 20, 2010.

is well known. His appointment in April 1959 as Portugal's representative in the European Coal and Steel Community, and to head the Portuguese delegation in most of the negotiations that gave rise to the EFTA in the same year are an example of this.

The history of our contact and integration with these international organizations was marked not only by Salazar's reserve policy, but also by the real commitment and the persistent, visionary and efficient efforts of diplomats Teixeira Guerra and Calvet de Magalhães, who inaugurated an internationalist and pro-European current in the MNE. This is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of post-war Portuguese diplomatic history.

At first, although Portugal participated actively in drawing up and implementing the Marshall Plan, the Portuguese government refused to accept American financial aid. However, this decision did not change Portugal's standing as a participating country. Portugal continued to take part in the meetings and activities of European countries and was a founding member of the OEEC.

The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Caeiro da Matta, was the spokesman for this position. In taking this stance, Portugal clearly showed that the regime's political and ideological convictions prevailed over the new international realities. In this way, the government intended to keep the country autonomous from an economic point of view, but the truth is that Portugal depended to a great extent on supplies from abroad.

Thus, it was in view of the potential advantages of economic cooperation that Salazar accepted the benefits of the Marshall Plan (November 24, 1948) and that Portugal joined the OECD and later the EFTA. Our country began to receive aid in the second year of the Marshall Plan (1949-1950), and also received direct assistance in the Plan's third year (1950-1951).

The correlation between Portugal's worsening economic and financial situation and the decision to retreat from the initial position of dispensing with American aid is widely recognized.

Given this situation, it is obvious that the Portuguese government would endeavor to ensure that our country was included among the Marshall Plan's beneficiaries. To do so, it enlisted the good offices of its diplomatic representatives, and in this first phase, the importance of Teixeira Guerra's efforts with the US government and the Marshall Plan administration to obtain the maximum amount of financial aid for Portugal should not be underestimated.

In Portugal's European adventure, there was a third actor who showed particular interest in the policy of liberalization and internationalization, i.e., the Europeanization of our country. This was Corrêa d'Oliveira, then an employee at the Ministry of the Economy and our representative on the Trade Committee, the main body of the OEEC. Corrêa d'Oliveira earned Salazar's admiration and sympathy. The government's confidence in him, particularly in matters of foreign trade, combined with the relationships of trust that Corrêa de Oliveira developed with important figures in European political life contributed to "enabling officials who worked in this sector to have access to the political support necessary for the success of its endeavors"¹⁵ during a period in which, as we know, Atlantic and overseas concerns took on greater weight in the conduct of Portuguese foreign policy.

The Circular on European Integration for the Diplomatic Missions of the Council of Ministers (*Circular sobre a Integração Europeia para as Missões Diplomáticas do Conselho de Ministros*) of March 6, 1953, is an example of this. However,

in European affairs, England will continue to be the benchmark. Accordingly, Portugal will closely follow the British positions on this matter until its entry to the EFTA as a founding member¹⁶.

But in 1956, when the British proposed the creation of a European Free Trade Area at the OEEC and unilaterally informed Portugal that only the organization's industrialized countries would be part of this zone and that our country, due to its backwardness, could not join, the Portuguese government reacted with "unusual energy to the British attitude which, by the way, was somewhat arrogant and above all awkward"¹⁷.

It is in this historical, political and economic context that Calvet de Magalhães, as head of our delegation to the OEEC, waged "a tough battle" against the British intention to exclude Portugal from a Free Trade Area which would include the countries that were our main export markets.

Following the British proposal, Working Group no. 17 was created (in

¹⁵ Magalhães José Calvet de, "Os movimentos ...", op. cit., 41.

¹⁶ See Teixeira Nuno Severiano, Pinto António Costa (eds.) (2007: 17). *Portugal e a Integração Europeia. 1945-1986*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores.

¹⁷ See Magalhães José Calvet de (1991). "Salazar e a unidade europeia". In: Hipólito de la Torre Gómez (ed.). *Portugal, Espanha y Europa. Cien años de desafío (1890-1990)*. Mérida: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia/Centro Regional de Extremadura, 138.

June 1956) to study the initiative's feasibility, with our country being represented by Calvet de Magalhães. The positions taken by the Portuguese delegate during the meeting and expressed in his first report guided the Portuguese government's action during the negotiations for the creation of the Free Trade Area.

Calvet de Magalhães presented a cogent argument: Portugal intended to enter the free trade area under a special regime, as it considered itself a developing country.

In this connection, mention should be made of the creation (Working Group no. 17 had completed, but not published, its report) of a

committee in charge of studying the problems relating to the creation and function of the foreign trade area, of December 5, 1956, whose President was Corrêa de Oliveira, then Undersecretary of State for the Budget, and consisting of Ambassador Teixeira Guerra, Director General of Economic Affairs, Tovar de Lemos, President of the Technical Committee for External Economic Cooperation, Fernando Alves Machado, President of the Economic Coordination Commission, Carlos Câmara Pestana, Director General of Customs, and Isabel Magalhães Collaço (...) which prepared a report that was finalized on the following January 28th. This work served as the basis for Portuguese action in the negotiations initiated within the OEEC¹⁸.

The analysis developed in Calvet de Magalhães's report provided the main arguments underpinning the Portuguese position and, specifically, the speech by the Portuguese delegate in Working Group no. 17, Isabel Magalhães Collaço, on November 26, 1956.

On October 17, 1957, an Intergovernmental committee — known as the Maulding Committee — was created to implement the working groups' findings. Portugal was represented by Corrêa de Oliveira and, given the delegate's firm and well-founded position, the committee was forced to create a working group to study the case of Portugal.

Accompanied by Calvet de Magalhães and the Portuguese working group, the committee members and several advisors visited Portugal, finalizing their report, which became known as the Melander Report, on October 22, 1958. However, the Maulding Committee did not discuss Portugal's claims because it was adjourned *sine die* on November 13 as a result of De Gaulle's veto of the continuation of negotiations.

¹⁸ Magalhães José Calvet de, "Salazar e a ...", op. cit., 38-139.

The Melander Report was to be vitally important in the negotiations that followed the failure of the Maulding Committee, and were the basis of the creation of the EFTA and Portugal's integration as a founding member of this small Free Trade Area.

In this connection, the words of Luís Figueira provide useful insight into this period:

When the negotiations for the Maulding Zone failed and, given that the EEC already existed in effect, the British initiative emerged to create a small free trade area for the other six developed countries [...], from which they intended to exclude us given our economic backwardness, we finally came to participate in the more or less secret or informal meetings that then took place (which we had not even been aware of) as a result of the joint action of Ambassadors Calvet de Magalhães, then our Permanent Representative to the OEEC, and Ruy Teixeira Guerra, general director of Economic Affairs at the MNE. [...] Thanks to the careful and efficient diplomatic action, based only on the personal prestige that our two traditional representatives had been able to gain, we were able to avoid being left out of a process that was expected to be important. The negotiation process that led to the creation of the EFTA resulted from these meetings¹⁹.

After the French Minister for Information, Jacques Soustelle, announced the Gaullist government's veto on November 14, 1958, a meeting was scheduled in Geneva to discuss the consequences of the suspension of negotiations. As the Melander Report had not been discussed by the Maulding Committee, Portugal was not invited to this meeting.

Upon learning of this situation, Calvet de Magalhães immediately alerted Corrêa d'Oliveira, then Secretary of State for Commerce, to the vital importance of Portugal being present in Geneva, as there was a risk of being excluded from the two major economic groups in Europe. This would have serious consequences for our exports and for the Portuguese economy in general. Agreeing with the arguments of our ambassador, Corrêa d'Oliveira encouraged Calvet de Magalhães to take all necessary steps to contact the Swiss officials directly.

Thus, Calvet de Magalhães, in concerted action with the Director General of Business, Teixeira Guerra, pressured the Swiss Minister, Hans Shaffner,

¹⁹ Figueira Luís (2003). "Portugal e os movimentos de cooperação e integração económica na Europa". In: Álvaro de Vasconcelos (ed.). *José Calvet de Magalhães. Humanismo Tranquilo*. Lisboa: Principia, 46-47.

to allow Portugal to participate in the meeting on December 1, 1958. The Portuguese presence was accepted, and Calvet de Magalhães and Teixeira Guerra were able to attend the meeting in Geneva.

In this connection, Ambassador Siqueira Freire asks

would we have been admitted to the EFTA if we had not been present at the OEEC? Would we have been able to reach the terms on which we signed the 1972 Agreement with the EEC if we were not in EFTA? Would we have already been able to apply for membership of the Communities as a full member if we had not acquired the image and long experience of European integration acquired in EFTA and in the experience of the 1972 Portugal-EEC Agreement²⁰?

In fact, the knowledge acquired in the two years of negotiations for the EFTA, as well as Portugal's participation in the Marshall Plan and, as a result, in the organizations and economic bodies that followed, such as the OEEC and OECD, were decisive in modernizing the Portuguese economy and in bringing our country closer to Europe.

It should be stressed, however, that the negotiations were not easy for Portugal and without the Melander Report, as Calvet de Magalhães wrote, our country “would have had little chance of becoming a member of the EFTA”²¹.

Calvet de Magalhães headed the Portuguese delegation at all official meetings, which took place in Stockholm and Saltsjöbaden, between March 17 and October 1, 1959. At the last meeting of this nature, which took place in November of that year, he was replaced by Ambassador Teixeira Guerra, as he had been called to Paris when the OEEC became the OECD.

The Portuguese claims materialized in the last negotiation round of 1959, in Stockholm, where Portugal achieved victory on all fronts. According to Corrêa d'Oliveira, “we are part of a group of countries that lead European politics with equal rights, but without equal obligations”²².

In fact, as a signatory to the Stockholm Convention of January 4, 1960, Portugal became a full member of the group of EFTA founding countries, but with a special status — under the provisions of Annex G, modeled on the Melander Report. Annex G listed all the benefits that Por-

²⁰ See Siqueira Freire, “Os Movimentos...”, op. cit., 21.

²¹ See Magalhães José Calvet de (1987-1988). “Portugal e a integração europeia”. *Estratégia*, 4, 46.

²² In ANTT, AOS/CO/EC-17-A, Pt 4, 136.

tugal would enjoy, as well as establishing that overseas territories were excluded from EFTA. Portugal could thus continue to participate in the economic construction taking place in Western Europe without jeopardizing its privileged relationship with the colonies.

This was the argument used by the inter-ministerial commission, chaired by Corrêa d'Oliveira and assisted by Teixeira Guerra and Calvet de Magalhães, to convince prime minister Oliveira Salazar that the compromise reached in the Convention safeguarded the principles defended by the regime and reduced Portugal's international isolation.

The idea that belonging to EFTA would be the ideal solution for Portugal, as it would allow a compromise between the country's European and African interests and leave the overseas territories safe, turned out to be the fundamental turning point of our foreign policy. As a result, on May 18, 1962, the Portuguese government asked to open negotiations with the EEC.

After all the doubts and hesitations, Portugal had started its journey towards Community Europe.

This rapprochement would soon become inevitable in a Europe divided into two separate groups. Two vast areas of free trade in industrial products, the EEC and the EFTA, had been created in Europe. Both had enormous commercial and economic success, demonstrating that liberal theories and freedom should prevail over isolation and protectionism. On August 9, 1961, Great Britain requested admission to the Communities, followed immediately by Denmark and in April of the same year by Norway. Many other EFTA members, the so-called "neutrals", also asked for negotiations to be opened, although they were not aiming at membership of the Communities at the time. This was the case of Portugal, which could not run the risk of isolation. In deciding to join, it was thus fully aware of the enormous difficulties, both political and economic. For this reason, Portugal remained flexible regarding the legal formula to be proposed to the EEC.

Thus, in a letter addressed to the President of the EEC (May 18, 1962), and delivered by Calvet de Magalhães, Portugal requested that talks be initiated with a view to "*établir les termes de la collaboration entre les deux parties sous la forme considérée la plus adéquate*"²³ ²⁴.

²³ See Archives Commission CCE, BAC 3/1978 n. 853/3 1957/1971.

²⁴ "establishing the terms of the collaboration between the two parties in the form considered most appropriate" (loose translation).

It should be mentioned here that Calvet de Magalhães, after having participated actively in the OEEC's expansion and reorganization as the OECD, became our Permanent Representative. About a year later, on April 13, 1962, already bearing the honorary title of Ambassador, he was appointed the first Ambassador of Portugal accredited to the EEC and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The importance of this appointment should be emphasized. Calvet de Magalhães was a well-regarded diplomat in European circles, a convinced Europeanist who realized, from an early age, that the success of the European project was rooted in the matrix of European civilization, in the cohesion of the peoples of Europe and in the longed-for world peace. Furthermore, Portugal, an old European country, could not be alien to this movement. His speech when presenting his credentials to the then President of the EEC Commission, Walter Hallstein, illustrates this. Thus, the President-in-Office of the EEC Council, in a letter dated December 19, 1962, scheduled a hearing to consider Portugal's request on February 11, 1963.

It should be borne in mind that the difficult accession negotiations between Great Britain and the Communities were still going on at this time. Britain's attempts were, however, vetoed by De Gaulle. De Gaulle's removal from the French presidency in April 1969 made it possible for Great Britain to renew its application, and the accession agreements were signed in January 1972.

The Portuguese Government, now headed by Marcello Caetano, requested the President of the EEC Commission, through a Memorandum dated May 28, 1970, to start negotiations with the EEC in order to find a form of connection acceptable to both parties.

To prepare for these negotiations, a Study Committee on European Economic Integration was created by a joint order of the President of the Council Marcello Caetano, the Minister of Finance and the Economy João Dias Rosas and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ruy Patrício, dated March 23, 1970. This committee was tasked with "studying the present situation and future possibilities with regard to the country's participation processes in movements aimed at the economic integration of Europe"²⁵. The committee was chaired by Ambassador Teixeira Guerra, while its vice-chairs were Calvet de Magalhães and Raquel Bethencourt Ferreira.

²⁵ See *Diário do Governo*, No. 69, II Série, of March 23, 1970.

In the course of 1970, the committee prepared an extensive report. A highly technical document, it was of the greatest interest as a rigorous study of the negotiations with the EEC which were to be launched the following November. It addressed the wide range of problems that Portugal would face in its approach to the Common Market. It was considered a “revolutionary” report for the time because — contrary to the doctrine of the *Estado Novo* — it very explicitly recognized that the EEC and its institutions were

the most appropriate way to achieve a reasonable organization of the European space [outside of the Soviet orbit] possibly as the first step in a longer evolution towards the more ambitious goal of the formation of the United States of Europe²⁶.

Furthermore, it considered that the Communities had resulted from the action of a

group of far-sighted Europeans, led by the first French Plan Commissioner, Jean Monnet, who began a courageous campaign to create institutions with central bodies empowered to train and to make programs run for the intelligent and orderly use of existing resources in the entire area of the associated territories²⁷.

It also considered that the Community would be the most active and vigorous element of the European whole, in contrast to EFTA²⁸.

The report was to serve as the mainstay for all the negotiations taking place in Brussels with a view to establishing an agreement between Portugal and the EEC. It very clearly stated that Portugal's economic relations with Europe currently hinged on EFTA, and given that the latter would be weakened or destroyed with the United Kingdom's departure, Lisbon needed to find an equally effective way of coming closer to the EEC.

The most likely option would be a trade agreement, but it would be essential for Portugal to push for an association agreement. Once again, it was emphasized that a future accession was still a possibility. Therefore, the report stated, the Portuguese government should show moderation and flexibility in negotiations.

The exploratory talks between Portugal and the EEC, which began on November 24, 1970, as well as the actual negotiations that began in 1971

²⁶ AHD-MNE/EOI/686.

²⁷ *Idem*, 3.

²⁸ *Idem*, 4.

and continued into the first half of 1972, culminating in the signing of Portugal's Trade Agreement with the EEC, were all based on the strategies outlined in the committee's report.

Although this entire process was publicly carried out by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ruy Patrício, whose career until then had been as Secretary of State for Overseas Development, all the preparatory work, all the exploratory contacts, all the theoretical and discursive argumentation, that is, all the substantial work was done by Calvet de Magalhães²⁹. However, most of the negotiations were already the responsibility of the Minister of Finance and the Economy, João Augusto Dias Rosas, and his team.

It should be noted that Dias Rosas's thinking and speech are pervaded with a vision of Europe that is not simply economic. It was during his ministry that the last formal efforts at a closer relationship with the EEC during the *Estado Novo* began and concluded.

The study committee's report is, in fact, a fundamental text, not least because of its repercussions on Portuguese foreign policy. For Calvet de Magalhães, the report was a vehicle for proclaiming the ideal of Portugal's full membership in the EEC. In it, he explicitly states that economic conditions and the very nature of the regime did not allow Portugal to apply to join at that time, but that the Portuguese government would accept an association agreement providing for future membership³⁰.

This position was officially recognized by the Secretary of State for Commerce, Alexandre Vaz Pinto. As he stated, association "is seen by the EEC [...] as a mere transitional phase of preparation for a subsequent accession, delayed for economic reasons or because of political objections"³¹.

Thus, once the Portuguese claims, merely outlined in the report, were enunciated and accepted, December 17, 1971 was set for the beginning of negotiations, which culminated in reaching a trade agreement signed in Brussels on July 22, 1972, and which entered into force on January 1, 1973. For these talks, a Special Working Group for the Study of Problems Relating to the Negotiations between Portugal and the EEC was set up on January 4, 1971 with Calvet de Magalhães, then Director General of Economic Affairs, as vice-chairman and Teixeira Guerra as chairman.

In short, Portuguese rapprochement to European institutions in the period of Salazar and Marcello Caetano was a lengthy process where each

²⁹ Interview with João Rosas, Rio de Janeiro, June 20, 2010.

³⁰ *Idem*, 9-10.

³¹ AHD-MNE, EOI M. 684.

step paved the way to the next on the road to integration in a Europe that was once eschewed, but which would become the mainstay of Portuguese foreign policy after April 25, 1974.

3.2 From the EEC accession negotiations to the present day

It is time to ask: was it the Carnation Revolution that opened the door to Europe for us? Were the 1974 Revolution and the consolidation of democracy decisive for Portugal's integration in the supranational European project, with its emphasis on democracy, pluralism and ideological tolerance? Would Portugal's accession to the European Community be in the national interest?

Although Salazar repudiated parliamentarism or any form of European federalism in very concrete terms, it should be noted, as Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro remarks, that

in strategic terms, Salazar was a Europeanist, but his Atlantic vision of Portuguese foreign policy prevailed, with its Euro-American and Euro-African conception of a regime, the *Estado Novo*, which opted for isolation and distance from Europe in (re)construction³².

The shift took place gradually in the early Seventies. As António Martins da Silva points out, the

internal debate on bringing Portugal closer to Europe did not go beyond the framework of well-intentioned declarations that were more or less Europeanist and of effective action to strengthen our economic relations with the Common Market. The institutional nature of the European communities and the issue of deepening did not produce audible echoes³³.

This Portuguese lack of interest in the Idea of Europe was to persist during the April 1974 Revolution and even in the post-accession period. The attention shown by the academic and cultural milieu after Maastricht and, in particular, after the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (CIG96), made an invaluable contribution to the emergence in Portugal of a more visible interest in the fate of Europe and its institutional architecture³⁴.

³² Ribeiro Maria Manuela Tavares (2003). *A ideia de Europa. Uma perspectiva histórica*. Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 55.

³³ Silva António Martins da (2002). "Portugal e a ideia Federal Europeia – Da República ao fim do Estado Novo". In: *Portugal e a Construção Europeia*. Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 99.

³⁴ Valente Isabel Maria Freitas, Martins Ana Isabel (2009). "Vinte Anos de União Europeia: Percepções e realidades em Portugal". In: *Cadernos do CEIS20*, 10, 13-16. Coimbra: CEIS20.

As we discussed above, however, there was also a certain broad, economically motivated openness to Europe during Salazar's time.

In a victory for democracy and party pluralism, the Revolution of April 25, 1974 overthrew the last government of the *Estado Novo*. Portugal's new aims were now to consolidate democracy, decolonization and join the EEC.

In fact, the 1974 April Revolution was also shaped by international opinion, where the Portuguese situation in 1974/77 raised some concern among the Western allies³⁵. Most of the world was more anxious about Portugal's final foreign policy choices than about what the internal political, economic and social regime of Portuguese society would be like³⁶. Still, during our country's so-called Ongoing Revolutionary Process (*Processo Revolucionário em Curso*, PREC) there were a series of internal cleavages, and some distinct international alignment preferences were outlined. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, for example, argues that "under the noisy struggles of the internal democratization process, another silent struggle took place about the objectives and ideological options of Portuguese foreign policy"³⁷. From the beginning of the democratic transition, however, the idea that Portugal should become a full member of the European Community began to gain strength, becoming a priority of Portuguese foreign policy. The democratic regime's European leanings were a break with African, third-world, *Gonçalvistas* and European trade policies that, even in 1976, were debated at the highest levels of power.

In this sense, the decision to seek European integration was based on three pillars of Portugal's new concept of geopolitics, viz.:

1. Redefining the dominant geostrategic vector³⁸ to center on "Portugal's European vocation"³⁹, but without ever excluding other forms of inter-

³⁵ Lopes Ernâni, op. cit., 27.

³⁶ See Ferreira José Medeiros (2001). "Introdução" to *Adesão de Portugal às Comunidades Europeias. História e Documentos*. Lisboa: Assembleia da República, 28.

³⁷ Teixeira Nuno Severiano (2000). "Entre África e a Europa: a política externa portuguesa, 1890-1986". In: António Costa Pinto (ed.). *Portugal Contemporâneo*. Madrid: Sequitur, 90.

³⁸ Magalhães José Thomaz Calvet de, opp. citt.; Ferreira José Medeiros, opp. citt., (1981). "Aspectos internacionais da revolução portuguesa". In: *Estudos de Estratégia e Relações Internacionais*. Lisboa: INCM, 63-73; Soares Mário (1975). "Nova Política Externa Portuguesa". In: *Democracia e descolonização (10 meses no governo)*. Lisboa: D. Quixote, 85-92.

³⁹ Expression used several times in the "Constitutional Government Program" ("*Programa de Governo Constitucional*"), *Diário da Assembleia da República*, suplemento no. 17, 3/8/1976, 438-465.

national relationships. This meant rethinking the concept of Atlantism and forging a Euro-Atlantic foreign policy which was to remain the cornerstone of Portugal's position until the end of the 70s and the consolidation of democracy. The statements of Jaime Gama, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1983-85, are extremely enlightening. Gama spoke of

the role that Portugal could play either as a factor in the expansion of the European area to Africa and Latin America, or by bringing the logic of the community, institutions and decisions closer to Latin America and away from the African regions [...]. [...] As a member of the Community, Portugal will contribute to a greater interest in both directions, with regard to relations between Europe and Africa⁴⁰.

In other words, it was only after the construction of a Western-style democracy in Portugal that we see the emergence of a foreign policy resting on three fundamental poles: participating in the European integration process, building privileged ties with the Lusophone African States and the strengthening the Atlantic alliance, which had proved to be essential to of Portugal's security and defense, and seeking recognition of a special status both for Portugal's participation in NATO and for the Portuguese-American bilateral relationship (provided, also, by the strategic value of Lajes Field) [...] [as well as the need to overcome] the traditional mistrust of Spain and the consequent assumption of the strategic importance of this bilateral relationship, strengthening ties with Brazil, careful monitoring of the Maghreb situation, the need to resolve certain colonial legacies [...] Macau transition [...] and self-determination of the Timor people⁴¹.

2. Bolstering Portugal's position in the world. In this connection, as Mário Soares stated,

being a member of the Community was a national project that would launch Portugal on the path to new destinations. [...] Integration in the Community was essential to improving Portugal's capacity to assert itself in the world, giving us a scope for international intervention well above what our nation's size would permit⁴².

⁴⁰ *Política Externa Portuguesa 1983-1985*. Lisboa: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 1985, 197.

⁴¹ See Correia José de Matos (2006). "A Integração na União Europeia e o papel do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros". In: *Nação & Defesa*, 115, 3ª Série, 35-36.

⁴² Soares Mário (1994). *Intervenções 8*. Lisboa: INCM, 162.

3. The need for a historical-structural synthesis corresponding to new realities and new problems.

Portugal thus embarked on a new path in its external relations — the European way.

Nevertheless, the first provisional governments went no further than declaring their intention of moving closer to the European Economic Communities⁴³. Significant steps began to be taken during the Third Provisional Government, whose program expressed the desire to approach Community authorities and to strengthen the cooperative relationships based on the 1972 Agreement by renegotiating the clause in Article 35 which provided for extending the agreement to new areas.

In fact, Portugal's economic and technological backwardness, as well as its financial difficulties, were such that priority was assigned to concluding a financial protocol that would support the country's modernization and development, introduce new trade measures, guarantee that our emigrants would not be discriminated against for social security purposes, and establish true technological, industrial and financial cooperation between Portugal and the European Communities.

Accordingly, the I Constitutional Government conferred legitimacy and formalized the European option in its Government Program presented to the Assembly of the Republic by Prime Minister Mário Soares on August 3, 1976. Point *b* of the program clearly states that

with regard to the European Economic Community (EEC), our accession must also be considered, although the process is necessarily longer and more complex than that foreseen for the Council of Europe. However, this is the path that must be traveled⁴⁴.

The speech given by Prime Minister Soares during the inauguration of the I Constitutional Government on July 22, 1976 is worth recalling. This excerpt is very clear:

the Government now in office understands that it must make a decision according to its appreciation of the national interest. For this reason, it intends to request its immediate admission to the Council of Europe and

⁴³ See the *Circular confidencial enviada às Missões diplomáticas sobre o início das conversações exploratórias entre Portugal e a CEE de 18 de Janeiro de 1971*, AHD-EOI M.682.

⁴⁴ Program of the I Constitutional Government in the Assembly of the Republic, *Diário Assembleia da República*, no. 17, Supplement, August 3, 1976.

its accession to the EEC, with the opening of negotiations for short-term integration into the Common Market⁴⁵.

The words of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Medeiros Ferreira, when signing the additional Protocols to the 1972 Agreement on September 20, 1976 and joining the Council of Europe should also be considered. They confirm the intention of our “country to become a member of the Community and to present, at the appropriate time, an official request in this regard”⁴⁶. In other words, the political process laying the groundwork for Portugal's application for membership of the European Communities had begun. Once again, Medeiros Ferreira's words provide an insight into this process:

It was, in fact, about safeguarding the opportunities and potential of the present [Interim Agreement and the Additional and Financial protocols] but also to prepare those of the future, since for my Government and, before it, for the majority of the Portuguese people, democracy and the European option go hand in hand and could not be dissociated. As a country which is deeply European but fraternally open to the world and to the peoples it helped to access international society, Portugal today shares the ideals and principles enshrined in the preamble of the Treaty of Rome [...]. Today, it needs new impetus and a destiny that we believe can only be attained in a community of interests, ideas, concerns and objectives such as the Europe that Your Excellency, Mr. President, surely represents⁴⁷.

Given the importance of these objectives, it was logical that the strategy outlined by the Portuguese Government and its Minister for Foreign Affairs should center on contacts with the Council of Europe. No wonder, then, that the day after the Protocols were signed in Brussels, Medeiros Ferreira left for Strasbourg to deliver Portugal's instrument of accession following the formal invitation issued by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on September 22, 1976 in response to the request that the I Constitutional Government had made on August 12 of the same year.

⁴⁵ Cited by Cândido de Azevedo (1978). *Portugal e a Europa Face ao Mercado Comum*. Lisboa: Bertrand Editores, 87.

⁴⁶ José Medeiros Ferreira, “La Communauté et le Portugal” in *Bulletin des Communautés Européennes*, Commission Européenne, no. 9, 1976, Office des Publications Officielles des Communautés, 8.

⁴⁷ See *Discurso Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros de Portugal, Medeiros Ferreira, no Conselho das CE, por ocasião da assinatura do Acordo Interino e dos Protocolos Adicional e Financeiro, em que se anuncia pela primeira vez a intenção de Portugal solicitar a adesão às CE – 20 Setembro 76*. AHD-EOI Prov. 5.

As Calvet de Magalhães reports,

soon after the April revolution, the Council of Europe took several measures in order to approach the new Portuguese institutions. The political events that took place between us until the end of 1975 did not, however, allow the various attempts at rapprochement to produce immediate results. [...] After several contacts at the political level, we finally asked to join the Council of Europe. [...] It was the first political step towards European integration⁴⁸.

In light of this new paradigm, the Portuguese government requested that Portugal be admitted to the European Communities on November 29, 1976, and formalized the request on March 28, 1977. Negotiations were officially opened on October 17, 1978. The EEC Council of Ministers met in Luxembourg on April 5, 1977, when it decided to initiate the process of Portugal's accession to the European Communities under the terms of the respective treaties. This fact was communicated to the Portuguese Government in a letter signed by the acting President of the EEC, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Owen⁴⁹.

Thus began seven long years of countless efforts, at the most diverse levels of national life, towards convergence with the European project. However, these efforts were not without problems and difficulties. It was necessary to go beyond a mere formal definition of democracy on the one hand, and to consolidate and institutionalize the new regime on the other. In other words, an open, modern and democratic society had to be put in place of the old authoritarian/totalitarian edifice.

However, thanks to a massive diplomatic and political campaign supporting the national commitment, the guidelines for the Treaty of Accession of Portugal to the EEC were established in March 1985, while the treaty itself was signed on June 12, 1985 in the *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos* and entered into force on January 1, 1986. The words of Fernando d'Oliveira Neves strike us as extremely significant:

Portugal's accession to the then European Communities was an eminently political and strategic decision. Portugal took on the European integration

⁴⁸ Magalhães José Calvet de (1987). "Portugal e a Integração Europeia". In: *Revista Estratégia*, 4, 69-70.

⁴⁹ See Reply of the President of the Council of the EC, addressed to the Portuguese Prime Minister to the letter requesting Portugal's accession to the EEC, April 5, 1977. AHD-MNE, Dep. Cor., EOI Prov.3.

project with the aim of consolidating its democratic institutions, modernizing its economic structures and moving towards the opening of its society⁵⁰.

For the majority of the Portuguese intelligentsia, Europe was not, at that time, a very appealing project. Many were reticent at first. This is the case of Joel Serrão, Victor de Sá, Eduardo Lourenço and António José Saraiva, among others. These intellectuals recognized that Portugal had reached the end of a cycle and thus had to rethink its path and reflect on its strategic options. However, they did not dare to point out a clear and objective course for the Motherland. Others argued that if culturally Europe is our natural destination, economic or political accession to the European Communities could erode our national independence, as Spain would come to dominate the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, political or economic membership of the EEC was not, in general, a desirable destination for many Portuguese intellectuals.

On the other hand, some intellectuals, politicians, diplomats and economists spoke in favor of closer ties and integration in the European construction and sought historical, geographical, cultural or political arguments to support these positions.

When analyzing the beginnings of Portugal's integration in Europe and the public's perception of that integration and of the European Communities themselves, we can see that the levels of support for the European project gradually increased from 1980 to 2007, although the majority of the public had no opinion regarding membership. Since 2007, support has steadily decreased.

It should be stressed, however, that Portugal is an Atlantic country, with a Mediterranean sensitivity and a universalist vocation. It is also a European country that is equally aware of the original contribution it has made to Europe's image in the world and which it continues to make to today's Europe despite the challenges it faces⁵¹.

In this light, Portugal must assert its indisputable individuality in the Iberian setting, its decisive Atlantic vocation and awareness of the importance of the sea, but within the European framework. Portugal's present and future lie in the European Union.

⁵⁰ Neves Fernando (2007). "O Testemunho Português: O Futuro". In: Nicolau Andersen Leitão (ed.). *Vinte Anos de integração Europeia*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 217.

⁵¹ See Ferreira António de Siqueira (1986). "Portugal entre o Mar e Terra – Reflexões sobre a identidade nacional". In: *Estratégia, Revista de Estudos Internacionais*, 2, 20. Lisboa: IEEI.

4. Some concluding remarks

In temporal terms, the textbooks selected for this study cover the period between 1981 and 2019, with the largest number of publications dating from the year 2007. In theoretical and methodological terms, the predominant themes dealt with in these textbooks are History, Law and Political Science.

We found that the Portuguese-language literature on the European construction and Portugal's integration used in for higher education narrates this story mainly from the standpoints of federalism; the political, economic and legal analysis of the European Union; and the issues surrounding Portugal's participation in the European project.

As regards this latter aspect, which has been discussed extensively here in view of the attention devoted to it by Portuguese authors, we conclude that Portugal's approach to the European question and to European cooperation and integration movements resulted from the personal commitment of certain intellectuals and diplomats, who not infrequently acted in what they considered to be the country's interest, without explicit government support. After the April 25 Revolution, the democratic regime's most important strategic decision was to apply quickly for membership.

In higher education, remembering this story — which connects the European dimension and the national dimension — and understanding its protagonists' thought and action means promoting this issue in Portuguese society. And it is still a burning issue in the country, as is the future of Europe.

Forty selected works used in the disciplines of European Studies in the three cycles of Portuguese higher education

Amaral Carlos E. Pacheco (ed.) (2015). *Cristianismo e Europa*. Coimbra: Almedina/CEIS20.

Amaral João Ferreira do, Brito José Maria Brandão de, Rollo Maria Fernanda (eds.) (2011). *Portugal e a Europa – Dicionário*. Lisboa: Tinta-da-China.

Azevedo Maria Eduarda (2017). *A (RE)Construção da Europa? A Dinâmica da Integração Económica e Política*. Lisboa: Quid Juris.

Barata Mário Simões (2016). *Formas de federalismo e o tratado de Lisboa: confederação, federação e integração europeia*. Coimbra: Almedina. Coleção Teses de Doutoramento.

Brito José Maria Brandão de, Amaral João Ferreira do, Rollo Maria Fernanda (2011). *Portugal e a Europa – Testemunhos de Protagonistas*. Lisboa: Tinta-da-China.

Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís (2005). *Construir a Europa - O processo de integração entre a teoria e a história*. Cascais: Editora Príncipia.

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Cunha Alice, Monteiro Pita Brito da (2007). *À Descoberta da Europa – A Adesão de Portugal às Comunidades Europeias*. Lisboa: Instituto Diplomático, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

Cunha Alice, Almada e Santos Aurora, Santos Yvette (eds.) (2014). *Portugal e as Organizações Internacionais – Comportamentos, Mensagens e Impactos*. Lisboa: Observatório Político.

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Ferreira José Medeiros (2014). *Não Há Mapa cor-de-rosa – A História (Mal) dita da Integração Europeia*. Coimbra: Edições 70.

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- Guerra Ruy Teixeira, Ferreira Antonio de Siqueira, Magalhães José Calvet de (1981). *Os movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Administração.
- Leal Ernesto Castro (ed.) (2001). *O Federalismo Europeu. História, Política e Utopia*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri.
- Leitão Nicolau Andresen (ed.) (2007). *20 Anos de Integração Europeia (1986-2006) O Testemunho Português*. Chamusca: Cosmos.
- Lobo Marina Costa, Lains Pedro (eds.) (2007). *Em nome da Europa – Portugal em Mudança (1986-2006)*. Estoril: Princípia.
- Magalhães José Calvet de (1997). *Portugal na Europa – o caminho certo*. Lisboa: Bertrand.
- Neutel Fernanda (2019). *A Construção da União Europeia - Da II Guerra Mundial à Emergência de uma Fronteira Externa Comum para o Século XXI*. Lisboa: Edições Sílabo.
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- Parlamento Europeu, Gabinete Portugal (2011). *25 anos de Integração Europeia*. Lisboa: Gabinete em Portugal.
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- Pinto António Costa, Teixeira Nuno Severiano (eds.) (2005). *A Europa do Sul e a Construção da União Europeia 1945-2000*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
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Rollo Maria Fernanda, Amaral João Ferreira do, Brito José Maria Brandão de (eds.) (2011). *Portugal e a Europa – Cronologia*. Lisboa: Tinta-da-China.

Silva António Martins da (2005) – *Portugal e a Europa – Distanciamento e Reencontro*. Coimbra: Palimage, 2005.

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Valério Nuno (org.) (2000). *Ruy Teixeira Guerra*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos.

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Spanish historiography of European integration: the textbooks

Guido Levi

Spain officially became part of the European Community (EC) only in January 1986, after long, grueling negotiations¹. The Treaty of Accession had been signed in Madrid on June 12 of the previous year, the same day that Portugal's Treaty of Accession was penned in Lisbon. The two Iberian nations thus became the eleventh and twelfth Member States of the Community, and their entry, together with that of Greece in January 1981, corrected the northward tilt in the group's geopolitical axis that had taken place with the enlargement to Denmark, Great Britain and Ireland in 1973.

Thirty-five years had gone by since the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was signed in Paris by the representatives of the Six in April 1951, marking the beginning of the process of European integration heralded by Robert Schuman in his celebrated Declaration. But in those thirty-five years, Spain had followed the Community's doings with keen interest, studying its institutions' operation and realizing that the Common Market would become the driver of the Member States' economic growth.

Juan Carlos Pereira and Antonio Moreno Juste have reconstructed the route Spain took towards Europe from the initial stage — the Fifties, a period centering mostly on studies and research — when Francisco Franco's dictatorship stood in the way of dialog with all of the old contin-

¹ There is an extensive literature on Spain's accession to the European Community. Noteworthy publications include: Raimundo Bassols, *España en Europa: historia de la adhesión a la CE, 1957-85*, Madrid, Política Exterior, 1995; Antonio Moreno Juste, *España y el proceso de construcción europea*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1998; Ricardo M. Martín de la Guardia and Guillermo Á. Pérez Sánchez, *La Unión Europea y España*, Madrid, Actas, 2002; Julio Crespo MacLennan, *España en Europa, 1945-2000. Del ostracismo a la modernidad*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004; Matthieu Trouvé, *L'Espagne et l'Europe: de la dictature de Franco à l'Union Européenne*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2008; Maria Elena Cavallaro and Guido Levi (eds.), *Spagna e Italia nel processo d'integrazione europea (1950-1992)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2013.

ent' countries whose victory over Nazi-Fascism in the Second World War had enabled them to return to freedom and democracy. In this period, we should at least mention the work of the Centro Europeo de Documentación e Información (CEDI), set up in 1953 and subsidized by the Foreign Ministry together with other ministries, and the initiatives promoted by the Comisión Interministerial para el Estudio de las Comunidades Europeas, created in 1957 and reorganized in the following year².

However, the Treaties of Rome and the success of the European Economic Community (EEC) provided the impetus that Francoist Spain needed to overcome its old anti-European prejudices and embark on the road to integration, though well aware of the difficulties the country would encounter along the way. All the studies conducted in this period — those funded by the government and those carried out by private groups, as well those commissioned by international economic organizations such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund — emphasized the enormous economic benefits that Madrid would enjoy. Of the publications of those years, the nine volumes of the *Estudios sobre la unidad económica de Europa*, by various authors and published between 1951 and 1961, are particularly noteworthy for their rigor and reliability³. From the perspective of these studies, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was seen as a possible alternative that would also allow Spain to leave its international isolation behind, but it was not as attractive and profitable a prospect as the EEC⁴.

It is probably in these studies, which served a political as well as a scholarly purpose, that we must look for the roots of Spanish historiography of European integration. But even in the Fifties, it was a histori-

² In this connection, see Juan Carlos Pereira, *L'europeismo spagnolo (1945-1970): obiettivi e iniziative di una Spagna divisa*, in Sergio Pistone (ed.), *I movimenti per l'unità europea. 1954-1969*, Pavia, PIME, 1996, pp. 125-149; Antonio Moreno Juste, *Franquismo y construcción europea*, Madrid, Tecnos, 1998; María Elena Cavallaro, *Los orígenes de la integración de España en Europa. Desde el franquismo a los años de la transición*, Madrid, Sílex, 2009.

³ *Estudios sobre la unidad económica de Europa*, Madrid, Estudios Económicos Españoles y Europeos, 1951-1961.

⁴ It should be born in mind, however, that in 1953 Spain had signed a Concordat with the Vatican of Pius XII and a mutual aid agreement with the United States, and that two years later it had been accepted as a member state of the United Nations. At the end of the Fifties, Spain's real international isolation was a thing of the past, but this did not mean that further progress was unthinkable.

ography that was heavily (and excessively) influenced by the national outlook, and at times over-concerned with the economy and economic history. It thus showed little attention to the underlying values that had inspired the European project, starting, naturally, from the principles of peace and solidarity among peoples⁵. This may seem almost paradoxical, given that Spanish Europeanism dates far back: not only to the first decades of the twentieth century, thanks to such prominent intellectuals as Miguel de Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset, Joaquín Costa and Salvador De Madariaga⁶, but even to the second half of the nineteenth century and the democratic, republican and federalist tradition of Fernando Garrido, Francisco Pi y Margall and Emilio Castelar⁷.

The European spirit thus could not be incarnated in the Francoist regime and the intellectuals associated with it, but only by the dictatorship's adversaries in the homeland and abroad, who were in a way called upon to preserve the political and moral legacy of the democratic Spain that had suffered a military defeat in the civil war at the hands of the generals who had led the coup. This principle was emphatically proclaimed in the resolution presented by the Spanish delegation to the IV Congress of the International European Movement held in Munich in June 1962, which called on Brussels to reject the membership application presented by the Madrid government in the name of the so-called "democratic pre-conditions"⁸.

Starting in the Seventies, then, a new Europeanism took hold in Spain's anti-regime academic circles, and its ideas were incubated in sev-

⁵ For the Spanish historiography of European integration, see Luis Domínguez Castro, *Heredades labradas y algunos baldíos. España y la integración europea en la historiografía*, in Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, Ricardo Martín de la Guardia, and Rosa Pardo Sanz (eds.), *La apertura internacional de España. Entre el franquismo y la democracia (1953-1986)*, Madrid, Sílex, 2016, pp. 25-54. Also see Ricardo Martín de la Guardia, *El lento camino de la historiografía española sobre la integración europea*, in L. Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, R. Martín de la Guardia, and R. Pardo Sanz (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 55-87.

⁶ See Mercedes Samaniegu Boneu and Juan C. Gay Armenteros, *España y la integración europea. Historiografía y fuentes*, in Ariane Landuyt (ed.), *Europa unita e didattica integrata. Storiografie e bibliografie a confronto*, Siena, Protagon, 1995, pp. 142-163; José María Beneyto, *Tragedia y razón. Europa en el pensamiento español del siglo XX*, Madrid, Taurus, 1999.

⁷ See Guido Levi, *I precursori dell'europeismo in Spagna. Repubblicani, federalisti e socialisti utopisti nel XIX secolo*, in Daniela Preda and Cinzia Rognoni Vercelli (eds.), *Storia e percorsi del federalismo. L'eredità di Carlo Cattaneo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005, pp. 297-345.

