

A new idea for Europe

The Schuman declaration – 1950–2000

by Pascal Fontaine



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by Pascal Fontaine

Second edition

Pascal Fontaine, Professor at the Institute of Political Studies, Paris, was born in 1948. A *docteur d'État* in political sciences, he was Jean Monnet's last assistant and worked with him from 1973 to 1977. He was *chef de cabinet* of the President of the European Parliament from 1984 to 1987.

This text is signed by its author and does not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

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INTRODUCTION

Europe at the service of peace and democracy

Community Europe is celebrating its 50th anniversary.

On 9 May 1950, Robert Schuman made history by putting to the Federal Republic of Germany, and to the other European countries who so wished, the idea of creating a Community of pacific interests. In so doing he extended a hand to yesterday's enemies and erased the bitterness of war and the burden of the past. In addition, he set in train a completely new process in international relations by proposing to old nations to together recover, by exercising jointly their sovereignty, the influence which each of them was incapable of exercising alone.

The construction of Europe has since then moved forward every day. It represents the most significant undertaking of the 20th century and a new hope at the dawn of the new century. It derives its momentum from the far-sighted and ambitious project of the founding fathers who emerged from the second world war driven by the resolve to establish between the peoples of Europe the conditions for a lasting peace. This momentum is regenerated unceasingly, spurred on by the challenges which our

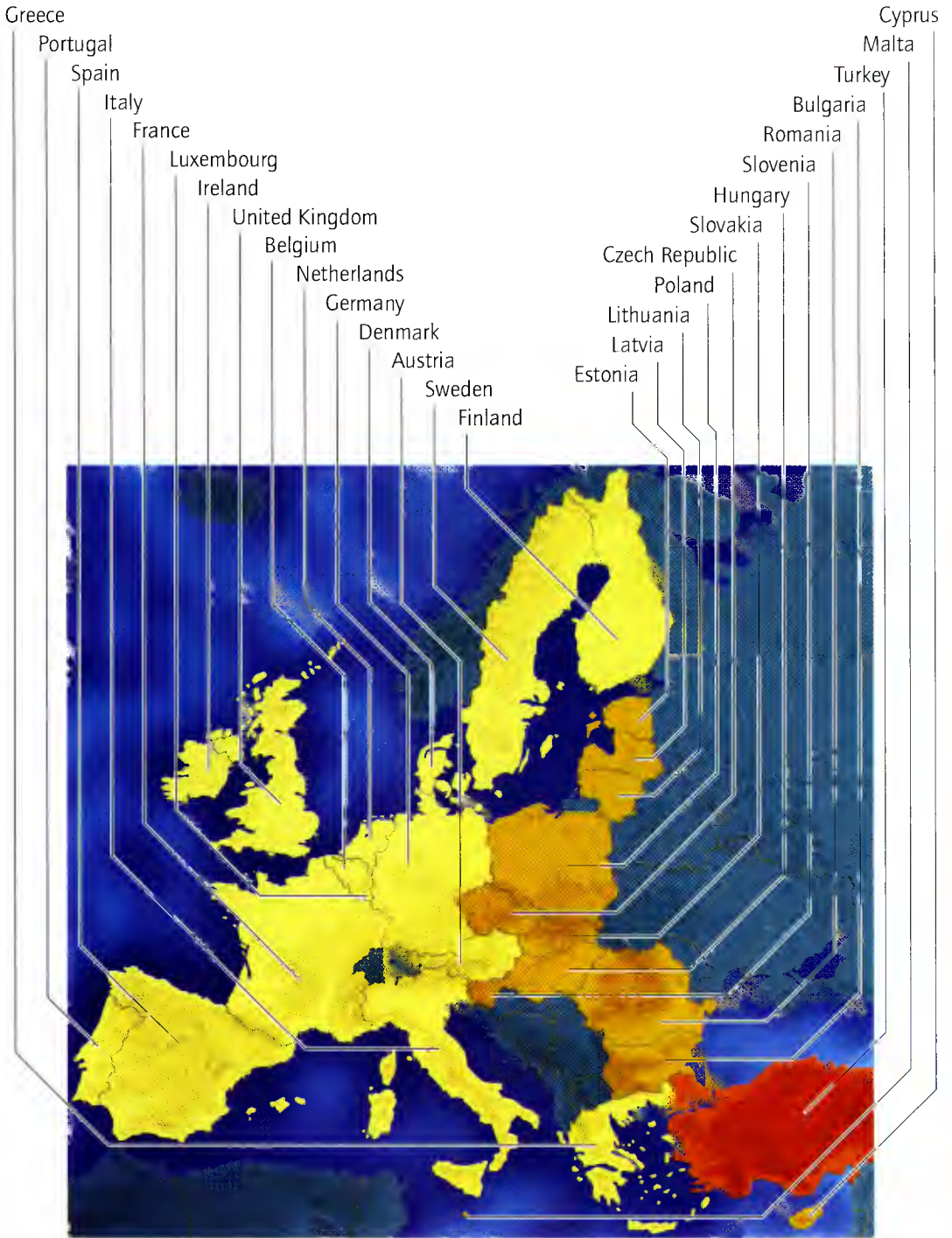
countries have to face up to in a world of deep-seated and relentless change.

Could anyone have foreseen this immense desire for democracy and peace which ultimately brought down the Berlin Wall, put the responsibility for their destinies back into the hands of the people of central and eastern Europe and today, with the prospect before long of further enlargement to seal the unity of the continent, gives a new dimension to the ideal of European construction?

A historic success

As we approach the dawn of the third millennium, a look back over the 50 years of progress towards European integration shows that the European Union is a historic success. Countries which were hitherto enemies, and in most cases, ravaged by the most horrific atrocities this continent has ever known, today share a common currency, the euro, and manage their economic and commercial interests within the framework of joint institutions.

Europeans now settle their differences through peaceful means, applying the rule of law and seeking conciliation. The spirit



(* Non continental and overseas territories not shown.)

of superiority and discrimination has been banished from relationships between the Member States, which have entrusted to the four Community institutions, the Council, the Parliament, Commission and the Court of Justice, the responsibility for mediating their conflicts, for defining the general interest of Europeans and for pursuing common policies.

People's standard of living has improved considerably, much more than would have been possible if each national economy had not been able to benefit from the economies of scale and the gains of growth stemming from the common market and intensification of trade.

People are free to move and students to work within a frontier-free internal area. The foundations of common foreign and defence policies have been laid, and moves are already afoot to take common policies of solidarity further in the social, regional and environmental fields, as well as in the fields of research and transport.

Economic integration every day highlights the need for and takes us closer to political union. At international level, the European Union is wielding increasing influence commensurate with its economic importance, the standard of living of its citizens, its place in diplomatic, commercial and monetary forums.

The European Community derives its strength from common values of democracy and human rights, which rally its peoples, and it has preserved the diversity of cultures and languages and the traditions which make it what it is.

Its transatlantic solidarity and the attractiveness of its model has enabled a united Europe to withstand the pressure of totalitarianism and to consolidate the rule of law. The European Community stands as a beacon for the expectations of countries near and far which watch the Union's progress with interest as they seek to consolidate their re-emerging democracies or rebuild a ruined economy.

Today, the Union of the 15 Member States is negotiating the next wave of membership with 10 countries of central and eastern Europe, and with Malta and Cyprus. At a later stage, other countries of former Yugoslavia or which belong to the European sphere will in turn ask to join. The taking on board by the applicant countries of the *acquis communautaire*, and more generally of the major objectives of the European Union, is central to enlargement negotiations. For the first time in its long history, the continent is preparing to become reunified in peace and freedom.

Such developments are momentous in terms of world balance and will have a huge impact on Europe's relations with the United States, Russia, Asia and Latin America. Even now Europe is no longer merely a power which has retained its place in the world. It is a reference point and a hope for peoples attached to peace and the respect of human rights.

What explains such a great success? Is it lastingly etched in the continent's history, sufficiently rooted in the collective memory and resolve for the seeds of any intra-European war to have been eradicated?

The tragic events of the past and the conflicts which still today undermine the

Balkans and are spreading bloodshed throughout the Caucasus should prompt Europeans not to sit back and take lasting peace for granted.

The challenges of the future

After a half century of Community history, Europeans still have a lot of soul-searching to do: what are the elementary values to which they are attached, and what are the best ways of safeguarding them? How far could and should union be taken in order to maximise the strength which derives from unity, without at the same time eroding identity and destroying the individual ethos which makes the richness of our nations, regions and cultures? Can we move forward in step, thanks to the natural harmony which favours consensus between 15 countries, or should we recognise divergences of approach and differentiate our pace of integration? What are the limits of Community Europe, at a time when so many nations, starting with the new democracies of central and eastern Europe and the Balkans, along with Turkey, are asking to join the process of unification in progress? How can we get everyone involved in the Community undertaking and give them the feeling of a European identity which complements and goes beyond fundamental solidarity? How can we get every European citizen closer to the institutions of the Union, and give everyone a chance to embrace the project of a unified Europe which was long the preserve of the deliberations of diplomats and the expertise of civil servants?

All these are questions of principle which it is impossible to avoid if we are not to enter blind alleys; fundamental questions the answers to which will themselves deter-

mine the myriad specific and technical matters addressed daily by those who have the task of taking this Community undertaking forward.

For the people of Europe, the question is simple. Either they continue to become organised, assembling their strengths to make themselves heard throughout the world, promote the ideal of democracy and defend their economic and strategic interests. Then Europe will continue to represent more than the 'tip of Eurasia' which Paul Valéry spoke about. It will be a factor of balance and moderation in the relations between hyperindustrialised powers and countries whose development is lagging behind. Or else the people of Europe will not fully appreciate the actual extent of the values they share and will consequently fail to act in defence of their common interests. In which case, the economies of each country will be reduced to sub-contracting roles and consumers' standard of living will decline. Europe, a mere geographical entity, will be placed in the sphere of influence of powers external to it and which will impose upon it the price of its dependence and its need for a protective umbrella.