⁸ The text of the draft resolution, which was presented in French, is in *Los españoles en el congreso del Movimiento Europeo (18 junio 1962)*, at <https://www.cvce.eu>.

eral newly founded journals such as the “Cuadernos para el Diálogo” directed by Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez⁹. In the following decade, or in other words in the delicate period of transition from the old regime to the new democratic Spain that took Europe as its lodestar, interest in the European integration process was also sparked among scholars¹⁰, though little was published on the whole and the national outlook continued to dominate. Enthusiasm for Europe was not dampened by the protracted negotiations for Spain’s accession to the EC, which contributed to transforming the European dream into a concrete prospect and a political goal. As a result, scholars began to take a more reflexive and measured approach to these issues¹¹.

The turning point in historiography thus did not come until the Eighties, thanks to the runup to accession, the availability of new documentary sources, the entry of Spanish historians in international research groups, and the establishment of the first chairs of the History of European Integration in the old continent’s universities, as well as the support given to such studies by the European institutions¹². The broadened research spectrum led to a better understanding of the integration process, its key figures, and European policies, and even began to bring the different ideas of Europe that had vied with each other over the years into focus, though greater clarity was still needed.

⁹ Guido Levi, *Anti-Francoism and Europeanism: the Emblematic Case of “Cuadernos para el Diálogo”*, in Daniele Pasquinucci, Daniela Preda and Luciano Tosi (eds.), *Communicating Europe. Journals and European Integration 1939-1979*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2013, pp. 291-310. For an overview of the Spanish culture of the period, see Elías Díaz, *Il pensiero politico-sociale spagnolo dalla dittatura alla democrazia (1939-1975)*, Siracusa, Lombardi, 1990, pp. 131-185 in particular.

¹⁰ Some of the more noteworthy studies produced in the Seventies include those by Victor Pou Serradell, *España y la Europa comunitaria*, Pamplona, Eunsa, 1973, and Antonio Sánchez-Gijón, *El camino hacia Europa. Negociaciones España-CEE*, Madrid, Ediciones del Centro, 1973.

¹¹ According to Juan Carlos Pereira and Antonio Moreno Juste, by the Seventies Europe had become a “shared goal”, “the political, economic and social model for the country’s modernization”. See Juan Carlos Pereira and Antonio Moreno Juste, *Il movimento per l’unità europea e il processo di transizione e consolidamento democratico in Spagna (1975-1986)*, in Ariane Landuyt and Daniela Preda (eds.), *I movimenti per l’unità europea 1970-1986*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2000, pp. 337-362, p. 340 in particular.

¹² R. Martín de la Guardia, *El lento camino de la historiografía española sobre la integración europea*, op. cit., pp. 58-60 in particular.

1. Ramón Tamames, pioneer in the history of European integration

The first general history of European integration published in Spain was not by a historian, but by a professor of economics at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: Ramón Tamames. However, it would be reductive to say that Tamames is only an economist, though his work and teaching in the field have been undeniably distinguished, as José María Mella Márquez and Santos M. Ruesga Benito, professors of Applied Economics and his colleagues at the university, told us on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM)¹³.

Ramón Tamames is an eclectic figure who has been able to combine intellectual commitment and political activism. And as an economist he has always looked to the future, to the extent of being drawn to utopian thinking. These intertwined interests are apparent from his biography: born in Madrid in November 1933, Tamames took his degree in law and economics in Madrid, continuing with postgraduate studies at the Instituto de Estudios Políticos and the London School of Economics. Active in the Spanish communist party since the Fifties, he held positions in the government between 1957 and 1969. He was then appointed to the chair of economics at the University of Malaga, moving to UAM in 1975¹⁴.

Since the Sixties and Seventies, many of his books have enjoyed wide circulation and success. *Estructura económica de España*, first published in 1960 by the Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, has now gone through no fewer than 25 editions¹⁵. Another acclaimed work from this period was *La República, la era de Franco*, the seventh volume of the *Historia de España* edited by Miguel Artola, in which Tamames retraces the course taken by the country between the proclamation of the Second Republic and the beginning of the democratic transition following Franco's death¹⁶. However, his most innovative book was perhaps *Ecología y desar-*

¹³ See José María Mella Márquez and Santos M. Ruesga Benito, *Ramón Tamames: la búsqueda de la utopía en la Academia y en la experiencia vital*, in "Encuentros Multidisciplinares", 58, número extraordinario (2018), pp. 1-5.

¹⁴ For a biographical profile, see José Antonio Negrín de la Peña, *Perfiles de Ramón Tamames*, Madrid, Ediciones 2010, 2005. Also see Eduardo Chamorro, *Ramón Tamames*, Madrid, Cambio 16, 1977 and his autobiography: Ramón Tamames, *Más que unas memorias. Años de aprendizaje, la edad de la razón*, Barcelona, RBA, 2013.

¹⁵ The latest edition, by Alianza Editorial, dates to 2008.

¹⁶ Ramón Tamames, *La República, la era de Franco*, Madrid, Alianza, 1973.

rollo sostenible. La polémica sobre los límites al crecimiento, first published in 1974, as it addressed environmental issues that at the time had received little attention¹⁷.

After Franco's death, Tamames was elected to Parliament on the Partido Comunista de España (PCE) ticket, serving as a member of the lower house from 1977 to 1982 (Constituent Assembly and First Legislature), and then again from 1986 to 1989, this time representing Izquierda Unida, the coalition of left-wing groups that had fought together against Spain's continuing membership of NATO. Though he was interested in Eurocommunism, which in Spain was chiefly promoted by the PCE secretary Santiago Carrillo, he left the party in 1981 after breaking with the old oligarchy — to use his own words — that stood in the way of any real renewal of the party line and internal democratization¹⁸.

In addition to socialism, the European project aroused Tamames's hopes and enthusiasm. Nor did he only produce studies, numerous and undoubtedly valuable though they were: *Formación y desarrollo del Mercado Común Europeo* (Iber-Amer, 1965), a reworking of his doctoral dissertation; *El Mercado Común Europeo* (Guadiana de Publicaciones, 1968); *Sistemas de apoyo a la agricultura. España y los países de la Comunidad Económica Europea* (Publicaciones de la Escuela Nacional de Administración Pública, 1970); *España ante el Mercado Común* (Departamento de Estudios del Banco Peninsular, 1971); *Acuerdo preferencial CEE. España y preferencias generalizadas* (Dopesa, 1972). Underlying his work, in fact, was a deep-seated conviction that the future of Spain would be indissolubly linked with that of the European Community.

It thus comes as no surprise that Tamames authored what can be called the first textbook of European integration history published in Spain, *La Comunidad Europea*, which came out in 1987. In reality, it is not a textbook in the strict sense, as it is far more concerned with economic aspects than with other questions, but it qualifies to a certain extent as a textbook because of the space it devotes to pre-Community Europe, the European institutions, and the Community's external relations¹⁹.

¹⁷ The original title of the first Alianza edition was *La polémica sobre los límites al crecimiento*.

¹⁸ See Jaime Ballesteros *ataca duramente a Tamames, mientras otros dirigentes lamentan su dimisión*, 10 May 1981, in <https://elpais.com/diario/1981/05/10/espana>.

¹⁹ Ramón Tamames, *La Comunidad Europea*, Madrid, Alianza, 1987.

Materially, the book consists of six parts and nineteen chapters, followed by an extensive documentary appendix. The six parts are entitled *Antecedentes y marco general*; *La construcción del Mercado Común*; *Del Mercado Común a la unión económica*; *Las relaciones exteriores de la Comunidad*; *España y la Comunidad antes de la adhesión*; *El Tratado de adhesión de España*. The more strictly economic portion of the book is on the whole quite technical, but the political context and the legal framework are clearly outlined. As was to become a common feature of many subsequent textbooks, the volume devotes considerable space to the relationship between Spain and the European Community. In this case, since *La Comunidad Europea* was published soon after Spain's accession, such a choice seems understandable, and indeed reasonable, given that the book is addressed to the Spanish public and not to Europeans in general. As Ortega y Gasset put it, there was a need to "Europeanize Spain", or in other words make the public fully aware of accession's meaning and scope.

This is one of the reasons that three whole chapters are given over to illustrating the treaty of accession, which is also reprinted in the appendix. Having large documentary appendices appears to be another common feature of Spanish textbooks: here, this section includes all the Spanish legislation that made Community membership possible, as well as statistics on European society and the economy, and information about the Community monies that would be assigned to Madrid.

Tamames's interests, however, do not stop short at the economic dimension of European integration: as a staunch Europeanist, he is also — and perhaps even more — concerned with the political dimension. In this connection, he noted with a touch of bitterness that "los intentos para llegar a una unión política sin pasar por la integración económica, y aun ni siquiera por una cooperación suficientemente intensa, fracasaron de plano o arrastraron una vida lánguida (lo cual es algo que prácticamente equivale al fracaso)"²⁰.

There can be no doubt about the importance of this book, which immediately went into two new editions in 1988 and 1991, again published by Alianza. During the Nineties, however, a more radical revision of the text became necessary to reflect the crucial events in European history that had taken place around the turn of the decade: from the fall of the Berlin Wall to German reunification, and up to the true turning point in the in-

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

tegration process: the Maastricht Treaty. Consequently, the textbook was reissued in 1994 under a new title, *La Unión Europea*, and with a whole section covering the economic and monetary union, the common external and security policy, European citizenship and all the major reforms introduced by the new treaty²¹.

Like its predecessor, *La Unión Europea* went through several editions with revisions and additional material, the first already in 1994. Subsequent editions were dated 1996, 1999 and 2002, with Mónica López Fernández collaborating on the latest. During the Nineties, Tamames also published a number of new volumes on European studies, including *1986-1996, diez años en la Unión Europea* (Grupo Negocios, 1996); *La unión monetaria europea: estructura y funcionamiento. El euro y el sector seguros* (Grupo Winterthur, 1997); *Hacia la unidad europea: De Gaulle y la V República* (Historia 16, 1998); *La larga marcha de España a la Unión Europea: un futuro para el desarrollo* (Edimadoz, 1999). In that period, moreover, Tamames also held a Jean Monnet chair.

2. The textbooks by Rogelio Pérez Bustamante

In the Nineties, Tamames's pioneering work was joined by other Spanish textbooks, starting with the *Historia de la unidad europea* by Luis María de Puig (Anaya, 1994)²². Educating the public in how the Europe of Maastricht worked was increasingly necessary, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had taken steps in this direction very early on, organizing multidisciplinary postgraduate courses on Europe²³. An important stimulus for teaching and research on the European Union also came directly from Brussels, thanks to the Jean Monnet Actions, while the Asociación Universitaria de Estudios Comunitarios (AUDESCO), modeled after the European Community Studies Association (ECSA), was set up to facilitate

²¹ Ramón Tamames, *La Unión Europea*, Madrid, Alianza, 1994.

²² Luis María de Puig, *Historia de la unidad europea*, Madrid, Anaya, 1994. De Puig, who died in 2012, taught contemporary history at the Universad de Barcelona and at the Universidad de Girona, and wrote important books in the history of European integration. However, he is best known for his political activity in the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC), which he represented in Parliament from 1979 to 2011, first as a member of the lower house and then as a senator.

²³ See Curso sobre la Unión Europea, at <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/Ministerio/EscuelaDiplomatica>.

contacts between scholars in this field. Since 1998, AUDESCO has published the “Revista Universitaria Europea”²⁴.

This flurry of studies inspired a well-known and widely used textbook, *Historia política de la Unión Europea, 1940-1995*, by Rogelio Pérez Bustamante²⁵. Like Tamames, Pérez Bustamante was not strictly speaking a historian, but a legal scholar, and at the time the book was written was professor of Historia del Derecho y de las Instituciones at the Universidad Complutense. His research interests, however, also include the history of the region of Cantabria and the history of European integration, bespeaking his fruitful intellectual eclecticism. And thanks to his work in European studies, he was awarded a Jean Monnet chair in 1997²⁶.

Pérez Bustamante’s textbook, whose title in successive editions would change first to *Historia de la Unión Europea*²⁷ and then to *Historia política y jurídica de la Unión Europea*²⁸, consisted originally of eight chapters, becoming twelve and then fifteen in the later editions. Similarly, the number of pages went from 279 in 1995 to 561 in 2008. The 1997 edition, moreover, contained a preface by Marcelino Oreja who, as Foreign Minister in Adolfo Suárez’s transition governments, sent Spain’s official application for membership in the Community to Brussels in the summer of 1977²⁹.

Naturally, there are many differences between the three editions, but they also have a number of features in common. The first is the attention Pérez Bustamante gives to pre-Community Europe. While the first version opened its narrative with the World War Two, the second added a lengthy introduction tracing the idea of Europe from antiquity to the 1920s, when Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Aristide Briand laid the foundations for modern Europeanism. This section was expanded yet

²⁴ See <https://webs.ucm.es/info/audesco>.

²⁵ Rogelio Pérez Bustamante, *Historia política de la Unión Europea, 1940-1995*, Madrid, Dykinson, 1995.

²⁶ See the CV given in his blog: <https://rogelioperezbustamante.wordpress.com/rpb>.

²⁷ Rogelio Pérez Bustamante, *Historia de la Unión Europea*, Madrid, Dykinson, 1997.

²⁸ Id., *Historia política y jurídica de la Unión Europea*, Madrid, Edisofer, 2008.

²⁹ Marcelino Oreja Aguirre demonstrated a commitment to Europe throughout his entire political career. A member of the European Parliament with the EPP Group, he was Secretary General of the Council of Europe between 1984 and 1989. From 1994 to 1999, he served as Member of the European Commission, first with special responsibility for Transport and Energy, and then for Culture, Audiovisual Policy and Institutional Relations. After the scandals besetting the Santer Commission and its mass resignation, however, he abandoned active politics. See <https://www.cvce.eu>.

again in the *Historia política y jurídica de la Unión Europea*, with more detailed discussions of ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the clash between the Christian and Arab civilizations in the High Middle Ages and the foundation of the Carolingian Empire, which Pérez Bustamante regards as “el comienzo de una Europa cultural y el fundamento de la Europa política”³⁰. Naturally, he then turns to the advocates of natural law, the thinkers of the Enlightenment, Kant and the first Europeanist projects, but it is more than a little surprising that an intellectual of the caliber of Giuseppe Mazzini is repeatedly misidentified as Manzini or Mazini³¹.

Considerable interest also attaches to the chapter on the Europeanist initiatives launched during World War Two — though insufficient weight is given to the Italian contributions, and above all to the international activity of Ernesto Rossi and Altiero Spinelli in Switzerland — while the events of the immediate postwar period are ably summarized, particularly as regards the European unity movements, the Marshall Plan, the Hague Congress and the birth of the Council of Europe.

As for the history of the European Union in the strict sense, the book details the progress of the Europe of the Six, and then of the Nine and the Twelve, although it takes a predominantly legal-institutional slant. The risk is naturally that of allowing little space for opposing viewpoints — as in the case of the French National Assembly’s rejection of the European Defence Community — and of not being able to maintain an appropriate critical detachment in narrating the facts. The latter problem is apparent in the chapter on the Treaties of Rome, which were an undeniable success in terms of economic integration, but at the same time they shut the door — or at least brought a host of second and third thoughts — on the prospects for political unification that was clearly the goal of the Schuman Declaration, a Spanish translation of which is appended to the text³².

Pérez Bustamante’s handling of the European Union that resulted from the Maastricht Treaty and the route that would lead to economic and monetary union is similar. Though he provides an accurate rundown of the milestones and goals, he does not sufficiently address the contradictions inherent in creating a monetary union without having a common economic policy and with no prospects for political union. Unlike

³⁰ R. Pérez Bustamante, *Historia política y jurídica de la Unión Europea*, op. cit., p. 16.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 19.

Tamames, Pérez Bustamante shows a refreshingly non-parochial attitude, devoting no more space and attention to Spain than to any other Member State. Rather than featuring a documentary appendix, the book concludes with an extensive (and international) bibliography, which in the latest edition follows a detailed retelling of the story of the European Constitutional Treaty, the enlargements to the East and the Lisbon Treaty.

3. The turn of the century publishing boom

The beginning of the third stage of economic and monetary union, with the enthusiasm stirred by the adoption of the single currency, which in the meantime had been named the euro, spurred a proliferation of textbooks of European integration history. The most significant appears to be that by Antonio Truyol y Serra and by Francisco Aldecoa Luzárraga, entitled *La integración europea. Análisis histórico-institucional con textos y documentos*, and published by Tecnos in two volumes between 1999 and 2002. In the first volume³³, Truyol y Serra examines the period between the creation of the ECSC and the first direct elections of the European Parliament, while in the second volume³⁴ Aldecoa Luzárraga discusses the genesis and development of the European Union up to the Treaty of Nice and the early work on the Constitution.

Antonio Truyol y Serra was an important legal scholar and, above all, a pioneer of international studies in Spain. He was for many years head of the Departamento de Derecho Internacional Público y Relaciones Internacionales (Estudios Internacionales) at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas, as well as a judge of the Constitutional Court. His research chiefly addressed the philosophy of law and international law, and he published seminal texts in both areas.

He published the book on European integration in 1999, long after he had retired (he was born in Germany in 1913), dedicating it to the multitude of students who had attended his courses for decades. Right from the dedication, Truyol y Serra is at pains to emphasize that his reconstruc-

³³ Antonio Truyol y Serra, *La integración europea. Análisis histórico-institucional con textos y documentos*, vol. I, *Génesis y desarrollo de la Comunidad Europea (1951-1979)*, Madrid, Tecnos, 1999.

³⁴ Francisco Aldecoa Luzárraga, *La integración europea. Análisis histórico-institucional con textos y documentos*, vol. II, *Génesis y desarrollo de la Unión Europea (1979-2002)*, Madrid, Tecnos, 2002.

tion of the route to union is the culmination of a line of thought that began in 1972 with an address given at the time of his investiture to the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas and the subsequent book, *La integración europea. Idea y realidad*³⁵. And basically, we might add, this latter work — with its three parts devoted respectively to the idea of Europe up to World War II, the transition from interstate cooperation to the Community institutions, and the problems inherent in enlargement — is a rough draft of the future manual, anticipating to some extent its general framework.

Granted, the 1972 book's timeframe was necessarily narrow and, as we know, the Seventies were to bring a host of new developments — from the crisis at the beginning of the decade to the hopes raised by the advent of the European Monetary System and the first direct elections to the European Parliament — but it was nevertheless the precursor of the later textbook. In any case, Truyol y Serra had long followed European affairs with keen interest: in the Sixties, he had joined the Asociación Española de Cooperación Europea (AECE), had been one of the founders of the Centro de Enseñanza e Investigación, Sociedad Anónima (CEISA) and had contributed assiduously to the Catholic opposition journal “Cuadernos para el Diálogo” with articles on international issues and the European construction³⁶.

In *La integración europea*, the historical section is nimbly handled on the whole, as it takes up only 150 pages, while the documentary appendix is far more extensive, even excessively so in some respects, with texts ranging from Coudenhove-Kalergi's *Paneuropa* to the Community reports of the second half of the Seventies, along with such fundamental documents as Churchill's June 1940 proposal for Franco-British union, the Schuman Declaration, the founding treaty of the European Economic Community, the text of the press conference held by De Gaulle to reject Great Britain's application for membership in January 1963, the Luxembourg Compromise and many more.

Compared to Pérez Bustamante's textbook, Truyol y Serra's work features a more thorough exploration of the internal dialectic that marked

³⁵ Antonio Truyol y Serra, *La integración europea: idea y realidad*, Madrid, Tecnos, 1972.

³⁶ Javier Muñoz Soro, *Truyol Serra, Antonio*, in Piero Craveri, Umberto Morelli, Gaetano Quagliariello (eds.), *Dizionario storico dell'integrazione europea*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2018, pp. 6987-6991.

the integration process from the birth of the European Communities, and which could be summarized as a clash between confederalist and federalist visions, though there were many viewpoints between these two poles. As the author states, the opposing forces represented “una concepción de Europa que cabe llamar ‘laxa’, basada en la cooperación entre Estados soberanos de índole tradicional, frente a la de una Europa calificable de ‘densa’, vertebrada por instituciones comunes, limitativas en mayor o menor grado de la soberanías”³⁷.

An equally interesting and original chapter deals with the European identity, a topic that suddenly became topical in the Seventies when the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger characterized the match between the US’s interests and those of the European Community as “partial”, and thus “not total”. The topic was a particular concern of the second Summit Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Member States held in Copenhagen in December 1973, which adopted a Declaration on European identity which called on the Americans to recognize that the close ties between the United States and the Europe of the Nine did not conflict with the determine of the Nine to establish themselves as an entity distinct from, but by no means hostile to the US superpower, whom they intended to engage in constructive dialog and cooperation in political and economic matters³⁸.

Truyol y Serra, like Pérez Bustamante, chose to deal only marginally with Spain — see for example the section regarding the Birkelbach Report’s requirement that only states with truly democratic practices and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms could apply for membership, or the text of the preferential agreement between Madrid and Brussels signed in 1970—but in this case the choice was unavoidable given that the book’s timeframe ended in 1979. However, the second volume — by Aldecoa Luzárraga — also follows the same approach, devoting only a short section to the European Community’s southward enlargement.

Not that this should come as a surprise: Francisco Aldecoa Luzárraga was a student of Tuyol y Serra at the Universidad Complutense, Faculty of Political Science and Sociology, before becoming in turn Professor of

³⁷ A. Tuyol y Serra, *La integración europea. Análisis histórico-institucional con textos y documentos*, vol. I, *Génesis y desarrollo de la Comunidad Europea (1951-1979)*, op. cit., p. 54.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

International Relations at the same university. It was also Truyol y Serra who steered him towards European issues, where his studies and research earned him a Jean Monnet chair *ad personam*. Consequently, the two volumes mesh perfectly³⁹.

Like his mentor, Aldecoa Luzárraga is an activist in the European cause. As such, he has been involved in the European Movement and collaborated in the European Parliament with the socialist member Carlos María Bru. His hope that Europe will evolve into a federal union, in any case, is clear from the book and is a feature of his interpretive approach: “Si bien no existe un consenso claro sobre cuál es el modelo definitivo que se quiere para Europa, ya que es un modelo abierto, el mismo está básicamente diseñado y definido en torno a unas nociones y, por tanto, en gran medida, ya condicionado en el marco de la Federación Europea, si bien ésta podrá tener distinto alcance y desarrollo”⁴⁰.

Aldecoa Luzárraga maintained that the goal of political unification, and of federation, was not only within reach, but was also imminent. He even hazards a date, borne along by the enthusiasm sparked by the introduction of the euro, the Treaty of Nice and the prospects opened up by the European Convention established following the Laeken Declaration of December 2001. His words in the preface perfectly convey the air of optimism Europe breathed at that time: “La integración europea vive posiblemente el momento más sugestivo desde su nacimiento, en la medida en que está calando en su propios cimientos, de forma casi imperceptible, la alta política, es decir, el núcleo duro de la soberanía del Estado, que hasta ahora era sólo monopolio de éste y ahora empieza a ser compartida entre los Estados miembros y la Unión Europea, ámbitos que todavía parecía imposible que se transfiriesen, como la moneda, la política exterior e interior, la defensa, el presupuesto, produciéndose un proceso de reestructuración de los Estados del sistema político de la Unión”⁴¹.

Paradoxically, histories of European integration can themselves become historical documents, as they unwittingly depict the expectations, fears and disillusionments of their time. This is the same mechanism that makes historical movies so interesting: on the one hand they transmit knowledge about

³⁹ See Francisco Aldecoa Luzarraga’s CV at <https://www.europarl.europa.eu>

⁴⁰ F. Aldecoa Luzárraga, *La integración europea. Análisis histórico-institucional con textos y documentos*, vol. II, *Génesis y desarrollo de la Unión Europea (1979-2002)*, op. cit., p. 469.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

the period in which they are set, but on the other they indirectly tell us quite a lot about the moment in which they were filmed. Compared to the other Spanish histories of European integration written in the same years, the most original feature of Aldecoa Luzárraga's book is that it tracks the years when the European Community transitioned to the European Union from the perspective of political science and international relations, whereas the other authors' points of view were rooted in economics and law⁴².

The doings and dealings that have helped forge Europe are painstakingly reported, so much so that the term "textbook" fails to do justice to this work (especially if we consider the two volumes together). Aldecoa Luzárraga's volume is particularly praiseworthy for its discussion of Altiero Spinelli's Draft Treaty for European Union approved by an overwhelming majority of the European Parliament in February 1984, the sections on the treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam, and the chapter on the EU's external policy and Europe's role in the world. This volume, too, is complete with a chronology, a chapter-by-chapter bibliography, a sitography, and a very extensive documentary appendix (103 documents taking up over 350 pages).

This is probably the best history of European integration to come out in those years, but as we pointed out earlier several other high quality texts were also published at the beginning of the century. One in particular that bears mentioning is *Historia de la Unidad Europea* by Manuel Ahijado Quintillán, published by Pirámide⁴³. Ahijado Quintillán, too, is not a historian, but an economist who taught first at the Complutense and then at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) in Madrid. His research interests include the relationship between Spain, the Community and the European Union, as well as monetary and economic union and the European Central Bank⁴⁴.

This book centers chiefly on economics, but its structure does not differ overmuch from the other histories of European integration. It is divided into two parts — *El sustrato histórico de la construcción europea* and *Reinventando Europa: una interpretación valorativa de la integración europea moderna* — and consists of twelve chapters, followed by the usual documentary appendix. However, its intention is to interpret rather than simply reconstruct, as Ahijado maintains that one of the motives that led to the birth

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ Manuel Ahijado Quintillán, *Historia de la Unidad Europea. Desde los precedentes remotos a la ampliación al Este*, Madrid, Pirámide, 2000.

⁴⁴ See Manuel Ahijado Quintillán, at <https://dialnet.unirioja.es>.

of the European Communities after World War Two was the need for the continent's smaller states to compete internationally with far larger markets. This, he believes, was the same rationale behind the German economist Friedrich List's advocacy of the Zollverein in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and inspired Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to band together as Benelux during World War II⁴⁵.

According to Ahijado, however, the fact that there were common institutions and regulations made this a federal economic community. The major leap forward came in any case with the Maastricht Treaty and the birth of the European Union, which explicitly contemplates "explotación de las economías de escala más allá de las respectivas fronteras nacionales de sus miembros (la lógica de List del gran mercado doméstico); la estabilidad macroeconómica como escenario ideal para aprovechar las ventajas de la integración económica; seguridad contra el peligro de enfrentamiento bélico entre sus miembros creando lazos económicos sólidos entre ellos; y una unión política gradual mediante las solidaridades de hecho (las políticas comunitarias)"⁴⁶.

Consequently, Ahijado's book takes a more critical stance towards European integration, finding fault with the limitations of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the lack of a common military, the delays in political integration despite the success of economic integration, and the fact that there are entire sectors in which the Member States' sovereignty is entirely untouched. Consequently, Ahijado minces no words in labeling the Maastricht Treaty "muy complicado" and branding the Amsterdam Treaty as "un tratado de serie B", and also reassesses De Gaulle's impact on Europe to some extent.

The year 2001 saw the publication of *Historia de la integración europea*⁴⁷, a multi-author volume edited by Ricardo Martín de la Guardia and Guillermo Pérez Sánchez, who also wrote two of the book's six chapters⁴⁸. The first

⁴⁵ Gabriel Pérez Pérez, *El modelo federal de la Unión Europea*, in "El Cotidiano", n. 158, noviembre-diciembre 2009, pp. 67-74.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁴⁷ Ricardo Martín de la Guardia and Guillermo Pérez Sánchez (eds.), *Historia de la integración europea*, Barcelona, Ariel, 2001.

⁴⁸ Specifically, Guillermo Pérez Sánchez wrote the chapter on the genesis and development of the Europeanist ideal, Pedro Antonio Martínez Lillo dealt with Europeanism in World War Two and the birth of the first supranational organizations after the war, José María Beneyto and Belén Becerril Atienza wrote the section on the Treaties, Juan C. Gay Armenteros covered the first enlargements, Antonio Moreno Juste addressed the relationships between Spain and Europe both before and after 1986, and Ricardo Martín de la Guardia discussed the challenge posed by enlargement to the East.

original feature of the work is precisely that of having multiple authors, who by bringing together different outlooks and areas of expertise have been able to produce a book that is both comprehensive and concise. The second original feature, which is perhaps more important from our standpoint, is that most of the authors are in fact historians in the strict sense: at the time the book was issued, the two editors taught contemporary history at the Universidad de Valladolid, Pedro Antonio Martínez Lillo held courses in the same subject at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Antonio Moreno Juste worked at the Complutense, Juan C. Gay Armenteros was Professor of Contemporary History at the Universidad de Granada, while the only non-historians were José María Beneyto and Belén Becerril Atienza, who taught legal disciplines at the Universidad CEU San Pablo in Madrid.

In this case, the perspective is that of political history, although the parties, elections, European policies, anti-Europeanism and Euroscepticism remain somewhat in the background. This, though, is a limitation shared by many textbooks of European integration history in Spain and elsewhere, and probably stems from the need to keep the number of pages down. The narrative's tone is at times overemphatic, but the presentation's clarity is always enjoyable. Another of the book's merits is the space it devotes to the European Resistance, the European unity movements, the birth of the first supranational bodies in the second half of the Forties, the abortive projects like the European Defence Community or the Draft Treaty on European Union, the impact of clandestine immigration in the EU Member States, and the problems of the Union's major Eastward enlargement. A number of maps and a useful chronology of events complete the book.

As mentioned earlier, Moreno Juste's chapter deals with Spain's approach to Europe, the long process of accession, and democratic Spain's contribution to integration as the Community became the Union. This is an area that historians have visited and revisited since the Seventies and the studies cited above by Antonio Sánchez-Gijón and Victor Pou Seradell, which were followed in the Eighties by Antonio Alonso's *España ante el Mercado Común. Del acuerdo del '70 a la Comunidad de Doce* (Espasa-Calpe, 1985)⁴⁹ and in the Nineties by the books by Raimundo Bassols, *España en Europa. Historia de la adhesión a la Comunidad Europea 1957-1985* (Estudios de Política Exterior, 1995), Fernando Guirao, *Spain and the*

⁴⁹ Antonio Alonso, *España ante el Mercado Común. Del acuerdo del '70 a la Comunidad de Doce*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1985.

West European Economic Cooperation, 1945-1957 (Macmillan, 1997), Antonio Moreno Juste, *España y el proceso de construcción europea* (Ariel, 1998), Ramón Tamames, *La larga marcha de España a la Unión Europea. Un futuro para el desarrollo* (Edimadoz 94, 1999), to list only the better-known texts⁵⁰. In the new century, this line of research bore fruit in a number of major publications: Luis Domínguez Castro (ed.), *España e Europa. Do franquismo ao euro* (Xerais, 2002), Ricardo Martín de la Guardia and Guillermo Pérez Sánchez, *La Unión Europea y España* (Actas, 2002), Julio Crespo MacLennan, *España en Europa 1945-2000. Del ostracismo a la modernidad* (Marcial Pons, 2004), as well as Joaquín Estefanía, *La larga marcha. Medio siglo de política (económica) entre la historia y la memoria* (Península, 2007)⁵¹.

Among the other authors engaged in this type of study, and apologizing beforehand for possible (and probable) omissions, mention should be made of Francesc Morata i Tierra, who in 2005 wrote a *Història de la Unió Europea* in Catalan⁵². Before his untimely death in 2014, Morata was professor of Ciencia Política y de la Administración at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). Morata devoted much of his research work to Europe since the Eighties, when he received his doctorate at the European University Institute in Florence. He was awarded a Jean Monnet ad personam chair in 2005, and between 2004 and 2009 was director of the UAB Institut Universitari d'Estudis Europeus⁵³. In particular, his work addressed autonomous regions and the European Union and global-

⁵⁰ Raimundo Bassols, *España en Europa. Historia de la adhesión a la Comunidad Europea 1957-1985*, Madrid, Estudios de Política Exterior, 1995; Fernando Guirao, *Spain and the West European Economic Cooperation, 1945-1957*, London, Macmillan, 1997; Antonio Moreno Juste, *España y el proceso de construcción europea*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1998; Ramón Tamames, *La larga marcha de España a la Unión Europea. Un futuro para el desarrollo*, Madrid, Edimadoz 94, 1999. For a more complete historiographic picture, see, once again, L. Domínguez Castro, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-44 in particular.

⁵¹ Luis Domínguez Castro (ed.), *España e Europa. Do franquismo ao euro*, Vigo, Xerais, 2002; Ricardo Martín de la Guardia and Guillermo Pérez Sánchez, *La Unión Europea y España*, Madrid, Actas, 2002; Julio Crespo MacLennan, *España en Europa 1945-2000. Del ostracismo a la modernidad*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2004; Joaquín Estefanía, *La larga marcha. Medio siglo de política (económica) entre la historia y la memoria*, Barcelona, Península, 2007.

⁵² Francesc Morata i Tierra, *Història de la Unió Europea*, Barcelona, UOC, 2005.

⁵³ Ana Mar Fernández Pasarín and John Etherington, *Francesc Morata i Tierra (1949-2014). Pasión de un europeísta*, in "La Vanguardia", 4 July 2014, at <https://www.lavanguardia.com/obituarios>

ization, and he was also the author of a book on the relationships between Spain and Europe⁵⁴.

At the turn of the century, Rafael Muñoz de Bustillo's *Introducción a la Unión Europea. Un análisis desde la economía* met with a certain degree of success. First published by Alianza Editorial in 1997⁵⁵, fully revised in 2000, and then reprinted in 2002 and in 2009, the book provides historical commentary and a diachronic review of how the old continent's economic integration came about.

Lastly, *La construcción europea. De las "guerras civiles" a la "unificación"* (Biblioteca Nueva, 2007) edited by Salvador Forner Muñoz is noteworthy for its interdisciplinary approach and perspective encompassing past, present and future challenges⁵⁶. Currently professor emeritus at the Universidad de Alicante, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, Forner Muñoz has had a distinguished career as a historian of European integration, guiding an active research group at his university and authoring a number of major publications⁵⁷.

4. The turning point in the '10s

The 2010s were critical years for the European integration process, shining a harsh light on many basic problems. The sovereign debt crisis, the austerity policies dictated by the Stability Pact, the Grexit threat, the refugee crisis and the adoption of the Fiscal Compact eroded public confidence in the European Union, bringing Eurocritical and even openly Eurosceptical attitudes to the fore.

Spain was no exception to this trend, though it began to be apparent somewhat later than in most other countries on the old continent, had its

⁵⁴ Francesc Morata i Tierra, *España en Europa, Europa en España (1986-2006)*, Barcelona, Fundació CIDOB, 2007.

⁵⁵ Rafael Muñoz de Bustillo, *Introducción a la Unión Europea. Un análisis desde la economía*, Madrid, Alianza, 1997.

⁵⁶ Salvador Forner (ed.), *La construcción europea. De las "guerras civiles" a la "unificación"*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2007.

⁵⁷ Salvador Forner Muñoz, *Comprender Europa: claves de la integración europea*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2010; *España y Europa: a los veinticinco años de la adhesión*, Valencia, Tirant Humanidades, 2012; *¿El reencuentro europeo? A los veinticinco años de la caída del Muro de Berlín*, in collaboration with Amando de Miguel Rodríguez Valencia, Tirant Humanidades, 2015; *La unidad europea. Aproximaciones a la historia de la Europa comunitaria*, Publicacions de la Universitat d'Alacant, 2016.

own particular features, and was on the whole less intense. However critical *Podemos* may have been of Europe at times, its position still fell in the “other-Europeanist” camp, while the right-wing sovereignist party *Vox* began to gain ground only in late 2018. Even the regionalist parties, which especially in Catalonia had been radicalized in recent years, became outspokenly hostile to the EU only when Brussels officially distanced itself from the separatist movements. According to the Standard Eurobarometer survey, negative attitudes towards the EU among the Spanish public peaked in 2016, but have always been significantly outweighed by positive views even in the most difficult moments⁵⁸.

This situation could not help but be reflected in the Spanish historiography on European integration, which in those years reassessed the entire process of integration under a more critical light and took a more active part in the international debate⁵⁹. It also had an indirect effect on textbooks, which took a more detached approach and a more neutral perspective in describing European events from the Fifties to the present day. A particularly significant example of this influence is provided by *Historia de la construcción europea desde 1945* by Antonio Moreno Juste and Vanessa Núñez Peñas (2017)⁶⁰. The book’s originality is apparent right from the introduction, which notes that narrating the history of Europe is difficult, not just because the national histories of the Member States are tangled together with the common supranational history, but above all because the crisis of the European Union has clouded the outlook for the integration process⁶¹.

There is an immediate sense that this history presents a problem that had been almost unknown before, and that the narrative will in turn not only raise doubts of an epistemological nature, but will also pose questions of merit and substance. For Moreno Juste and Núñez Peñas, being historians of European integration means tracking a work in progress, by definition changeable and in certain respects unpredictable, and it also means striving to make the narrative embrace the full plurality of perspectives

⁵⁸ See Standard Eurobarometer 83-93, 2015-2020, at <https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm>.

⁵⁹ For a comprehensive list of this period’s studies, see L. Domínguez Castro, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-49 in particular.

⁶⁰ Antonio Moreno Juste and Vanessa Núñez Peñas, *Historia de la construcción europea desde 1945*, Madrid, Alianza, 2017.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

and perceptions that have characterized the European project's origins and developments. Nor can the historian forget the international backdrop — the Cold War — in the early days of the integration process, or the role played at the time by the powers heading the two opposing blocs: the United States and the Soviet Union. For Moreno Juste and Núñez Peñas, however, the main point is to avoid a celebratory or self-congratulatory tone, the danger of falling into the “Christmas Story” of European integration — to use the German historian Jost Dülffer's apt phrase — or the myth-making described by Tony Just, which lays a mantle of high idealism over a process which in truth was freighted with hefty measures of pragmatism.

In addition, Moreno Juste and Núñez Peñas argue, the Maastricht Treaty was indeed a watershed in the integration process, as it paved the way to the European Union and the euro. Nevertheless, the crisis of the 2010s revealed its limitations, laying bare the many contradictions of this transitional stage. The Union's belated response to the dramatic social consequences of the crisis was often controversial, “anteponiendo los intereses de los mercados a los de los ciudadanos y poniendo de relieve el fracaso parcial de esta otra utopía más reciente en nombre de la cual la construcción europea ha sido realizada: la prosperidad y el progreso social”⁶². Consequently, Moreno Juste and Núñez Peñas maintain that “la Unión Europea como organización política necesita de nuevas narrativas que le proporcionen un mejor anclaje dentro de una visión compartida de la historia y la cultura de Europa”⁶³.

Such a narrative must give due weight to the new lines of research that are now taking shape internationally in this area: “el papel de los otros actores del proceso de integración desde las personalidades individuales más allá de los padres fundadores, a partidos políticos, grupos de presión o movimientos sociales; el impacto del proceso de integración sobre el entramado de lo que se conoce como la idea de Europa y las construcciones mentales e identitarias a las que ha dado lugar como el espacio público europeo; los límites de un proceso de construcción europea y sus consecuencias, especialmente de los procesos de europeización de la políticas públicas e instituciones incluidas las resistencias a los mismos y su influencia sobre el modelo de *governance* europea; y el papel de las instituciones comunitarias en los procesos de democratización de los países del

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 24.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

sur y del este de Europa, así como la interacción entre las agendas de las instituciones. Los Estados miembros y los países candidatos a la adhesión”⁶⁴.

Reading between the lines, we can perhaps see something of the disappointment felt by those who truly believed in the old continent’s political unification — perchance along federal lines — while being aware of the importance that the European Community and Union have had in European and international history (and even more so in the case of Spain), and, obviously, making a sharp distinction between the real and the imaginary Europe. In any case, Antonio Moreno Juste returns time and again to the questions of Europeanism and federalism in the book, perhaps because his interest in Europe is not simply scholarly but has also led to active involvement in the Spanish Federal Council of the European Movement, where he even served for a certain period as research coordinator and technical director⁶⁵.

This more critical approach was to some extent anticipated in a few earlier textbooks. One we mentioned earlier is Salvador Forner Muñoz’s *Comprender Europa: claves de la integración europea* (Biblioteca Nueva, 2010)⁶⁶. The book runs through all the events that marked the integration process from its roots in the early twentieth century, but it also offers much thoughtful reflection on the present, with a chapter devoted to the crisis of the European social model, another on the consequences of immigration, and yet another on the delicate question of enlargement to Turkey. But the most original chapter is the tenth and last, tellingly entitled “Cuando la opinión pública europea empezó a decir No”.

Similar observations could be made regarding *Europa desde 1945: el proceso de construcción europea*, a collection of articles by multiple authors issued by the journal “Ayer” and edited by Antonio Moreno Juste and Juan Carlos Pereira⁶⁷. More classic approaches are taken by *Historia de la integración europea* by Julio Gil Pecharromán (UNED, 2011, with a new updated edition in 2017), *Europa, una esperanza: reflexiones* by María Clara Pérez

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁶⁵ See <https://www.ucm.es/udcontemporanea/antonio-moreno-juste>.

⁶⁶ Salvador Forner Muñoz, *Comprender Europa: claves de la integración europea*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2010. Also by the same author, see Salvador Forner Muñoz (ed.), *La construcción de Europa. De las “guerras civiles” a la “unificación”*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2007.

⁶⁷ *Europa desde 1945. El proceso de construcción europea*, “Ayer”, n. 77, 2010.

Vila (Unión Editorial, 2013), and *Europa: pensamiento y acción, 1945-2012* by José Luis Valverde (La Madraza, 2013)⁶⁸, though the latter book is unique in that the author, as a member of the European Parliament, had direct experience of some of the events he narrates and was personally acquainted with some of the key figures⁶⁹. Among the more recent textbooks, mention should be made of *Historia de la Unión Europea: de los orígenes al Brexit* (UAM Ediciones, 2018) by Donato Fernández Navarrete, and the volume edited by Alfonso Pinilla García, *Europa, una historia con futuro. Evolución, instituciones y políticas de la Unión Europea* (Comares, 2020)⁷⁰, with six chapters by various authors dealing with such current issues as the defence and security policy and the national populist parties and movements.

Lastly, though they are not textbooks of integration history, we should also mention *Tratado de Derecho y Políticas de la Unión Europea* by José María Beneyto (Aranzadi, 2009-2020)⁷¹, which is noteworthy for its multidisciplinary approach encompassing aspects relating to law, economics, history, politics and even culture, and *Historia de Europa* edited by Miguel Artola (Espasa-Calpe, 2007)⁷², where specialists in a number of subjects retrace the political and cultural, but also social, history of the old continent through the centuries, emphasizing the shared experiences of Europe's peoples. In addition, young scholars have contributed to the Spanish historiography of European integration with their doctoral dissertations, many of which are now being published in testimony to their high quality.

Today's Europe is in ferment: the pandemic has made the need to restart the long-stalled efforts towards political unification clearer than ever before. The Conference on the Future of Europe, and to an even

⁶⁸ Julio Gil Pecharromán, *Historia de la integración europea*, Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2011; María Clara Pérez Vila, *Europa, una esperanza: reflexiones*, Madrid, Unión Editorial, 2013; José Luis Valverde, *Europa: pensamiento y acción, 1945-2012*, Granada, La Madraza, 2013.

⁶⁹ José Luis Valverde López was a Member of the European Parliament with the EPP Group from 1987 and 1999. The book features a preface by Martin Schulz, who was President of the European at the time of publication.

⁷⁰ Donato Fernández Navarrete, *Historia de la Unión Europea: de los orígenes al Brexit*, Madrid, UAM Ediciones, 2018; Alfonso Pinilla García, *Europa, una historia con futuro. Evolución, instituciones y políticas de la Unión Europea*, Granada, Comares, 2020.

⁷¹ José María Beneyto (ed.), *Tratado de Derecho y Políticas de la Unión Europea*, Madrid, Aranzadi, 2009-2020. The work consists of ten volumes, the first of which is particularly relevant here: *Desarrollo Histórico y caracteres básicos de la Unión Europea. Naturaleza, valores, principios y competencias* (2009).

⁷² Miguel Artola (ed.), *Historia de Europa*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 2007, 2 vol.

greater extent the NextGenerationEU recovery package, bring unparalleled opportunities for speeding up the integration process. Understanding the history of this process is essential in navigating such a complex undertaking. Though European studies have burgeoned in recent years in Spain, in Italy and in all the EU's Member States, they must be further reinforced. And there is no doubt that historians will be able to make a vital contribution to this effort.

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Narratives of Europe: a journey among the university textbooks of the United Kingdom

Lara Piccardo

The work of the “Narratives of Europe” research group centers on a crucial issue in history: the discipline’s function and method. While questions of such wide import are beyond our scope here, it should be borne in mind that any time we decide to analyze one historical process rather than another we are trying to determine what should be remembered and how. It should also be added that the future image and the ultimate goal of a historical process — which in many cases, and especially so for European integration, is still a work in progress — are anything but clear, and certainly do not inspire consensus. In the historiography of the European construction, this point more than any other has long fueled debate between interpretations that split early on into at least two camps: one seeing the primary dynamics of integration as tending towards a construction that will culminate in unification, and another whose vision encompasses the international organizations and relationships, and the image of a European politics of nation states that safeguards their sovereignty.

The historiography on the topic began in the Seventies¹. These early efforts focused heavily on its intellectual history and, to a certain extent, on its universal history. Interest centered on the development of the European idea of the United States of Europe as a new epoch in the history of the Old Continent after the catastrophes of the two World Wars. In the late Seventies and early Eighties, scholars’ approach also shifted to diplomatic history with the release of government archives, which in the Member States as well as the Community institutions normally takes place after thirty years. In analyzing official documents, research has mainly addressed the individual Member States’ foreign policy. Historians’ interest in the question of Europe increased as these national policies

¹ See Wilfried Loth, *Explaining European Integration: The Contribution from Historians*, in “Journal of European Integration History”, vol. 14, n. 1, 2008, pp. 9-26.

evolved towards a policy of European integration after the Second World War. From the end of the Eighties, there have also been approaches based on social history and the history of culture, thought and public opinion. These strands contribute to expanding the perspectives and chronological frameworks emphasized by diplomatic history and, in a certain sense, are linked to the first approaches to universal history developed by Geoffrey Barraclough², Rolf Hellmut Foerster³ and others⁴.

Along the way, historical research on integration has been Europeanized and internationalized. In addition, it has become increasingly interdisciplinary, to the point of falling under the current, broader heading of “European studies”, which encompasses other social disciplines as well as history: law, sociology, economics, linguistics, political science and education science. This fact is important not only in the historiographical approach, but also in teaching.

Research on the *Narratives of Europe* also raises a second question, regarding the semantic and epistemological aspects of the choice of the term “narrative”.

In recent decades, narrative has gained ground as one of the main investigative approaches in inductive research. While the method’s origins obviously lie in literature and it was first profitably applied in anthropological and ethnographic studies, it has now spread to a much wider and

² See Geoffrey Barraclough, *European Unity in Thought and Action*, Hoboken, Blackwell Publishers, 1964; Id., *The Times Atlas of World History*, London, Times Books, 1978; Id., *Main Trends in History*, New York-London, Holmes & Meier, 1979; Id., *The Turning Points in World History*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1979.

³ Rolf Hellmut Foerster, *Die Idee Europa 1300-1946. Quellen zur Geschichte der politischen Einigung*, München, Taschenbuch Verlag, 1963; Id., *Die Geschichte und die europäische Politik*, Bonn, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1966.

⁴ See Pierre-Henri Laurent, *Historical Perspectives on Early European Integration*, in “Journal of European Integration”, vol. 12, nn. 2-3, 1989, pp. 89-100; Pierre Gerbet, *La France et l’intégration européenne. Essai d’historiographie*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 1995; Clemens Wurm, *Early European Integration as a Research Field: Perspectives, Debates, Problems*, in C. Wurm (ed.), *Western Europe and Germany. The Beginnings of European Integration 1945-1960*, Oxford-Washington, Berg Publisher, 1995, pp. 9-26; Wolfram Kaiser, *From State To Society? The Historiography of European Integration*, in Michelle Cini, Angela K. Bourne (eds.), *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 190-208; Hartmut Marhold, *How to Tell the History of European Integration in the 1970s. A Survey of the Literature and Some Proposals*, in “L’Europe en Formation”, vol. 353-354, nn. 3-4, 2009, pp. 13-38; Hartmut Marhold, *European Integration, Seen from Historiography and Political Science*, in “Ritsumeikan Law Review”, n. 28, 2011, pp. 203-219.

more complex disciplinary horizon, ranging from medicine to psychology, from education sciences to political science, from sociology to law and history and, with the latter, to the transmission of memory. However, the fact that the method is both multidisciplinary and highly cross-cutting by nature makes it difficult to define exactly where the borders of “narrative” lie, describe its distinctive features, and specify the techniques and tools it relies on. So daunting are these challenges that it has at times been emphasized that all efforts at systematization are useless in view of the freedom the method can otherwise offer to scholars of narrative. On the other hand, however fascinating and attractive the method may be, applying it is far from straightforward and calls for careful preparation if it is to be a truly useful and rigorous approach rather than a mere stylistic expedient with none of the meticulousness and precision that scientific research demands⁵.

Narratives, in fact, are part of a community of stories that are meaningful only within specific cultures, and analyzing these stories makes it possible to make the connection between personal experience and society.

The relationship between memory and narrative hinges on the social representations that “produce” lived experience. Even the present is tied to experiences whose essence changes along with the representation of their existence. In these terms, the narrative approach in the social sciences calls for thinking about the epistemological questions entailed by the method and the tools it employs, as well as the difficulties that the approach involves. Among these difficulties, those posed by what is referred to as the “logocentrism” of the social sciences are especially critical, as they go beyond the objective/subjective dichotomy and encourage us to rethink our use of sources, and in particular our use of oral sources.

No discussion of the concept of “narrative” can ignore a number of considerations originating in the realm of linguistics. According to most linguistic studies dealing with similar textual schemata, to give life to a narrative there must be a transformation permitting the passage from one stage to another in the sequence of events. Narrating is not just telling stories. It is a way of realizing what the world around us is like, a sort of analysis of how the situation stands, inside and out; a descriptive

⁵ In this connection, see *inter alia*: Barbara Poggio, *Mi racconti una storia? Il metodo narrativo nelle scienze sociali*, Roma, Carocci, 2004; Barbara Czarniawska, *Narratives in Social Science Research*, London, Sage, 2004.

act that serves not only to emit a text, but also to become conscious of our vision of ourselves and the world. But the act of narrating in itself entails constructing a point of view and a program of action: it is through narrative that we present our own values and way of interpreting reality. Moreover, while it is true that a narrative presents an opening situation, a transformation of some kind, and a denouement, by narrating we explain how this transformation can be brought about.

None of this is intended to mean that a work is any less scientific, or to say that the human and social sciences must play second fiddle to the so-called “hard sciences”: as we have seen in the disputes among virologists in the past year and a half, even medicine and pharmacology take their own slant on things. Far from it: narratives of different kinds make it possible to problematize events, policies and so forth, fueling fruitful scientific debate.

All of the aspects associated with the historiography of European integration and the concept of “narrative” are particularly evident in the textbooks written for university students, researchers and specialists. Naturally, it can readily be imagined that even as simple a measure as the number of textbooks published and the general approach of their authors and editors can give a rough idea of the attention afforded to the topic in each country.

In the case of the United Kingdom, the number of publications on the history of European integration is, unsurprisingly, very large: this is because English ensures a larger circulation than other working languages. Nevertheless, for the purposes of our study, we will not consider all published works, but only a selection based on specific criteria.

First, we considered only university textbooks, i.e., books assigned as required or recommended reading by instructors teaching courses in European integration. It should be emphasized that our use of the term “textbook” is not to be interpreted pejoratively: the effort that the authors have put into research and synthesis for the benefit of readers who may not be well versed in the subject matter is clear in each of these volumes.

Second, we considered only books written by British-born academics, and not those written in English by authors of other nationalities: this is to give prominence to the cultural and national (not to be confused with nationalistic) approach typical of every author, as we are all obviously — and inescapably — “affected” in some way by our own culture.

Third, the number of “purely” historical and historiographic textbooks in the United Kingdom is far from large: to the best of my knowledge, fewer than a dozen university textbooks dealing exclusively with the history of European integration are currently available on the British market.

Fourth, British teaching approaches chiefly favor interdisciplinarity between history and political science as well as between history and economics, but less so between history and law: for this reason, this study also considers textbooks straddling two disciplines⁶.

Fifth, British textbooks are not addressed only to university students in the United Kingdom. With the internationalization of universities, they are often adopted — either in English or in translation — by universities in other countries.

Lastly, the versatility of the British publishing industry, and its ability to follow and often anticipate trends in the book market, are such that these volumes, and even the most dated among them, are still in print and/or available as e-books: this enables them not only to fulfill their specific function as a university teaching tool, but also to be a means of disseminating culture and engaging a broader public outside the university setting.

After a rapid overview of the features shared by British textbooks, the following pages will offer a more detailed presentation of several works

⁶ In alphabetical order by author’s surname, the British textbooks considered in the study are: Alasdair Blair, *The European Union since 1945*, London, Routledge, 2010, 2nd ed.; Michael Burgess, *Federalism and European Union: Political Ideas, Influences and Strategies in the European Community 1972-1987*, London, Routledge, 1989; Michael Burgess, *Federalism and European Union. The Building of Europe 1950-2000*, London, Routledge, 2000; Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent, William E. Paterson (edited by), *The European Union in Crisis*, London, Palgrave, 2017; Richard Thomas Griffiths, *Thank you M. Monnet: Essays on the History of European Integration*, Leiden, Leiden University Press, 2013; Alan Milward, *Politics and Economics in the History of the European Union*, London, Routledge, 2005; Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*, London, Routledge, 1984; Alan Milward, George Brennan, Federico Romero, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, London, Routledge, 1992; Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, London, Palgrave, 2017, 8th ed.; John Peterson, Elizabeth Bomberg, *Decision Making in the European Union*, London, Palgrave, 1999; John Pinder, *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001; Peter M. Stirk, *A History of European Integration since 1914*, London, Pinter, 1996; Stuart Sweeney, *The Europe Illusion*, London, Reaktion Books, 2019; Derek Urwin, *The Community of Europe. History of European Integration since 1945*, London, Longman, 1995; Derek Urwin, *Western Europe since 1945. A Short Political History*, London, Longman, 1981; Helen Wallace, William Wallace (edited by), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, 4th ed.

selected because their authors have contributed to launching a new historiographical interpretation, or because they are extensively used worldwide.

1. Common features

Before taking a closer look at the textbooks that are most widely used in British university programs, a few clarifications are in order.

The first concerns terminology, while the others regard content.

To begin with, the titles of British textbooks rarely use the terms “European integration” or “European construction”. The expressions “Western Europe” or “European Community” in the singular are more common in the works published before 1989 or before Maastricht. From the Nineties onwards, the tendency is to use “European Union”.

British textbook authors do not employ the expression “European unification”, opting for “integration” and “construction”, either used as synonyms or with a marked preference for the first of the two terms. It should be emphasized that although “integration” has positive connotations, it does not denote an explicit goal, but rather a way of living together: the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* defines the term as “the action or process of combining two or more things in an effective way”⁷. “Construction” means “the way that something has been built or made”⁸. Accordingly, all British textbooks with one exception present European integration as a voluntary act of constructing the European Union *tout court*, with adjustments to limit and avoid crises or resolve questions associated with the operating mechanisms, but there is no suggestion that this regional organization should aim at evolving into a state.

It is no coincidence that the textbooks refer to “spillover”, but not in the sense that the term was used by Monnet⁹: spillover is undoubtedly a process for increasing the European Union’s purview and supranationality but here again, according to the British authors, it must result from a clear intention by the parties involved, given that European integration is neither inevitable nor automatic.

⁷ See the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/integration?q=integration>, accessed on May 31, 2021.

⁸ See the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/construction?q=construction>, accessed on May 31, 2021.

⁹ See, *inter alia*, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, *La faute de M. Monnet: La République et l’Europe*, Paris, Fayard, 2006.

The British textbooks make no mention of places of remembrance and, with only two exceptions, never refer to the idea of Europe, but trace Europe's course from the Forties onwards. In this reconstruction, most of the manuals do not offer ambitious historiographical theses. Rather, they try to present a sequence of events with quick reviews of those moments — the attempt to establish the European Defence Community, for instance — that failed to bear fruit.

The more recent textbooks tend to see the construction of Europe in terms of how a shared interest in reconstruction led to wider-ranging political efforts, and devote considerable space to the debate on Great Britain's accession, admitting that not joining earlier was a mistake but stressing all the open questions with the Commonwealth. Margaret Thatcher is for the most part presented as a stateswoman committed to settling the unsolved problems of the Community budget, and in general particular attention is devoted to the Copenhagen criteria for enlargement to Central-Eastern Europe, dwelling especially on the political obligations that are intended to lead to a smooth, rapid democratic transition.

2. The pragmatic “pioneer”: Milward

As Alan Milward was a prominent economic historian, three of his textbooks were considered in this study: *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*, London, Routledge, 1984, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, London, Routledge, 1992, *Politics and Economics in the History of the European Union*, London, Routledge, 2005. Two were written by Milward alone, while the third, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, was written with the assistance of George Brennan and Federico Romero after Milward joined the faculty of the European University Institute in Florence.

The first in chronological order is *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*, which came out in 1984. It presents one of the first systematic pictures of postwar rebuilding, but provides scant details about the formation and activities of the movements for European unity and to the basic idea of European unification that was so dear — though in nuanced ways — to the Founding Fathers. Attention centers chiefly on economic aspects and the American push for the Continent's integration. The book had the great merit of paving the way to other valuable work: the mono-

graphs by Michael J. Hogan on the Marshall Plan's impact on Europe¹⁰ and by John Gillingham on the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community¹¹, as well as the noteworthy collections edited by Klaus Schwabe¹², Raymond Poidevin¹³ and Enrico Serra¹⁴. These are instructive works, which have expanded and increased our overall understanding of the rise of transnational sentiments and institutions.

Milward's second book is a painstaking account of the origins of the Treaty of Paris and the Treaties of Rome, with a new, revisionist interpretation that, abandoning the rhetoric of certain early studies of the issue by other scholars, offers a thorough examination of the motives for integration. Raising old questions and proposing new answers, the book argues that the traditional nation-states were chiefly defended and reformulated to adapt to new circumstances by those, who had set regional integration in motion. Their goals were not to construct new cross-frontier organizations, but to retain the beleaguered nation-state system. Milward's contribution is in explaining the emergence of a new national power paradigm that included compulsory intergovernmental institutions, which would assist the postwar nation-state in achieving the more difficult and complex answers to the problems of the contemporary national political economies of the region. Contrary to what has been commonly assumed in most earlier works, Milward insists that economics followed politics in that domestic (and social) needs dictated economic strategies. Milward forcefully denies any primacy to external affairs — the Cold War, the Soviets, and the Americans — in this decision to employ pan-European structures to prop up and reinvigorate the state. Milward counters what he calls a "fiction" — that a European revolution occurred in which national politicians undermined or diminished state

¹⁰ Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

¹¹ John Gillingham, *Coal, Steel, and the Rebirth of Europe, 1945-55: The Germans and French from Ruhr Conflict to Economic Community*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

¹² Klaus Schwabe (ed.), *Die Anfänge des Schuman-Plans 1950/1951—The Beginnings of the Schuman-Plan*, Baden, Nomos Verlag, 1988.

¹³ Raymond Poidevin (ed.), *Histoire des débuts de la construction européenne (mars 1948 - mai 1950)*, Brussels-Milan-Paris-Baden-Baden, Bruylant-Giuffrè-L.G.D.J.-Nomos Verlag, 1986.

¹⁴ Enrico Serra (ed.), *La relance européenne et les Traités de Rome*, Actes du colloque de Rome 25-28 mars 1987, Brussels-Milan, Bruylant-Giuffrè, 1989.

power with new trans-state organizations — with his new historical outlook. His argument is that after 1945 the European nation-state rescued itself from collapse, created a new political consensus as the basis of its legitimacy and through changes in its responses to its citizens, which meant a sweeping extension of its functions and ambitions, and reasserted itself as a fundamental unit of political organization. The fact that this salvaging of the state demanded some limited surrenders of national sovereignty to a supranation should not mislead the historian, he states, to believe that regionalism was replacing the state with another core form of governance. The creation of the Community across state frontiers, Milward demonstrates, was a politically necessary, consciously plotted arrangement that left most political powers within the nation. Thus, Milward believes that the internal state environments in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux ultimately determined state decisions, not convictions about the empowerment of federal communities. He calls the preponderant integration literature “myth making” when it states that European intentions were to form a body politic with supranational authority that superseded those of its members. In effect, those politicians agreed that they were collectively responsible for solving problems anew in order first to save the nation-state. He demonstrates that this meant erecting some cross-border institutions that pooled small portions of state power, which would not just maintain the nation but also reinforce it.

This book is an enviable achievement because of the extent and depth of archival research in national and regional centers and the multilingual talents this called for. It is research work on an unprecedented scale and in six languages. In many respects, much postwar history in this field was provisional due to closed archives. If we consider the enormous bulk of national documentation that has been released since the mid-Eighties, Milward has produced an impressive history characterized by relentless research into new primary sources. Milward also provides a thought-provoking explanation of the Common Agricultural Policy, which he presents as a mechanism devised to protect inefficient, backward, but nevertheless politically important farm regions. He is not the first to point out this trio of determinants, but he has woven the segments quite efficiently and soundly placed them in the context of a broad analytical framework. The concluding chapter on the split between the

British and the continentals is also stimulating. The depiction is one of British inability to perceive how “Little Europe” was devising a new governance system that still centered on the nation-state and was not engaged in a comprehensive move to merge national sovereignty into supranational institutions. London misread integration, says Milward, and was weakened substantially by not joining the two communities. His evidence from the Bank of England archives and the Public Record Office (materials on the Cabinet, Prime Minister, Board of Trade, Foreign Office and Treasury) shows the British government’s prejudice and blindness toward the incipient European economic order. Particularly revealing is Harold Macmillan’s statement in 1959 about the three devils attempting to mislead the United Kingdom, “the Jews, the Planners, and the old cosmopolitan element” (p. 432). The book, however, takes a national view of Jean Monnet, Paul-Henri Spaak, Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi, who are portrayed as merely national statesmen adhering to national wishes and aims and doing so by employing national instruments of power. He maintains they had few convictions of a federalist or functionalist nature, omitting evidence that they were not mere pragmatists or engaged in integration rhetoric for political purposes.

The last book, *Politics and Economics in the History of the European Union*, is, as the preface suggests, a response to the accusations that Milward’s earlier works presented the view that European Union’s origins were economic, whereas they merely invited historians of European integration to go beyond their preferred choice of writing only about diplomatic questions. Each of the three chapters of the book presents an exploration of the nature of national choice about the common market. As the purposes of the common market have been inseparably both political and economic, the base of decision-making within the European Union has also been politico-economic.

While Milward was a pioneer in studies of European integration, his focus was limited to the economic component and the role of the nation-state, neglecting the influence of federalism and pacifism on the European construction.

British pragmatism undoubtedly plays a role in explaining this approach.

3. A more Eurocentric vision: Pinder

John Pinder's textbook, *The European Union. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, is a clear presentation of the dynamics of the European construction. Pinder embraces a very different approach from Milward's. He believes it is necessary to go beyond economics and also consider the political aspects, as he states in the opening pages:

The focus on the economic aspects of integration that has been common among British politicians has diverted attention away from this underlying motive and restricted their ability to play an influential and constructive part in such developments (p. 3).

Pinder has been described as “that rare thing: an intellectual leader in politics”¹⁵, especially close to the *Movimento Federalista Europeo*, co-founder with Jacques Vandamme of the Trans-European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) in 1974, and chairman from 1985 to 2008 of the Federal Trust for Education and Research founded by William Beveridge in 1945.

It thus comes as no surprise that the first chapter, *What the EU is for*, argues that the initial impetus for the European construction came from the Franco-German reconciliation, and explicitly states that for France and Germany, finding a way to live together in a durable peace was a fundamental political priority that the new Community must promote: the motive of peace and security in a democratic political system that was fundamental to the foundation of the Community remains a powerful influence on governments and politicians in many Member States. Though the EDC is dealt with summarily in only a few lines and with no mention of Article 38, Pinder clarifies the reasons for Britain's reluctance to enter the new European forum:

The British, who had not suffered the shock of defeat and did not share the conviction that there must be radical reform of the European system of nation-states, stood aside from the Community in the 1950s. With some exceptions, they failed to understand the strength of the case for such reform. (...) So after failing to secure a free trade area that would incorporate the EEC as well as other West European countries, successive British governments sought entry into the Community, finally succeeding in 1973. But while the British played a leading part in developing the common mar-

¹⁵ Andrew Duff, *John Pinder: Like a Pilgrim*, in “The Federalist”, Year LVII, nn. 1-2, 2015, p. 127.

ket into a more complete single market, they continued to lack the political motives that have driven the founder states, as well as some others, to press towards other forms of deeper integration (pp. 4-5).

The following chapter, *How the EU was made*, offers a “clean” narrative of the motives and interests that, together, enabled the European Community to develop. Attention focuses on the institutional reforms: the Single European Act called for the common market to be completed by 1992 and reinforced both the powers and institutions of the Community. It was followed by the treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon, which in Pinder’s view reinforced the powers and institutions of the EU. Pinder also explores the single market perspective, which helped relaunch the economy and strengthened Community institutions as they pursued a wide-ranging legislative agenda. But the federalist perspective also receives attention. In connection with Maastricht, for example, Pinder writes:

The more federalist among the governments, however, felt that the Maastricht Treaty did not go far enough. With the decisive new monetary powers and the prospect of further enlargement, first to some of the few remaining West European states that were not already members, then to many more from Central and Eastern Europe, these wanted to make the Union more effective and democratic. So the treaty provided for another IGC; and the result was the Amsterdam Treaty, signed in 1997 and in force in 1999 (p. 29).

The book then examines the institutional structure, the economic aspects, the enlargements, and the agricultural and social policies. The concluding section addresses Brussels’ relationships with the rest of Europe and the world, arguing that enlargement can be seen as an essential part of the EU and its continuing development, not least in its dealings with those who remain outside. Particular attention is directed to the first Copenhagen criterion, emphasizing that membership is open to any European state that cleaves to the principals of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. Lastly, the book maintains that the EU has the potential to be an equal partner with the United States with respect to the economy, the environment and soft security. Pinder believes that it should not be too hard for Americans to adjust to a more powerful European Union after four decades of reasonable cooperation in the field of trade, where both already have equivalent strength, and with no prospect of rivalry in the field of military power.

4. An English federalist: Burgess

At the end of the Eighties, a textbook arrived from the University of Hull that was decidedly unusual on the British academic scene, although the question of federalism was not entirely foreign to the United Kingdom: this was Michael Burgess's *Federalism and European Union: Political Ideas, Influences and Strategies in the European Community 1972-1987*, London, Routledge, 1989.

Burgess offers a new interpretation of the postwar evolution of European integration and the European Union: this book reappraises and reassesses conventional explanations of European integration. It adopts a federalist approach, which supplements state-based arguments with federal political ideas, influences and strategies. In a novel departure from the approach taken by other textbooks, Burgess explores the philosophical and historical origins of federal ideas and traces their influence throughout the whole of the EU's evolution. The book examines federal ideas stretching back to the sixteenth century and demonstrates their fundamental continuity with contemporary European integration. It situates these ideas in the broad context of postwar Western Europe and underlines their practical relevance in the activities of Jean Monnet and Altiero Spinelli. Postwar empirical developments are explored from a federalist perspective, revealing an enduring persistence of federal ideas, which have been ignored or overlooked in more conventional British interpretations. The book challenges traditional conceptions of the postwar and contemporary evolution of the EU, to reassert and reinstate federalism in the theory and practice at the core of European integration.

5. The EU crisis: Dinan, Nugent and Paterson

Politics is so often the routine of dealing with day-to-day emergencies that we can lose sight of what is and what is not a crisis. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the second decade of the twenty-first century has been a period of crisis for the European Union. While it is often said that the Union has been faced with many crises before (although this is not always true), that which began in 2009-2010 as the "Eurozone crisis" grew into a crisis of greater magnitude and danger than the Union had ever seen. As Rem Korteweg argued in 2015¹⁶, the EU then appeared —

¹⁵ Rem Korteweg, *The Four Horsemen Circling the European Council Summit*, 24 June 2015, posted at <https://www.cer.eu/insights/four-horsemen-circling-european-council>, accessed on May 31, 2021.

and, perhaps, still does — to be surrounded by the four horsemen of the Apocalypse: Death’s harvesting of refugees and migrants in the Mediterranean put pressure on Schengen; War haunted Eastern Europe, straining relations with Russia; Famine brought hardship and poverty to Southern Europe thanks to the Eurozone crisis; and Pestilence spread Euroscepticism from Britain thanks to the then forthcoming Brexit referendum.

Three authors in particular deal with the question: Desmond Dinan, Neill Nugent and William E. Paterson, with *The European Union in Crisis*, London, Palgrave, 2017.

Dinan is Irish and is the Ad personam Jean Monnet Professor of Public Policy at the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University in Arlington, Virginia. The other two editors are British: Neill Nugent, a political scientist, teaches at Manchester Metropolitan University, while Paterson is Honorary Professor of German and European Politics at Aston University (UK).

For Dinan, Nugent and Paterson, the scale and danger of the crisis can only be appreciated if the crisis is seen as a multidimensional one playing out at many different levels: it is internal and external; economic, political, and social; core and periphery; transitory and possibly permanent.

It is difficult to highlight particular chapters from a book so rich in analysis and wide-ranging in topics covered. The multi-dimensional nature of the crisis is outlined at the start, followed by Dinan’s chapter *Crises in EU History* dismissing the idea that crises have been the driving force of European integration. For Dinan, this idea has been so deeply woven into the narrative of the EU’s history that it has left many complacent about the real dangers the current crisis poses. Instead, many hold onto a myopic belief that the EU can both survive and prosper from this crisis. The full severity of the crisis is exposed in the ensuing chapters. The big three — Eurozone, Schengen and Brexit — are comprehensively analyzed from many different perspectives.

Other chapters cover topics that are large enough to warrant individual books themselves: the wider crisis in the political economy of Europe and the West; the core-periphery tensions straining the unity of the Union; the challenge of a fiscal federation to deal with the crisis; the strengths and weaknesses of the EU’s institutions; the legitimacy challenges such as the Troika and the dangers of coercive Europeanization; the place of Germany as the “indispensable power”, but one that has

struggled to get its way; the future of Greece in the EU; the uncertain role of newer members from Central and Eastern Europe; the instability in Eastern Europe surrounding developments in Ukraine and with Russia; the global perceptions of an EU seen as weak and declining, and which despite being born from geopolitical tensions has struggled to grasp the continued relevance of geopolitical thinking and hard power; and finally the theoretical approaches to understanding the whole mess and whether or not the EU can survive.

Whether the causes of the crisis are endogenous or exogenous, self-inflicted or the result of unforeseen flaws, the fraying of solidarity, declining trust, and deepening divergences over the way forward are recurring themes throughout. So too is woeful leadership, wishful thinking, and poor planning. As the editors argue of two of the main parts of the crisis, “Like EMU, Schengen had been designed from the perspective of hoping for the best rather than anticipating the worst. When the worst happened, the system was unable to cope” (p. 7).

As Europe’s predominant organization for politics, economics, social matters and nontraditional security, the state the EU is in matters a lot for Europeans. But Dinan, Nugent and Paterson remind us that EU is not “Europe” in much the same way the USA is not “America”. In looking at the EU, the book, therefore, touches on but never focuses on some of the deeper problems facing Europe: its demographics; the struggle to maintain various welfare models; the future of democracy and universal values Europe has held dear but with growing Euroscepticism; investments in infrastructure, science, digitization, military technology and productivity; environmental challenges; questions surrounding Europe’s mix of identities, religions and ethnicities. All of the chapters touch on some of these deeper problems, with some chapters doing so more than others. Naturally, though we may often forget that other regions and countries face crises that are just as big if not bigger, few doubt the future existence of countries like Russia, China or the USA. With Europe’s deeper problems lurking beneath the EU’s own problems, it should not surprise that the question of the EU’s long-term survival has frequently been raised.

Dinan, Nugent and Paterson, who have long been engaged in European studies, have chosen to address a specific but crucial topic that offers a solid starting point for understanding a Union, which in recent years has been put to the test as never before.

In addition to this book, Dinan and Nugent have many other publications to their credit, including two that are germane to this study, as they are listed in the European Union Studies Association website's *Teaching the EU Interest Section. Recommended Textbooks*¹⁷.

For example, Desmond Dinan has published *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration (2nd. ed.)*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999 and has also compiled a useful reference tool for academics and students: *Encyclopedia of the European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998. The encyclopedia's entries do not address the ideological and political motivations that inspired the process of European integration, nor is there an entry on "Federalism". There is, however, an entry on "Functionalism" which discusses the EU's Founding Fathers.

Nugent's book, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, London, Palgrave, 2017, now in its eighth edition, is a political science textbook but features an extensive initial section on the historical evolution of the European construction. Though he does not go into the same depth as Pinder, Nugent emphasizes the political and conceptual value of European integration, and also devotes space to the thought of Altiero Spinelli. Naturally, the book can only provide a summary of a lengthy process, but offers a thorough exploration of the operating mechanisms of European governance and its strengths and weaknesses.

Paterson, as a specialist in German politics, does not appear to have published textbooks on European integration.

6. History by "non-historians"

Alasdair Blair, head of the Department of Historical and Social Studies at De Montfort University in Leicester, where he leads the Jean Monnet module on Politics of the European Union, published *The European Union since 1945*, Harlow, Pearson Longman, 2005.

Like many others, the book deals with history, but the author is not a historian. Consequently, the narrative of Europe here serves as a broader assessment of the state of the Union and its future. It is thus no accident that the section outlining the history of the European construction is not in fact entitled History but, more ambitiously, Analysis, though it follows

¹⁷ See <https://www.eustudies.org/interest-sections/teaching/recommended-textbooks>, accessed May 31, 2021.

the traditional breakdown by decades: 1945-1957, 1958-1968, 1969-1979, 1990-2004. And as the preface states, “This book is not of course a work of original research but draws heavily on the work of others. The aim of the book is to provide an accessible introduction to the study of European integration”.

In the book, Alasdair Blair provides an account of the history of European integration from its beginnings after 1945 to the negotiation of the Constitutional Treaty in 2004. Taking a chronological approach, Blair examines the economic and political factors that have shaped the process of European integration, turning then to explore other aspects: the context of European integration and expansion, the relations between the EU and the Member States, the EU’s institutional evolution, methods of decision-making, key policies of the Union, and the future direction of European integration. The need for security, prosperity and reconstruction in early postwar Europe led the Six to press ahead with the ECSC, Euratom and EEC experiments. This was an experiment in post-national policymaking in a unique institutional form unlike any seen before. By 1960 the age of austerity had been supplanted by the age of affluence for Western European states. The third chapter focuses on the period between the signing of the Treaties of Rome and the path-breaking Hague Summit of 1969, devoting special attention to the interplay between state-centric intergovernmentalism and supranationalism: in particular, the book contrasts the advances of supranationalism with the nationalist backlash of Gaullism and the United Kingdom’s rejection from membership in 1961-1963 and 1967. The topic is returned to later, discussing the interplay between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism in the domestic, European and international contexts in the case of the first enlargement. The impact of the Delors Commission on integration is analyzed in the context of the Single European Act, the creation of the Single Market and the road to 1992. The EU is a remarkable experiment in deeply structured regional integration. And the transformation of the original ECSC into a fully-fledged European Union is in itself remarkable if we consider the map of Europe in 1945-1950.

It should be emphasized that Blair mentions a number of the European unification movements of the Forties but, like Milward, takes a pragmatic and political approach to the process of European integrations rather than discussing its ideals at length.

7. The “Europe” illusion

Lastly, we will take a look at a very different textbook whose author, like Milward, is a historian who has given us a historical textbook written from a distinctive historiographic viewpoint. This is *The Europe Illusion*, London, Reaktion Books, 2019, by Stuart Sweeney of the University of Oxford’s Centre for European History: at almost 400 pages, even its length makes it an exception to the general run of British textbooks.

The introduction begins with Brexit, dismissed as a populist-racist interlude, rather than a reflection of distinct historical legacies in European states, which encourage integration, with appropriate safety valves.

The book opens its narrative in 1648, thus taking a long-term view that makes it unique among textbooks, and tells its tale in terms of a three-way dynamic between Great Britain, France and Germany.

According to Sweeney, the European integration that developed over the 370 years he considers was the fruit of a less formal interconnectedness, evolving into treaties and more recently as attempts at a European constitution. The differences between France, Great Britain and Germany (and the predecessor German-speaking entities) as dominant powers in Europe provide insights into different paths available to cement such interconnectedness. Yet the histories and cultures of these linguistically differentiated powers demonstrate the challenge faced by committed European federalists as they sought to build “something” resembling a United States of Europe: language, history, culture, religion, political constitutions and practice, empire, ethnicity, migrations, wars and revolutions all played their part.

The Europe illusion, Sweeney maintains, is held by nationalists and supranationalists alike; he rejects both a “one size fits all” Europe and the old, and by now anachronistic, sovereign nation-states.

But the book argues that Brexit will not scupper the federalist dream of a United States of Europe. Sweeney stresses that the federal project has a strong “historical pedigree”, with roots in the Holy Roman Empire, the Zollverein and in German state-building. Ironically, it was British innovations in federalism through the union of England and Scotland that so impressed Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, authors of the American Federalist Papers in 1787-1788.

The EU will remain, Sweeney tells us, a formidable institution of 27 states, whose “non-Euro zone” portion has been greatly reduced by Brexit, given

that the eight remaining non-Euro states are likely to face pressure to conform to the architecture of the European Central Bank. In short, Sweeney maintains, the weight of historical momentum towards a United States of Europe is strong, and he quotes ECB President Mario Draghi as saying “the ECB is ready to do whatever it takes to preserve the euro. And believe me, it will be enough”¹⁸. He then reminds us of the need for memory: “So with the benefit of the rich history of these three states, and their interrelationships over time, we will seek to conclude on which way events may go. At the same time we must remain vigilant to the warning, always provided by historians, that the past is not necessarily a guide for the future”.

8. Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the narratives of Europe offered by the textbooks can also be said to be the result of historiographies and memories handed down. One of the first things to emerge forcefully from the United Kingdom’s textbooks is the range of divergent interpretations of the primary nature of the drive for European integration: some authors concentrate on the economic motives for reconstruction, others stress the political value of the European construction, and only in rare cases is attention devoted to the more idealistic aspects fueling hopes for a European federation. British historians¹⁹ state these positions quite clearly. John Young, for instance, argues that the Schuman Plan was devised to deliberately exclude the United Kingdom, seen as the only actor on the European stage able to move freely between France and Germany. Keeping Britain out, moreover, was a way of demonstrating that a customs union — and an economic union — could be established and prosper even without London. Historiography continues to ponder the British and French intentions concerning the Schuman Plan. According to Alan Milward, Paris did everything it could to involve London. In the opposite camp, Pinder believes that the United Kingdom was not ready to abandon its feeling of being a Great Power, and had failed to grasp the true scope of Monnet’s and Schuman’s project.

¹⁸ Mario Draghi, *Speech by Mario Draghi, President of the European Central Bank at the Global Investment Conference in London 26 July 2012*, <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/date/2012/html/sp120726.en.html>, accessed May 31, 2021.

¹⁹ Ilaria Poggiolini, *Storia e storiografia sulle origini di un non-rapporto: la Gran Bretagna e le Comunità 1950-1956*, in “Ventunesimo secolo”, vol. 6, n. 14, October 2007, pp. 151-165.

Over and above the different historiographic approaches, a number of salient points must be emphasized.

First, the topic of European integration is by no means marginal in the United Kingdom. Though perspectives differ, the subject is debated, explored and taught, proving that the European Union is acknowledged to have a central role in the lives of the Community's citizens and those of Europe in general. The British are connoisseurs of the history of Europe's integration and of many of its nuances: in addition to the textbooks presented here, there are many other investigations of such crucial matters as the European unification movements, the federalist projects, the contribution of the English school between the two wars, the question of governance, the importance of the enlargements and the projects for reforming the founding treaties. The British book market is also particularly attentive to European issues and, thanks to the English language's global reach, offers titles of undoubted interest to historians, historiographers, students and academics.

British textbooks are highly interdisciplinary, as it is undeniable that the history of European integration stands at the intersection of many other histories: the history of international relations (and all their many aspects, whether political, economic, social or cultural), the history of institutions, diplomatic history, economic history, the history of societies, and so forth. But it is a new history, in the sense that it originated recently, and even at the same time as the events it deals with, encouraged by the demand for history voiced by the society of the present day, by our uncertain era's need to decode the signs of the times as soon as possible, almost as they arise, and to provide grist for our "debating society". It is also a new history because it has its own distinctive features: it is transnational as regards its subject and, consequently, its sources; it is interdisciplinary, not only in relation to other histories, but also in relation to European legal, economic and political studies; it encompasses historical time (which now extends more or less to the end of the Eighties and Nineties) and the present day (current affairs), and, encouraged to be forward-looking by the adjacent European disciplines, is urged to suggest hypotheses for future development as well as historicizing assessments.

In the final analysis, we can say that it is a history that is both complex and specialized at one and the same time. And the students who approach the history of European integration must be aware of this. If this inter-

pretation holds true, it follows that an interdisciplinary approach is as many-sided and many-faceted as an extremely complicated narrative. The British textbooks have understood this, bringing together multiple disciplines to present a three dimensional picture of the European project.

Lastly, the British textbooks are highly accessible for two reasons: they do not use footnotes or end notes, but instead feature specific sections focusing on the Euro glossary, original documents, and lists of further reading and acronyms. These are valuable features in any book intended for teaching purposes, which all textbook authors would do well to emulate.

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Views and teaching about the European Union in Hungary 1957-2020

Federigo Argentieri, Anna Molnár, Mónika Szente-Varga

Communist Hungary, 1957-1990

On March 25, 1957 the Rome Treaties were signed by the leaders of the six founding states of the European Economic Community in the Capitolium, and subsequently ratified by their respective parliaments¹. Echoes of the recent Hungarian Revolution, which had shaken the Soviet bloc just five months earlier, influenced the vote, as the two influential Communist parties of France and Italy — in harmony with the USSR's hostile position — voted against ratification, while the German SPD and the Italian Socialist party, both of whom had a past record of hostility or uncertainty towards the Marshall Plan, NATO and the Western alliance in general, opted for a vote in favor (SPD and PSI on Euratom) or abstention (PSI on the EEC).

Exactly at the same time, in Budapest, one of the leading politicians of the Revolution wrote a memorandum which he entitled *The Situation in Hungary and in the World*². Born in 1911, István Bibó had actively contributed to Hungary's public life between 1945 and 1948, after which he was silenced simply because he was not a communist. In October 1956, like most Hungarians, he returned to politics and served as minister in Imre Nagy's third and last government, until it was overthrown by the Soviet troops on November 4. He remained in his office in the Parliament building until he was told to go home. In May 1957 he was arrested and in August 1958 sentenced to life imprisonment. Amnestied in 1963, he died in 1979.

¹ E. Calandri - M.E. Guasconi - R. Ranieri, *Storia politica e economica dell'integrazione europea dal 1945 ad oggi*, Napoli, EdiSES, 2015, pp. 93-94

² István Bibó, *The Hungarian Revolution of 1956: Scandal and Hope in Democracy, Revolution, Self-Determination - Selected Writings*, edited by Károly Nagy, Highland Lakes (NY), Atlantic Research and Publications, 1991, pp. 331-354.

According to Bibó, the Hungarian Revolution was “the scandal of the Western world”³:

In spite of it being unprepared, unorganized, and taking place in reaction to acts of irrational bloodshed, the revolution showed itself to be surprisingly sober, humane, and moderate in nature. Inasmuch as subsequent analyses still declared it to have been hopeless from the start, this was not because it was irrational, but rather because it was abandoned. Other uprisings could take place in Eastern Europe, with more participants, weapons, fighters and victims; it is scarcely possible, however, that a country could again produce such impeccable legal, political and moral justifications for becoming an international policy agenda item — by sweeping away a hated, oppressive, and bureaucratic dictatorship and bringing to power through legal means a convinced Communist [Nagy] who — having acknowledged the Communist Party's loss of moral and political credibility in Hungary — came to accept parliamentary democracy based on multiple parties and announced that his country wished to remain outside the military blocks⁴.

Overall, Bibó's reproach could be summarized as follows: you in the West kept protesting for a decade against Communist regimes, then became paralyzed when we in Eastern Europe took your words seriously.

János Kádár agreed to lead a new government with the support of the occupying Soviet troops. When Nagy refused to resign as prime minister, he and other leaders loyal to the revolution were arrested and deported to Romania. In 1958, they were secretly tried in Hungary, sentenced to death, executed the next day, and buried in unmarked graves⁵.

The repression that accompanied the Soviet occupation and the reestablishment of a one-party system under Kádár's control lasted into the 1960s. Despite the violent repression of the revolution, however, its programs remained on the political agenda and were gradually reintroduced after the 1963 amnesty and the simultaneous removal of the “Hungarian question” from the UN agenda.

Kádár and his regime found ways to coexist with what happened in the Soviet bloc for the quarter century that followed. When Nikita Khrushchev

³ Ibid., p. 331

⁴ Ibid., p. 332

⁵ This section draws largely from F. Argentieri - O. Vangelov, *Hungary*, in Zs. Csergő, D. Eglitis and P. Pickering, *Central and East European Politics - Changes and Challenges*, 5th edition, Lanham MD, 2021, pp. 365-391.

was removed from office in Moscow (October 1964), the Hungarian leader expressed disappointment, as he felt that a good friend was leaving, but then managed to find a working relationship with Brezhnev. In 1968, at the same time as Czechoslovakia, Hungary introduced economic reforms that allowed for some market mechanisms but, unlike its neighbor, did not allow for the lifting of censorship and the questioning of such political taboos as the one-party system. And when the Warsaw Pact members, except Albania and Romania, proceeded to put an end to the Prague Spring, Hungary contributed with an invasion from the South that reminded many of 1938.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 and the eruption of the Polish crisis in the summer of 1980 were addressed by Hungary with a low profile, yet with discipline, as were the multiple Kremlin leadership changes of the early 1980's. The most noteworthy aspect of that period was the rise of a mostly intellectual opposition movement, which abandoned the illusion of reforming the communist system and supported the ideas of a multiparty democracy, market economy and full freedom of expression, among others. Repression of dissidents was not an option: Hungary had signed the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. Perhaps more importantly, it was increasingly indebted to the International Monetary Fund and other Western financial institutions. Its leaders could not risk the kinds of financial sanctions imposed on Poland after martial law was declared if they were going to try to keep their economic bargain with the Hungarian people. And dissent involved only a tiny section of the population.

The ascension to power of Mikhail Gorbachëv in 1985 proved decisive in disrupting the already faltering power balance, in Hungary and in the rest of the bloc. Concepts such as *perestrojka* and *glasnost'* could not be accepted without questioning the entire power structure in each country, and in 1989 the communist regimes collapsed one after the other. Historical truth about the 1956 Revolution was re-established thanks to domestic and international pressure: the former also from several younger communist party members like Imre Pozsgay, the latter from various émigré organizations, Western public intellectuals and Socialist parties. Italy had not forgotten how strongly its politics had been affected back then, and both the PSI and the PCI accompanied the process of "rehabilitation" until the solemn funeral of Imre Nagy and his closest associates was held in June 1989, attended by both Bettino Craxi and Achille Occhetto, who at the time were respectively the Socialist and Communist party leaders.

In the Hungarian academic and intellectual debate, whether Hungary is a part of Europe (or the West) has always been discussed. This topic was connected to the question of the country's modernization during the 19th and 20th centuries. This long academic and intellectual discussion was suspended by the introduction of the Soviet political and economic model in the Hungarian political system. This meant that doubt could not be cast on Hungary's geopolitical and cultural position in the Soviet sphere of interest during the communist regime, and the topic of the relationship with Western Europe was taboo. But the relative freedom of public opinion during the Kádár regime allowed the debate on the European issue to be renewed during the 80s. The academic debate on this topic concluded that Hungary's geopolitical position and cultural traditions put it in the transitory region of Central Europe, between the West and Eastern Europe.

According to Jenő Szűcs, the impact of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and other milestones in the evolution of Western civilization played a very important role in the development of Hungary, which thus did not become part of the Orthodoxy of Eastern Europe. Szűcs, defining the internal borders of Europe, stated that between 500 and 800 AD the first expansion of the Barbarians absorbed the legacy of the Western Roman Empire, and as a consequence, the creation of the concept of the Occident (separated from the Byzantine Empire) was complete. The eastern border of the Carolingian Empire (the rivers Elba-Saale and the western border of Pannonia) became the internal border of Europe. It was to the west of this border that the symbiosis and organic fusion of the Germanic-barbarian and the late ancient Christian elements took place, and it was to its east that the transitory region between West and East was developing. During the bipolar international system this internal border became the so-called "iron curtain"⁶.

Following the collapse of the bipolar world, potential EC/EU membership symbolized the modernization of a prosperous, democratic and European Hungary, which has always been an organic part of European civilization. As the socialist state crumbled, the main Hungarian political parties' primary goal was immediate accession to the European Union. As Hungary had had a special experience of economic and political liberalization (naturally only to a limited extent) during the Eighties, it was considered the country in the region that was best prepared to be among the first group to join the EC/EU.

⁶ Szűcs, J. (1988), *Three Historical Regions of Europe*, in Keane, J. (ed.), *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*, Verso, London-New York.

During the transition period, however, Hungary, like other countries in the region, had to face numerous problems: the weakness of its democratic traditions and market economy, environmentally-polluting technologies and a low GDP per capita (below 1/3 of the EU average). The country had to divest itself of several burdens of its century-long political traditions. István Bibó called this “the twisted political character of East-European countries”. Bibó referred to the lack of balance between desires and reality, emphasizing that since the nations in the region had become accustomed to setting unreasonable requirements, political activity was based on wishful thinking instead of possibilities⁷.

Path to EU Membership, 1990-2004

In this period, Hungary had four different executives: the first led by József Antall (1990-93), a moderate conservative; the second by Gyula Horn (1994-98), a former Communist minister; the third by Viktor Orbán (1998-2002), who had moved from a liberal to a conservative position and who presided over the country's entrance into NATO and its immediately subsequent military campaign against the “rump Yugoslavia” in connection with brutal human rights violations in Kosovo; the fourth by Péter Medgyessy, a technocrat of the communist regime who resigned in mid-2004 but was able to steer Hungary into the European Union along with nine other countries, by far the biggest enlargement ever of the organization⁸.

No party or individual significantly opposed joining either NATO or the EU, and by now almost a whole generation has reached adulthood with Hungary inside the Euroatlantic community.

Hungarian knowledge of the EU

Hungarian citizens⁹ voted on EU membership in 2003. The turnout was surprisingly low, only 45.6%, but the overwhelming majority who

⁷ I. Bibó, *The Distress of the East European Small States*, in I. Bibó, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-86; Anna Molnár: *Idea of Europe in Hungarian political discourse*, in Cláudia Toris Ramos, *Ideas of Europe in National Political Discourse*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011. pp. 229-263.

⁸ E. Calandri - M.E. Guasconi - R. Ranieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-320.

⁹ This section relies chiefly on A. Molnár – M. Szente-Varga. (2021). *Teaching EU in Hungary*. In: A. Visvizi, M. Field, M. Pachocka (Ed.) *Teaching the EU: Fostering Knowledge and Understanding in the Brexit Age* (pp. 149-165). Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.

cast their votes supported accession (83.76%). The basic reasons people stayed away from the polls could be related to a lack of genuine public debate on (arguments for or against) Hungary's EU membership and to a flawed communication campaign, launched late and abruptly. All these factors resulted in a communication deficit, leading to low levels of interest and of knowledge on what the EU is and how it works¹⁰.

Eurobarometer surveys have long been used to evaluate people's knowledge of the European Union. We will focus on two facets of the surveys conducted between 2004 and 2019 to provide an overview of how Hungarians' EU knowledge has evolved: citizens' self-assessment (subjective knowledge) and the EU quiz respondents were asked to complete (actual / objective knowledge).

The Autumn 2004 Eurobarometer survey is an excellent starting point for gauging Hungarian knowledge of the EU, as it was conducted only a few months after the country's accession. In the self-assessment part, levels of knowledge were measured on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is the lowest score and 10 the highest. 55% of respondents from across the EU stated that they had a fairly limited knowledge of the European Union (scores 3-5), and 18% said that they knew nothing (scores 1-2). Only 25% of respondents claimed to be well or highly informed (scores 8-10)¹¹. In comparison, almost half of the Hungarian citizens interviewed (44%) stated that they knew nearly nothing (scores 1-3), while only 6% of respondents claimed to be knowledgeable enough to have scores of 8-10¹². EU citizens' average subjective knowledge score was 4.3, while that of Hungarians was 4.0. Altogether, the country ranked 23rd out of the 25 surveyed states, ahead of only the United Kingdom and Spain¹³. In addition to questions aimed at self-assessment, the survey also contained a quiz on the EU. Curiously enough, despite the low scores they assigned to their own knowledge, Hungarian citizens tended to do quite well in the quiz; better than the EU

¹⁰ Sükösd, M. (2003). *Kommunikációs deficit Magyarország Európai Unió csatlakozásának média-bemutásában* [Communication Deficit in the Media Presentation of Hungary's Accession to the European Union], "Médiakutató", 4(4), pp. 73–83.

¹¹ EC (2004a). Eurobarometer 62, Public Opinion in the European Union. p. 37. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/455>.

¹² EC (2004b). Eurobarometer 62, Közvéleménykutatás az Európai Unióban (Public Opinion in the European Union). Nemzeti jelentés: Magyarország. (National Report: Hungary) p. 14. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/455>.

¹³ EC (2004a) *op. cit.*, p. 37.

average. Yet correct answers were generally connected to “static” or factual questions, such as the anthem of the European Union, the number of Member States and Europe Day. Hungarian respondents found it more challenging to answer questions relating to the EU’s functioning, for example how Members of the European Parliament are elected. Only 53% of Hungarian interviewees answered that it was true that MEPs were directly elected by European citizens (EU average: 58%). Almost half of the respondents were unable to answer correctly, despite the fact that EP elections had preceded the survey by only a few months (June 2004). 38% of Hungarian respondents even believed that the last elections had been held in June 2002¹⁴.

In the 2007 Eurobarometer survey, people were asked whether they thought that citizens in their own countries were well-informed about the EU. The average score was 18%, whereas Hungarians were quite sceptical, Hungary reaching only 12%, the third lowest rate overall¹⁵. Yet again, as in 2004, Hungarian respondents did quite well in the quiz. The only question where the result was worse than the EU average was that relating to the actual functioning of the EU, the principle of the rotating Presidency of the Council of the European Union¹⁶.

By 2017, the self-confidence of Hungarian respondents had grown notably. In the Autumn 2017 Standard Eurobarometer survey, 56% claimed that they understood how the EU worked, a proportion very close to the EU average (58%). Again, they scored above average in the quiz, with the exception of the question relating to the elections of MEPs¹⁷. Two years later, 64% of Hungarian interviewees stated that they understood the functioning of the EU; this time exceeding the EU average (62%). They did better in all three quiz questions than the average EU citizen, even in the one relating to the European Parliamentary elections¹⁸.

¹⁴ EC (2004b) *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁵ EC (2007a). Eurobarometer 68, Public Opinion in the European Union. p. 161. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/664>.

¹⁶ EC (2007b). Eurobarometer 68, Közvéleménykutatás az Európai Unióban. Nemzeti jelentés: Magyarország. p. 21. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/664>.

¹⁷ EC (2017). Standard Eurobarometer 88, Public Opinion in the European Union. pp. 117-122. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/455>.

¹⁸ EC (2019). Standard Eurobarometer 91, Public opinion in the European Union. pp. 131-136. Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2253>

According to the results of the Standard Eurobarometer 93 (2020), 58% of Hungarian respondents stated that they understand how the EU works. This is slightly below the EU average (60%)¹⁹.

All in all, with the passing of years, Hungarians tend to know more about the EU. Their degree of knowledge has been increasing, despite the mainly sovereignty-based Eurosceptic political communication and related political and media narratives in the last decade. Nonetheless, there is an interesting duality: Hungarians are good at general and historic facts relating to the EU, but not at questions regarding its actual functioning. Our assumption is that up to a certain extent both of these features could be connected to Hungarian public education, whose EU-related facets will be analyzed in the following sections, starting with the primary level and finishing with tertiary education.

EU-related material in primary and secondary schools

Basic education (kindergarten, primary school and some years of secondary school for children aged between 3 and 16) is compulsory in Hungary. Primary and secondary schools together last 12 years and students tend to finish at the threshold of adulthood, at the age of 18. The complete study cycle terminates with a Baccalaureate. The content of teaching and learning is regulated via a hierarchical, multi-tier structure. From top to bottom it consists of the National Core Curriculum (NCC), issued by Government Decree; the framework curricula issued by the minister responsible for education (Ministry of Human Capacities), and the pedagogical programs of schools covering the local curriculum and the educational-teaching program²⁰.

Due to the pyramidal structure, National Core Curricula play a crucial role. They serve as kind of an “ideological-theoretical-philosophical” background for education²¹ and their application is mandatory. This is one of the basic reasons why there have been so many NCCs since the first was

¹⁹ EC (2020a). Standard Eurobarometer 93 Summer 2020, Public opinion in the European Union. pp. 142-143, Retrieved from <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2262>.

²⁰ EC (2020b). EACEA National Policies Platform. Hungary. Teaching and Learning in General Secondary Education. Retrieved from https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/teaching-and-learning-general-secondary-education-2_en.

²¹ Ibid.

introduced by the Horn government in 1995 to reform the previous era's highly centralized educational system²². The 1995 NCC was followed by the 2003, the 2007, the 2012 and the 2020 NCCs²³. The EU-related content began to be weightier after the Maastricht Treaty, and this European dimension of education became especially relevant around the time of the country's accession in 2004. Both the 2003 and the 2007 NCCs state that "Europe is the wider home of Hungarians. Students should be familiar with the formation, the history, and the institutional structure of the European Union as well as the criteria defining EU policies. They should be able to take advantage of the increased opportunities, and maintaining their Hungarian identity, become European citizens". Although it is not less valid, this text no longer appears in the 2012 and the much-questioned 2020 NCC. The trend of a growing EU dimension seems to be reversed. It is thus of special interest to compare and analyze the latest two NCCs from the standpoint of how the required competences and subject areas reflect the EU dimension.

The 2012 NCC states that it establishes the key competences based on the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning (2006/962/EC): Communication in the mother tongue; Communication in foreign languages; Mathematical competence; Basic competences in science and tech-

²² Horváth, Zs. (2019), *Színe és visszája. A nemzeti alaptantervet ért hatások és az alaptanterv hatásai* [The factors affecting the National Core Curriculum and the impact of the NCC]. "Educatio", 28(1), pp. 121-134, January 9, 2019.

²³ NCC 1995, 130/1995. (X. 26.) Kormányrendelet a Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról [Government Decree 130/1995. (X. 26.) on the Issuance of the National Core Curriculum]; NCC 2003, 243/2003. (XII. 17.) Kormányrendelet a Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról [Government Decree 243/2003. (XII. 17.) on the Issuance, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum]; NCC 2007, 202/2007. (VII. 31.) Kormányrendelet a Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról szóló 243/2003. (XII. 17.) Kormányrendelet módosításáról [Government Decree 202/2007. (VII. 31.) on the Modification of Government Decree 243/2003. (XII. 17.) on the Issuance, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum]; NCC 2012, 110/2012. (VI. 4.) Kormányrendelet a Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról [Government Decree 110/2012 (VI. 4.) on the Issuance, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum]; NCC 2020, 5/2020. (I. 31.) Kormányrendelet a Nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról szóló 110/2012. (VI. 4.) Kormányrendelet módosításáról [Government Decree 5/2020. (I. 31.) on the Modification of Government Decree 110/2012. (VI. 4.) on the Issuance, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum].

nology; Digital competence; Social and civic competences; Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; Cultural awareness and expression, and Learning to learn. Social and civil competence is described as follow: “Civic competence is based on knowledge of democracy, citizenship and citizenship rights, as these figure in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and international declarations, and the way these are employed on the local, regional, national, European and international level. This competence includes being familiar with recent developments, the main tendencies and events of national, European and world history, as well as the real objectives and values of social and political movements. It includes knowledge of European integration, and the structures, main goals and values of the EU, as well as making people aware of European diversity and a sense of shared cultural identity”²⁴. Whereas for the competences in the 2012 NCC the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 was the clearly indicated basis, the 2020 NCC states that it defines competencies on the basis of the key competencies recommended by the European Union, *but* taking into account local characteristics. A further difference is that competences were listed *and explained* in the 2012 NCC and are only listed in the 2020 NCC, despite the changes that were introduced. For instance, Social and civic competences (2012) seem to have been replaced by Personal and social relationship competences (2020), though what exactly the latter mean is not clarified in the text. The 2020 NCC only mentions the European Union specifically in the case of History and Geography classes²⁵.

History teaching is cyclic and chronological in Hungary. Universal and National History are taught in two cycles, from the very beginnings to recent times in 5-8th grades, and again in 9-12th grades. In the 2012 NCC, EU-related material is taught for the first time in 8th grade, and for the second time in 12th grade, just before Baccalaureate. Major topics to be included in teaching are “The globalizing world and Hungary” as well as the “formation of the European Union and the basic rights of European citizens (first cycle) and the “formation of the European Union, its principles, institutions and functioning” (second cycle)²⁶. By comparison, main topics for History in the 2020 CNN include “No. 24. History of re-

²⁴ NCC 2012, *op. cit.*

²⁵ NCC 2020, *op. cit.*

²⁶ NCC 2012, *op. cit.*

gions: Hungary and the European Union; Central Europe; the United States of America; India; China; the Middle East” for 5-8th grades, and No. 28. “Hungary in the 21st century: the functioning of democracy in Hungary; main characteristics of Hungarian domestic and foreign policies; Hungary and the European Union” for 9-12th grades. By contrast with the 2012 NCC, there is no specific mention of the European Union’s formation, institutions, functioning and principles, which suggests less attention to and understanding of the EU.

Like History, Geography is also taught in two, reinforcing cycles. In the 2012 NCC, the EU is examined basically as an economic entity in the first cycle of studies, whereas the aim in the second cycle is to learn about the “geographical characteristics and policies (agricultural, regional and environmental) of the European Union”; “getting to know the possibilities and means of cooperation among countries and the essence of integrations”, “becoming familiar with the cultural values of the European nations and nationalities and understanding their interdependence”²⁷. The learning outcomes for 7-8th grade students (first cycle) in the 2020 NCC include “knowing the social-economic characteristics of the European Union, and proving its role in world economy by bringing up examples”, and for 9-10th grade students (second cycle): “naming and evaluating the factors that have a role in economic integration and regional cooperation”, “knowing the geographical basis of the functioning of the EU, being able to show the differences in social and economic development within the EU via examples, and naming the tools helping convergence” and “based on examples, characterizing and evaluating the social-economic role of Hungary in its immediate and wider international context, in the European Union”²⁸.

EU-related topics such as “rights and obligations in the European Union”, “correlations and institutions of the national, EU and global markets and the monetary world”, “the transformation of knowledge and lifelong learning” were part of the Civic, Social and Economic Studies class, which figures in the 2012 NCC but no longer in 2020.

Textbooks are also an excellent source of information on how EU-related material is taught. According to the studies conducted by Ágnes Dárdai — two surveys carried out ten years apart — the EU-related con-

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ NCC 2020, *op. cit.*

tent of Hungarian and non-Hungarian (German, Austrian and Swiss) school textbooks tends to differ in both quantity and approach. Non-Hungarian textbooks pay more attention to European integration and “present it as a complicated process, not devoid of conflicts and needing compromises. They try to motivate students to understand and acknowledge the importance of European integration”²⁹. By contrast, there has been much less emphasis on European integration in Hungarian books and the presentation of EU material is static, looking towards the past instead of the future, which “does not motivate students to realize that we are in many ways linked to Europe, and we ourselves need to do a lot for these ties”³⁰. The underrepresentation of EU content in Hungarian textbooks³¹ is not likely to change in the future, and will probably be more pronounced when the 2020 NCC is implemented in the new textbooks. Lastly but not least importantly, the nationalization of the Hungarian textbook market had been completed by 2019³², bringing with it free-of-charge state-sponsored books, with the potential consequences of less diversity, less quality, less openness towards the world, and in particular, less EU content.

Schools can strengthen the EU dimension of the education they offer by joining initiatives, such as the European Parliament Ambassador

²⁹ Dárdai Á. (2002), *Külföldi és magyar történelemtankönyvek európai integrációs képe* [The Image of the European Integration in Hungarian and Foreign History Textbooks]. p. 71. *Iskolakultúra*, 12(1), pp. 62-72.

³⁰ Dárdai Á. (2011). *A tankönyvek európai dimenziója* [The European Dimension of Textbooks]. pp. 66-67. In Cs. Borsodi (Ed.), *A keresztény Európától az Európai Unió magyar elnökségéig* [From Christian Europe to the Hungarian Presidency of the European Union] (50-68). Budapest, Hungary: Magyar Történelmi Társulat Tanári Tagozata – ELTE BTK.

³¹ Molnár-Kovács Zs. (2015). *Az „Európa-kép”-kutatás fókuszpontjai a magyar és nemzetközi tankönyvi szakirodalom tükrében* [The Focal Points of the Investigations on the Image of Europe in Hungarian and International Textbook Research], *Történelemtanítás*, 5(2-4). Retrieved from <http://www.folyoirat.tortenelemtanitas.hu/2014/12/molnar-kovacs-zsofia-az-„europa-kep”-kutatásfókuszpontjai-a-magyar-es-nemzetkozi-tankonyvi-szakirodalom-tukreben-05-02-12/>

³² CKP. (2019, April 15). *Nem minőségi, nem támogató, nem ingyenes, de kötelező – a tankönyvhelyzet összefoglalása* [Not quality, not supportive, not free of charge, but obligatory – summary of the textbook situation]. Civil Közoktatási Platform [Civil Platform on Public Education]. Retrieved from <http://ckpinfo.hu/2019/04/15/olcsotankonyv-hig-jovo/>; McKenzie, S. (2019, February 6). *Why Hungary’s state-sponsored schoolbooks have teachers worried*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/01/europe/hungary-education-orban-textbooks-intl/index.html>

School program, introduced in 2017. The program aims to raise students' awareness of the values and opportunities provided by EU citizenship and parliamentary democracy as well as the role, functioning and activities of the European Parliament. Activities involve in-school and out-of-school assignments. Forty-three schools took part in the program in Hungary in 2019³³.

EU-related material in tertiary education

To have an overview of the extent to which the EU is present in Hungarian higher education, bachelor's and master's degree program completion and exit requirements were examined³⁴ using the content analysis method. These requirements include program objectives, learning outcomes (knowledge; capabilities; attitudes; autonomy and responsibility), professional characteristics (major fields of study and their ECTS range) and admission requirements. EU-related areas can figure specifically or indirectly, the latter meaning that they were part of a larger unit among major fields of study, such as Social Sciences, which may or may not cover EU Studies. We thus considered only those instances where the European Union is directly mentioned in the text. This also meant that content analysis was restricted to the following expressions: European Union, EU and European integration, whereas expressions such as European culture, European civilization, European values were disregarded, as they might or might not be connected to the EU.

For the first cycle of studies, i.e., BA and BSc programs, at least one of

³³ EPMKI (2019). Európai Parlament Nagykövet Iskolája program. [European Parliament Ambassador School Program]. Retrieved from <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/hungary/hu/fiatalok-es-oktatas/ep-nagykovet-iskola-program.html>

³⁴ EMMI 2016, 18/2016. (VIII. 5.) EMMI rendelet a felsőoktatási szakképzések, az alap- és mesterképzések képzési és kimeneti követelményeiről, valamint a tanári felkészítés közös követelményeiről és az egyes tanárszakok képzési és kimeneti követelményeiről szóló 8/2013. (I. 30.) EMMI rendelet módosításáról [Ministry of Human Capacities Decree 18/2016 (VIII. 5.) on the Learning Outcomes of HE Vocational Trainings, BA and MA Programmes and on the Modification of the Ministry of Human Capacities Decree 8/2013. (I. 30.) on the Common Requirements of Initial Teacher Education and the Learning Outcomes of Each Initial Teacher Education Program]; GD 2019 = 222/2019. (IX. 25.) Kormányrendelet az államtudományi képzési területen szerezhető képesítések jegyzékéről és a képzések képzési és kimeneti követelményeiről [Government Decree 222/2019 (IX. 25.) on qualifications obtainable in the field of Public Governance and the corresponding program completion and exit requirements].

three expressions (European Union, EU and European integration) figured in 19% of the cases. For the second cycle (MA and MSc programs), the proportion reached 25%. However, this does not necessarily mean more EU focus, as in many of the cases EU Studies figure only in the admission requirements. Students whose bachelor's degree is in a field differing somewhat from the scope of their chosen master's degree must prove that they have already acquired a certain number of ECTS in some specific fields related to their future studies. EU Studies can be an option. Yet when they only appear in the admission requirements, without figuring in the program objectives, learning outcomes or professional characteristics, it is rather dubious whether students learn about the European Union during the program itself. Subtracting these programs, the proportion drops to 22%, making the difference between the two cycles of study very slight or unimportant.

There is a predominance of programs with EU-related studies in two fields of bachelor's degree education: Economics and Public Governance³⁵. The bachelor's degree programs with the highest EU content — according to the program completion and exit requirements — include International Relations (IR), International Business Economics (IBE) and International Public Management (IPM). Some statistics based on the data for full-time students collected by the Educational Authority for the 2017/2018 school year will help illuminate the situation³⁶.

For International Relations, approximately 1700 students (first, second and third year) studied this program in 16 different institutions. Only around 14% benefited from a state scholarship, while the majority had to pay for their studies. Scholarships were offered by only half of the institutions (8), four of which accounted for a very low percentage of the total. More than 70% of scholarship holders were students at Corvinus University of Budapest. In fact, scholarship students were concentrated at two prestigious institutions in the Hungarian capital: Corvinus University of Budapest and Eötvös Loránd University. In Autumn 2017, only 12

³⁵ Public Governance is a special sector, formed by the Hungarian government basically of Social Sciences. Programs classified under this heading are taught only by the University of Public Service (UPS), which has a monopoly on the field.

³⁶ OH (2020). *Felsőoktatási statisztikai adatok, letölthető kimutatók (2017)* [Statistical Data on Higher Education, downloadable statements]. Oktatási Hivatal [Educational Authority of Hungary]. Retrieved from https://www.oktatas.hu/felsooktatas/kozerdeku_adatok/felsooktatasi_adatok_kozzetetele/felsooktatasi_statisztikak.

institutions managed to launch their IR programs, welcoming first year students. It is likely that universities outside the capital with few or no state scholarship places will soon be forced out of the competition. The dominant trend is towards the concentration of IR studies in Budapest.

The International Business Economics program has been even more popular than IR studies. It had 3485 students overall, studying in 13 institutions (2017), principally in the capital, in Budapest Business School, Budapest University of Technology and Economics, and Corvinus University of Budapest, which had shares of 36%, 21% and 20% of the students respectively, and together accounted for 77%. The percentage of self-financed IBE students reached 79%, while scholarships were concentrated at Corvinus University of Budapest, which had almost 80% of the total.

The International Public Management program is taught only at the University of Public Service — the institution has a monopoly on it. The program has been reformed and reshaped by the UPS Faculty of International and European Studies, after consulting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. There were a total of 180 students in October 2017. All full-time students have scholarships.

Applicants must have very high admission scores in order to enrol in any of these three programs (International Relations, International Business Economics and International Public Management). Out of the maximum score of 500, students must have 456 for IR and 465 for IBE at Corvinus University of Budapest and 433 for IPM at NUPS to enter and qualify for a scholarship³⁷. This high selectivity could produce a pool of capable young professionals familiar with the EU, who, nonetheless, might be too few for Hungary's needs.

For master's degree programs, the search terms (EU, European Union or European integration) were found chiefly in four fields: Agricultural Sciences, Economics, Law and Public Governance. EU-related content is most frequent in the knowledge component of learning outcomes, both generically (familiarity with the process of European integration) and in relation to specific EU policies (agriculture).

Unlike BA and BSc programs, many master programs have specializations. European Studies — EU studies, in fact — is taught at various uni-

³⁷ OH (2019). Felvételi ponthatárok 2019 [Admission Scores, 2019]. Oktatási Hivatal [Educational Authority of Hungary] Retrieved from <https://www.felvi.hu/sajtoszoba/ponthatarok2019> [06.04.2020.].

versities, such as Corvinus University of Budapest and the University of Szeged (which together had 50% of all IR master students in 2017). The University of Public Service also offers European Studies as a specialization option for students studying either International Relations or International Public Service Studies.

In addition, UPS, in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice, launched the one-year-long “Europe of Nations Career Program” in 2020 with the aim of boosting the number of Hungarian professionals working at EU institutions. Forty-seven students completed the program in the 2020/21 academic year. The program’s name reflects the government’s political stance with respect to the European Union: a Gaullist and Eurorealist approach based on national sovereignty and identity.

Teacher training

Teachers are defined as “intermediaries and conductors of social opinion” and figure among the target groups of the 2002 “EU communication strategy of the Hungarian society”, included as an annex to Government Decision No. 1198/2002. (XII. 6.). According to the document, teachers can make a crucial contribution in preparing the young generation to be able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by EU membership³⁸. We can thus readily conclude that EU-related training of teachers is considered essential. In the second half of the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century, i.e., before and immediately after Hungary’s accession to the EU, there was a great deal of enthusiasm, various courses were organized for teachers, and teacher’s handbooks were also prepared³⁹. The 2010s, however, brought opposing trends, due to financial, political and professional factors. The latter might need some further explanation. It is currently supposed that practicing senior teachers have already had all the EU training they need earlier in their careers, and that the younger generation also does not need further training, as they have already

³⁸ GD 2002 = 1198/2002. (XII. 6.) Kormányhatározat az Európai Unió csatlakozás társadalmi kommunikációjáról [Government Decision 1198/2002. (XII. 6.) on the Social Communication of European Union Accession].

³⁹ Halm T. (Ed.) (1996). *Európáról a Katedrán. Tanári kézikönyv az EU-ról* [On Europe at School. Teachers’ Handbook on the EU]. Budapest: Euro Info Service; Vass V., & Zarándi Z. (Ed.) (2000). *Európáról módszeresen. Tanári módszertani kézikönyv* [On Europe, systematically. Teachers’ Handbook on Methodology]. Budapest: DHV Magyarország KFT.

learnt enough about the EU at the university. Both assumptions might be misleading. The EU is constantly changing, so extra training would be helpful for all teachers. A short course taken 10-15 years ago cannot serve to explain the recent developments in the European Union. As for teachers just beginning their careers, their knowledge of the EU should not be overestimated, as they do not necessarily receive sufficient EU-related information during their years in higher education. Simply put, the two ends of the system do not necessarily meet. Teachers are expected to teach something which they seldom or never studied in the framework of formal education.

Conclusions

The passing of time (more than 15 years of EU membership); more, easier, cheaper and more varied means of communication (for example the Internet and social media) and increased mobility (traveling, Hungarian guestworkers in EU countries, Erasmus and other mobility programs) all contributed to what Eurobarometer surveys have shown: a rise in Hungarians' knowledge about the EU. Yet the role of formal education must also be taken into account. EU content has been incorporated into Hungarian public education; it figures in the National Core Curricula. Some shortcomings remain, however. EU-related material is taught towards the end of the study cycles, which means that time cuts may have to be made in order to complete the entire program. Children start learning about the EU quite late, when they are 14 years or older. Teachers may feel uneasy about teaching this material, first because they themselves might not have taken courses on it in the past, and second, they might worry that it can bring political divisions into class. In addition, the dynamic and ongoing process of European integration does not fit into the static perspective of Hungarian history books, which tend to present past and completed events. The 2020 NCC does not help to make up for these deficiencies. On the contrary, its EU dimension is weaker. All these factors perpetuate the trend of the Hungarian public knowing the basic facts about the EU but understanding much less about how it functions. This lack of understanding can lead to less political activity and even apathy. A worrying sign is that Hungarian turnout was rather low at the 2019 European Parliamentary elections: 43.36%, versus the EU average of

50.66%. After the many challenges that have beset the European Union — the financial crisis, repeated migration crises, Brexit and, most recently, the Covid pandemic and its multiple repercussions — it is more important than ever to be aware of the EU's values, goals, working mechanisms and the process of European integration. A poor understanding of how the European Union works can undermine support for the organization and its policies.

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“From federal Europe to the European utopia”. Polish narratives of the history of European Integration

Joanna Sondel-Cedarmas

My first step in analyzing the textbooks on the history of European integration published in Poland from the Sixties down to our own day was to divide them into two categories corresponding to two specific historical periods: before and after Poland's political transition in 1989. The year 1989 was a watershed in the political history of Poland, and of that of all Central Eastern European countries, which is also reflected in how the course of European integration is presented. I have also examined the textbooks dealing with the idea of Europe, and the collections on European integration which present a number of aspects of this process (historical, economic, legal-institutional and political) and are often multi-author works by political scientists, legal scholars, economists and sociologists. The following analysis is thus ordered both chronologically and on the basis of the distinction between different types of Polish narratives of the history of European integration.

1. Textbooks on the history of European integration published before 1989

The first textbooks on the history of European integration published in Poland were few in number. Particular interest attaches to those dealing with the processes of economic integration in Western Europe, which came out as early as the first half of the Sixties. From the interpretive standpoint, they can be divided into two groups: 1) the textbooks published in communist Poland, which tend to take a rather critical view of the birth of the united Europe, portraying it as a militaristic, aggressive and pro-American community, basically hostile to the socialist bloc¹, and

¹The first observations on the process of European integration in Polish journals appeared in *Przegląd Zachodni* and *Polityka* in 1965. See Edmund Osmańczyk (1965), „Zjednoczona Europa, zjednoczone Niemcy, i co dalej?”. *Polityka*, 5 VI 1965; Dominik Horodyński (1965), „Europa widziana z Warszawy”. *Polityka*, 19 VI 1965. Edmund Osmańczyk (1965), „Polemika z polemistami”. *Polityka*, 25 IX 1965.

2) Polish studies published abroad by authors close to the Polish government-in-exile in London², which take an entirely different perspective towards the integration of Western Europe.

For the first category — books published in communist Poland — it should be noted that the authors, in discussing the stance taken by Poland and the socialist bloc countries towards Western Europe’s unification, take a dim view of the Single Market as a divisive factor that could drive Europe’s two blocs even further apart. According to Polish scholars, as the “preferred” bloc, the founding countries — the Group of Six — was a further division preventing international economic relationships from developing in the old continent. On the other hand, Polish scholars believed that the processes of European integration would consolidate West Germany’s domination over Europe and allow the FRG to exploit the Community for its own nationalistic and expansionist purposes. This view is summed up in a comment by the historian Jerzy Krasucki, who in 1967 wrote:

Both West Germany and France intend to drag Eastern Europe into the Common Market’s sphere of influence. For Eastern Europe, this would mean seeing industrialization come to a stop, the loss of economic and political independence [...] and submission to the diktats of Western monopolistic capital, where West Germany will have the dominant role³.

Polish authors emphasized that the communist parties in the ECSC’s founding countries, and the Italian and French communists in particular, were far from well disposed towards European integration, seeing it as a contrivance designed to damage the socialist bloc and the working masses’ social and political interests.

More balanced studies were produced in the second half of the Sixties by the three Polish scholars Andrzej Kwilecki, Piotr Wandycz and Ludwik Frenkl. In particular, Kwilecki’s book *Idea zjednoczonej Europy. Polityczno-*

²The Government of the Polish Republic in exile was established in Paris in 1939 following Nazi Germany’s occupation of Poland. It was then transferred to London, where it directed the Polish resistance during World War Two. At the end of the war, though it had not been recognized and had no actual power, it remained active until the end of People’s Republic of Poland. In December 1990, the last president of the government-in-exile Ryszard Kaczorowski officially handed over the symbols of the Second Polish Republic to Poland’s first post-communist president Lech Wałęsa.

³ Jerzy Krasucki (1967), „Zasadnicze tendencje dziejów politycznych Europy zachodniej 1945-1965”. *Przegląd Zachodni*. 5-6, 1-3.

*socjologiczne aspekty integracji zachodnioeuropejskiej*⁴ points out several positive features of European integration. Kwilecki, a sociologist at the University of Poznań who had also held fellowships at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and at the Collège d'Europe in Bruges, maintained that the processes of integration served to reinforce the capitalist system, but nevertheless felt that Western Europe's integration was an instrument of peace that put the old continent in a stronger position vis-à-vis the United States. In his view, cooperation between Europe's nations should ward off nuclear conflict and consolidate peaceful coexistence within Europe. Clearly, Kwilecki's ideas reflected a certain ideological outlook typical of his times. This is especially apparent in his rather critical assessment of Franz Joseph Strauss's policies, which he felt sought to make Western Europe into an independent political-economic power. For Kwilecki, the Franco-German partnership and the creation of the ECSC would in any case lead to the Community's enlargement and to a uniform foreign and defense policy for Western Europe. The union (in the form of a confederation) of Western Europe would eliminate the consequences of the Second World War and, ultimately, bring about the unification of Europe and Germany through the absorption of the GDR. Kwilecki believed that West Germany, thanks to its economic power and ability to guide a European military alliance, was destined to dominate the processes of integration (Kwilecki 1969: 124). He attributed a crucial role in these processes to the Catholic Church, writing that:

Through the governing Christian Democratic parties in Italy and West Germany as well as the Republican Popular Movement in France, the Vatican made every effort to arrive at the union of the Western European countries: creating a united Europe was considered [by the Holy See] one of the major aims of modern Christianity. (Kwilecki 1969: 142)

Kwilecki emphasized how much the ECSC reflected its founding countries' economic interests. Consequently, the creation of the Single Market was an advance over the old economic system based on rigid customs barriers and protectionism. Kwilecki felt that the socialist bloc's policy should seek to include the Single Market in the processes of international economic collaboration in order to encourage peaceful coexistence among all European countries regardless of their political systems and to loosen the ties between the Western countries and the US, especially from an economic standpoint.

⁴ Andrzej Kwilecki (1969), *Idea zjednoczonej Europy. Polityczno-socjologiczne aspekty integracji zachodnioeuropejskiej*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 302-311.

As for the books written by scholars close to the Polish government-in-exile, particular mention should be made of *Zjednoczona Europa. Teoria i praktyka*, published in London in 1965⁵, the first Polish-language study of Europe and the processes of European integration. Written by Piotr Wandycz, associate professor of history at Indiana University in the United States and by Ludwik Frenzl, the book is preceded by a lengthy introduction by Hendrik Brugman, at the time rector of the Collège d'Europe in Bruges. The book presents practically all of the features we will find in the textbooks on the history of European integration down to our own day: 1) a discussion of the origin of the idea of a united Europe and of the pro-European ideology, 2) an interdisciplinary approach combining history, political science and economics, where ample space is devoted to what Europe means and to the historical development of the idea of Europe and European identity, and 3) attention to the Polish contribution to European federalist thinking and to the United States of Europe from the Enlightenment to the Second World War. Wandycz and Frenzl show a certain originality in highlighting the activity of Polish federalists in Western Europe and in particular of the Association of Polish Federalists (Związek Polskich Federalistów), established in Paris in 1949 and later merged with the Union of European Federalists, which is no longer mentioned in modern Polish textbooks. From the chronological standpoint, the book begins with the early medieval peace plans, presented as the prototypes of the European integration process, and ends with Western Europe's economic integration in the Fifties (from the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community to the Treaties of Rome). In the concluding chapter, entitled *Central and Eastern Europe and the contribution of Polish federalist thinking in exile*, Wandycz and Frenzl compare Western Europe's integration processes with the attempts to unify the socialist bloc, referring in particular to Nikita Khrushchev's project for creating a common market among Moscow's socialist satellite states capable of competing with that of the capitalist countries. The project, presented at the XIII session of the Comecon in 1957, called for the socialist bloc's economic as well as political and military integration. According to Wandycz and Frenzl, whereas the birth of the Warsaw Pact in May 1955 crowned the Central and Eastern European countries' political and military unification with the Soviet Union, the socialist bloc's economic integration was

⁵ Piotr Wandycz, Ludwik Frenzl (1965) *Zjednoczona Europa. Teoria i praktyka*, London: Polonia Book Fund LTD.

almost immediately in doubt because of the worsening ideological conflict between the USSR and China:

When the conflict became apparent, it turned out that the individual communist states that were part of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance were chiefly concerned with their own national interests rather than the common good. The principle was fully embraced that national economic planning in a communist country is an internal question for each country and is considered an attribute of its sovereignty. (Wandycz, Frenzl 1965: 230)

This trend was exemplified by the attitude taken by Romania, which in the spring of 1964, ignoring the principles of collaboration with the USSR, entered on its own into trade agreements with the United States. Demonstrating a clearly confederalist viewpoint, Wandycz and Frenzl comment on the superiority of Western Europe's integration processes, which they maintain took place without trying to turn traditional international relations into a new order that would have curtailed the Member States' sovereignty and handed power to the supranational organizations. As they wrote, even though the United States' role was decisive, America was nevertheless more of a senior partner than a leader in this process. In the socialist bloc, the key to integration lay in the unified communist system that created a link between the member nations, despite the Soviet Union's ideological, political, economic and military hegemony. Although the idea of complete uniformity within the socialist bloc was abandoned after Stalin's death and the right of the satellite states to seek "their own ways to socialism" was accepted, Soviet intervention was still very much a possibility. Wandycz and Frenzl were less than sanguine about the idea of unifying the old continent, especially because of Europe's division into a Western bloc in the US orbit and a Eastern bloc that was dependent on the Soviet Union (Wandycz, Frenzl 1965: 233).

It is noteworthy that historians of European integration still regarded Wandycz and Frenzl's study as sound even after 1989, unlike other textbooks published in Poland during the Sixties and Seventies which were abandoned because of their pronounced ideological slant.

2. Textbooks on European integration published in Poland after 1989

Most Polish textbooks on the history of European integration were published between 1994 and 2003⁶. This timeframe is bookended by the

date Poland officially applied to join the European Union, and the date of the Polish referendum on accession to the EU⁷. Between these two years, publications on the history of European integration were promoted and funded both by government institutions and by a number of European centers that at that time were springing up like the proverbial mushrooms in Poland. These were also the years in which a number of departments of European Studies were set up in Polish universities (including that at the Jagiellonian University, which was established in 2004 from the chair of European Studies created by Prof. Zdzisław Mach, or the Natolin Center — a branch of the Collège d’Europe in Bruges founded in 1992) —along with degree programs in European Studies. Courses in the history of European integration were also introduced in the Political Science and International Relations curricula, fueling a real need for textbooks. This, starting in the mid-Nineties, Poland saw a veritable explosion in the number of publications dealing with the history of European integration and the history of the idea of Europe, which is entirely understandable given the interest in joining the European Community then shown by Poland and the climate of euroenthusiasm prevailing in Polish society⁸.

2.1. Periodization and internal organization

As regards periodization, most Polish textbooks on the European narrative follow a chronological criterion and can be grouped into two categories. The first of these categories, which accounts for the overwhelming majority of the publications, starts with the origins of the

⁶ Many of these textbooks went into subsequent editions in the years 2004–2008. I refer in particular to the works published by Antoni Marszałek, professor at the University of Łódź from 1996 to 2008, viz., *Z historii europejskiej idei integracji międzynarodowej* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego), *Suwerenność a integracja europejska w perspektywie historycznej: spór o istotę suwerenności i integracji* (Łódź: Instytut Europejski), *Europejska idea integracji międzynarodowej w perspektywie historycznej* (Toruń: Firma Wydawniczo- Handlowa).

⁷ Poland presented its formal request to join the EU in April 1994, which was then ratified at the European Council summit in Essen on December 9 and 10, 1994. The accession referendum took place on June 7 and 8, 2003.

⁸ See Krzysztof Ruchniewicz (1996), *Od podziału do jedności. Inicjatywy integracyjne w Europie w XX wieku. Wybór źródeł dla szkół ponadpodstawowych*, Wrocław: wyd. Centrum Integracji Europejskiej im. K. Adenauera przy Wydziale Prawa i Administracji Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; Olga Barburska, Dariusz Milczarek (2013), *Historia integracji europejskiej*, Warszawa: Centrum Europejskie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

idea of a united Europe, or in other words from the first medieval plans for creating a confederation of Christian monarchies (the ideas in Pierre Dubois's *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*, the projects of Georg von Podiebrad, and Henri IV's *Grand dessein*) to ensure peace in Europe, passes to eighteenth century pacificism (the ideas of William Penn, through the project of the Abbé de Saint Pierre and on to Immanuel Kant's treatise on *Perpetual Peace*), and turns then to the origins of the nineteenth century doctrine of European federalism and the federative projects between World Wars I and II, and in particular to Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's *Panuropa*, the Briand Plan, Édouard Herriot's projects and Naumann's *Mitteleuropa*, as well as the German projects of Albert Eberhard von Schäffle and August Sartorius von Waltershausen and the projects of the British federalists belonging to the Federal Union. The second category consist of the books dealing with the processes of European integration, and starts with the creation of the ECSC⁹. It should be noted, however, that even the textbooks focusing on the economic integration of the Fifties include a preliminary chapter discussing the European federalist project of the interwar period along with past efforts to build a common European identity.

As for the books' internal organization, most authors' narratives distinguish between five stages in the history of European integration:

- 1) The years 1945-57 — presented as the first steps in making the idea of European integration into a reality: Churchill's speech in Zurich on September 19, 1946, the Hague congress in May 1948 and the birth of the Council of Europe, the work of the Founding Fathers (Schuman, Monnet, Adenauer, De Gasperi), the Schuman Plan and the creation of the ECSC, the Pleven Plan and the failure of the EDC, culminating in the Treaties of Rome.

The years 1958-69 — often called the period that laid the foundations for economic integration, from the birth of the European Free Trade As-

⁹ This category includes textbooks by Zbigniew M. Doliwa-Klepacki (2000), *Integracja Europejska*: Temida; Jerzy Woś (ed.) (2003), *Integracja Europejska*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Bankowej; Elżbieta Dynia (2006) *Integracja europejska*, LexisNexis; Mirosław Klamut (ed.) (2009), *Ekonomia. Integracja europejska*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego; Irena Popiuk -Rysińska (1998), *Unia Europejska. Geneza, kształt i konsekwencje integracji*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Irena Rutkowska (1999), *Od wspólnot europejskich do unii europejskiej*, Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Zachodniej Szkoły Biznesu.

sociation (EFTA) to the Luxembourg Compromise of 1966, by way of the Élysée Treaty.

- 2) The years 1970-1991, or the period when ties between the Member States were extended and strengthened, leading to the birth of the European Union: from the accession of Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark, through the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), direct elections to the European Parliament, the entry into force of the European Monetary System (SME) and the accession of Spain and Portugal up to the Schengen Treaty and the Single European Act.
- 3) The years 1992-2004 — or in other words, the years of the Maastricht Treaty, arrived at via the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam and the 2001 Treaty of Nice, up to the European Union’s enlargement to the east, as decided by the European Council in Copenhagen on December 12-13, 2002. All of the textbooks considered here deal with the process of integrating the Central-Eastern European countries into the European Community after 1989.
- 4) After 2004 — The last period of European integration was ushered in with the entry of ten new Member States on May 1, 2004. The crucial moments in the history of European integration between 2004 and 2018 were the failure of the European Constitution (*Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*), rejected in the referenda held in France and the Netherlands, the Treaty of Lisbon, which entered into force in 2007, the EU’s enlargement to Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, the conclusion of accession negotiations with Croatia in 2011, and Brexit in 2017.

The textbooks that deal with European integration from a standpoint that is more interdisciplinary than historical—seeking to illustrate the various institutional, legal, economic, philosophical and social aspects of the process¹⁰ are a case apart, as are the texts on EU policies written chiefly by scholars in the political sciences¹¹.

¹⁰ See Miłowit Kuniński (ed.) (2000), *Integracja europejska*, Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, which focuses on the philosophical and sociological aspects of European integration, including the relationship between Christianity and the European integration process, an original approach which has been largely neglected by other Polish authors.

¹¹ Textbooks in this category include: Antoni Marszałek (2000), *Integracja europejska* Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego; Jan Borowiec, Kazimiera Wilk (2005), *Integracja europejska*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej im. Oskara Langego; Jan Barcz, Elżbieta Kawecka-Wyrzykowska and Krystyna Michałowska-Gorywoda (eds.), *Integracja europejska*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wolters Kluwer business.

2.2. The bibliographic apparatus

Polish textbook authors rely on primary sources such as diaries, memoirs, and the writings and speeches of European federalists (Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Walter Hallstein, Denis de Rougemont, Friedrich Naumann, Edvard Beneš), the Founding Fathers of Europe (Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Alcide De Gasperi, Jean Monnet) and politicians who supported the European integration processes such as Winston Churchill, Walter Hallstein. Józef Retinger, Paul-Henri Spaak, Jacques Delors, etc. Among texts by foreign authors, the most frequently mentioned are those by British and German historians, including Geoffrey Barraclough, Max Beloff, Alasdair Blair, John Pinder, Alan Milward, Karl Kaiser and Klaus-Dieter Borchardt.

2.3. The Polish contribution to the doctrine of European federalism

In practically all of the textbooks on the course of European integration where the historical dimension predominates, we find references to the first federalist projects conceived by nineteenth century Polish thinkers and politicians, and in particular to Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, whose *Essai sur la diplomatie* in the first half of the eighteenth century proposed that a European League be created to assure peace and stability on the continent and suggested that Europe be reorganized in three federations: 1) Slavic, guided by the Russian czar, 2) German — (Holland and Switzerland, but without Prussia and Austria — and 3) Italian. Other oft-cited figures include Wojciech Jastrzębowski, author of an essay in favor of a European federation entitled *The Treatise on the Eternal Union between the Civilized Nations — the Constitution for Europe* (1831), and Stefan Buszczyński, whose 1867 work *La décadence de l'Europe* called for the creation of the United States of Europe. Considerable space is devoted to the Polish projects between the two World Wars, viz., the Jagiellonian idea promoted by Józef Piłsudski's Sanacja movement, which hoped to establish a Polish-Ukrainian-Belorussian-Lithuanian confederation, and to the idea of the Intermarium, a union of European states from Scandinavia to the Balkans, and from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. The latter idea, conceived in 1918 and becoming popular in the years 1920-25, was intended as an alternative to the Czechoslovakian projects and in particular to Edvard Beneš's Little Entente. Many textbooks on the history of European integration published after 2004 discuss the Polish route to joining the European Union, focusing on

the integration process from Poland’s formal application for membership in 1994, the convergence criteria and accession conditions that Poland was required to meet, and the 2003 referendum. Lastly, mention should also be made of the studies devoted entirely to the Polish contribution to the development of the doctrine of European federalism, which include critical collections of the writings of Polish federalists¹².

3. From federal Europe to the European utopia—the evolution of Polish narratives of the history of European integration

Polish textbooks on the history of European integration published in recent years have a number of innovative features, which extend to the interpretations they offer. Polish scholars concentrate primarily on the future of the European Union, especially in the light of the crisis triggered by Brexit. This outlook is reflected in titles like *Europe After the Crisis — European Dilemmas*, *The New Perspectives of Economic Integration*, *The New Challenges*, and so forth¹³. In studies published after 2015, a confederalist viewpoint predominates. This is significant, given that earlier textbooks showed a clear federalist or federalist-functionalist approach. Polish authors devoted considerable attention to the ideas of the Founding Fathers¹⁴ and to the attempts to create an increasingly close union from the economic and political standpoints, highlighting such critical moments in

¹² Andrzej Borzym, Jeremi Sadowski (2007), *Polscy Ojcowie Europy*. Warszawa: Trio; Łukasiewicz Sławomir (ed.) (2007), *O jedność Europy. Antologia polskiej XX-wiecznej myśli europejskiej*, Warszawa: Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej; Dariusz Milczarek, Olga Barburska (2015), *Past and Present of European Integration. Poland’s Perspective*, Warszawa: Centre for Europe, University of Warsaw.

¹³ Helena Tendera-Właszczuk, Wojciech Bąba, Magdalena Zajązkowska (eds.) (2017), *Nowe perspektywy integracji europejskiej w obliczu wyzwań i zagrożeń*, Warszawa: Difin; Helena Tendera-Właszczuk, Wojciech Bąba, Magdalena Zajązkowska (eds.) (2016), *Nowe wyzwania integracji europejskiej*, Warszawa: Difin; Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse (2018), *Pokryzysowa Europa. Dylematy europejskie*, Warszawa: Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych.

¹⁴ Bogusław Spurgjasz (1993), *Ojcowie współczesnej Europy*, Warszawa: Kontrast; Jerzy Łukaszewski (2002), *Cel: Europa. Dziewięć esejów o budowniczych jedności europejskiej*. Warszawa: Noir sur Blanc; Marianna Greta Jarosław Kowalski, Ewa Tomczak-Woźniak (eds.) (2016), *Doktryny zjednoczeniowe ojców Europy drogą do pogłębionej integracji (smart specialisation): wielkie nazwiska - wielkie marki*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Łódzkiej; Anna Radwan (2015), *Schuman i jego Europa*, Warszawa: Polska Fundacja im. Roberta Schumana. In 2003, Robert Schuman’s *For Europe* was translated into Polish (Bronisław Geremek (ed.) (2003), *Robert Schuman, Dla Europy*, Kraków: Znak 2003, (second edition in 2005, third edition in 2009)); Wiesław Kozub-Ciembroniewicz

this process as the failure of the Pleven Plan and the rejection of the European Constitution.

The authors of the textbooks where the confederalist approach prevails are mostly scholars close to the Law and Justice party. An example is the book *Utopia europejska. Kryzys integracji i polska inicjatywa naprawy*, published in 2017 by Krzysztof Szczerski, professor at the Jagiellonian University Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations, as well as being a politician and the President of Poland's chief of staff¹⁵. The book is considered highly controversial in academic circles, where its theses have drawn criticism along with the weakness of its bibliographic apparatus. Szczerski presents his ideas about the crisis of European integration, particularly after the Brexit referendum. With Brexit, he writes, Europe shrank rather than expanded for the first time since 1951. Moreover, he blames Europe's current difficulties on the democratic deficit within the Union, the crisis of the Nation State and national identity, and on the attempts by Germany and France to "colonize Central Europe" (Szczerski 2017:19, 31).

As a self-proclaimed Eurorealist, Szczerski is opposed to the present model of the European Union, which he regards as "liberal and leftist", and to the EU's current policies. He proposes a return to a model of "inter-governmental democracy", to be achieved by abandoning the attempts to create a European superstate, by introducing checks on decision-making processes on the part of the national democracies and, above all, by maintaining the Member States' sovereignty. In particular, Szczerski accuses the European system of institutional instability and criticizes the bureau-

(1993), *Niemcy a Europa w doktrynie politycznej Konrada Adenauera* (1945-1946), Kraków: Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego; Hans Peter Mensing, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz (eds.) (2001), *Konrad Adenauer - człowiek, polityk i mąż stanu*, Warszawa: „Kontrast”. Relatively little attention has been given to the thinking of Altiero Spinelli, Ernesto Rossi and the other European federalists. To date, two studies have been published on the work of the author of the *Ventotene Manifesto*. See Piotr Podemski (2012), *Włoscy ojcowie- założyciele Wspólnot Europejskich od faszystwu do demokracji (1941-1954)*, Warszawa: Centrum Europejskie Natolin; Joanna Sondel-Cedarmas (2017), „Obraz zjednoczonej Europy w koncepcjach przedstawicieli opozycji antyfaszystowskiej we Włoszech w latach 1943-45” *Politeja*, 4(49), 87-108.

¹⁵ Krzysztof Szczerski (2017), *Utopia europejska. Kryzys integracji i polska polityka naprawy*, Kraków: Biały kruk. Szczerski has also published (2003), *Integracja europejska. Cywilizacja i polityka*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (2008), *Dynamika systemu europejskiego. Rozważania o nowym kształcie polityki w Unii Europejskiej*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Italian translation: Krzysztof Szczerski (2018), *Un nuovo dinamismo per il sistema europeo*, Lecce: Milella 2018).

cratic sluggishness of Brussels, a city he regards as too international and cosmopolitan to express the real European identity. He notes that economic equilibrium in Europe is increasingly unstable, European integration is moving backwards in all sectors while Europe’s entrenched elites are unable to find a solution, and indeed with some decisions even seem to aggravate the problem. Consequently, Szczerski believes that the European institutions’ role should be that of a mere auxiliary to the Member States and nations, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. As he writes: “Brussels is farther than ever from the everyday concerns of Europe’s citizens, but nevertheless tries to intrude in and regulate every aspect of their lives.” (Szczerski 2017: 20).

Szczerski homes in on the problem of security — arguing that the EU’s borders are no longer able to keep Europeans safe, as witnessed by the terrorist attacks in capitals such as Paris and Berlin — and would like to see a return to the original spirit of the Treaties of Rome. He also laments the “axiological vacuum” characterizing the current state of European integration. Without a spiritual foundation, he maintains, it will not be possible to reconstruct the true European politics which should represent our shared values and identity, and in particular the traditions that our predecessors have handed down to us. Szczerski cites the thought of the Founding Fathers and the teachings of Pope John Paul II, who was a great supporter of the unity of civilization and of the European spirit, rooted in Christian values. For Szczerski, the pathway to spiritual unity leads through respect of national traditions and our homelands. If the individual nations lose their identities, the European identity — based as it is on diversity — will also disappear.

Szczerski is very much against the federalist project that aims to create a European superstate and extinguish the nation states, referring to it as utopian. He believes that it is possible to retain the effective nation state, which preserves its identity and cooperates actively in the process of European integration. He looks forward to the birth of a new model of Europe: “a Europe of free nations and States of equal value.” (Szczerski 2017: 247).

Conclusions

To conclude this brief review of textbooks on the history of European integration, I would like to draw attention to three aspects that I believe characterize the Polish narratives:

- 1) The majority of studies of the history of European integration published in Poland came out in the years from 1994 to 2004, between the date of Poland's application to join the EU and the date of the accession referendum, reflecting the climate of euroenthusiasm prevailing in the Polish society of the day and the great interest in the question of European integration.
- 2) The Polish national point of view is clearly apparent in practically all of textbooks considered here, which center attention on the Polish contribution to the development of the doctrine of European federalism and Poland's route to EU membership.
- 3) The books published in recent years address the European Union's crisis in the aftermath of Brexit, and the new prospects for European integration. Many of these studies were produced by a new school of Polish thought consisting of European integration scholars close to the Law and Justice party who emphasize the failure of the federalist model of integration and call for a confederal model that they maintain could bring about Europe's rebirth. This new confederalist outlook in presenting the history of European integration gained ground in Poland around 2015, whereas a federalist-functionalist perspective was predominant in earlier years.

- Barburska Olga, Milczarek Dariusz (2015). *Past and Present of European Integration. Poland's Perspective*. Warszawa: Centre for Europe, University of Warsaw.
- Barburska Olga, Milczarek Dariusz (2013). *Historia integracji europejskiej w zarysie*. Warszawa: Centrum Europejskie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Barcz Jan, Kawecka-Wyrzykowska Elżbieta, Michałowska-Gorywoda Krystyna (eds.) (2007). *Integracja europejska*. Warszawa: Oficyna aWolters Kluwer Business, 2nd ed.
- Bokajło Wiesław (ed.) (1998). *Federalizm: teorie i koncepcje*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Borowiec Jan, Wilk Kazimiera (2005). *Integracja europejska*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej im. Oskara Langego we Wrocławiu.
- Borzym Andrzej, Sadowski Jeremi (2007). *Polscy Ojcowie Europy*. Warszawa: Trio.
- Czachor Zbigniew, Grosse Tomasz Grzegorz, Paruch Waldemar (eds.) (2018). *Integracja europejska. Polska perspektywa*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.
- Czachor Zbigniew (2013). *Kryzys i zaburzona dynamika Unii Europejskiej*, Warszawa: Elipsa.
- Czaputowicz Jacek (ed.) (2014). *Studia europejskie. Wyzwania interdyscyplinarności*. Warszawa: Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Doliwa-Klepacki Zbigniew M. (2000). *Integracja europejska*. Białystok: Temida2, 2nd ed.
- Dynia Elżbieta (2004). *Integracja europejska*. Warszawa: LexisNexis, 2nd ed.
- Greta Marianna, Kowalski Jarosław, Tomczak-Woźniak Ewa (eds.) (2016). *Doktryny zjednoczeniowe ojców Europy drogą do pogłębionej integracji (smart specialisation): wielkie nazwiska - wielkie marki*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Łódzkiej.
- Gross Feliks (1994). *Federacje i konfederacje europejskie. Rodowód i wizje*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Grosse Tomasz Grzegorz (2018). *Pokryzysowa Europa. Dylematy europejskie*. Warszawa: Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych.
- Grosse Tomasz Grzegorz (2012). *Wobjęciach europeizacji. Wybrane przykłady z Europy środkowej i wschodniej*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Klamut Mirosław (2009). *Ekonomia. Integracja europejska*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego.
- Kuniński Miłowit (ed.) (2000). *Integracja europejska*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.

- Kwilecki Andrzej (1969). *Idea zjednoczenia Europy. Polityczno-socjologiczne aspekty integracji zachodnioeuropejskiej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- Łastawski Kazimierz (2008). *Historia integracji europejskiej*. Toruń: Wyd. Adam Marszałek.
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European integration in Romanian historiographical discourse

Giordano Altarozzi, Anda-Florina Țibuleac

Introduction

In its handling of the history of European integration, Romania is a particularly interesting case. Here, as in other Central-Eastern European countries, the perception of the Europeanist process — and hence the way it is described — is heavily influenced by the country's sociopolitical setting. On the basis of this observation, the historiographical production on the Europeanist process can be divided into two fundamental periods with a clear watershed between them: 1989, year of the revolutions that put an end to over forty years of “real socialism” and a world of rival blocs. Within this broad chronological division, marked by Romania's bloody overthrow of the communist regime in December 1989, we can identify five further subdivisions, each influenced in turn by the country's historical evolution: the period from 1979 - the starting point of this study, as the year of the first direct election of the European Parliament - to 1989, truly an *annus mirabilis* that changed the international order, and hence the process of European integration¹; the first half of the Nineties, from the post-totalitarian dawn to 1995, with the slow and by no means smooth transition to democracy and a market economy; the years from 1995 - when Romania officially applied for membership in the European Union - to 2000, when the country fully embraced capitalism and the liberal democratic political model; the period between 2001 and 2007,

¹ On the impact of the 1989 revolutions on the international system and in particular on the European integration process, see Daniele Mancini, *Incontri con gli studenti degli atenei romeni*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Studii Italo-Român”, IV/2007, pp. 89-120 : 96-112. The paper is the outcome of a series of meetings with Romanian students held by His Excellency Daniele Mancini, at the time Italian ambassador to Romania and the Republic of Moldova. We consider this material to be relevant precisely because it is addressed to a Romanian audience, given the particular views of the process of European construction that prevailed in Romania around the time the country became a full member of the European Union.

marked by the efforts to apply the EU *acquis* and the accession; and the years from 2008 to the present, influenced by Romania's relationship with the European Union as a Member State.

The study involves a quantitative component, as a bibliographic survey was conducted to identify sources that address European integration issues. The survey found 116 titles published in the reference period and containing work by Romanian scholars, plus 32 translated from various languages. Bountiful though this harvest might seem, however, it shrinks drastically when search results are filtered qualitatively. An analysis of these books' structure and content indicates that most of them deal with sectorial issues in European integration, influenced by the author's scientific interests or by the prevailing orientation of Romanian society at the time the book was written, while few can be regarded as textbooks or treatises on European integration in the strict sense.

1. 1979-1989: Under the banner of national communism

The period from 1979 to 1989 was the last decade of the Ceaușescu's dictatorship in Romania and the bipolar world of opposing blocs. The approach to European integration is thus subject to a twofold ideological influence: first, the Romanian regime's national communist orientation, already apparent in the mid-Sixties but officialized with the celebrated "July Theses" of 1971², which among its other effects led to a progressive independence from the Soviet Union in foreign policy, but also to the country's gradual isolation on the international scene³; and second, the

² These were 17 "proposals" presented by Nicolae Ceaușescu in a speech given at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party on July 6, 1971; Maoist in tone, the speech signaled Romanian communism's return to the Stalinist model and the personality cult. For the text of the speech, some passages of which were revised before it was published and became state policy, see Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Propuneri de măsuri pentru îmbunătățirea activității politice-ideologice de educare marxist-leninistă a membrilor de partid, a tuturor oamenilor muncii*, Editura Politică, București 1971 (http://www.cnsas.ro/documente/istoria_comunism/documente_programatice/1971%20Masuri.pdf, last accessed: June 16, 2021).

³ On Romanian national communism, see Katherine Verdery, *Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1991; on the evolution of Romanian communism - in a class of its own even by comparison with the area's other systems of real socialism - see Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons. A Political History of Romanian Communism*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2003.

unrelenting ideological hostility to the capitalist West, which despite the efforts to edge away from Moscow was needed to maintain the image as a “besieged fortress” that Romanian communism took as its foundational myth for the entire duration of the totalitarian experiment⁴.

In this sense, Nicolae Ceaușescu’s long personalistic dictatorship (1965-1989) can be divided into two main phases, where an initial period of relative domestic détente and departure from the Soviet model (1965-1971) was followed by a return to domestic Stalinism but also by the increasingly sharp formal divergence from the socialist bloc’s positions on the international scene (1971-1989). Paradoxically then, while the 1979-1989 period was domestically one of ever-tighter control of civil society by the party-state in order to direct “[...] education and political activity towards promoting our party and its Marxist-Leninist policy among the masses, and towards increasing their determination to fight the influences of the bourgeois ideology, of retrograde mentalities, that are alien to the principles of communist ethics”⁵, Romania became an attractive partner for Western countries. Accordingly, a series of economic and trade agreements were entered into with the European Economic Community, notwithstanding the ideological distance and the fundamental opposition between the two models⁶.

The tenuous process of liberalization in the first years of the Ceaușescu regime was thus abruptly broken off at the desire of the leader himself, sinking Romanian communism into an ideological involution. Culturally, this regression took the shape of the spasmodic adoption of a nationalist approach (called “protochronism”) which together with the personality cult and the police state made up the triumvirate of Romanian communism’s salient features⁷. In addition, economic and social regression eroded the standard of living, and was aggravated by the dictator’s utopian ideas about building a society that embodied the ideals of “multilaterally developed socialism”⁸. As part of this idealism, action was taken both do-

⁴ See Comisia prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România, *Raport final*, București 2006, p. 15 (http://old.presidency.ro/static/rapoarte/Raport_final_CPADCR.pdf, last accessed: October 15, 2021).

⁵ Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Propuneri de măsuri...*, op. cit., p. 8.

⁶ Tom Gallagher, *Deceniul pierdut al României. Mirajul integrării europene după anul 2000*, All, București 2010, p. 17.

⁷ See Vladimir Tismăneanu, op. cit., pp. 191-225.

⁸ Comisia de redactare a programului Partidului Comunist Român, *Programul Partidului Comunist Român de făurire a societății socialiste multilaterat dezvoltate și înaintarea României spre comunism*, Editura Politică, București 1975.

mestically and on the international stage to reflect how efficient Ceaușescu and his wife were at governing. Appeals to nationalism were ramped up over the years, reaching their apogee with the 1982 decision to pay off the country's entire foreign debt, which had grown significantly during the Seventies. This measure, which marked the country's substantial economic failure, was pursued at the cost of enormous sacrifices on the part of the population, which was forced into a war economy in peacetime. Ceaușescu's aversion to the reforms introduced by Gorbachëv dealt a further blow to Romania's shaky economy. Exports to the trading partners in the socialist block dwindled, while in 1988 Romania renounced the Most-Favored Nation status it had been granted in the Seventies by the United States, causing trade with the West to plummet⁹.

The country's progressive political and economic isolation, and the deteriorating living conditions that the populace had to endure as a result, made it necessary in turn to strengthen the apparatus of coercion and control over civil society. Between 1979 and 1989, then, censorship and propaganda had an increasingly major role in all spheres, but especially in journalism and publishing¹⁰. From the beginning, communist censorship was modeled after the Soviet Glavlit¹¹ and took three main directions designed to ensure effective control over Romanian publications: reviewing books that had already been published and purging those that did not meet the content criteria established by the regime's political line; reviewing and controlling manuscripts submitted for publication; and orienting authors towards a discourse whose form and content followed the regime's guidelines, thus resulting in self-censorship¹².

This system severely distorted reality in order to reeducate the masses in the ideological spirit of Ceaușism. It is thus easy to see why, in the last decade of communism, writings about the European Economic Community and the continent's process of integration in general were constrained to

⁹ Adam Burakowski, Aleksander Gubrynowics, Pawel Ukielski, 1989. *Toamna Națiunilor*, Polirom, București 2003, p. 324.

¹⁰ See Liliana Corobca, *Instituția cenzurii comuniste în România*, 2 volumes, Editura Ratio et Revelatio, Oradea 2014.

¹¹ See Catharine Nepomnyashchy, "Glavlit", in Tatiana Smorodinskaya, Karen Evans-Romaine, Helena Gosילו (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Russian Culture*, Routledge, London – New York 2007, p. 230.

¹² Liliana Corobca, *Epurarea cărților în România (1944-1964). Documente*, Tritonic, București 2010, pp. 38-39.

an ideologized and propagandistic approach intended primarily to support and consolidate Ceaușescu's personality cult and policies. The books considered here speak of Romania's "efficient" foreign policy vis-à-vis the Western world¹³ and the country's contribution to a consolidated system of European security and cooperation¹⁴, touching only marginally — and in any case distortedly — on the history of European integration. Alongside this first type of publication, there is also another where the Europeanist process is presented in its historical evolution, but still in a critical and unfavorable light¹⁵. An interesting aspect, not strictly related to the topic of European integration though nevertheless useful in understanding the general approach in this period, concerns the books' presentation of the history of the League of Nations and the Romanian contribution, which is propagandistic in tone and portrays the country as having been essential to keeping peace and furthering cooperation in Europe¹⁶. The intent here is to plant the idea that Nicolae Ceaușescu's actions are on the same plane as the intense international activity between the two World Wars and seek the same ends¹⁷. In general, however, we can say that the historiographical discourse takes a nationalistic approach, which is philosophically opposed to the spirit fueling the construction of a united Europe.

2. 1990-1995: years of difficult transition

The Nineties were a decade of continuing attempts to make the double transition to liberal democracy and the market economy in as little time as possible. The regime change brought about by the December 1989 revolution sparked a keener interest on the part of the EEC in the country's

¹³ See Ion Răduică, *România: promotor activ al îndeplinirii actului final al Conferinței pentru Securitate și Cooperare în Europa*, Editura Academia „Ștefan Gheorghiu”, București 1980; Romulus Neagu (ed.), *Concepția președintelui Nicolae Ceaușescu privind edificarea unor relații noi pe continentul european: pentru o Europă unită*, Editura Politică, București 1984.

¹⁰ See Liliana Corobca, *Instituția cenzurii comuniste în România*, 2 volumes., Editura Ratio et Revelatio, Oradea 2014.

¹⁴ Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Contribuția României la realizarea unui sistem trainic de securitate și cooperare în Europa*, Editura Politică, București 1979.

¹⁵ See Dumitru Olaru, *Integrarea vest-europeană: realități și controverse*, Editura Politică, București 1988.

¹⁶ Mihai Iacobescu, *România și Societatea Națiunilor: 1919-1929*, Editura Academiei, București 1988.

¹⁷ Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Contribuția României la...*, op. cit.; Ion Răduică, op. cit.

affairs, as Romania was increasingly seen in terms of how it could contribute to the continent's future security¹⁸. Accordingly, earlier economic and commercial relationships were consolidated, and as early as 1993 the European Communities and their Member States on the one hand, and Romania on the other signed the first interim agreements, which were then approved in 1994¹⁹. Nevertheless, Romanian studies on European integration advanced very little. The few publications in this period mostly take an approach rooted in sociology, political science and philosophy, while only superficial efforts are made to reconstruct the history of the European project. Finally freed from the constraints of the communist period, Romanian historiography was drawn chiefly to topics connected with the country's domestic situation - and especially to issues and lines of argument which until then had been ideologically out of bounds - in an attempt to provide answers to existential questions concerning recent political events²⁰ and the country's future²¹. Quantitatively speaking, materials from the period are relatively scarce, while a qualitative analysis of the books considered here — which are more concerned with interpreting the historical value of the integration process, and less with reconstructing it attentively — reveal a certain skepticism about the future integration of the former real socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe, especially because of the limitations and dilemmas posed by the region's ethno-cultural situation. This skepticism helps explain why practically all of the works from this period deal at some length with the formation of the idea of Europe, and thus of the European and Europeanist consciousness, attempting to place the Central-Eastern area squarely within the boundaries of the continent's culture and identity, and establishing a pattern that was to become dominant in the following periods.

¹⁸ Tom Gallagher, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁹ Council Decision 94/392/EC of 27 June 1994, in Official Journal of the European Communities N. I, 178/75, 12 July 1994.

²⁰ See Richard Wagner, *Popoare în derivă: Europa de Est la răscruce de epoci*, Editura Kriterion, București 1994 (translated by Mariana Lăzărescu); Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Europa Centrală și de est în ciclul tranziției*, Editura Diogene, București 1995; Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Noaptea totalitară: crepusculul ideologiilor radicale în secolul 20*, Athena, București 1995.

²¹ Dumitru M. Vintilă, *Vom realiza Europa unită?*, București: Romcart 1992; Alexandru Husar, *Ideea europeană sau Noi și Europa*, Institutul European, Iași 1993; Viorel Roman, *România în Europa*, Editura Tehnică, București 1994; Adrian Marino, *Pentru Europa: integrarea României: aspecte ideologice și culturale*, Polirom, Iași 1995; Andrei Marga, *Filozofia unificării europene*, Biblioteca Apostrof, Cluj-Napoca 1995; Gustav-Augustin Pordea, *Unificarea Europeană. Problematika Europei Unite*, Europa Nova, București 1995.

3. 1995-2000: the slow approach to the European Union

1995 was a watershed in the relationships between Romania and the European Union. Once the thornier problems of the transition to democracy and the market economy had been overcome, the Carpathian state officially applied to join the European Union. At the same time, the Association Agreement signed in 1993 between Romania and the European Communities and their Member States came into force²². The new stage in the relationships, which opened up prospects for full community membership in the near future, translated into growing interest in the course of European integration on the part of the Romanian public and scholars.

The texts produced in this period, which covers the entire second half of the Nineties, are still influenced by a philosophical approach, and continue to center on certain sectorial aspects of the European construction rather than attempt any general synthesis of the integration process per se. Several of the major themes addressed in these works were to become true *topoi* of the period's literature: the origins of the idea of a united Europe, the doctrines, the salient events and the institutions that laid the foundations of the European construction are analyzed in order to paint a philosophical, cultural and political portrait of the continent. For example, the Transylvanian historian Nicolae Păun offers a multidisciplinary view of the ideational background behind the first European projects, as well as of the role played by the European institutions in the integration process, in an analysis that stretches from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the signing of the Treaties of Rome in 1957. The book, published in 1997 — the fortieth anniversary of the European Economic Community's constitutive treaties — takes a neoliberal approach to exploring the European organizations and institutions²³.

To answer the perennial question of what Europe is, Ovidiu Pecican's 1997 book retraces how the European consciousness took shape²⁴. Touching on a range of linguistic, cultural, religious, political and geographic factors, the book discusses the importance of the idea of Europe, and the importance that the European project is expected to have in the coming

²² A chronology of Romania's gradual approach to the EU can be accessed on <http://www.mae.ro/node/1542> (last accessed: October 18, 2021).

²³ Nicolae Păun, *Construcția europeană modernă: idei, doctrine, fapte și instituții economice. De la Congresul de la Viena (1815) la Tratatul de la Roma (1957)*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca 1997.

²⁴ Ovidiu Pecican, *Europa: o idee în mers*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca 1997.

decades²⁵. One of the book's significant features is the attention the author devotes to the contributions that Romanian intellectuals made to European consciousness-building in the interwar period.

In the same period, translations of the classics of Europeanist thought began to be published, with pride of place being taken by Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Manifesto²⁶. The publication of this celebrated work was an attempt to instill Europeanist feeling in the Romanian public, in part by emphasizing that the project had been embraced by a sizeable proportion of interwar leaders, in an sort of "golden age" that was almost mythicized in the first years following the revolution after being demonized by communist propaganda for over four decades.

This was the setting for the publication of another work from the period between the two World Wars, written by the staunchly pro-Europe former minister and senator Octavian Codru Tăslăuanu²⁷. Tăslăuanu's proposal, as original as it was fanciful, was to create a confederation extending from Western Europe to Asia Minor as a barrier to Soviet (Russian, in the text) and German expansionism.

The interest in the Europeanist initiatives of the interwar years is borne out by a number of other publications on the topic. A noteworthy example is *Preistoria construcției europene* (*The Prehistory of the European Construction*) written in 1999 by Ladislau Gyemant²⁸, who argues that the various approaches that began to take shape in the 1920s and 30s — the dawning federalist movement and the experiment that was the League of Nations, the PanEuropean movement and the Briand Plan, the homogenizing worldview of opposing right wing and left wing totalitarianism, and the projects of the anti-fascist resistance movements — are in reality different manifestations of a single aspiration: that of unifying the entire continent in a supranational structure.

Following a similar pattern but with a far more markedly institutional outlook, the Transylvanian historian Nicolae Păun's *Istoria construcției*

²⁵ This focus was maintained in the book's later editions in 1999 (published by Limes in Cluj-Napoca) and 2002 (Editura Fundației Desire, Cluj-Napoca, which reprinted the text in 2005).

²⁶ Richard Kalergi, *Pan-Europa*, Pro-Europa, Târgu-Mureș 1997.

²⁷ Octavian Tăslăuanu, *Obsesia europeană. Studii politice*, Ediție îngrijită de Gelu Voican Voiculescu, Scripta, București 1996.

²⁸ Ladislau Gyemant, *Preistoria construcției europene*, EFES, Cluj-Napoca 1999.

europene (*The History of the European Construction*)²⁹, also from 1999, discusses the main Western Europeanist movements that contributed — albeit from different angles — to initiating the process of European integration, explicitly mentioning the United Europe Movement, the French Council for a United Europe, the Union of European Federalists, and the Socialist United States of Europe Movement. In both the 1999 edition and the partially revised 2000 edition, the book is probably the first work by a distinguished historian to provide a reconstruction of the process similar to that found in a textbook of European integration history. It should be noted, however, that in its structure and handling of its subject matter, the book concentrates primarily on the origins and functioning of the individual European institutions, with less attention to the strictly political aspects that influenced the community's birth and evolution.

From what we have seen so far, it is clear that studies of European integration can be divided on a geographical basis as well as chronologically: the books we have discussed up to this point were written by Transylvanian historians and political scientists, who on the broader Romanian scene seem to have been trailblazers, mapping out the route for the work that followed. This is the case, for example, of the *Introducere în realitățile europene* (*Introduction to European Realities*) by Alina Profiroiu and Marius Profiroiu who, before turning to the purely institutional aspect, deal with the construction of a united European identity. Here, the accent is on the role of the “Founding Fathers”, and in particular on the fundamental contribution of the Schuman Plan, which put the functionalist model of international relations into practice³⁰.

One feature of scholarly Romanian work on European integration is its frequent comparison of how integration played out in Western Europe and how the communist model was imposed on the other side of the Iron Curtain. As the communization of Eastern Europe is usually addressed in the chapters dealing with the international backdrop to the European project, the Stalinist model's spread in the eastern half of the continent is often

²⁹ Nicolae Păun, *Istoria construcției europene: epoca postbelică*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca 1999. The book was reissued under a new title and with partially revised content in 2000; see Idem, *Istoria construcției europene. De la Tratatul de la Roma la Tratatul de la Nisa*, 2 volumes, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca 2000.

³⁰ Alina Profiroiu, Marius Profiroiu, *Introducere în realitățile europene*, Editura Economică, București 1999.

presented as an important, and even decisive, impetus in propelling the European Communities out of the realm of ideas and into that of reality. But if the rise of communism in Eastern Europe spurred the Europeanist process, it was also the main cause of the delays in enlargement to the former countries of real socialism. The aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall is thus one of the topics that is most intensely investigated by Romanian scholars. This is the case of Andrei Marga, Romanian philosopher and politician, who refers to the obstacles set up by the past communist regime in terms of persistent “resistance” along the route to European integration³¹. Among the various types of resistance, Marga mentions some that are particularly dangerous: the clash between different civilizations (meaning not just the obvious opposition between Christian Europe and the Islamic world, but also between Western Catholic and Reformed civilization and the Eastern Orthodox tradition stemming from Byzantium), the limitations and dilemmas posed by the integration of the Eastern countries, the complexity of ethnic and national identities, and a certain loss of identity on the part of the Old Continent as it becomes more and more like a cultural extension of the United States. Despite all this, Marga refers to the idea of Europe as a cultural territory defined by the concepts of democracy and peace, and argues that aspirations towards unification first arose in the Late Middle Ages, when Europe was threatened by the Mongol hordes³².

The new approach taken in the texts of this period also generated a certain skepticism regarding European integration policies and the processes of globalization that seem to impact much of the new political order, to the detriment of the now ex-communist States. A critical viewpoint of this kind is presented by Octav Bibere, who emphasizes the major economic and political problems facing the European countries in the former socialist bloc, calling for careful reflection on the European Union’s role and operating mechanisms, particularly as regards the many crises that the integration process has involved³³.

The publications of this period are notable for the importance they assign to the intellectuals and politicians who chose to go into exile during the communist period, and who were the most visible and outspoken expression of the anti-communist resistance. Their role is explored by the

³¹ Andrei Marga, *op. cit.*

³² *Ibidem.*

³³ Octav Bibere, *Uniunea Europeană între real și virtual*, All, București 1999.

historian Ștefan Delureanu, whose 1999 book underscores the drama of the communist regime and its sharp contrast with the activity of Romanian exiles with Europeanist leanings such as George Ciorănescu, to whom much of the volume is devoted³⁴.

4. 2001-2007: Towards full integration

For Romania, the new millennium opened under the sign of Euro-Atlantic integration. Unsurprisingly, publications about the European Union proliferated in this period. The negotiations for the country's accession to the community opened officially in 2000, and in 2005, after a lengthy string of reforms undertaken to consolidate the capitalist economic structures and ensure a democratic political system, the president Traian Băsescu signed the Treaty of Accession to the European Union in Luxembourg. The Treaty came into full force and effect on January 1, 2007³⁵.

Given the scope of the reforms introduced for the accession process, it is obvious that scholars' interest in this period was directed towards the sectors that were seen as national priorities on the path to the country's full integration. The historical perspective on the European integration process thus yielded ground to multidisciplinary approaches that analyze the European Union and its internal workings from a specific slant (legal, economic, political, agricultural, etc.).

More than in the preceding periods, studies of European integration followed a standard pattern. Using similar structures and methods, the publications in this period are essentially guides to the European Union,

³⁴ Ștefan Delureanu, *Geneza Europei comunitare: mesajul democrației de inspirație divină*, Paideia, București 1999; a revised and updated edition came out in 2014.

³⁵ *Treaty between the Kingdom of Belgium, the Czech Republic, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Estonia, the Hellenic Republic, the Kingdom of Spain, the French Republic, Ireland, the Italian Republic, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Poland, the Portuguese Republic, the Republic of Slovenia, the Slovak Republic, the Republic of Finland, the Kingdom of Sweden, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Member States of the European Union) and the Republic of Bulgaria and Romania, concerning the accession of the Republic of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union*, in "Official Journal of the European Union", L 157, v. 48, 21 June 2005; in addition to the text of the treaty, the Journal also published the protocol concerning the conditions and arrangements for the two States' admission to the European Union. See http://publications.europa.eu/resource/cellar/a244bdda-25a1-46c7-80a8-4887dc86f0bf.0013.02/DOC_1 (last accessed: June 23, 2021).

systematically presenting the milestones in the European project, its historical roots, the evolution and purview of the European institutions and the Union's founding treaties; in addition, they take a variety of sectorial approaches focusing on different aspects of Romania's integration. This pattern is to some extent understandable in view of the need to explain the deeper meaning of European integration to the public — with its benefits as well as the obligations deriving from it — and to instill a sense of identifying with the common construction.

Alongside these books belonging to a variety of disciplines, there is also a strand of research that can be classified as more strictly historiographic. Here again, there is a shared intention to foster an Europeanist outlook among the public, following a pattern which — as before — becomes a stereotype. These books aim more or less declaredly to demonstrate that the Romanians have always been part of that particular historical reality called Europe. Romania's integration is thus depicted as a homecoming after the long communist interlude in which the country strayed from its natural political, economic and cultural milieu. This thesis is advanced using a number of arguments drawn from the recent past. The reconstruction of the historical relationships between the Romanian people and Europe centers on the period between the two World Wars. The press, school textbooks and the diplomatic papers of the time are systematically analyzed, seeking to show that in the period when Romanian politics and culture were at their height, the links with the rest of the continent were particularly close³⁶. Special emphasis is put on the cultural affinities that bind Romania to Europe, from a long-term perspective that encompasses the first manifestations of Romanian culture, with the Seventeenth century chroniclers seen as the *ante litteram* promoters of the idea of Europe and pioneers of a pro-European attitude that was to remain strong until the inter-war period³⁷. Europeanism is considered so much a part of the Romanian people's nature that it did not entirely disappear even under communism. In discussing foreign policy during the Cold War years, in fact, these books

³⁶ Simion Costea, *România și proiectul Briand de Uniune Europeană*, Editura Universității Petru Maior, Târgu Mureș 2004; Idem, *Ideea europeană și interesele statelor*, Napoca Star, Cluj-Napoca 2005.

³⁷ Ana Maria Dobre, Ramona Coman (eds.), *România și integrarea europeană*, Institutul European, Iași 2005.

³⁸ Cristina Arvatu (ed.), *România și Uniunea Europeană. Cronologie istorică*, Editura Institutului de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale, București 2004; Luciana-Alexandra Ghica, *România și Uniunea Europeană. O istorie cronologică*, Meronia, București 2006.

point out that of all the Soviet Union's satellites, only Romania showed a modicum of openness towards cooperating with the Euro-Atlantic institutions in important sectors such as industry and trade. What's more, Romania was the first Eastern European state to enter into official relationships with the European Economic Community — while still under communist rule — and then with the European Union³⁸.

As can be expected, the negotiations for Romania's accession to the European Union receive ample consideration in this period. The approach taken to these treaties no longer has the philosophical and almost ideological tone of the preceding period, but has become pragmatic, homing in on the technical aspects of the accession process. In terms of the number of books in which it appears, this approach — which covers the entire time span dealt with in this study — is probably the most commonly adopted³⁹. In these books, the historical approach to the construction of Europe serves merely to set the stage for the major topics discussed, which are primarily economic and legal. Given these works' lack of historical depth, many of them had to be extensively revised and updated as the accession process advanced. Generally speaking, the historical reconstruction in this type of publication starts from 1989, year of the fall of Eastern Europe's communist regimes, followed by the policy of enlargement to the East launched by the EEC and continued by the European Union. How the process of European integration developed historically is thus taken for granted, with no real analysis and reconstruction of the path that led to a United Europe. The international scene providing the background for these events is pictured as favorable to enlargement, and Romania's accession

³⁹ Though a complete list is beyond our scope here, some of the most important of these works include: Ion Avram, *Uniunea Europeană și aderarea României*, Editura Sylvi, București 2001; Aristide Cociuban, *Extinderea Uniunii Europene și România*, Editura Apimondia, București 2002; Sterian Dumitrescu (ed.), *Uniunea Europeană*, Independența Economică, Pitești 2002; Emilian Epure, *România într-o Uniune Europeană extinsă*, Tribuna Economică, București 2002; Virginia Marinescu, Gheorghe Emil Marinescu, *Uniunea Europeană: proiect și devenire*, Antet Press, București 2002; Cristina Arvatu, Daniela Ionescu, Ioan Codruț Lucinescu, Sanda Cincea, Ruxandra Luca, Călin Câmpean, *România și Uniunea Europeană. Cronologie istorică*, Editura Institutului de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale, București 2004; Ana Maria Dobre, Ramona Coman (ed.), op. cit.; Luciana-Alexandra Ghica (ed.), *Enciclopedia Uniunii Europene*, Meronia, București 2005 (reprinted in 2006 and 2007); Eadem, *România și Uniunea Europeană. O istorie cronologică*, Meronia, București 2006; Angela Banciu (ed.), *Integrare europeană. Repere istorice și evoluții instituționale contemporane*, Politehnica Press, București 2006; Teodora Stănescu-Stanciu, *Istoria integrării europene*, Editura Fundației „România de Măine”, București 2007.

process is described — using a term that by now is almost canonical — as a “homecoming” and seen as part of the broader historical need to reunify the European continent.

Another interesting aspect of this period is the appearance of works that for the first time voice criticisms of the aims of the European project, or at least of the way it is pursued. However, most of these texts are Romanian translations of foreign authors. For example, the book by Christopher Booker and Richard North describes the European Union as an idealistic project entailing numerous social, political and economic costs⁴⁰. Writing in a style that would be less out of place in a newspaper column (unsurprising in view of the authors’ profession) and is at times gossipy in tone but always meticulously researched, the book espouses the Euro-sceptic and conspiracy theory-laden view that European integration is a project devised by a handful of politicians to advance the interests of a few States at the expense of the others.

A particularly interesting translation was published in 2005 of a book dealing with the relationship between the European Union and state sovereignty by Paul Marnette, eminent political scientist and current leader of the Belgian Socialist Party⁴¹. In particular, Marnette emphasizes that although the Member States have ceded some of their sovereignty to the European institutions’ exclusive or concurrent powers, this has been offset by the greater international weight that belonging to the Union has given them, a weight that is often greater than that which the individual countries could wield on their own. It is important to draw attention to this aspect, as the issue of the loss or curtailment of national sovereignty is often brought out as a Euro-sceptic talking point, and not only in academia. This is a concern voiced by broad swaths of society and periodically used instrumentally. There are many reasons for it, reasons stemming from the history of the country (divided between three plurinational empires, and then under Soviet sway after World War II), its institutional and administrative tradition (Romania has a highly centralized politico-administrative system), as well as — and perhaps primarily — from its particular ethnic mix and the territorial disputes about Transylvania between Romania and neighboring Hungary, which European integration has reduced but not resolved.

⁴⁰ Christopher Booker, Richard North, *Uniunea Europeană sau marea amăgire. Istoria secretă a construcției europene* (translated by Mihnea Columbeanu), Editura Antet, București 2004.

⁴¹ Paul Marnette, *Europa, statul și democrația. Suveranul împlânzit*, Institutul European, Iași 2005.

5. From 2008 to our own day: Romania in the EU

2007 was another watershed in Romania's recent history. Effective January 1, the country brought the process of accession to the European Union to a close, officially becoming a member. This is also reflected in the European integration literature, which shifted to new topics, in most cases dealing with legislative and institutional aspects. Now that the question of membership had been resolved, scholars' attention turned to the more topical issue of the country's real integration — especially from the economic standpoint — and to the somewhat related problem of the free movement of people⁴². Both of these sensitive issues had been widely used in the previous years to drum up support for the reforms that the accession process had obliged the country to make. A historical reconstruction of the steps leading up to the creation and growth of the European Communities and then to the European Union thus took a back seat to this primary interest, while the more strictly political side of European integration is largely ignored, or at best skimmed over with no real attempt at depth.

The changes introduced through the ratification of the Treaties of Nice, Amsterdam and - above all - Lisbon, like the effects of applying the *acquis communautaire*, also attracted the attention of scholars in several disciplines. The works published as a result centered on sectorial aspects, particularly those relating to law, economics, social questions and politics⁴³. The EU's paradigm shift from 2000 onwards, when democratic values, the market economy, integration beyond merely economic sectors, and the attempt to provide the Union with a constitution were hailed as essential parts of the European identity, was also addressed by a number of Romanian scholars, who saw it as a functional model of governance for globalization⁴⁴.

For its part, the history of economic integration is reconstructed rather summarily in most cases, serving as an introduction to a more thorough exploration of sectorial aspects. It should be noted that the publications from this period tend to frame the European project within the more general postwar scene dominated by two rival blocs. Thus, Lorena Deleanu —

⁴² Gabriela Drăgan, Mihaela Cristina Drăgoi, *Uniunea Europeană. Etape, instituții, mecanisme*, Editura ASE, București 2013.

⁴³ Marcela Monica Stoica, *Uniunea Europeană*, Pro Universitaria, București 2009 (reissued in 2010).

⁴⁴ Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, *Noua Europă. Identitate și model european*, Polirom, Iași 2015.

an engineer by profession — traces the role played by Europe's political movements and parties in initiating the process of European cooperation, emphasizing the contrasts between Western communist parties and their Christian Democratic and conservative opponents, as well as the fact that the continent's integration was hampered and delayed by crisis after crisis in the relationships between the superpowers⁴⁵. By contrast, Gabriel-Liviu Ispas, legal scholar and secretary of state at the Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research, argues that the Cold War and the opposition between blocs worked in favor of the continent's integration, noting that the Marshall Plan made a positive contribution to encouraging cooperation, though only at the economic level⁴⁶.

As regards the translations, a noteworthy example is the tellingly entitled *Viitorul federalist al Europei (The Federal Future of Europe)* by the Yugoslavian-born Swiss political scientist Dusan Sidjanski, a close associate of Denis de Rougemont at the European Cultural Centre, professor, and later Special Advisor to the President of the European Commission José-Manuel Barroso⁴⁷. While the original French version published in 1992 stopped with the Maastricht Treaty, the 2011 Romanian translation extends as far as the Treaty of Lisbon, with two supplementary sections covering the period between the two agreements. Sidjanski considers federalism to be the only way to ensure that the fundamental concept of the European Union — Unity in Diversity — is more than just a motto, and to safeguard the Member States' identity while curbing nationalist and anti-European tendencies. Sidjanski's historical reconstruction, which starts from the Europeanist debate of the interwar period and the years immediately following World War II (where ample space is devoted to the Hague Congress in particular) is clearly influenced by his federalist opinions.

In this period of the Union's development and growth (quantitative growth, with the enlargement to the East, but also qualitative growth with the reforms introduced by the treaties that followed the TEU), the decision to translate Sidjanski's book was dictated to some extent by the interest that Romanian scholars show in the major viewpoints that vied

⁴⁵ Lorena Deleanu, *Uniunea Europeană până la Tratatul de la Lisabona*, Galați University Press, Galați 2011.

⁴⁶ Gabriel-Liviu Ispas, *Uniunea Europeană. Evoluție. Instituții. Mecanisme*, Universul juridic, București 2011.

⁴⁷ Dusan Sidjanski, *Viitorul federalist al Europei. Comunitatea Europeană de la origini la Tratatul de la Lisabona*, Polirom, Iași 2010.

with each other and at times clashed at the beginning of the integration process. Bolstered by the translation of a number of the European project's foundational texts into Romanian, the country's integration research focused intensely on this debate. In this connection, the historian of international relations Adrian Ivan has produced a very well documented book whose debt to the federalist approach is clear even from the title⁴⁸. Ivan argues that the European project originated with the various projects for “universal peace” conceived during the European Enlightenment and pursued over the centuries until the federalist, functionalist and confederal models squared off in the aftermath of the Second World War. Thus, while the functionalist model can be credited with starting the European integration process, the next step — Ivan maintains — must be towards federalism, the only model that can truly guarantee peace and stability on the continent.

Not all scholars are so wholehearted in embracing a particular position, however. In tackling the debate about what route can best lead to an united Europe, the economist Dan-Marius Voicilaș stresses that the lengthy confrontation between the French-backed inter-governmental model and the supranational model favored by the Germans — a reframing of the centuries-old discord between the two countries — has been detrimental to the entire process, slowing it and at times bringing it perilously close to failure⁴⁹. Other scholars tend to downplay the negative impact of these crises, maintaining that they are no more than natural “growing pains” than can encourage reflection on the best ways to overcome the obstacles and relaunch the project as a whole. This is the case of the historian Dan Vătăman, whose *Istoria Uniunii Europene (History of the European Union)*, which among all the books considered in this study probably comes closest to being a textbook of European integration history. Vătăman deals extensively with the moments of crisis in the European construction — the Fouchet Plan, the Empty Chair Crisis, the many tensions between Member States — but emphasizing that these fraught moments helped launch debates that propelled the European project towards ever-greater integration⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ Adrian Ivan, *Sub zodia Statelor Unite ale Europei. De la ideea europeană la Comunitățile Economice Europene*, CA Publishing, Cluj-Napoca 2009.

⁴⁹ Dan-Marius Voicilaș, *Uniunea Europeană. Incursiuni retrospective*, Editura Terra Nostra, Iași 2011.

⁵⁰ Dan Vătăman, *Istoria Uniunii Europene*, Pro Universitaria, București 2011.

Conclusions

This study of the publications appearing in Romania in the forty years between the first direct elections to the European Parliament and our own day was based on a series of criteria that took both quantitative and qualitative factors into account. This made it possible to identify certain distinctive features of the Romanian European integration literature. Chief among these features is the influence that the country's domestic developments have had on scholars' interest in European integration and their approach to it.

The 1989 revolution was the first turning point in the literature. Until that time, studies of European integration are subject to the twofold influence of the official ideology and the eccentric stance taken by Romania in foreign policy. Thus, the Communities' experience is demonized ideologically as the product of the bourgeois capitalist system, but on the concrete level of bilateral relations, the Member States are seen as partners who can be useful in sustaining the regime's increasingly fanciful economic policies. As a result of this approach, interest in the European integration process was extremely limited and in any case distorted by the ideological filter, while the literature touted communist Romania's contribution to any international cooperation initiative designed to ensure peace and stability for the entire continent. The only scholarly works that dealt with European integration from a perspective free from the official ideological influences were those by intellectuals in exile. Here, however, we can see a certain tendency towards an opposite bias, against the communist regime. The few mentions of the European project are usually made as part of more extensive attempts to show that the Romanians belong to European civilization, thus underscoring what a wrongful imposition the communist regime was, as it shared nothing of the continent's cultural experience (this was the argument advanced in 1948 by Grigore Gafencu, representing the Romanian delegation to the Congress of Europe in the Hague)⁵¹.

1989 was a watershed year. With the new political and economic paradigm that followed the revolution, a series of reforms were intro-

⁵¹ For Gafencu's participation in the Congress of Europe, see my earlier work: Giordano Altarozzi, "Gli esuli romeni al Congresso dell'Europa dell'Aja (maggio 1948)", in *The Proceedings of the European Integration – Between Tradition and Modernity Congress*, n. 3, 2009, pp. 988-996.

duced to smooth the country's transition to the democratic and capitalist model. The past regime's cooperation with the European institutions was continued and extended. Scholarly interest in the issues associated with integration increased, given that Romania, now freed from the ideological curbs of applied socialism, could begin to think seriously of its own accession. During the first decade following the revolution, scholars' approach was primarily rooted in sociology and political science, with the twofold aim of reconstructing and consolidating an European identity in a population still laboring under the communist legacy, and of understanding the operations of a new institutional construction which was in turn still changing.

With the year 2000, the approach changed to some extent. The country's domestic transition seemed to be reaching completion, both politically and economically. There can be no doubt that the clearly pro-European attitude shown by the political class and by society in general played a stabilizing role. The beginning of official negotiations for Romania's accession to the European Union in 1995 and the invitation to join NATO in 2002 brought a westward looking strategy, while economic liberalization gathered strength, though with many of the distortions to be expected of a young market. Once again, however, there was a "before" and an "after", divided by the year 2007 when Romania became a full member of the EU. Up to that time, the number of books about united Europe was increasing, but qualitatively speaking there was a certain standardization, as the texts tended to be presented very much as guidebooks to the EU. A historical reconstruction of the Union's lengthy evolution is generally provided in the second part of these books, preceded by a section on how the idea of Europe developed over the centuries and followed by a discussion of the technical mechanisms whereby the Union and its institutions operate.

The literature on the European Union and integration underwent something of a change with 2007 and the enlargement to Romania and Bulgaria. Interest shifted to specific topics, out of a desire to achieve a better understanding of a number of sectorial areas, particularly those concerned with law and economics. In this scene, reconstructions of the history of European integration once again yield ground to other types of investigation. The evolution of the idea of Europe and the integration projects that preceded the postwar period, as well as the historical develop-

ment of a united Europe, continue to be addressed in books dealing with a variety of themes, according to what is now a well-established model. By contrast, there is a lack of systematic explorations of the integration process from a strictly historical standpoint, and this is perhaps the study's most interesting finding. This may be explained to some extent by a certain reluctance on the part of Romanian historians to be involved with material that could be classified as textbooks or syntheses, an attitude that can also be found in other strands of historical research. In addition, there is probably also a second explanation — though it would be necessary to see whether it is borne out by cases in the other former real socialist states — associated with the fact that the Eastern European countries did not in general take part in the entire process, but were latecomers to a project that had largely been brought into being by others. This would help explain why there was so much interest in the interwar Europeanist plans to which the Romanians contributed, and relatively little in these projects' actual implementation, from which Romanians were excluded by the country's situation after the Second World War.

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European integration history textbooks in Latin America: the history of an absence*

Lorenza Sebesta with the assistance of Yael Poggi

Introduction

The Spanish-language publishing scene in Latin America features few texts dealing with the process of European integration. This is true of all countries in the region, including Mexico, Argentina and Colombia, the largest book markets¹.

At first glance, this absence is not strange: the international book market offers a number of single- or multi-author histories of European integration written by Spanish historians or translated into Spanish. Curiosity about the subject, first spurred by Spain's entry in the European Communities in 1986, has mounted over time, achieving critical breadth, as Guido Levi's contribution ably attests. Gaining access to these books from Latin America is complicated and costly, but not impossible.

Another major factor explaining this absence is the lack, at least in Spanish-speaking Latin America, of history courses dealing with European integration or of professional historians who are in a position to cultivate their interest in it full time. Consequently, what little has been published on the subject has at most taken the form of an academic paper or article, and rarely that of a book, an undertaking that — especially in the case of the historical disciplines — calls for much careful thought, research and reading, or, in a nutshell, devoting a great deal of time.

* I would like to thank Soledad Loaeza, Pablo Milanese, Sandra Negro and Arturo O'Connell for their comments on the text. Any errors and omissions regarding publishers, books or authors that should have been included in this review are entirely due to my own ignorance. All websites were last consulted in September 2022.

¹ The first two countries are home to the continent's most famous book fairs, the *Feria Internacional del Libro de Guadalajara* and the *Feria Internacional del Libro de Buenos Aires*, while Mexico has the largest publishing market in terms of revenues, and Argentina leads in number of titles and publishing houses. An overview of the pre-COVID Latin American publishing scene is given in José Diego González, Rüdiger Wischenbart, *El espacio iberoamericano del libro 2018*, Bogotá, Centro Regional para el Fomento del Libro en América Latina y el Caribe (CERLALC), 2019.

And yet, I believe these rather superficial explanations conceal something more deeply-rooted, that has less to do with contingent motives than with the evolving relationships between Europe and Latin America and with the stages of the latter's integration. The absence of textbooks can be seen as a sign, an indicator of the broader malaise affecting the two areas that can provide an interesting perspective on why this situation has come about. Accordingly, I will present a bibliographic survey and attempt to systematize its findings in the first part of this paper, and in the second will advance some hypotheses about how this absence can be interpreted. By contrast, I have decided not to address the *vexata quaestio* of the European Union's attitude and policies towards Latin America and their influence on the lack of interest in European issues, integration included, showed by its academics, with few exceptions².

Part I. On the importance of tools and categories

1. The bibliographic survey: which tools?³

Our survey started from the online catalogs of the national libraries of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay, and then cast a broader net using ISBN codes (*International Standard Book Number*)⁴. The criteria

² Some of my own thoughts on the topic are presented in Lorenza Sebesta, *Conocimiento mutuo, análisis conjuntos. El rol de la academia en las relaciones entre Europa y América Latina*, in Miguel Ángel Barrios, Lorenza Sebesta, Flavia Guerra, *Mercosur-Unión Europea. ¿Un acuerdo posible?*, Montevideo, Documento de trabajo 015, CEFIR, 2012, pp. 33-48; Id., *Pautas para el análisis de un malestar: América Latina entre el 'modelo europeo' y la política comercial de la Comisión Europea*, in Gerardo Caetano (ed.), *Las negociaciones entre América Latina y el Caribe con la Unión Europea. Posibilidades e incertidumbres en el 2010*, Montevideo, CEFIR, 2010, pp. 71-84; Id., *Algunas reflexiones sobre el rol internacional de la UE: entre las interpretaciones y los hechos*, in Sundry Authors, *V Cumbre América Latina y Caribe-Unión Europea (Lima 2008). Evaluación, desafíos y propuestas*, Santiago de Chile, CELARE, 2008, pp. 247-265. On the general question of the scarcity of EU studies in South America, see Andrés Malamud and Miguel de Luca, "An Old World yet to Discover? European Studies in the Latin American Southern Cone", in *European Political Science*, vol.11, n.3, 2012, pp. 325-336.

³ This part of the paper is based on the work done, with exemplary generosity and professionalism, by Yael Poggi, library directress at the National University of Hurlingham, province of Buenos Aires, Argentina.

⁴ The use of ISBN and the creation of national agencies assigning them in Latin America have been promoted by CERLALC (see note 1), an organization set up under the auspices of UNESCO. In chronological order, such agencies have been established in Mexico (1977), Brazil (1978), Argentina (1982), Costa Rica (1983), Colombia (1984), Venezuela (1984), Ecuador (1986), Chile (1986), Cuba (1989), Uruguay (1990) and Peru (1995); see <https://cerlalc.org>.

for selecting countries were whether the survey would be practically feasible in them, and whether they had centers doing research on regional integration (and European integration in particular) and universities offering courses in such subjects, even if the approach taken was not historical — in Latin America, the mainstream approaches are legal and economic.

Latin American national libraries, like their European counterparts, are not only lending libraries or regular reference libraries. They are also repositories with the right of legal deposit: all publishers are required to provide them with a copy of every book they produce. Unfortunately, it was not possible to standardize the survey method, as these libraries use different methods of subject indexing⁵.

Nevertheless, we sought to establish a bibliographic survey prototype on the basis of the holdings of the *Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina*, one of the continent's oldest national libraries⁶, and known in Europe for its associations with intellectuals of the caliber of Jorge Luis Borges, who directed it from 1955 to 1973. For this purpose, we conducted searches using single subjects (or descriptors) (“Europa”, “Unión Europea”, “Integración europea”) and combinations (“Integración regional + Europa”, “Historia + Europa”, “Integración regional+Europa+Aspectos jurídicos”, “Integración regional+Europa+Aspectos políticos”)⁷.

⁵ In Europe, the Conference of European National Librarians launched a project to set up a unified catalog with a single framework for access in 2004, creating *The European Library* (TEL), a web portal which became an open hub for national library data in Europe. TEL services came to an end in 2016 and the website, <https://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/>, was shut down in 2019. TEL was the basis for the European Commission's *Europeana*, a digital platform hosting a broad spectrum of content dealing with all aspects of the European cultural heritage, including the national libraries' digital content. It does not, however, fulfil the objectives of the original enterprise. See: <https://www.europeana.eu/it/TEL>. A similar initiative at the Ibero-American level is the *Biblioteca Digital del Patrimonio Iberoamericano* (BDPI); see <http://www.iberoamericadigital.net/es/Inicio/>

⁶ The origin and growth of these national libraries is intertwined with the history of the Latin American countries' colonial emancipation and their consolidation as nation-states. The earliest foundations were in 1810 (Argentina and Brazil), 1813 (Chile), 1816 (Uruguay), 1821 (Peru) and 1833 (Mexico and Venezuela); see Carlos Aguirre, Ricardo Salvatore (eds.), *Bibliotecas y cultura letrada en América Latina: siglos XIX y XX*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica - Fondo Editorial, 2018, pp. 10-11.

⁷ Search combinations were taken from the existing repertoire of associated subjects. For example, we could not use the combination “Historia+Integración europea” because it does not exist in the repertoire, nor does “Integración regional+Europa+aspectos históricos”.

The combination that yielded the largest number of hits, viz., “Historia+Europa”, was also the least satisfactory: of the 273 Spanish-language books found, only one was strictly relevant to our survey. It was a book produced by a university publisher in the city of Santa Rosa, La Pampa province, Argentina, by Aldo Fabio Alonso, María Cristina Nin and Stella Maris Shmite: *Unión Europea: proceso histórico y desafíos actuales*, Santa Rosa, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de La Pampa (EdUNLPam), 2015. It is a very interesting work, divided into two parts, one being a historical reconstruction and the other dealing in depth with territorial questions (regional imbalances, nationalisms and migrations). The authors, who hold courses in Twentieth Century History and Geography of Europe and Oceania at the same university, bring the outlooks of different disciplines to bear on the topic, demonstrating mature judgment and originality in moving away from a simple description of the EU’s institutional evolution to tackle economic and social questions. In so doing, they set the Community’s development against the broader international backdrop while also devoting attention to the changes that have taken place within the member states.

The search term that proved most satisfactory was “Unión Europea”, which yielded 28 Spanish-language texts that, while not strictly in line with the survey’s original theme, were useful in roughing out the interpretive framework discussed in the following section.

Given the aleatory nature of searches based on the national library catalogs, we then proceeded with a blanket search using ISBN codes. Specifically, we relied in the *Catálogo histórico de títulos con ISBN de América Latina*, produced by CERLALC. This is a database of Latin American publications in Spanish and Portuguese, built up by collecting and systematizing the information provided by the agencies that register ISBN codes in each of the nineteen member countries. As the search system does not provide information by subject, but only by title, author and place of publication, we searched by title, looking for titles in which the subjects employed earlier appeared (Europa, Unión Europea, Integración europea).

Given that it was not possible to search by subject, and in order to avoid potential problems resulting from the dissimilar conditions under which data were collected and the shortcomings in how material was organized, we also analyzed the individual national ISBN registries in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay. Once again, our initial pessimism proved to be well-founded.

We thus decided to go into an even greater level of detail, searching the catalogs of specialized libraries and/or documentation centers, primarily those of international institutes and organizations dealing with regional integration issues, such as the *Instituto para la Integración de América Latina y el Caribe* (INTAL) of Buenos Aires, which hosts a documentation center part of whose holdings are accessible electronically via the website catalog⁸. We then searched the catalogs for the holdings at the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración* (ALADI) in Montevideo, the *Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe* (CEPAL) in Santiago, the *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO), whose general secretariat is in San José, Costa Rica, the *Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales* (CLACSO) in Buenos Aires, as well as the *Fundación Unión Europea-América Latina y Caribe* (EU-LAC), which has been active in Hamburg, Germany, since 2010. Lastly, we turned our attention to a few universities representative of those offering courses on European issues — specifically, the *Universidad de Concepción* in Concepción, Chile, the *Universidad de los Andes*, in Bogota, Colombia, the *Universidad de Buenos Aires* and the *Universidad Nacional de Rosario*, all of them in Argentina⁹, the *Universidad*

⁸ INTAL was founded by the Inter-American Development Bank (known by its Spanish acronym BID) in 1965, with the aim of promoting the regional integration agenda and its participants' international insertion. The BID was set up in 1959 as a regional development bank, but beneath its ostensibly technical nature, it harbored — at least in the early period — profoundly progressive ambitions, ideals and politics, as exemplified by its first president, the Chilean socialist Felipe Herrera and the series of publications it initiated. For the catalog, see <http://intallib.iadb.org/intal/catalogo/Catalogo.aspx?Lang=es>. For a useful summary of Herrera's ideas on integration, see Eduardo Devés Valdés, *El pensamiento latinoamericano en el siglo XX*. Tomo II, *Desde la CEPAL al neoliberalismo (1950-1990)*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos, 2003, p. 118-120. Mention should also be made of CEMLA, *Centro de Estudios Monetarios Latinoamericanos*, the association of Latin American and Caribbean central banks, established in 1952 to increase the understanding of banking and monetary issues, which has published a number of monographs about monetary cooperation in Europe; see <https://www.cemla.org/>.

⁹ For Argentina, we also used the *Catálogo colectivo UBA*, a catalog of the holdings of all the faculties of the University of Buenos Aires (<http://catalogosuba.sisbi.uba.ar/vufind/>), and the *Catálogo bibliográfico cooperativo* (SIUBDU), which covers an extensive network of university libraries and major public institutions such as the *Congreso de la Nación* (<http://bdu.siu.edu.ar/prod/index.php>). Space restrictions prevent us from discussing several interesting findings regarding the interest that the universities have expressed by acquiring secondary literature and documentation produced by the Communities themselves in certain historical periods of their existence. The interest shown by several faculty libraries at the *Universidad Nacional de Rosario* in the Fifties and Sixties, for example, is typical.

de la República in Montevideo, Uruguay, the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* and the *Colegio de México*, both in Mexico City¹⁰.

To complete the survey, we briefly reviewed the Latin American publishing houses that produce books on Europe, history and regional integration.

These efforts made it possible to map out the reference universe for this study, enabling us to construct typologies of books that, without being textbooks on the history of European integration in the strict sense, are nevertheless a close approximation.

2. An attempt at systematization

One of the first points unearthed by the survey is that the interest in European integration is most apparent in legal and economic texts or translations thereof. A second noteworthy element is that the attention devoted to the European project in the Sixties faded in the Seventies (a period, as we will see, of democratic backsliding in many Latin American countries). Then, with the growing number of Latin American integration organizations, analyses of the parallels between them and the European experience began to appear. At times, comparisons extended to integration efforts in other areas, Africa and Asia in particular.

Examples include several volumes by two faculty members at the *Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Sandra Negro and Calogero Pizzolo (the latter is director of a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence) who for many years have done research and taught courses in the legal systems adopted in various regional integration initiatives, those in Latin America and Europe in particular. For Sandra Negro, we will mention only the latest of her contributions in this area, the edited volume, *Derecho de la Integración*, Buenos Aires-Montevideo, Editorial Bdef, 2018 — the third updated and expanded version of a solid textbook that also contains an extensive section on the European Union in which Negro shows an uncommon historical sensitivity¹¹. For Pizzolo's work in the area, see, for example, Carlos Molina del

¹⁰ For the latter, we were also able to employ the useful “scan shelves” search option.

¹¹ Another volume co-edited by Negro contains a useful summary of the mileposts in European integration, against the backdrop of the international system's general evolution from the beginnings to the early years of the new millennium; Antonio Varsori, “Pasado y presente de la construcción europea”, in Francisco Leita, S. Negro (eds.), *La Unión Europea y el Mercosur: a 50 años de la firma de los Tratados de Roma*, Buenos Aires, Facultad de Derecho UBA-La Ley, 2008, pp. 3-12. The same Faculty of Law has published a book by Alejandro Iza, currently director of the IUCN Environmental Law

Pozo, Calogero Pizzolo (coord.), *El Parlamento de la Unión Europea y el Parlamento del Mercosur: ensayos para un estudio comparado*, Eudeba, Buenos Aires, 2011. Nor must we forget the contributions made by Miguel Ángel Ciuro Caldani, chiefly affiliated with the faculty of law at Rosario National University in Argentina, true Master and all-round intellectual linked through his personal life, educational background and scientific trajectory to Europe and the European classical heritage, in particular as regards ancient Greek philosophy and Roman law¹².

This category also includes writings by figures involved in both the academic and political worlds, such as the Mexican Jesús Armando López Velarde Campa, who in 2014 published *Unión Europea e integración latinoamericana*, México D.F., Editorial Porrúa.

In a remarkable book that succeeds in combining historical depth with comparative analysis, Pablo Milanese presents an ambitious attempt to set the history and characteristics of European nuclear cooperation and integration against the Latin American experience. The book is solidly sourced and takes an original approach¹³.

An interesting interpretive tack covering a broad time span is offered in *Ciudades, naciones, regiones. Los espacios institucionales de la modernidad*, by the economist Ugo Pipitone, Italian-born but Mexican by adoption. Pipitone sees the plurinational regions (of which the European Union is the “contemporary pioneer”) as the structures that, historically, have come after cities and nation states as modernity’s foundational institu-

Centre in Bonn, which opens with a singular historical section dealing with the prelude to integration and its early developments: Id., *Unión Europea: ¿Paradigma de integración?*, Buenos Aires, Facultad de Derecho UBA, 2004. After discussing the interesting idea of the existence of “four major vectors in the development of European integration” (pp. 35-36), viz., securing peace, supranationality, free movement of people and goods, and preservation of power, Iza departs from it in a somewhat rambling illustration of the “precursor” projects. In the rest of his narrative, the author levels criticism against the crucial transformation of the European Communities into the European Union as a result of the Maastricht Treaty, which Iza maintains slowed down and fragmented the integration process. As the differentiated integration process prevented community law from being applied uniformly, he argues, the new architecture jeopardized the coherence and cohesion of integration.

¹² To cite one example of his work out of many, Miguel Ángel Ciuro Caldani, *Integración Unión Europea y Mercosur*, Mendoza, Ediciones Jurídicas Cuyo, 2001. For a more recent multi-author volume, see M. A. Ciuro Caldani, Ada Lattuca, Luis Cruz Pereira, Alfredo Soto and Roberto Stocco, *25 años del Tratado de Asunción*, IJEditores, 2016 (an e-book).

¹³ Juan Pablo Milanese, *Uso pacífico de la energía nuclear en Argentina, Brasil y Euratom. Cooperación e integración regional*, Cali, Editorial Universidad Icesi, 2007.

tional and territorial organizations. They are spaces, he writes, with “ever-increasing institutional, economic, cultural and political density” that herald a new, still-nascent relationship between “wealth” and “power”¹⁴.

In a far more restricted sense, comparative issues have been addressed by many conferences (and the associated conference proceedings), some of which have been organized by foundations, such as the German Ebert and Adenauer Foundations, that have long been active in Latin America¹⁵. By way of example, see: Sundry Authors, *El rol de los partidos políticos en los procesos de integración: Mercosur - Unión Europea*, Seminario 5 de agosto de 1997, Buenos Aires, Banco de la Nación Argentina-Fundación Konrad Adenauer, 1997. Other conferences have been organized by universities, such as that held at the *Colegio de México* in 1987 which resulted in the book edited by Victor L. Urquidi and Gustavo Vega Canóvas, *Una y otras integraciones. Seminario sobre integraciones regionales y subregionales*, México D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991.

Starting from 1995, the year negotiations began for the European Union-Mercosur association agreement, many of the foundations’ publications have addressed this topic, which is currently (2020-21) enjoying a revival of interest spurring by the signing of a new text and the uphill route to its ratification¹⁶. The first in this strand of literature was a book edited by Patricio Leiva, for many years director of the *Centro Latinoamericano para las Relaciones con Europa* (CELARE), founded in 1993 to promote ties between Europe and Latin America: Patricio Leiva (ed.), *América Latina y la Unión Europea. Construyendo el siglo XXI*, Santiago de Chile, CELARE, 1996. Subsequent examples include the volume by the prominent Chilean historian (long a professor at the Universidad de los Andes, in Colombia) Hugo Fazio Vengoa, *La Unión Europea y*

¹⁴ In the shifting balance between these two principles, according to Pipitone, “wealth” predominated in the medieval cities and “power” in the nation states. Ugo Pipitone, *Ciudades, naciones, regiones. Los espacios institucionales de la modernidad*, México D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003; the quotations are from pages 13 and 14.

¹⁵ A particularly noteworthy example of the foundations’ output is the amusing (and entertainingly written) account of the four founding fathers by the late José Luis de Imaz, a well-known Argentine sociologist, *Los constructores de Europa. Schuman, Adenauer, Monnet, De Gasperi*, published by the Buenos Aires branch of Spain’s *Fundación Carolina* in 2007.

¹⁶ A useful summary of the topic can be found in the 2003 working document by the *Instituto de Estudios de la Integración Europea* of the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM); Jordi Becaria, Stephan Sberro, Erika Ruiz Sandoval, *La Unión Europea y América Latina: historia de una relación y diez propuestas para reactivarla*.

América Latina. Una historia de encuentros y desencuentros, Bogotá, Universidad de los Andes, 2006.

Together with Antonella Fazio Vargas and Luciana Fazio Vargas, Vengoa also published a very sophisticated book on the difficulty of writing the history of the EU after the integration project's loss of direction, which according to the authors began with the "economization" of its nature through the reforms of the late Eighties-early Nineties. These reforms, which were introduced after the fall of the Soviet Union (and the Berlin Wall), when the European project seemed to have reached its greatest splendor, bore poisoned fruit: the economic crises of 2008. The authors use the Gramscian category of "interregnum" (a historical time when the Old comes to an end and the New is still blurry and unable to offer any criteria of order) to analyze the recent history of the EU where "two different conceptions of the liberal order oppose one another": a Thatcher style liberalism, whereby market values penetrate society, and a German ordoliberalism, which focuses on the need to govern the market according to consensual basic social rules. The authors also note that it is impossible to write a one-size-fits-all history, as each nation has experienced different trajectories in its relations with the EU in these last years and, in parallel, the EU has suffered the strictures and impositions of an ever-changing globalization¹⁷.

Another strand of books includes the *Festschriften*: examples encompass the volume edited by Carlos Molina del Pozo, *Evolución histórica y jurídica de los procesos de integración en la Unión Europea y en el Mercosur. Liber Amicorum Miguel Ángel Ciuro Caldani*, Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2011, and yet another edited by Sandra Negro, *Lecturas sobre integración regional y comercio internacional. Homenaje a Susana Czar de Zalduendo*, Buenos Aires, La Ley, 2012. Both devote some space to the evolution of European integration.

We will wrap up this quick rundown of the literature with a number of multi-author publications by groups of academics or research centers dealing with European integration — most of which are or have in the past been able to pursue their aims thanks to a praiseworthy civil and scholarly commitment, accompanied at times by funding from the Jean Monnet Action.

¹⁷ Hugo Fazio Vengoa, Antonella Fazio Vargas, Luciana Fazio Vargas, *Europa y sus agonías. Un diagnóstico para tiempos difíciles*, Bogotá, Universidad de los Andes-Uniandes, 2017, p. 13 and pp. 26-28 in particular.

Of these publications, which include the book produced by the University of Santa Rosa in Argentina cited earlier, we will limit ourselves to mentioning the volume edited by Giorgio Basevi, Vincente Donato and Arturo O'Connell, *Efectos reales de la integración regional en la Unión Europea y en el Mercosur*, Buenos Aires, Editorial de la Universidad de Bologna en Buenos Aires, 2003, a collection of writings by several Italian and Argentine academics who were then holding courses and doing research on regional, European and Latin American integration at the University of Bologna's Buenos Aires campus.

For Colombia, mention should be made of the collection written in 2011 by the European Studies group of the *Facultad de Financia, Gobierno y Relaciones Internacionales* at the *Universidad Externado de Colombia*, whose multiple authors, as the preface notes, also include students. The ten articles in the collection, many of which show considerable historical sensitivity, cover topics ranging from the idea of Europe to the problematic relationship between European nationalisms and EU identity. There is also a thoughtful discussion of the history of Europe as the history of the complex relationship between State and market, and a critical study of the evolution of the welfare state from the Industrial Revolution down to our own day¹⁸.

As for the research centers' publications, noteworthy examples include the series issued by the *Programa de Estudios Europeos* (PEE) at Chile's *Universidad de Concepción*. The program was founded by Paulina Astroza who, with a pluridisciplinary group of colleagues specializing in European integration and enthusiastic students, has given life to an institution that has become a true standout on the continental scene. The series consist of collective works by the center's members, their guests and friends. A good example is Sundry Authors, *Perspectivas sobre la Unión Europea*, Santiago, LexisNexis, 2005.

As evidence of the originality and scientific quality of the PEE's approach to historical inquiry, mention should at least be made of the work

¹⁸ Bernardo Vela Orbegozo (ed.), *Lecciones sobre Europa*, Bogotá, Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2011. In 2015, this was followed by the book edited by Miguel Martínez González, *Lecciones sobre Europa II. La Unión Europea en el siglo XXI. ¿La consolidación de un actor global?*, which covers the last thirty years of the European Union's history. Founded in 1886 by leading Columbian intellectuals with strong ties with the liberal and republican Europe of the day, the University's name — *externado* means "day school"— reflects its promoters' belief in free, open education unlike the rote-based instruction offered in the boarding schools, or *internados*, that predominated at the time.

of the scholar of Roman history Alejandro Bancalari Molina, *Orbe Romano e Imperio Global. La romanización desde Augusto a Caracalla*, Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 2007. Drawing on a panoply of primary and secondary sources, Bancalari interprets the *Pax romana* in the period between the emperors Augustus and Caracalla as the first example of globalization, centering on the Mediterranean but extending well beyond Europe's confines. The factors that Bancalari sees as having been essential to the Roman Empire's success are paradigmatic, as they go far beyond the narrow confines of his historical narrative. Empowering local elites and co-opting them into the Roman administrative system, extending citizenship (*civitas*) to (almost) all the inhabitants of the provinces, the coexistence of Roman and local laws and, lastly, the integration brought about by trade and the flow of metals that in the past had been hoarded were not only instrumental to the Roman "globalization", but also provide us with a lens for viewing today's European integration, as Bancalari does in a chapter of the PEE book cited above.

Many years ago, Mexico launched an early, groundbreaking effort to promote teaching and studies dealing with integration and Europe. Established through an agreement between the European Union and the renowned *Colegio de México*, the *Instituto de Estudios de la Integración* under the leadership of Soledad Loaeza renewed the distinguished tradition of European studies dating to the days of the college's foundation. After the agreement was terminated, the college's *Centro de Estudios Internacionales* continued with individual research and international conferences, demonstrating its analytical originality and historical acumen in addressing issues centering on Europe and European-Latin American relations. Of the Center's many initiatives, mention should be made of the 1990 conference on the prospects for cooperation in the post-Cold War world¹⁹.

With twenty years of publications on European integration which not infrequently touch on historical aspects to his credit, Stephan Sberro co-directs a center at the *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México* (ITAM) founded in 2000. Alongside shorter works such as his undated *Una breve historia del euro*, published by the *Instituto de Estudios de la Integración Europea* of ITAM²⁰, he has produced a series of books, starting with

¹⁹ Soledad Loaeza (ed.), *La cooperación internacional en un mundo desigual*, México D.F., El Colegio de México, 1994.

²⁰ http://ieie.itam.mx/medios_digitales/publicaciones/Euro2002.pdf.

Stephan Sberro, Jordi Bacaria (eds.), *La Unión Europea, su evolución y relaciones con América Latina y el Mundo, 2002-2003*, México D.F., Editorial Porrúa - ITAM, 2003, which also take a historical perspective and chiefly came out in the first decade of the new millennium²¹.

The *Centro de Estudios Europeos* of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* is a well-established center dealing mostly with contemporary European issues, while more recently, a group of academics at the *Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana* has published collective books offering some historical accounts of the European project²².

A certain historical flair is also shown in Michel Levi's narratives of the relationships between the European Union and Latin America. Levi, coordinator of the *Centro Andino Estudios Internacionales* at the Ecuadorian campus of the *Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar*, was one of the pioneers of the Jean Monnet action and is a keen observer of Latin American, European and comparative regionalism, topics on which he has run a doctoral program for several years.

A more recent institutional initiative has been fielded at the *Universidad Nacional de Rosario*, where María Victoria Alvarez has brought considerable historical sensitivity to directing a center for teaching and research on European integration. As an example of its output, we should mention the e-book edited by Alvarez together with Marta Cabeza, *La Unión Europea en contexto de crisis. Dimensión y claves para su análisis*, Rosario, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario, 2018.

A few words are in order concerning the European authors who have been invited by Latin American publishers to submit new or translated work. One such author is Patrizio Bianchi, economist on the faculty of the University of Bologna and Minister of Education in the Draghi government (2021-2022), who in 1997 published *Construir el mercado. Lecciones de la Unión Europea: el desarrollo de las instituciones y de las políticas de competitividad*, which even now is still a serviceable introduction to

²¹ See, for example, Mónica Carreón, Héctor Ortega, *La Unión Europea de los veinticinco: una mirada retrospectiva*, México D.F., Editorial Porrúa - ITAM, 2005; after a succinct historical introduction, the book focuses on the accession of new member states that was taking place at the time it was written and on the European Constitution, which, as the authors note in an epilogue, was rejected in 2005.

²² See, for example, Beatriz Nadia Pérez Rodríguez, Cuauhtémoc V. Pérez Llanas, Graciela Pérez Gavilán (eds.), *La Unión Europea. Perspectivas internas y externas a 60 años de su conformación*, Ciudad de México, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2017.

the economic history of European integration²³. Likewise, in 2011, Vera Zamagni published *Historia económica de la Europa contemporánea: de la revolución industrial a la integración europea*, a translation of her well-received book on how the development of the European economy has been influenced by interlinked economic, financial and political factors, with the Mexican section of the publisher Crítica, who also brought out another translation in Spain.

One line of inquiry in the history of European integration sees it in terms of the integration of Europe's countries, economies and societies. In this specific field, the most original book is Ivan Berend's *Europa desde 1980*²⁴. Berend, a Budapest-educated economist who taught for many years at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), gives us a gripping stream-of-consciousness commentary on the motives and characteristics of the European crises of the Seventies, the fall of Mediterranean Europe's dictatorial regimes, the rise of dissidence in Eastern Europe and the transformation of the West's two major communist parties, turning then to the integration between a "core Europe", consisting of the more technologically advanced territories and a "peripheral Europe", made up of Mediterranean, Slavic and (some) Balkan countries. The European Union is presented as an attempt from the Eighties onwards to counter global disorder with an island of peace and a new model of coexistence, with its economic roots in the single market. This attempt broke on the shoals of a series of changes ranging from the disappearance of the mass party system to demographic and urban changes, and from the economy's financialization to its deregulation. At a far deeper level, the attempt failed, according to Berend, because the market was not only unable to self-correct, but tended to self-destruct — as an incredulous Alan Greenspan (whom Berend quotes) admitted in the pages of the *New York Times* as the 2008 financial crisis burst onto the scene²⁵.

Lastly, we should mention Carlos Molina del Pozo, legal scholar at the University of Alcalá in Spain, long a friend of Argentine academics who, like Miguel Ángel Ciuro Caldani, have been at the vanguard of European

²³ Patrizio Bianchi, *Construir el mercado. Lecciones de la Unión Europea: el desarrollo de las instituciones y de las políticas de competitividad*, Quilmes, Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1997. A year later, an abridged version of the book was issued by the publishing arm of the newspaper *Página 12*.

²⁴ Ivan Berend, *Europa desde 1980*, México D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013.

²⁵ Greenspan's term as chairman of the Federal Reserve lasted from 1987 to 2006.

integration studies in Argentina and in Latin America as a whole²⁶. While most of Molina del Pozo's books focus on the legal aspects of the European Union, one in particular directed by him devotes attention to the EU's history: *Evolución histórica y jurídica de los procesos de integración de la Unión Europea y el Mercosur*, Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2011.

Part II. The reasons for an absence

3. Latin America caught between Europe and the United States: searching for autonomy

The colonial ties that for three centuries bound the southern part of the western hemisphere to the Spanish and Portuguese empires spelled violence and submission. At the same time, however, they also brought a mixing of races, exchanges of all sorts and hybridization, as many historians have begun to emphasize since the beginning of the second millennium²⁷.

During the process of emancipation, which came more than a century before its African and Asian counterparts, Latin American political leaders drew continually on European political, legal and economic thinking, while also looking to the United States' political and constitutional experience with considerable curiosity²⁸. In turn, as one of the intellectuals who has most perceptively sought to penetrate the nature of the cultural relationships between Europe and Latin America has emphasized, throughout the nineteenth century "the echoes of [Latin America's] independence resoun-

²⁶ Among the other "friends of European integration" who have published historical texts, we will limit ourselves to mentioning Raymundo Barros Charlín, legal scholar and Chilean Ambassador to ALADI, whose interest in integration has extended to his long-standing personal involvement in the cause of Latin American integration (in 1979, he wrote *Constructores de Europa: De Gaulle, Adenauer y Gasperi*, Santiago, Universidad de Chile) and Francisco Dávila Aldás of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM), whose published works include *Una integración exitosa: la Unión Europea una historia regional y nacional*, México D.F., Distribuciones Fontamara, 2003 and *Francia y Alemania, los forjadores de la Unión Europea, sus dificultades y sus éxitos, 1957-2007*, México D.F., Distribuciones Fontamara, 2009.

²⁷ For example, Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation*, Paris, La Martinière, 2004. Among the texts that inaugurated this new way of looking at colonial relationships, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Connected Histories. Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia*, in Victor Lieberman (ed.), *Beyond Binary History. Re-imagining Europa to c. 1830*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan, 1999, pp. 289-316.

²⁸ For one example out of many, see Alberto Filippi (ed.), *Constituciones, dictaduras y democracias. Los derechos y su configuración política*, Buenos Aires, Infojus, 2015. The full text is available at <http://www.bibliotecadigital.gob.ar/items/show/1565>.

ded in the yearning for freedom voiced by Europe's subjugated nations"²⁹.

At the same time, the history of nineteenth century Europe, with its social and political upheavals fueled by the industrial revolution and with its resurgent colonialism, led to Latin America's first feelings of disillusionment, which were to intensify after World War I and the rise of the first totalitarian regimes, seen by some as the barbarous final stage of a decadent civilization and by others as the bitter fruits of an all-too-sudden modernity. The impact with flesh and blood Europeans as massive migratory waves which reached the Western hemisphere at the turn of the century undoubtedly made further inroads on the fading European myth, but it also opened unexpected routes to a real mixing of peoples and cultures.

It was also in this period that the first rumblings were heard of a heterogeneous movement of cultural "awakening", which clamored for full autonomy both from (looking to the past) colonialist Europe and (looking to the future) the United States. This last one, after the civil wars had ended and riding the wave of its own exuberant industrial revolution, had begun to set its economic and political sights on its neighbors to the south.

Given this situation, there was widespread opposition to the US plans for a Pan-American Union proposed at the 1889 International Conference of American States in Washington with the aim of wresting the monopoly in Latin American trade away from the Europeans³⁰. For the more attentive observers, the idea of establishing a continental customs union advanced by the North American delegation, who dubbed it a modern version of the Bismarckian *Zollverein*, inspired a predictable distrust — well portrayed in the articles written by the Cuban José Martí (1853-1895), who covered the event for the Argentine daily *La Nación*³¹.

²⁹ José Paradiso, "Europeísmo y Eurocentrismo", in *Puente@Europa*, vol. V, ns. 3/4, November 2007, pp. 57-73, p. 61 in particular.

³⁰ It called for "the standardization of weights and measures, a common coinage, a legal apparatus for resolving disputes, a single transport network and the creation of a central office for gathering and distributing information of interest to all the members"; Carlos Escudé and Andrés Cisneros (eds.), *Historia general de las relaciones exteriores de la República Argentina, 1806-1989. La primera fase (1880-1900): el europeísmo (o hispanoamericanismo) argentino versus el panamericanismo norteamericano*, CARI, Buenos Aires, 2000. The work, which initially consisted of fourteen volumes published by Grupo Editorial Latinoamericano, has been posted in an open access electronic version without the original page numbers.

³¹ The articles were published from November 1889 to August 1890, and are now in José Martí, *Nuestra América* [1891], Caracas, Fundación Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005 (I ed.

Martí, an icon of the Cuban independence movement, was engaged in those years in writing *Nuestra América*, which was to become one of the major manifestos of the South American “awakening”. Here, Martí called for independence “from all imported ideas and forms” which, by failing to reflect local circumstances, had delayed rather than aided the Latin American peoples’ evolution towards forms of government capable of guaranteeing their freedom and wellbeing³². It was not possible to govern populations with “peculiar and violent features (*de composición singular y violenta*) by means of laws inherited from four centuries of practicing freedom in the United States or from nineteen centuries of monarchy in France”. For that reason, “the European university should give way to the American. The history of [South] America, from the Incas down to our own day, must be taught inside and out, not that of the archons of ancient Greece. Our own Greece is to be preferred to the Greece that is not ours. Because we need it more. The national politician must replace the exotic ones [...]. Neither the European nor the Yankee book hold the key to the Latin American enigma,” as Martí emphatically concluded³³. In place of the anxiety to imitate, the Cuban thinker thus proudly proclaimed an original, popular identity for

1977), pp. 57-132. As Escudé and Cisneros note, “Frente al *slogan* ‘América para los americanos’ de la Doctrina Monroe, que la delegación norteamericana intentó reeditar en esta Primera Conferencia Panamericana, Roque Sáenz Peña [one of the two Argentine delegates and future Foreign Minister] lanzó su célebre frase ‘América para la Humanidad’”; C. Escudé and A. Cisneros, op. cit. Argentina’s fierce opposition did not prevent the Pan-American Union from being created, but it watered it down considerably.

³² “[...] entró a padecer América, y padece, de la fatiga de acomodación entre los elementos discordantes y hostiles que heredó de un colonizador despótico y avieso, y las ideas y formas importadas que han venido retardando, por su falta de realidad local, el gobierno lógico. El continente descoyuntado durante tres siglos por un mando que negaba el derecho del hombre al ejercicio de su razón, entró, desatendiendo o desoyendo a los ignorantes que lo habían ayudado a redimirse, en un gobierno que tenía por base la razón; la razón de todos en las cosas de todos, y no la razón universitaria de unos sobre la razón campestre de otros. El problema de la independencia no era el cambio de formas, sino el cambio de espíritu.” José. Martí, *Nuestra América* [1891]. A digital version of the text is available in the Ayacucho Library https://www.clacso.org.ar/biblioteca_ayacucho/detalle.php. The Library, which takes its name from the battle of Ayacucho (1824) that marked the end of the Latin American wars of independence, was founded in Venezuela in the Seventies as a repository and promoter of the Latin American cultural heritage. Its entire collection of Latin American classics is now available at https://www.clacso.org.ar/biblioteca_ayacucho/detalle.php?id_libro=1605.

³³ J. Martí, op. cit., p. 33, p. 34; the quotations are from p. 36.

Latin America, a *mestizo*³⁴ identity which rather than entailing a concrete project was a utopia open to the interpretations of those who embraced it.

One who embraced the *mestizo* identity was the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó (1871-1917), author of the essay *Ariel* (1900)³⁵. Here, through the “masterful voice” of Prospero, the teacher, and Ariel, the “airy spirit” he invokes, Rodó laid out the key precepts that should be taught to all young Latin Americans so that they could defend themselves from the blandishments of the lustful Caliban, the victorious barbarian: a metaphor for the other America, the greedy and materialistic North. Rodó, departing from the upbeat pronouncements typical of his day, did not hesitate to recommend *otium* to his young pupils as the best way to find their own destiny. “[T]hinking, dreaming, admiring”³⁶ would enable them to understand the innermost “interests of the [Latin American] soul”, caught between an admiration for the classical past and a craving for a future of full autonomy. From being a geopolitical necessity, independence thus became a route to identity that not only rejected imitation, as did Martí, but at times went so far as to define Latin American identity in terms of its opposition to certain features of the US identity, seen as a perverse distillation of “inextricably linked concepts of utilitarianism as a concept of human destiny and egalitarian mediocrity as a norm for social relationships”³⁷.

³⁴ Victorien Lavou Zoungbo, “El mestizaje paradójico en *Nuestra América* de José Martí”, in *Millcayac - Revista Digital de Ciencias Sociales*, vol. 3, n. 4, March-August 2016, pp. 97-109.

³⁵ José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel* [1900] *El camino de Paros* [1919], Buenos Aires, Capital Intelectual, 2012. The text is also available at https://www.clacso.org.ar/biblioteca_ayacucho/detalle.php. It is important to bear in mind that *Ariel*, whose characters are drawn from Shakespeare’s last play, *The Tempest*, has inspired widely different interpretations, ranging from those that see it as one of the seminal texts of the “modernist” literary movement, with its anti-Positivist, aristocratic and elitist leanings, which regarded the pursuit of beauty as the artist’s principal task, and those that emphasize the aspects that foreshadow the anti-colonial struggles.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

³⁷ According to Rodó, the United States was also entirely bereft of any of the poetic spirit that was still a feature of English culture, as the result of “the primitive, the Germanic, essence of that people”; *Ibidem*, p. 71. The earlier quotations are on p. 38 and p. 62. In a fascinating book on Latin American intellectuals’ utopias from the period of independence to the Spanish-American War, the historian Rafael Rojas, a Cuban who has set down roots in Mexico, retraces the regrettable transition from the polyphony of the nineteenth century thinkers to their successors’ loss of nuance in an increasingly black-and-white worldview, which after the Cuban revolution in 1959 was reduced to a single opposition, between North and South America; Rafael Rojas, *Repúblicas de aire. Utopía y desencanto en la revolución de Hispanoamérica*, Buenos Aires, Aguilar, Altea, Taurus, Alfaguara, 2010 (1 ed. 2009), p. 29 in particular.

It should come as no surprise that Martí's writings and those of Rodó were separated by the end of the Spanish Empire in the Western hemisphere, with Spain's defeat at the hands of the United States in the Spanish-American War (1898). This was less a watershed between two eras than it was a "catalyst" for the defining traits of the Latin American identity that were then crystallized in Rodó's *Ariel*³⁸. The legacy of Spain, by then at the bitter end of that long withdrawal into itself that had begun nearly a century before, could thus be disinterred, purged as it now was of any imperial taint; it was not a question of looking to the former colonialist state, but to the "'Hispanic essence' as a cultural model". Many Latin American intellectuals were able to achieve a "positive reformulation" of this cultural model precisely by contrasting it with that represented by the victorious United States³⁹.

For its part, the United States, in a tragic reversal of meaning, transformed the old Monroe Doctrine (1823) from a strategy for preventing the European powers from returning to the newly-free countries to a tool of continental domination that shortly thereafter was to take on all the earmarks of neocolonialism in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean — through an entire panoply of pressure mechanisms, from political intervention to armed invasions, and from sponsoring or condoning authoritarian power grabs to supporting the multinationals' exploitation of the mining and agricultural resources of "friendly" nations.

Martí and Rodó were but two of the better-known among a vast array of intellectuals who, from the Chilean Víctor de Valdivia on the extreme right to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in Peru on the revolutionary left, threw their support behind a revival of integration movements based no longer on the rejection of Spanish colonialism, but on the pursuit of autonomy, and on "the fear of concrete advances by the hemisphere's major power [the United States]" and a criticism of its methods and their outcomes⁴⁰. This ability to attract forces that were in other respects oddly assorted was

³⁸ Mónica Quijada Mauriño, "El '98 en el fin de siglo suramericano: el enfrentamiento entre latinos y anglosajones", in A. Filippi (ed.), *Argentina y Europa. Visiones españolas. Ensayos y documentos*, Buenos Aires, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto, 2011, pp. 111-135, p. 129 in particular.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 135 and p. 122. A thought-provoking historiographical overview of the question can now be found in Paolo Galassi, "Una mirada *otra* del '98 cubano: las publicaciones italiana en la Argentina de fines del siglo XIX frente a una encrujada global", doctoral dissertation, Universidad Nacional del Sur, Bahía Blanca, 2020, chapter 3.

⁴⁰ Isidro Sepúlveda, *El Sueño de la Madre Patria. Hispanoamericanismo y nacionalismo*, Madrid, Fundación Carolina, Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, Marcial Pons editores, 2005, p. 81.

an advantage in the short term, but it weakened the integrationist path when it came time to transform it from an ancillary tool in the pursuit of autonomy into a distinct political project.

In any case, the fate of South America's integration initiatives invariably hinged on whether the current US government was in favor or against. In turn, Latin American relations with Europe were bound to be affected by the ups and downs in the relationship with the burdensome Northern neighbor, given that friendly dealings with one often expressed rejection of the other, and closeness to either was just as frequently seen as a tactic for resisting the other's domineering will.

In cultural circles, references to Martí and Rodó, often incorporated in the anti-imperialist struggles of the twentieth century, segued over the years into a search for Latin America's own canons for interpreting reality, in frank contrast with those adopted in the world's North, but without necessarily rejecting the intellectual contribution of major, unorthodox, European and US authors, from Antonio Gramsci to Michel Foucault, and from Jacques Lacan to Jacques Derrida, with a nod to Immanuel Wallerstein on the way.

From its own version of structuralism to the theory of *dependencia* and the "coloniality of knowledge"⁴¹, Latin America has been able to develop independent and alternative conceptual tools for interpreting reality⁴². In these tools' fullest and most contemporary form, "the epistemology of the South", the ambition is to rethink the world and respond to its crises "starting from the ways of knowing and the practices of the global South", historically shaped by hundreds of year of struggle against colonialism, capitalism and the patriarchy. For the adherents of this approach, this is not a mere intellectual exercise, but the necessary prerequisite for fielding new policies⁴³.

⁴¹ Aníbal Quijano, "Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina", in Edgardo Lander (ed.), *La colonialidad del saber. Eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas*, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, 2000; an electronic version is now available at <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/sur-sur/20100708034410/lander.pdf>.

⁴² For an overview of the writers who more than any others have contributed to "decolonize" the social sciences, see the special issue of the journal *Cultural Studies*, which includes pieces by Walter D. Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Santiago Castro-Gómez (all members of the modernidad/colonialidad group); *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, numbers 2-3, Globalization and the De-Colonial Option, 2007.

⁴³ The most prominent name in this area is that of the Brazilian Boaventura de Sousa Santos; for his thoughts on Martí and the metaphor of Prospero and Caliban, see the two essays "Nuestra América. Reinventando un paradigma subalterno de reconocimiento y redistribución", in Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Una epistemología del Sur*, siglo veintiuno editores, México D.F., CLACSO, 2009, pp. 225-268; and Id., "Entre Próspero y Caliban: colonialismo, poscolonialismo e interidentidad", in *Ibidem*, pp. 269-335.

In a much more concrete and everyday sense, recent decades have seen changes in the “migratory routes” taken by Latin Americans pursuing higher education abroad. The long-standing preference for studying in France (the social sciences), the United Kingdom (economics), Germany (law) and many other European countries (including Spain, after the return to democracy) consolidated during the harsh exile endured by many Latin American political refugees has more recently yielded ground to a marked predilection for the United States⁴⁴.

4. Latin American regional integration

Ever since Germany’s *Zollverein*, European practices for peaceful unification and integration have always struck a chord in the Latin American imagination⁴⁵. Nevertheless, we must not forget that the region has its own outstanding heritage of ideals, which in practice have often taken original and homegrown form.

The continent’s first attempts at integration were buoyed by the rising revolutionary tide that propelled the struggles for independence⁴⁶ and culminated in the abortive effort to create “a great political body” for the

⁴⁴ The founder of the University of Bologna’s Argentine campus, Giorgio Alberti, sought to affect this trend by working directly in Latin America to develop a supranational elite conversant with the political, social, economic and cultural thinking on both sides of the ocean, and thus capable of building an unbiased transatlantic dialog — at the same time that Latin American integration once again picked up speed thanks to Mercosur, and the European integration process was enhanced by the Maastricht Treaty. Unfortunately, after Alberti, no one at the University of Bologna shared his farsightedness.

⁴⁵ The historical example of the *Zollverein* — which, as we saw, was originally used by the North American delegates to the first Pan-American Conference (1889) — was taken up by South American intellectuals and politicians to plead the case for a Latin American unity based on shared “organic” and cultural features; see M. Quijada Mauriño, “El ’98 en el fin de siglo suramericano: el enfrentamiento entre latinos y anglosajones”, cit., p. 132 and J. Paradiso and Mariana Luna Pont, “Paz y guerra en la trayectoria latinoamericana”, in *Universidad e Integración*, vol. 1, n. 1, January-June 2003, pp. 35-81, pp. 46-47 in particular. It should be borne in mind that the mythicization of the process of German unification hinged on completely ignoring the military conquests that had made it possible.

⁴⁶ On the thinking of these precursors, *Ibidem*, pp. 37-39. A concise review of the earlier efforts in Latin America, starting from the proposals advanced by the Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda, can be found in Mario Torres Jarrín, “El acervo integracionista en Europa y América. Las relaciones entre Europa y América Latina desde una perspectiva histórica”, in *Iberoamericana – Nordic Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, vol. 46, n. 1, 2017, pp. 54-64, pp. 59-60 in particular.

“world of Columbus”. As early as 1815, Bolívar wished to establish an amphictyonic league, like those founded in classical Greece, originally to protect temples and shrines. This association of nations was intended as a golden mean between the constellation of autonomous powers born from the downfall of the Roman Empire and the “laudable delirium” of the Abbé Saint-Pierre (which provided for a Treaty of Union among the European Christian princes and the creation of a permanent congress)⁴⁷. Pursuing this vision, Bolívar invited the countries that were still battling Spain to form an assembly of confederated governments in 1822, at which time many had not yet crystallized into national states. The plan collapsed a few years after Mexico had definitively refused to ratify the confederation (1828), giving way to a process of fragmentation in which Gran Colombia split up into Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, and Central America was divided into the separate states of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, while Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru all embarked on the long, rough road to internal consolidation⁴⁸.

In the following years, continental regionalism took on many meanings: as a utopia, a cultural and political aspiration, a geopolitical design and an economic project. The fact that this latter aspect began to carry more weight midway through the last century did not mean that the political and philosophical ideas that had always upheld the need to rebuild “a nation balkanized by history” were abandoned⁴⁹. Latin America, even more than Europe in the early days, was widely seen as a single sub-continent that still had to find the road to unity.

However, by contrast with continental Europe, the economic development of most Latin American countries was marked by an extreme openness towards the outside world — an openness that in the case of the dealings between the United Kingdom and Argentina had resulted in what Lenin called a relationship of true “dependence”⁵⁰. In Lenin’s inter-

⁴⁷ Simón Bolívar, Carta de Jamaica [1815], published by elaleph.com, 1999; full text at https://www.inehrm.gob.mx/recursos/Libros/Carta_de_jamaica%20.pdf

⁴⁸ An engrossing discussion of the question can be found in R. Rojas, op. cit., pp. 61-67. For an original reconstruction of the course taken by Latin American integrationist thinking from the beginning and its links with the European political philosophy of the time, see A. Filippi (ed.), *Constituciones, dictaduras...*, cit., and especially the last chapter dealing specifically with integration, pp. 586-612.

⁴⁹ E. Devés Valdés, *El pensamiento latinoamericano ...*, Tomo II, cit., p. 119.

⁵⁰ Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* [1916], London, Pluto Press, 1996, p. 86.

pretation, the relationships of power between the financial interests of the “center” (the United Kingdom) and the protagonists of the political and economic life of the “periphery” (Argentina) were such that the latter’s economic development hinged essentially on its ruling classes’ self-serving acquiescence to the United Kingdom’s will.

Accordingly, it was thought that integration would have in some way made it possible to overcome this anomaly and bring the economic and the political dynamics into line on the same geographical horizon. But what was seen in many quarters as an illegitimate international division of labor also brought periods of great economic prosperity in countries such as Argentina and Venezuela. Could a regional market plagued by deep disparities, low per capita income, falling trade volumes and insufficient capital provide an effective springboard for its countries’ modernization?

This, in fact, was the goal of many of the democratic governments that came to power in Latin America during the second half of the 1950s, inspired by a shared belief in moderate civil reform that it was hoped would bring modernity to societies that in some cases had already begun to industrialize, but more in response to urgent outside pressures than as a result of well-thought-out development plans⁵¹. At the time, the international scene was essentially “frozen”, dominated by the Cold War (which put Latin America very much under the United States’ political thumb) and by tried-and-true foreign trade arrangements in which, traditionally, foreign countries supplied manufactured goods in return for raw materials and agricultural produce from Latin America⁵².

⁵¹ “Urgent pressures” encompassed the balance of payments crises of the Thirties, when imports plummeted because of the lack of foreign currency, and the European blockades during the two World Wars.

⁵² In this connection, it should be borne in mind that from the beginning, the EEC treaty triggered serious misgivings about the potentially negative impact of the preferential treatment it granted to goods from a number of overseas territories (mostly African colonies); this was a threat to exports of the same goods from tropical South America, e.g. cotton and coffee as well as bananas. It was also feared that Europe’s farm subsidies would have a discriminatory effect on the agricultural goods produced at lower cost in the temperate areas of the Southern Cone; CEPAL, *El Mercado Común Latinoamericano*, México D.F., Naciones Unidas, 1959, p. 83, available at <https://repositorio.cepal.org/handle/11362/29176?locale-attribute=es>. For Europe’s assurances that it intended to continue to import raw materials and agricultural produce from Latin America, *Ibidem*, p. 91; see also de la Llosa Alvar (2016). “Del Mercado Común Americano al ALBA, tentativas de integración económica (1957-2014)”. in *Historia ActualOnline*, XL/2, 29-44, p. 30 in particular at *Delmercado comun americano alALBA, tentativas de integración económica (1957-2014)*, *Historia ActualOnline* (historia-actual.org) (Last access September 2022).

Thus, while integration in Europe hoped primarily to curb the process of economic and political disintegration that had begun with the international crisis of the Thirties, for Latin America it was a question of creating — essentially from the ground up — a whole network of trade relationships, infrastructures, rules, institutions and common practices that would give the region's countries room for independent action, sheltered both from the preferential arrangements of the past and from the all-out liberalization encouraged by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), whose signing in 1947 had brought down the curtain on the alternative embodied in the International Trade Organization (ITO), whose founding document, the never-implemented Havana Charter, had sought to tie the free entry of goods into each country to its level of domestic development⁵³.

At the same time, the wealthy Northern neighbor was asked to provide financial support for this effort to ensure that the governments would present a united front against the communist threat (as the Marshall Plan had done in Europe). The US administration initially refused this request, opting — as outlined in the so-called Point Four Program announced by Truman in 1949⁵⁴ — to foster private investment and share technical knowledge provide the knowhow needed to spur economic growth. Marshall himself, in Bogota for the conference that gave birth to the *Organización de los Estados Americanos* (OAS), which replaced the *Unión Panamericana*, reaffirmed this policy and urged the Latin American countries to open their markets unconditionally to foreign goods and investments (from the United States in particular)⁵⁵.

⁵³ In the sense that the less-developed countries would be allowed to enter into regional preferential agreements and apply quantitative restrictions (art. 15). The text of the Havana Charter is available in full at www.wto.org/English/docs_e/legal_e/havana_e.pdf. Traces of these concerns can still be seen in Article XXIV of the new text giving rise to the GATT (on the basis of which European countries were able to proceed with their regional integration). For the relationship between the two treaties, see, *inter alia*, Richard N. Gardner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy in Current Perspective. The Origins and the Prospects of Our International Economic Order*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1980, pp. 348-380.

⁵⁴ The program's name refers to the fact that it was the fourth foreign policy objective announced by the President in his 1949 inaugural address, where he stated that "The material resources which we can afford to use for assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible"; Inaugural Address of Harry S. Truman, January 20, 1949, available in full at https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/truman.asp. It was not until the Kennedy administration that the US changed course, providing financial aid as part of the Alliance for Progress.

⁵⁵ Víctor L. Urquidí, "Hacia nuevas modalidades de cooperación internacional", in S. Loaeza (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 25-48, pp. 30-32 in particular.

At the international level, mention should be made of the missions undertaken by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, now the World Bank) to encourage national economic development plans which were supposed to “set targets for the economy as a whole and for the balanced growth of its various sectors, and to indicate how these targets could be achieved by coordinated investment on behalf of both the public and the private sector”⁵⁶.

In the meantime, the CEPAL, one of the United Nations’ five regional commissions, had been founded in 1948 to promote the economic and social development of the Latin American area and strengthen the relationships between its countries and with the world’s other regions⁵⁷. Under the intellectual leadership of the Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch, CEPAL embraced a vision far different from the classic free-trade belief in wide-open markets as a means of enabling countries to specialize in certain types of production, whatever their level of development and with no thought of how the costs and benefits of open markets might be distributed.

For Prebisch, international trade was based on a division of labor in which the “central” countries, by exporting manufactured goods and thus commanding better terms of trade than exporters of agricultural produce and commodities, gained a two-fold advantage, in terms of both technological progress and their balance of trade. In such circumstances, more open markets would not help the “peripheral” countries develop, but would subordinate them even further, condemning them to low growth and social backwardness.

Pursuing this vision, CEPAL on the one hand engaged in a series of missions to promote Latin American countries’ industrialization, and on the other sought to imagine what kind of integration would be able to

⁵⁶ Albert O. Hirschman, *Essays in Trespassing. Economics to politics and beyond*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.120. Hirschman, after working on problems of economic reconstruction and cooperation between European countries as an economist at the US Federal Reserve Board, became involved in IBRD’s development efforts for Colombia, acting as a consultant to the *Consejo Nacional de Planificación* from 1952 to 1954.

⁵⁷ The foundational documents of Latin America’s early efforts at integration were collected by CEPAL’s Executive Secretary under the title *El mercado común latinoamericano*, cit.; on CEPAL’s origins and growth, see the first two volumes of the series by Eduardo Devés Valdés: E. Devés Valdés, *El Pensamiento Latinoamericano en el siglo XX. Entre la modernización y la identidad*, Tomo I, *Del Ariel de Rodó a la Cepal (1900-1950)*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos, 2000 and Tomo II, op. cit.

break the vicious circle in which they had been caught up. For this to be possible, the member states should share the same economic policy, where the potential of a wide market would be leveraged to bring about structural modernization by helping all members industrialize through measures tailored to each member's conditions of development⁵⁸.

Thus were created the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio* (ALALC), whose original signatories at the beginning of 1960 were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay⁵⁹, and the *Mercado Común Centroamericano* (MCCA) — formed at the end of the same year by Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua — whose heartening progress was interrupted by the 1969 conflict between Honduras and El Salvador and by the dramatic civil wars in Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua that bloodied Central America starting in the Sixties⁶⁰.

ALALC espoused the “desarrollista” doctrines supported by CEPAL, which, together with the *Consejo Interamericano económico y social de la Or-*

⁵⁸ “El argumento tradicional en favor del libre comercio consistía en demostrar que, bajo hipótesis muy restrictivas, cualquier país con independencia de sus condiciones iniciales, su dotación de recursos y su estructura productiva, podía beneficiarse del libre comercio para mejorar su ingreso y bienestar. Según Prebisch los supuestos y argumentos en los que se basaba la teoría del libre comercio no eran aplicables a los países en desarrollo (periferia) y a su relación con los países desarrollados (centro). Prebisch sostenía que el intercambio comercial se basaba en una división internacional del trabajo en que el centro exportaba bienes industriales y concentraba las ventajas del progreso técnico. La periferia, en cambio, se especializaba en la exportación de materias primas y productos agrícolas, actividades caracterizadas por la ausencia de progreso tecnológico. Esto explicaba las diferencias tan acentuadas entre los niveles de vida del centro y de la periferia”; Esteban Pérez Caldentey, Osvaldo Sunkel, and Miguel Torres, *Raúl Prebisch (1901-1986): Un recorrido por las etapas de su pensamiento sobre el desarrollo económico*, Santiago, CEPAL, 2012, p. 15.

⁵⁹ After various changes of membership and content, ALALC was replaced in 1980 by a new entity, the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración* (ALADI).

⁶⁰ Following the peace processes in the member states and the institutional transformations of the Nineties, the MCCA is now part of the *Sistema de Integración Centroamericana* (SICA). As for the Caribbean, mention should also be made of the *Asociación de Libre Comercio del Caribe* (generally known as CARIFTA, from its English name, *Caribbean Free Trade Association*), which was originally made up of several British colonies and former colonies in the West Indies (the old *Indias Occidentales*, viz., Barbados, Guyana, Antigua and Trinidad-Tobago) (1968). Over time, many new members joined, and in 1973 the association became the *Comunidad del Caribe* (CARICOM). With the exception of Cuba, moreover, the Caribbean countries belonging to the *African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States* (ACP), which have entered into a number of specific agreements with the European Union, starting with the Yaoundé Convention and continuing with the Lomé Convention and continuing with the Cotonou Conventions.

ganización de los Estados Americanos (CIES), was chosen as the association's technical consultant⁶¹. In the text of the 1960 Montevideo Treaty, for example, these doctrines translated into differential treatment for the member states according to their level of development, special measures authorizing “countries in a relatively less advanced stage of economic development” (Bolivia and Paraguay⁶²) to implement programs for establishing more favorable conditions for duties, charges and other restrictive regulations, and collective arrangements in these countries' favor⁶³. Other important articles dealt with furthering the complementarity of the economies of the countries in the area, especially in industrial production. As for agriculture, the treaty called for assuring the most effective utilization of natural resources and raising the living standards of the rural population⁶⁴.

In 1966, the ALALC was flanked by a *Sistema de Compensación Multilateral de Pagos y Créditos Recíprocos* (1966), a multilateral clearing system similar to those proposed at the international level in the late Forties to help trading circuits recover from the combined damage of the Depression and World War Two⁶⁵. Unlike the European Payments Union, in force between 1950 and 1958, the system did not benefit from the expanding world economy, nor could it rely on foreign aid to cover at least a part of the debtor countries' trade deficits, as the Marshall plan did for Europe in the Fifties⁶⁶.

⁶¹ The CIES was crucial to the Alliance for Progress, as it discussed and approved the development plans drafted by the beneficiary countries — plans that were essential prerequisites for receiving financial aid from the US administration.

⁶² In reality, Bolivia did not join the ALALC until 1967.

⁶³ These provisions translated the principle of “reciprocity”.

⁶⁴ The full text of the Montevideo Treaty is available at <https://www.dipublico.org/104814/tratado-de-montevideo-1960-constitutivo-de-la-asociacion-latinoamericana-de-libre-comercio-alalc/>. A useful summary of this and other efforts at Latin American integration is provided in Andrés Malamud, “Latin American regionalism and EU Studies”, in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 32, n. 6, November 2010, pp. 637-657.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Folke Hilgerdt, “The Case for Multilateral Trade”, in *The American Economic Review*, vol. 33, n. 1, 1943, pp. 393-407; Ernst F. Schumacher, “Multilateral Clearing”, in *Económica*, vol. X, n. 38, May 1948, an electronic version of which, with unnumbered pages, is available at <https://centerforneweconomics.org/publications/multilateral-clearing/>; more generally, see Fritz Machlup, *History of Thought on Economic Integration*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014 (1 ed. 1977), p. 9 in particular.

⁶⁶ José Antonio Ocampo, “El comercio intra-regional y el problema de pagos”, in *Coyuntura Económica: Investigación Económica y Social*, March 1984, pp. 179-97, p. 189 in particular.

Despite its sophisticated theoretical underpinnings and highly targeted measures⁶⁷, the treaty was a dead letter as far as its more ambitious objectives were concerned, even though the entire region, and the three largest countries in particular (Mexico, Brazil and Argentina), enjoyed sustained growth until the Seventies, especially in manufacturing. In addition, though intra-regional trade still lagged behind international trade in terms of absolute volume, it was growing at a higher rate⁶⁸.

In the meantime, Latin American interest in European integration was reflected in curiosity about its early interpretations. Hence, for example, INTAL Director Gustavo Lagos's invitation to Ernst Haas to publish a Spanish translation of his book on the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)⁶⁹. In the lengthy preface to the translation, which came out in 1966 at the time of the European "empty chair crisis", Haas summarized the main thrust of his book and also took the opportunity to do some rethinking. Integration could only be successful, he wrote, if the countries taking part in it met certain prerequisites: they ought to be pluralistic societies, with political parties refraining from ideological polarization, well-developed interest groups in all sectors, and a bureaucracy capable of dealing with the problems facing them every day with "pragmatic moderation"⁷⁰.

However, as Haas admitted, even meeting such prerequisites would not have prevented a resurgence of nationalism like that which swept France under the de Gaulle presidency from blocking the integration process. In view of these considerations, Haas was skeptical about integration's future in Latin America, where few if any of the prerequisites he saw among the

⁶⁷ Or perhaps precisely for this reason, as Hirschman might have said; A.O. Hirschman, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁶⁸ J.A. Ocampo, *op. cit.*, p. 180. For a critical analysis of the characteristics of this growth, and in particular of its dependence on massive influxes of foreign capital, see A. O'Connell, "Escasa transformación y desarrollo en demasía", in *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales*, vol. 2, n. 5, 1973, pp. 45-72.

⁶⁹ Ernst B. Haas, *Partidos políticos y grupos de presión en la integración europea*, Buenos Aires, INTAL book's, 1966. This is a translation of *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*, Notre Dame, Notre Dame Press, 1958. The latter book's preface was then reprinted with some changes in E. B. Haas, "The Uniting of Europe and the Uniting of Latin America", in *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 5, n. 4, 1967, pp. 315-43.

⁷⁰ Haas did not feel that the CEPAL met this requirement, as it was motivated by a "political-ideological orientation" unknown to staff at the ECSC; *Ibidem*, p. 320 and pp. 320-321.

ECSC's founders had been met, even if he warned against "the simple transposition" of the lessons of post 1945 Western Europe in this field⁷¹.

And yet, a new regional integration effort took shape in 1969: the *Comunidad Andina de Naciones* (CAN), founded out of a desire to adapt the ECSC's prescriptions to the needs of a group of countries doubly stigmatized by their *indigenismo* and their remoteness from the continent's centers of power. Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru joined forces in an ambitious project for regional industrial integration, which Chile initially sought to use to gain geopolitical leverage. Under the leadership of the Christian Democratic president Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970), Chile was then engaged in a vast agricultural and mining reform program, and needed allies to help contain Brazil, the continent's behemoth where in 1964 a US-backed military dictatorship had overthrown the democratic government of João Goulart, who like Frei and even before him, was pursuing a two-pronged policy of agrarian reform and extending the state's role in production (that of the oil companies, in his case)⁷².

Before this period of activism could bear fruit, a series of dramatic coups d'état took place which not only paved the way to some of the bloodiest dictatorships in Latin American history, but also threw the region wide open to international trade and led to skyrocketing foreign debt. Integration between Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and, somewhat later, Ecuador and Peru, took baleful shape in Operation Condor, "a secret intelligence and operations system created in the 1970s through which the South American military regimes shared

⁷¹ Ibidem p. 315; see also E. B. Haas and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration: Projections about Unity in Latin America", in *International Organization*, vol. 18, n. 4, Autumn 1964, pp. 705-37. On the question of applying the theories of European integration to the Latin American regional situation, see A. Malamud, art. cit., pp. 643-650. For a remarkable discussion of these theories which places them in context and reviews their repercussions on the process of Latin American integration at the analytical and prescriptive level, see Daniela Perrotta, "El campo de estudios de la integración regional y su aporte a las Relaciones Internacionales. Una mirada desde América Latina", in *Relaciones Internacionales*, n. 38, June-September 2018, pp. 9-39.

⁷² Some reference to Chile's role in the birth of CAN, a still underinvestigated topic, can be found in Manfred Wilhelmy, "La política exterior chilena y el Grupo Andino", in *Estudios Internacionales*, vol. 10, n. 38, 1977, pp. 67-87. The parties to the agreement and its content changed over the years.

intelligence and seized, tortured, and executed political opponents in one another's territory". The United States was heavily involved in this operation which took place, notoriously, entirely outside any official framework⁷³.

With the return to democracy, South America's two largest countries, who between the Thirties and Seventies were embroiled in a series of disputes for regional leadership hinging primarily on the control and exploitation of the Río de la Plata basin (the river is one of the continent's major arteries and sources of hydroelectric energy)⁷⁴, began a process of political and economic rapprochement centering on civil nuclear cooperation⁷⁵. The significance of this cooperation went far beyond the limited sphere of shared control of the countries' isotope separation plants which was finally agreed on in 1990-91: it signaled the two resurgent democracies' common intention of abandoning the military nuclear option and preventing their armed forces from entertaining any such ambitions, and making regional integration their top foreign policy priority⁷⁶. In 1986, the two countries increased their integration by signing the *Acta para la Integración Argentino-Brasileña*, which two years later resulted in a *Programa de Integración y Cooperación Económica* (PICE), an um-

⁷³ J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005, p.1. For the participants, see CIA Routing and Record Sheet, Classified Reading Material re "CONDOR" for Ambassador Landau and Mr. Propper, August 22, 1978, declassified, though heavily redacted, as part of a project by the National Security Archive in Washington D.C. to make a group of documents relating to the CIA's involvement in Operation Condor available to the public. The document states that the idea for the plan, which initially did not include Brazil, originated with the Chilean Colonel Manuel Contreras, then chief of the country's Directorate of National Intelligence (DINA); <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB244/19780822.pdf>.

⁷⁴ Brazil controls the upper reaches of the river and Argentina its mouth. For this period, which the author calls the "geopolitical era", see G. Caetano, *Breve historia del MERCOSUR en sus 20 años. Coyunturas e instituciones (1991-2011)*, in Id.(ed.), *Mercosur 20 años*, Montevideo, CEFIR, 2011, pp. 21-71, p. 29 in particular. Available at <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/uruguay/07904.pdf>.

⁷⁵ Declaración Conjunta sobre Política Nuclear, released by the two presidents at the November 1985 meeting in Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil. The treaty was preceded by a series of agreements for technical and scientific cooperation in nuclear matters signed during the dictatorships (1980) which failed to produce significant results. For this and other information, see J.P. Milanese, *Usa pacífico de la energía nuclear ...*, cit.

⁷⁶ It is thus no coincidence that both countries joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty during the Nineties.

brella arrangement for a series of ambitious agreements, protocols and documents in such diverse spheres as “binational enterprises and investment funds”, “energy cooperation, biotechnological convergence and complementary production”, as well as the creation of a common currency and other instruments of industrial convergence⁷⁷.

In the meantime, however, the push to lift all restrictions on trade and the capital market had roiled the continent’s economic landscape. The flood of foreign loan capital directed to all countries, but above all towards Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Argentina, had left the major US banks enormously exposed towards Latin America⁷⁸. The 1979 increase in US interest rates, the successive Latin American debt crises (which, at least in the case of Brazil and Argentina, were important factors in the downfall of their dictatorships) and the various prescriptions for curing them sank the economy into an endemic slump and led to the abandonment of *desarrollista* policies. The key actors in this shift were the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which were tasked with shepherding the foreign debt (both private and public) restructuring processes — without which the US banks would have risked collapse — according to the set of neoliberal prescriptions known to history as the “Washington Consensus”⁷⁹.

The local translators of this new *Zeitgeist* were a group of Latin American economists trained at the Chicago School (and accordingly known as the “Chicago Boys”), some of whom had worked in Chile at the time of the Pinochet military dictatorship (1973-1990), which also turned directly to the School’s leading spirit, Milton Friedman, for advice⁸⁰.

Despite their political differences, Carlos Saúl Menem, President of Argentina from 1989 to 1999, and the Brazilian presidents Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-92), Itamar Franco (1992-94) and Fernando Henrique

⁷⁷ G. Caetano, *Breve historia del MERCOSUR...*, cit., p. 31.

⁷⁸ For example, Latin American loans accounted for 174% of Citibank’s capital, 158% of the Bank of America’s, and 154% of Chase Manhattan’s; Carlos Marichal, *Nueva historia de las grandes crisis financieras. Una perspectiva global, 1873-2008*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Sudamericana-Debate, 2010, chapter 4. An interesting educational site about the book can be found in <https://historiadelascrisis.com/index.html>.

⁷⁹ Felipe Morandé, “A casi tres décadas del Consenso de Washington ¿Cuál es su legado en América Latina?”, in *Estudios internacionales*, vol. 48, n. 185, 2016, pp. 31-58.

⁸⁰ The University of Chicago had a special relationship with the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*, but also trained economists who went on to fill important posts in other countries. Examples include Brazil’s Minister of Finance of the Bolsonaro government, Paulo Guedes.

Cardoso (1995-2000), all promoted economic reforms designed to reduce the state's role both as an investor and as a provider of public services, and pin the economy's hopes to domestic and foreign private capital.

No less important in explaining this change in the *Zeitgeist* was the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had historically embodied the greatest political challenge to the neoliberal ideas of development driven by the twin engines of free markets and formal democracy⁸¹.

Several scholars have compellingly argued that it was this changed “systemic” setting (both tangible and ideal, political and economic) that made integration embark on a new route, no longer hoping to achieve structural change, but limiting itself to following in the wake of the new trends and concentrating mostly on commercial issues⁸².

CEPAL accordingly hammered out a revised vision for economic cooperation in Latin America: it sought to salvage its original concerns with social development by appealing to the two-fold need to ensure an unfettered market and pursue equity on the domestic front at the same time. It coined an oxymoron, “*regionalismo abierto*” or open regionalism, leaving it up to the governing parties in each country to hammer out exactly how this difficult balance might be achieved. CEPAL defined it abstractly as “a process of growing economic interdependence at the regional level, guided both by preferential integration agreements and by other policies for market opening and deregulation, with the goal of increasing the competitiveness of the region's countries and laying, whenever possible, the groundwork for a more open and transparent international economy”⁸³.

This new stage in integration began with a 1990 agreement between Brazil and Argentina (*Acta de Buenos Aires*), centering on the “coordination of macroeconomic policies and automatic, across-the-board linear tariff cuts”, with the goal of achieving “a zero tariff and the elimination of all non-tariff barriers” for all goods by 1994. However, the agreement con-

⁸¹ For the nature of this “new *Zeitgeist*” at the global level, see I. Berend, op. cit., p. 98.

⁸² As one example out of many, see Germánico Salgado, “Integración Andina y apertura externa. Las nuevas tendencias”, in *Nueva sociedad*, n. 125, May-June 1993, unnumbered pages in the online version at <https://nuso.org/articulo/integracion-andina-y-apertura-externa-las-nuevas-tendencias/>.

⁸³ CEPAL, *El regionalismo abierto en América Latina y el Caribe. La integración económica al servicio de la transformación productiva con equidad*, Santiago de Chile, CEPAL, 1994, p. 8. Available at https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/2140/1/S9481108_es.pdf.

templated a series of exceptions for “sectors regarded as especially sensitive or highly dynamic and involving cutting-edge technology”. While the tradition of rapprochement between the subcontinent’s two largest countries that had begun with Alfonsín and Sarney continued, Mercosur changed its orientation, shifting away from the *desarrollista* and productivist vision to embrace the dominant economic liberalism.

In 1991, when the *Mercado Común del Sur* (Mercosur) was signed, this agreement was extended to Paraguay and Uruguay, significantly boosting intra-bloc trade in the first decade as markets opened up. For certain countries — Argentina, for example — there were undesired effects as domestic industry in some sectors was overwhelmed by Brazilian output. The responses to these pressures varied, and often simply consisted of continually rolling back the deadlines for full intraregional liberalization⁸⁴. This deadlock in the commercial field went in parallel with a strong common commitment towards democracy, which was formalized in the Ushuaia Protocol on Democratic Commitment (*compromiso democrático*), drawn up by Mercosur, Bolivia and Chile, and in the Political Declaration of Mercosur, Bolivia and Chile as a zone of peace, free of weapons of mass destruction, both dating to 1998⁸⁵.

Though Mercosur is not a supranational entity with authority over its member states’ executive powers, it has been able to consolidate its institutional architecture in juridical matters (with the entry in force in 2004 of a common dispute settlement system, managed by a *Tribunal Permanente de revisión*, TPR) and as regards democratic representation (with the creation of a Regional Parliament, *Parlasur*, in the following year). With the beginning of the new millennium, Mercosur’s institutional structure has become more complex, though this has not been able to guarantee any increase in effectiveness⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ Luciana Gil, “La industria manufacturera argentina desde los inicios del Mercosur”, in *Relaciones Internacionales*, vol. 29, n. 59 2020, pp. 131-154; at <https://revistas.unlp.edu.ar/RRII-IRI/article/view/9497/9991>.

⁸⁵ The two texts are available at <https://www.mercosur.int/documento/protocolo-ushuaia-compromiso-democratico-mercosur-bolivia-chile/> and <https://www.mercosur.int/documento/declaracion-del-mercosur-como-zona-de-paz-y-libre-de-armas-de-destruccion-en-masa/>.

⁸⁶ See Susana Czar de Zaldueño, “Panorama actual del MERCOSUR: ¿meseta o pendiente abajo?”, in F. Leita and S. Negro (eds.), op. cit., 2008, pp. 13-26. For a useful comparative overview on the issue of institutionalization, see S. Negro, “Las agencias y los nuevos órganos en la Unión Europea y el Mercosur: ¿manifestaciones clásicas o modernas de las estructuras de integración?”, in Martín Obaya, L. Gil and M. Luna Pont (eds.), *Dinámicas locales y sistema internacional. Actores y prácticas en los procesos de modernización de América*

It is at this stage, whose complexity is beyond our scope here, that the contemporaneous European experience — likewise inspired by the neo-liberal *Zeitgeist* — was taken as a “model” for Latin American integration. At this time, there was absolutely no interest in recalling the early days of European integration, which had always sought to mediate between social and commercial goals, between the state — the undisputed protagonist of the European countries’ reconstruction — and the market, between opening up trade and controlling capital. It was better to ignore all that, and stick with the nascent integration of the Nineties, the integration that backed an open financial sector, accompanied by deregulation and privatization, and sought to use the introduction of the euro as an opportunity to inaugurate a monetary policy based on two priorities: fighting inflation and correcting the member states’ budgetary unbalances⁸⁷.

5. Epilogue. Heyday and fall of the Latin American publishing houses: a paradigmatic tale

Throughout the nineteenth century, and throughout Latin America with the exception of Mexico, the region’s publishing, in its general pattern, was a microcosm of its broader economy: high-quality books were imported from Europe and low-quality books were published locally (just

Latina, Buenos Aires, EDUNTREF, 2016, pp. 241-267. For two helpful summaries about Mercosur, see G. Caetano, *Breve historia del MERCOSUR* [...], cit., and M. A. Ciuro Caldani, A. Lattuca, L. C. Pereira, A. Soto and R. Stocco, op. cit.; Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru and Suriname are Mercosur associate members, while Bolivia is in the process of joining and Venezuela, which became a party to the agreement in 2012, was suspended in 2017 in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Ushuaia Protocol regarding “breaches of the democratic order.” A critical analysis of this decision is provided in Mariana Vásquez, “El Mercosur, geografía en disputa”, in *Revista de la Red de Intercátedras de Historia de América Latina Contemporánea*, vol. 5, n. 8, June-November 2018, pp. 119-134, pp. 130-133 in particular.

⁸⁷ A partial change of route in Latin American integration took place at the time of the presidencies of Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) and his wife Cristina Kirchner (2007-2015) in Argentina and of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011) in Brazil who, together with other political leaders in South America, sought to bring the old idea of a Latin American *Patria Grande* up to date, enriching it with a new social and *desarrollista* sensitivity. Once again, space restrictions prevent further discussion of these developments which, because of a changing political scene, failed to result in meaningful policies and institutions; an interesting (though seemingly colored by the author’s political engagement) analysis is given in M. Vásquez (ed.), *El Mercosur: una geografía en disputa*, Buenos Aires, CICCUS, 2019.

as high added-value consumer goods were imported from Europe and low added-value domestic goods such as foodstuffs or raw materials were domestically produced).

Moreover, illiteracy was widespread, despite some countries' early efforts to introduce free compulsory primary schooling⁸⁸. The South American elites bought books produced abroad; they often knew foreign languages and thus read them in the original. And at times they contributed to translating them into Spanish, as Bartolomé Mitre, President of Argentina from 1862 to 1868, did with Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Virgil's *Aeneid*⁸⁹.

The high quality books in Spanish that were available in Latin America were produced in countries such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, while Spain's publishing industry had little capacity to distribute outside the peninsula⁹⁰. Nevertheless, it was able to take advantage of the First World War, when imports from the combatant countries were interrupted, to implement a strategy for penetrating the Latin American market that involved not only a sustained increase in book exports from the peninsula, but also an improvement in management and marketing techniques that led some publishers to set up new branches on the other side of the Atlantic⁹¹.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39), the rise of the Franco dictatorship (1939-75), and the resulting political emigration all contributed to a growing Latin American publishing scene. As book exports from the Iberian Peninsula dried up, local publishers consolidated their position. At the

⁸⁸ The most noteworthy case is that of Argentina, where compulsory primary education, secular and free of charge for children from nine to fourteen years of age, was introduced with Law 1420 of July 8, 1884; see <http://www.bnm.me.gov.ar/giga1/normas/5421.pdf>.

⁸⁹ His complete translation of the *Divine Comedy* is available at <http://www.traduccionliteraria.org/biblib/D/D102.htm>.

⁹⁰ At the end of the nineteenth century, the industry had a mere 3% of the Spanish-language publishing market in Latin America; Fabio Esposito, *Los editores españoles en la Argentina: redes comerciales, políticas y culturales entre España y la Argentina (1892-1938)*, in Carlos Altamirano (ed.), *Historia de los intelectuales en América Latina*, Tomo II, *Los avatares de la 'ciudad letrada' en el siglo XX*, Buenos Aires, Katz, 2010, pp. 515-536, p. 526 in particular.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 528-532; a useful general introduction with an extensive bibliography is given in Lizbeth Zavala Mondragón, *Las casas editoriales del exilio español en México*, posted online in 2019 in the *Enciclopedia de la literatura en México*, a collective undertaking supported by the *Fundación para las letras mexicanas* to celebrate all aspects of the country's literary production; <http://www.elem.mx/estgrp/datos/1351>.

same time, high-quality publishing benefitted from the arrival of a throng of Spanish intellectuals and craftsmen who founded or strengthened publishing houses that were to become key players on the national cultural stage, especially in Mexico and Argentina⁹². Though once again I cannot give these fascinating stories the space they deserve, it should be noted that in Mexico the Spanish intellectual immigration had the support of the Lázaro Cárdenas government, which launched a political asylum plan directed both at the Republicans held in the French camps, and at those scattered across the peninsula and elsewhere. In the case of Argentina, the refugees' entry was eased by a popular movement that brought together leading figures from the cultural world of Buenos Aires, Spanish émigré associations, and a series of parties of political tinges ranging from radical to communist who were in favor of the Spanish Republican cause⁹³.

Thus began a golden age of cultural transmission across the Atlantic, as Latin America became a haven and home for a tradition of progress rooted in freedom and justice, which Europe's fascist regimes sought to quash. Books were very much a part of this new stage in the cultural relations between Europe and Latin America, which left its imprint on the publishing market of the second half of the twentieth century. Between 1940 and 1970, Mexico and Argentina were in the forefront of the Latin American publishing industry, accounting for 75% of Spanish-language releases. During the same period, with wider access to higher education and the spread of progressive ideologies, especially after the 1959 Cuban revolution, interest in the social sciences grew and, in a dramatic turnaround,

⁹² As for the publishing houses founded in Argentina by Spanish nationals, often drawn from the ranks of political refugees and at times associated with Argentine partners, I will limit myself to mentioning Sudamericana, Emecé, Poseidón, Espasa-Calpe Argentina, Botella al Mar, Losada, without forgetting Vaska Ekin, which published books in Basque and Catalan; see, among others, José Luis de Diego (ed.), *Editores y políticas editoriales en Argentina, 1880-2000*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014. Space constraints do not allow even a cursory description of the situation in Mexico where, according to the most reliable estimates, over one hundred publishing houses were founded. The main players in this effort, such as the tireless Rafael Giménez Siles (whose name is associated with a wealth of distribution and publishing companies, libraries as well as reviews) were not only leading lights in the modernization of Mexico's publishing industry, but also saw books and their diffusion as key tools for political and social progress.

⁹³ Dora Schwarzstein, "La llegada de los republicanos españoles a la Argentina", in *Clío: History and History Teaching*, n. 19, 2000, at http://clio.rediris.es/exilio/argentina/exilio_argentina.htm.

Latin America rose to prominence on the European scene as a producer of new knowledge (the theory of *dependencia* we referred to earlier, for example) and innovative literary canons such as “magic realism”.

Once back in the democratic fold⁹⁴, Spain promoted a policy of developing and democratizing education and culture, which also involved promoting its publishing industry in Latin America. By contrast, the dictatorships of Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil — like all such regimes as contemptuous of books as they were of human life — destroyed entire libraries, banned books⁹⁵, shut down publishing houses and, more generally, reduced cultural exchanges with Europe to a trickle.

For publishing, dictatorship followed by a shaky economy in some of the major Latin American countries, often caught between hyperinflation and debt crises, dealt a blow to the tradition of local book production. The Spanish publishing houses once again gained ground, covering 50% of the Latin American market by 1990⁹⁶.

In the meantime, a process of concentration had begun which, through mergers and acquisitions, resulted in today’s Spanish-language publishing giants: Planeta, Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial (the Spanish division of Penguin Random House) and Prisa-Santillana Latinoamérica. Planeta has branches in all major Latin American countries and has absorbed such historic houses as Argentina’s Emecé and Paidós, while the other two groups have taken a similar route. At times, the three companies join in conglomerates doing business in other areas of communication, such as radio, television and the print media. As in other sectors of indus-

⁹⁴ Between 1975, the year of Franco’s death, and 1977, year of the first free elections since 1936.

⁹⁵ In the first year of the Argentine dictatorship alone, over ninety titles were banned, including Antoine de Saint-Exupéry’s *The Little Prince*. Over the years, the books of authors such as Julio Cortázar, Norberto Galasso, Henry Lefebvre, María Antonietta Maciocchi, Manuel Puig, Alain Touraine and Mario Vargas Llosa fell foul of the military junta’s censors; see Alfredo Antonio Guevara, María del Rosario Molfino, “La censura y la destrucción de libros en el último gobierno de facto (1976-1983)”, IV Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP, 23-25 November 2005, La Plata. http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.6579/ev.6579.pdf.

⁹⁶ See the remarks delivered by Miguel Ángel Porrúa, chairman of one of Mexico’s largest and most influential publishing groups (Editorial Porrúa) at the 2006 International University Book Fair (FILU). The fair, which is the only one of its kind, has been organized by the *Universidad Veracruzana* since 1994. The text is available at <https://cdigital.uv.mx/bitstream/handle/123456789/256/2006140P69.pdf;jsessionid=7E0C5E8E7CA737EE2BF5DBDBA68789A5?sequence=1>.

trial production, the rationale here is to boost profit margins and face down competition from the digital media by cutting costs, concentrating on best-sellers, and promoting literary prizes and book fairs. At this level, the publishing market suffers from the ups and downs of the international financial circuit, leading to frequent internal restructuring and changes of ownership, some of which are still under way.

On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that several governments — in Colombia and Mexico, for example⁹⁷ — have historically passed pro-publishing legislation, in addition to promoting public literacy through massive book purchasing and distribution campaigns.

A few words are in order considering the changing scene in Argentina, the country that in 2017 could boast the largest number of publishing houses (795!). Those we have already mentioned, which command a hefty slice of the market in terms of revenues and number of copies sold, are poles apart from these volatile independent houses that produce a few small editions of sophisticated, beautifully crafted books⁹⁸.

The big publishing houses focus on turning out best-sellers — the first six are responsible for just 10% of registered ISBNs. In line with this trend, the category that has shown the strongest growth in recent years is “general interest”, while, unsurprisingly, “geography and history” has shrunk the most⁹⁹.

In parallel, with a few exceptions (in Mexico and Venezuela, for example), there has been an increase in self-publishing: books are published

⁹⁷ The Mexican government also promotes one of the continent’s most original publishing initiatives, the *Fondo de Cultura Económica* (FCE), a government-owned house specializing in books on economics, political sociology and history. Founded in the Thirties, it is one of the highest-profile symbols of the commitment the state has shown since the days of the Revolution in its citizens’ literacy and education. With the creation of the FCE, this commitment was enriched by the determination to disseminate outstanding research in economics and the other social sciences. Since 1948, FCE has issued a series of pocket editions (*Breviarios*), many of which are translations, designed to introduce the general public to the most significant issues and authors, including many Europeans, in universal culture. See, among others, Javier Garciadiego, *El Fondo, la Casa y la introducción del pensamiento moderno en México*, México D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016.

⁹⁸ This probably explains why the number of publishing houses has not dropped (in other countries as well as in Argentina) despite the concentration that has taken place in the industry: J. D. González, R. Wischenbart, *El espacio iberoamericano del libro 2018*, cit., pp.53-54.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 50 and p. 81 (for figures on registered ISBNs).

directly by the author or by firms that charge fees, often with no ISBN number and relying on platforms such as Amazon for distribution¹⁰⁰. Lastly, it should be noted that there has been a slight rise in the number of e-books, which account for over 20% of all texts produced in 2017¹⁰¹.

Publishing's foray into do-it-yourself has made niche books like those on the history of European integration more feasible, but at the same more marginal: any book that is self-produced and self-published, perhaps in electronic form, without carrying a publisher's imprimatur risks being irrelevant. *Quo vadis?* we may ask, and not only about this tiny and in certain respects exotic category of texts, but about books in general, or rather, those written not necessarily for educational purposes, but, at least, to be widely read — and not for private reasons such as leaving a memento for the grandchildren or to gain tenure at a university. From this standpoint, I have the impression that the parabola of Latin American publishing, caught between the rock of the transnationals and the hard place of ghettoization, prefigures what could soon happen in Europe. Here, as in many other circumstances, we would be well advised to look beyond the narrow confines of our own continent to be ready to face future challenges with the invaluable lessons to be learned from the Latin American experience.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, p.16 and pp. 63-69.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, p. 19.

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North American images of European integration history

Eric R. Terzuolo

Do textbooks intended for the English-speaking North American market present a homogeneous view of European integration's history? The answer is a qualified "yes." Authors who are themselves operating in a North American context, or whose intended audiences are situated in North America, generally take a broadly friendly yet analytical and even somewhat critical approach to European integration. They combine significant, sometimes even effusive, recognition of European integration's postwar accomplishments, especially in the economic sphere, with a countervailing emphasis on the persistent intergovernmental essence of the European Union (EU) and its predecessors. These authors are perhaps more ready than their counterparts with a clearly European matrix to recognize that the European integration project may reach, or may already have reached, its limits. Even at its friendliest, theirs is a visibly external and detached perspective, including comparisons between the federal or confederal experience in Europe and the experience of the United States and Canada, both strongly federal states.

Description of the Literature

European integration and its history figure in textbooks of several different types. Of particular relevance here is the explicitly historical approach of Desmond Dinan, especially in *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union* (2014), and of Mark Gilbert, in *European Integration: A Political History* (2021) and its predecessors in 2003 and 2012. These can be characterized as textbooks of European integration history, with distinctly chronological organization, in which institutions and policies are portrayed in their development over time. The approach is heavily contextual, demonstrating how specific circumstances at given historical moments required European leaders to adapt and innovate. Dinan for ex-

ample, writes of examining European integration “in the context of fluctuating national fortunes and changing global circumstances” (2014: 19). It is interesting that both of these scholars grew up and were educated in Europe — Dinan in Ireland and Gilbert in the UK — before entering professional life in US institutions of higher education and focusing their writing on North American audiences. Their approaches may in part reflect some inherited historicism, which has deeper roots in Europe, after all, than in North America.

Other North American textbooks that deal with European integration are more clearly rooted in political science and other social science disciplines. Some are in fact collective works by authors with diverse disciplinary backgrounds, others are the work of one or two authors, *e.g.* Staab (2013) and McCormick and Olsen (2014). Such books generally have two main parts: one devoted to European Union institutions, the other devoted to specific EU policies. A thematic or topical structure, in other words. The background and historical development of European integration are introductory topics, not the core of the discussion. The popular *The European Union: Politics and Policies* series, initiated by John McCormick and over time transferred to Jonathan Olsen, does provide rather ample historical introductions, but the historical dimension is still very visibly secondary. Consistent with the political science disciplinary approach, the historical chapters in such textbooks tend to dwell on institutional issues and the treaties that have been the key instruments of EU institutional evolution.

A third main variety are the abundant “European politics” textbooks, which devote varying degrees of attention to European integration, but concentrate largely on diverse assortments of European countries and their political systems, and often a thematic, comparative politics focus, reflecting the political science emphasis on institutional mechanics and policy. Broadly speaking, these books pay even less attention to the history of European integration than the aforementioned EU institutions/EU policies books. The sections by Alberta Sbragia in Almond, Dalton, Powell, and Strøm (2006) and by George Ross in Kesselman et al. (2009), for example, are in essence very compact versions of the European integration textbooks discussed above. Some authors focus more on a few key historical episodes, *e.g.* Maastricht, the euro, or EU enlargement (Kubicek 2017). One could come away from *The European Union and the Member States* (Zeff and Pirro

2006) with a good sense of individual member country interactions with Brussels, and the historical background of those interactions, but little real sense of the history of European integration. Magstadt (2004) even compensated by publishing a separate pamphlet on the European Union to supplement a textbook on the comparative politics of European nations¹. When it comes to understanding academic representations of European integration history, these works are frankly of limited interest, although the historical chapters by John Van Oudenaren in the *Europe Today* textbooks, e.g. Tiersky (2004) and Tiersky and Jones (2015), are quite substantial².

Regardless of structure, as textbooks, the works under review here are not intended to enter the minutia of cutting-edge scholarly debates or as presentations of the authors' research. They make use of primary sources, mostly European integration official documents and the memoirs of participants in the events under discussion, to provide illustrative quotations. The secondary sources cited often are themselves relatively broad-ranging works, and reference to highly specialized scholarly literature tends to be limited. In his useful and in fact quite ample bibliographic essay, Gilbert (2021: 315) seeks to

give a brief guide to some of the key published sources in English that [...] a liberal arts college teacher preparing an undergraduate course [...] might wish to read and use as a basis for a syllabus.

That provides a good sense of the core literature underpinning such textbooks. Use of footnotes is not as extensive as one would find in a scholarly monograph, and very often the footnotes are explanatory.

In their introduction, Brunet-Jailly, Hurrelmann, and Verdun (2018: 4) note that they chose "a writing style that [was] very light on references." This is broadly true of the other textbooks under consideration. Staab (2013: x) for example characterized his style as

accessible to undergraduate as well as high school students, indeed to any reader, young or old, academic or professional, with an interest in politics and history.

¹ It is telling that the 2020 13th edition of Magstadt's *Understanding Politics: Ideas, Institutions, and Issues* (Boston: Cengage Learning) avoids any sustained attention to the European Union, while the previous edition (2017) only devoted a few pages to European integration.

² This series equitably balances attention to national political systems and European integration.

Theories of European Integration

In addressing the North American English-speaking audience, authors seem initially cautious about taking sides in the never-ending competition between the federalist and intergovernmental perspectives on European integration³. These are normally depicted at first as two competing perspectives, and then described in some detail.

In fact, as the accounts develop, a significant authorial sympathy for the intergovernmental view of European integration often becomes increasingly visible. Dinan seems markedly sympathetic, for example, to the views of British economic historian Alan Milward, who in works such as 1984's *The Reconstruction of Europe, 1945-1951* took the view that

the very limited degree of integration that was achieved came about through the pursuit of the narrow self-interest of what were still powerful nation states (Dinan 2014: 14).

Indeed, Dinan (2006: 298-299) argues that a genuine historiography of European integration, based on primary sources, only really began in the 1980s and that Milward's view was in fact dominant among historians⁴. The "liberal intergovernmentalism" of the American scholar Andrew Moravcsik, focused on how national commercial interests specifically shaped European integration, also gets high marks for its influence⁵. Dinan (2014: 15-16) is even fairly appreciative of US historian John Gillingham's EU-critical and market-friendly work, which also posits the centrality of national interest⁶.

³ For the sake of simplicity, the term "federalist" will stand in also for other related perspectives such as "supranationalism," "functionalism," or "neo-functionalism." Staab (2013) also usefully speaks of a tension between "minimalism" and "maximalism" with respect to European integration.

⁴ Others suggest a slightly earlier start for European integration historiography, in the 1970s (Varsori 2010).

⁵ See in particular his *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

⁶ *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) is an important work, unusual in its arguably Thatcherite perspective on European integration. Despite its broad scope, however, it is heavily research-based and not really suitable for consideration as a textbook. See for example Daniel Barbezat's 2004 review on EH.NET, https://eh.net/book_reviews/european-integration-1950-2003-superstate-or-new-market-economy/

One senses a certain impatience with grand theorizing about European integration. Brunet-Juilly, Hurrelmann, and Verdun (2018), for example, include a chapter by Verdun which describes recent theories, *e.g.* on democracy, legitimacy and the EU as a global player, as emerging alternatives to the traditionalist federalist/intergovernmental dichotomy. In fact, Verdun contends that “the time of grand theorization has passed” (p. 121) with the salience of big emotional debates having diminished. McCormick and Olsen (2014: 15) see the functionalism/federalism vs. intergovernmentalism debate as driven by scholars of international relations⁷, and welcome increased emphasis on a comparative politics approach, focused on “explaining what [the EU] has become,” as opposed to how it evolved. Dinan (2010: 5) makes a strong pitch for judging the European Union “not by what it is and certainly not by what it says, but by what it does or fails to do.” The implicit reference to pragmatism, the most quintessentially North American philosophical school, could not be more obvious. Gilbert (2012: 8) highlights in turn his “deliberate choice not to advance a broad theory” to explain European integration.

Authors targeting the North American anglophone audience are prepared to assume something of an outsider perspective. Gilbert (2021: 2) openly decries the

aura of moral approbation that has always surrounded the process of European integration, in both the public rhetoric of statemen and specialist texts in international relations theory.

And the European Commission’s long-running effort to promote a federalist view of European integration does not go uncriticized. Brunet-Juilly, Hurrelmann, and Verdun (2018: xi) simply acknowledge their debt to the work of the EU-funded European Union Centres in Canada. Dinan, on the other hand, challenges the federalist view very directly, terming it “based on ideology rather than rigorous academic assessment” (2014: 10) and underlining how the European Commission has worked actively to “propagate the federalist interpretation,” *e.g.* via the European University Institute in Florence⁸.

⁷ Seidel (2010: 43) stresses that the first phase of historiography on the European Union was largely “informed by a diplomatic history perspective.”

⁸ Varsori (2010: 23, 24) too underlines the European Commission’s “support for politically pro-integrationist historians” and the need for historians of European integration to develop “greater academic autonomy from EU agendas.”

These are not books intended to promote the European federalist program. Hagiography of key players, celebration of milestones such as the 1957 Treaties of Rome, or memorialization of the European project are also not the order of the day in textbooks for the North American market.

The Bottom Line

There is a striking consistency in the overall assessment of European integration history in textbooks for the North American market. It is a sort of balancing act between federalist and intergovernmental perspectives. On the one hand, European integration is seen as a correct and essential part of the recipe for creating a prosperous and peaceful Europe, after the ravages of two world wars in the twentieth century and a much longer history of conflict rooted in contrasting national ambitions and hatreds. Dinan is hardly unusual in condemning the “miserable legacy of heroic European nationalism” and underlining how European integration “has helped to recast Europe in fundamental and highly beneficial ways” (2014: 1, 358). Authors do not spare effusive adjectives, *e.g.* terming European integration an “achievement that is indeed monumental” (Brunet-Juilly, Hurrelmann, and Verdun 2018: 1), “invaluable” (Dinan 2010: 6), or “a miracle” (Gilbert 2012: 1).

Authors recognize that the cession of some national sovereignty via the European integration process has contributed to peace and prosperity in Europe. But they also emphasize how national sovereignty, especially in the political and security fields, is not going away anytime soon and poses powerful, perhaps insuperable limits to the European federalist project. The national state remains the essential component of a system that is still truly *international* and is the locus of political and economic authority and power, perhaps also the natural locus of democracy. Gilbert (2021: 2), for example, stresses the “tenacity” with which states have defended their sovereign rights.

Authors generally alert their readers that European integration may have reached its (quite comprehensible) limits. Brunet-Juilly, Hurrelmann, and Verdun (2018: 5) diplomatically note that “EU legitimacy is increasingly subject to controversial debates.” Dinan (2014: 305), on the other hand, tellingly entitles his penultimate chapter “The Limits of European Union,” noting the prevalence of “enlargement fatigue” when

Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007 and a “growing and potentially debilitating gap between the governed and the governing.”

The historical narratives under review not surprisingly all devote a significant amount of space to episodes in which states, individual leaders, or European publics pushed back against European federalist overreach (or perceived overreach). Staab (2013: 10) argues that, even before the foundational Treaties of Rome in 1957, proposals for the European Defence Community and European Political Community already had “stretched the idea of European integration to its limit.” De Gaulle’s insistence on an intergovernmental approach to European integration and the consequent “empty [French] chair” crisis of 1965-66 usually receive considerable attention.

One comes away with the impression that the difficulties in securing ratification for the 1991 Maastricht Treaty, which largely gave European integration its current form, signaled a crisis of confidence in the European project that has persisted and intensified rather than abating. McCormick and Olsen (2014: 76) summarized this view of a European Union increasingly reaching its limits by noting how

the failed constitutional treaty of 2004 and the inability of the EU to take more decisive action in the wake of a severe global financial crisis and a crisis in the eurozone [...] exposed the limits of elite-led efforts to move the Union toward further integration.

Varieties of Federalism

Given that both the United States and Canada have long histories as federal states, it is not surprising that North American texts on the European Union address the question of how European federation (or confederation) differs from the variants on the other side of the Atlantic.

This is a particular preoccupation in *European Union Governance and Policy Making: A Canadian Perspective* (Brunet-Jailly, Hurrelmann, and Verdun 2018), a textbook written specifically for students at Canadian universities. The authors devote several chapters and a large number of charts to illustrating the numerous differences between the Canadian federal model and federalism within the European Union. They address a wide range of issues, including differences in border control and migration policies, social policy, enlargement, and the functioning of parlia-

mentarism in the EU, Canada, and the United States. They are careful, however, to avoid implying any hierarchy among various federal models, and seem to be almost as focused on teaching about the specificities of the Canadian model as they are on teaching students about the EU.

In less extended and detailed fashion, authors more focused on the US academic market also carefully highlight differences between European and US federalism. A concern seems to be that US students may apply concepts from American federalism too directly and uncritically as they seek to understand a very different European reality. At the same time, one finds barbs aimed at those who raise fears of a “United States of Europe, a possibility that exists only in the paranoid dreams of ardent Euroskeptics” (Dinan 2010: 4). Staab (2013: 4) clearly identifies creation of a United States of Europe as an example of “maximalism” among some advocates of European integration, and underlines that the “EU is not the European equivalent of the United States” (p. x).

Magstadt (2004: 37-38) is an exception to the rule about not interpreting differences among systems as implying hierarchies. He makes a point of explicitly highlighting American and Asian superiority in military and economic performance. But Europe will not remake itself as a United States of Europe “in the image of its trans-Atlantic patron.” “The genius of Europe,” he pretentiously yet confusingly intones, “is about artistic creation and technological innovation, not imitation.”

A Common European Identity?

Authors targeting the North American academic market treat the issue of a common European identity as an obligatory, preliminary consideration, to be dispatched with economy of words. The basic thrust is that numerous Europeans, including great spirits like Italy’s Altiero Spinelli, father of the foundational federalist Ventotene Manifesto of 1941, but also “an assortment of dreamers and schemers” (Magstadt 2004: 2) over a long period of time have *asserted* the existence of a common European identity. They are ready to cite works like Denis de Rougemont’s 1965 *The Meaning of Europe* but without wedding themselves to that or any other view of a common European identity. It is basically noted as a starting point for a process of integration the Europeans ultimately decided to undertake.

The true starting point of these historical narratives is the end of the Second World War. Van Oudenaren (2004: 21), for example, argues that there was “no serious movement toward European integration” until then. While Gilbert (2021: 5) claims to have given much more space to events before 1945, as compared to the 2003 and 2012 versions of his book, prewar meditations on European unity still come across as being of little concrete import.

Agents of European Integration

Consistent with the aforementioned sympathy toward an intergovernmental perspective on European integration, historical narratives intended for the anglophone North American market put considerable emphasis on the role of states, European but also non-European. Among the consistent traits running through the history of European integration, in Dinan’s view (2014: 353), are “the centrality of France and Germany; Britain’s ambivalence; the unavoidable involvement of the United States.”

The crucial role of the North Americans in winning the war in Europe, and their resulting influence over and responsibility for the postwar European order, are front and center in the early parts of the historical narratives. Specifically, the US tends to be depicted as a driving force of European integration at a time when the Europeans had not yet made a strong commitment to the process. The Marshall Plan and related establishment of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation are depicted as the crucial precursors of an increasingly European-driven integration process starting with the European Coal and Steel Community treaty in 1951. Over time, the US image, not surprisingly, changes from that of driving force to that of key partner, but also sometime rival, of an increasingly integrated Europe.

Dinan (2010: 586) devotes an entire chapter to US/EU relations, giving one of the sections the telling title “Bound to Be Close.” He does not gloss over transatlantic disputes in areas like trade and argues that “many of the most visible disputes [...] arise from real differences in social and political outlook.” Nonetheless, the US has “consistently (and genuinely) supported European integration, largely for strategic reasons” (p. 567). McCormick and Olsen (2014: 318-319) in their chapter on US-EU relations, note how, since the end of the Cold War, “the differences between

the two have become more clear” and underline “fundamentally different attitudes about such things as the role of government, patriotism and national identity, religion, and moral issues (such as abortion).” *Destined for collaboration despite their differences* seems to be the consensus view of transatlantic relations.

One gets the sense of an integration process shaped by the usual handful of key European states: France, Germany, and the UK, with some mention of Italy as a very pro-integration supporting actor. France and the UK specifically hoped to retain roles as significant powers in the postwar international system. Interestingly, though, Gilbert (2012: 31), who often shows sympathy for British positions, also underlines that British failure to get behind the European integration project in the 1950s actually “weakened their position in Europe.”

Among the state-driven actions shaping European integration was the failure in the early 1950s of the proposed European Defence Community, which exposed deep intra-European divisions with respect to pooling sovereignty in the quintessentially national matter of defense. Resistance by publics in some states to perceived supranational overreach, e.g. the European Constitution episode in the 2000s, also forms part of the state-centric narrative. It competes with, yet also complements, the narrative line delineating a continuing effort at greater European integration, at least in the economic and social sectors.

The states feature prominently in this integrationist narrative as well, with particular attention to the Franco-German motor of European integration that emerged clearly once the two old enemies finally settled their relations with the 1963 Élysée treaty. “The key to building a new Europe was reconciliation between France and Germany,” Van Oudenaren stresses (2004: 23). Another driving force in this story line, of course, is the European institutions themselves, at least when they benefit from charismatic and visionary leadership. This is not always the case, as our authors tend to underline.

Political Parties and Movements

Of course, a significant role for states and national governments implies a significant role also for the political parties and movements that have made and unmade governments in postwar Europe. The historical narratives considered here focus understandably on the Christian Demo-

cratic, moderate socialist, and European liberal parties that have comprised the political “mainstream” in Western Europe over the last 75 years. Indeed, support for the European integration process has often been a defining feature of that political mainstream.

The belief that international cooperation had to succeed is portrayed as “especially pronounced” among the Christian Democrats (Gilbert 2021: 19) who occupied the political center in much of Western Europe following the war and proved to be important allies of the United States in shaping the postwar European order. The Christian Democrats, Dinan argues (2014: 5) have a preferred role in the European federalist narrative. But authors also recognize the role of the socialist and/or social democratic parties of the mainstream moderate European Left, *e.g.* the Spanish socialists under Felipe Gonzalez, in setting parts of the European integration agenda, for example in the 1989 Charter of Basic Social Rights for Workers (Gilbert 2021: 185).

Europeanist/Federalist Movements

These receive attention primarily as precursors to the incorporation of European integration into the agenda of the main governing parties that emerged in the war’s aftermath, or as inspiration for key figures in the actual creation of integrated European institutions, *e.g.* Jean Monnet or national political leaders with a strong commitment to integration. The Europeanist movements tend to come across as expressions of principled idealism, while authors prefer to focus on the concrete process of building a more united Europe. Van Oudenaren argues that the tension between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism has been present from the beginning and is a “permanent feature of the integration process” (2004: 22).

Public Opinion and the Media

There is a marked tendency in books for the North American audience to stress, along with a high degree of generic European public support for the integration project, a low degree of actual public engagement in that project, along with a low degree of European public understanding of the actual functions and governance of the European Union and its precursors. Dinan (2014: 358) argues that “apathy, not extremism, is the chief

danger to democracy in Europe today,” a judgment that perhaps rang true more in 2014 than in 2021. Gilbert (2021: 198) describes European publics suddenly awakening to the 1991 Maastricht Treaty and grasping that it meant “an unprecedented voluntary cession of national sovereignty [...] This pleased some but infuriated others.” He also underlines (p. 220) how EU accession was not always overwhelmingly popular in candidate countries. Publics in former East Bloc countries, for example, were much more enthusiastic than Scandinavian voters had been in the run-up to the 1995 EU enlargement.

Magstadt (2004: 6) is perhaps especially harsh in his treatment of the “Eurocrats” and their “technocrat ideal” distrustful of mass politics. But skepticism, open and implied, of governance by technocratic elites often surfaces in accounts of European integration intended for the North American anglophone market. Staab, for example, though by no means hostile to European integration, argues that, at least until the 1990s, it was “largely an elitist project, with only rare interaction between politicians and the general public” (2013: 20).

Related to this is the relatively limited treatment of stances in the media regarding European integration. The Eurosceptic dimension of media coverage gets the lion’s share of attention, with particular attention to the British press, *e.g.* how it demonized the Maastricht Treaty “as a sellout of British national sovereignty” (Gilbert 2021: 202). The tabloids later made preservation of the British pound sterling a touchstone during the debate on the single European currency (p. 214).

What does not get much attention is the way that, over decades, the European press aligned with the mainstream political parties/Europeanist elites largely eschewed any critical examination of proposals from Brussels intended to strengthen European integration, and for the most part refused any space for even modestly Eurosceptic ideas. But by 2014 Dinan (2014: 358) was probably correct that “media coverage of the EU, often highly critical [had become] pervasive and intense.”

The Cast of Characters

In a work on the history of European integration, there is frankly not much room for creativity in choosing which political figures will receive special attention. The cast is for the most part fixed. The literature targeted at the North American audience, and perhaps for other anglophone

publics, does give somewhat unexpected attention to the ever-popular Winston Churchill as a precursor of European integration efforts. In a 1946 speech, while out of government, Churchill made the case for a Franco-German-led European federation, a sort of United States of Europe. And Churchill participated in the May 1948 Congress of Europe in The Hague (Gilbert 2021: 26).

Not surprisingly, books for the North American anglophone market also emphasize the role of U.S. leaders in promoting European integration. More than Truman, it is really US Secretary of State George C. Marshall and his eponymous plan that receive credit for moving the Europeans toward greater economic cooperation, or at least providing “a powerful external stimulus” (Van Oudenaren 2004: 22). The US also contributed to “the fledgling process of building a united Europe” through the creation of NATO (Van Oudenaren 2004: 23). Eisenhower, as NATO supreme commander and then as US president, is portrayed as a champion of the European Defence Community (Dinan 2014: 66) and more broadly as a committed supporter of European integration (Gilbert 2021: 52).

Gilbert (2012: 7) expresses impatience with how

many scholars of European integration have portrayed European integration as a historical process whose forward march has been hampered by [...] national leaders.

Like de Gaulle, Margaret Thatcher and British leaders more generally have been portrayed “as villains irrationally attached to the principles of national sovereignty.” Gilbert draws an apt parallel between the European federalist historical narrative and the so-called Whig interpretation of British history, rooted in a vision of enlightened Whig reformers triumphing over obscurantist forces in an inevitable progression toward greater liberty and enlightenment.

The populist Eurosceptics, those exploiting visceral public opposition to aspects of European integration in order to promote their advancement in domestic politics, interestingly do not get much mention. The Le Pens (father or daughter) or even British anti-Europe figures surface at most occasionally. Perhaps this reflects a desire not to put human faces on the populist movements.

With respect to national leaders who have helped shape the European integration process in some way, the story actually gets fairly complic-

ated. They seem to come in two basic forms: 1) those national political leaders who were deeply, personally committed to European integration and 2) national leaders with a more transactional approach, focused on national interests and whether/how European integration might serve those interests. But there does not seem to be a truly clear and consistent dividing line between these two categories.

The first category certainly includes figures like Adenauer or De Gasperi, who get sympathetic treatment as both sincere Europeanists and political leaders of vision who considered European integration a crucial instrument for bringing their countries — defeated powers from World War II — fully back into a democratic Western Europe. A later generation of West European leaders, *e.g.* Craxi in Italy and Kohl in Germany, also receives credit for moving the integration process along (Van Oudenaren 2004). But perhaps especially noteworthy in the literature intended for the North American market is the attention and respect accorded to those political leaders who might be termed constructive defenders of national sovereignty. Though skeptical of the most far-reaching Europeanist ambitions, they still played important roles in the construction of a new Europe in which integration would prove a very significant element.

The classic case, of course, is Charles de Gaulle, who is remembered *inter alia* for having hindered British accession to the European Economic Community. Gilbert (2021: 6) stresses, however, the mark that de Gaulle left on the [European] Community's development [...] deeper than many historians of European integration have been wont to acknowledge." (Georges Pompidou and François Mitterrand, successors to de Gaulle, admittedly receive credit for moving France in a more Europeanist direction. See Van Oudenaren 2004).

Another example arguably is Margaret Thatcher. Staab (2013: 17) contends that her image as a confrontational Eurosceptic-in-chief "ought to be slightly rectified," given her recognition of the potential benefits for Britain of a more unified European market. The literature under review tends to treat the defense of national sovereignty and prerogatives by figures like de Gaulle or Thatcher as a rational policy choice, rather than as a violation of some sacred European compact.

Interestingly, one senses considerable skepticism regarding the (not always) secular saints of European integration. Jean Monnet appears less as a moral leader than as an able political operator, who deserves

credit for implementing a high-minded design through effective old-fashioned politicking. The secularist Monnet, with strong ties to the US and definitely no Christian Democrat, is less than ideal as a European integration icon, as Dinan points out (2014: 5). Robert Schuman, a professional politician but also a devout, celibate Christian Democrat, comes off as more iconic. While Walter Hallstein, the first president of the European Commission, “occupies a high position in the federalist pantheon” (Dinan, 2014: 12), even his fans cannot deny he was badly outgunned in his showdown with de Gaulle. There is a visible fast-forwarding to Jacques Delors, who took the Commission presidency in 1985, as the next really notable and politically effective advocate for the federalist view. But, despite great respect for his abilities, Delors is generally criticized for letting his reach exceed his grasp, for being overly ambitious and perhaps, in that way, promoting backlash against the European integration process. That said, Delors still emerges as a giant compared to successors like Jacques Santer (1995-99) or even the somewhat more successful Romano Prodi (1999-2004). In any case, Dinan stresses that “national leaders were the most influential individuals” (2014: 355).

Conclusion

The North American vision of European integration’s history that emerges from the textbooks under review might be characterized as that of “sympathetic outsiders.” There is abundant recognition of the achievements of European integration, and its importance in repairing the damage of two world wars, extreme nationalism, and totalitarianism. But one also finds a baseline skepticism about the limits of potential European federalism and regarding the benefits of ceding national sovereignty. Historical events that buttress such skepticism receive extensive attention in the historical accounts discussed here, as do national leaders who were constructive defenders of sovereignty.

There is nothing surprising about this. Despite the close relationship between the US and Canada and their European partners and allies — exemplified notably in NATO — long, intimate cooperation does not imply political, economic, cultural, and institutional homogenization. North America and even its closest European allies are, and remain, very differ-

ent entities, with both sides of the Atlantic attached to their specific political and institutional histories. This is quite naturally influential when North American scholars analyze and describe European integration.

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¹ All subsequent Amazon listings are also as of 27 May 2021.

² A third edition appeared in 2020. In 2021 it ranked as # 282 in Comparative Politics and # 418 in Government.

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³ Previous editions were the work of Steiner alone, and the 2017 9th edition is credited exclusively to Crepez. That latest edition ranked as #2207 in the Amazon listing of European Politics Books, # 5130 among Political Science Books, and # 1028 for General Elections and Political Process.

⁴ The first edition, edited by Tiersky, was published in 1999.

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Images of European Integration History

**Edited by
Umberto Morelli**

This book will explore the vision of Europe that emerges from the textbooks of European integration history, the methodology they use, the key figures and events they emphasize most, and what changes in how they interpret the integration process have taken place over time.

Our survey encompassed textbooks published in and after 1979, year of the first direct elections to the European Parliament, in order to consider books covering a fairly sizeable period in the history of European integration.