The topicality of the Community method

A new institutional process was put in train by the decision taken on 11 December 1999 by the European Council meeting in Helsinki to convene an intergovernmental conference with the aim *inter alia* of adapting the treaties to the conditions whereby a Union enlarged to over 20 members can function smoothly.

Our 50-year-old Europe is a hive of activity. Hopes are running at the same level as the

ambitions and challenges involved, but the risks of failure are still very much there.

Europe merely as a free trade area or Europe as a world-level player? A technocratic Europe or a democratic Europe? An 'every man for himself' Europe or a caring Europe?

Faced with so many critical choices, so many uncertainties, the Community method which stems from the dialogue established between the Member States and the common institutions exercising together delegated sovereignty is as topical as ever. This is what made it possible, 50 years ago, to set up the European Coal and Steel Community, subsequently followed by the European Economic Community and

Euratom, bolstered by the European Single Act, and the Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam. A 'catalyst of change' has been incorporated into inter-European relations and this every day generates new effects. Tomorrow, this method may make the best contribution possible to solving the major problems facing Europeans.

The founding principles of the European edifice are not simply a matter of institutional mechanics. The Community spirit was invented and carried forward by statesmen who wanted first and foremost to construct a Europe at the service of people and makes the European idea a project for civilisation. The Schuman declaration remains very much 'a new idea for Europe'.

I — THE SCHUMAN PLAN: A RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Historical background

The respite which should have followed the cessation of hostilities did not materialise for the people of Europe. No sooner had the Second World War ended than the threat of a third between East and West loomed up very quickly. The breakdown on 24 April 1947 of the Moscow conference on the German issue convinced the West that the Soviet Union, an ally in the fight against the Nazis, was about to become the source of an immediate threat to western democracies. The creation in October 1947 of the Kominform establishing a coalition of the world's communist parties, the 'Prague coup' of 25 February 1948 guaranteeing domination for the communists in Czechoslovakia, then the Berlin blockade in June 1948 which heralded the division of Germany into two countries, further heightened tension. By signing the Atlantic Pact with the United States on 4 April 1949, western Europe laid the basis of its collective security. However, the explosion of the first Soviet atomic bomb in September 1949 and the proliferation of threats from the Kremlin leaders contributed to spreading this climate of fear which came to be known as the cold war.

The status of the Federal Republic of Germany, which itself directed its own internal policy since the promulgation of the fundamental law of 23 May 1949, then became a focal point of East-West rivalry.

The United States wanted to step up the economic recovery of a country at the heart of the division of the continent and already in Washington there was a call in some quarters for the defeated power to be re-armed. French diplomacy was torn by a dilemma. Either it yielded to American pressure and, in the face of public opinion, agreed to the reconstitution of the German power on the Ruhr and the Saar; or else it stood firm against its main ally and took its relationship with Bonn into an impasse.

In spring 1950 came the hour of truth. Robert Schuman, French Foreign Affairs Minister, had been entrusted by his American and British counterparts with a vital mission, namely to make a proposal to bring Federal Germany back into the western fold. A meeting between the three governments was scheduled for 10 May 1950 and France could not evade its responsibilities.

On top of the political deadlock came economic problems. Steelmaking capacity in the various European countries seemed set to create a crisis of overproduction. Demand was dwindling, prices were falling and the signs were that producers, faithful to the traditions of the forgemasters of the inter-war period, would reconstitute a cartel in order to restrict competition. In the midst of the reconstruction phase, the European economies could not stand by and leave their basic industries to speculation or organised shortages.



Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman.

Jean Monnet's ideas

In order to unravel this web of difficulties where traditional diplomacy was proving powerless, Robert Schuman called upon the inventive genius of a man as yet unknown to the general public but who had acquired exceptional experience during a very long and eventful international career. Jean Monnet, at the time responsible for the French modernisation plan and appointed by Charles de Gaulle in 1945 to put the country back on its economic feet, was one of the most influential Europeans in the western world. During the First World War, he had organ-

ised the joint supply structures for the Allied Forces. Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations, banker in the United States, western Europe and China, he was one of President Roosevelt's close advisers and the architect of the Victory programme which ensured America's military superiority over the Axis forces. Unfettered by any political mandate, he advised governments and had acquired the reputation of being a pragmatist whose prime concern was effectiveness.

The French Minister had approached Jean Monnet with his concerns. The question 'What to do about Germany?' was an

obsession for Robert Schuman, a native of Lorraine and a Christian moved by the resolve to do something so that any possibility of further war between the two countries could be averted once and for all.

At the head of a small team in rue de Martignac, headquarters of the *Commissariat au plan*, Jean Monnet was himself committed to this quest for a solution. His main concern was international politics. He felt that the cold war was the consequence of competition between the two big powers in Europe and a divided Europe was a source of major concern. Fostering unity in Europe would reduce tension. He pondered the merits of an international-level initiative mainly designed to decompress the situation and establish world peace through a real role played by a reborn, reconciled Europe.

Jean Monnet had watched the various unsuccessful attempts to move towards integration which had followed in the wake of the solemn plea, launched at the congress organised by the European movement in The Hague in 1948, for the union of the continent.

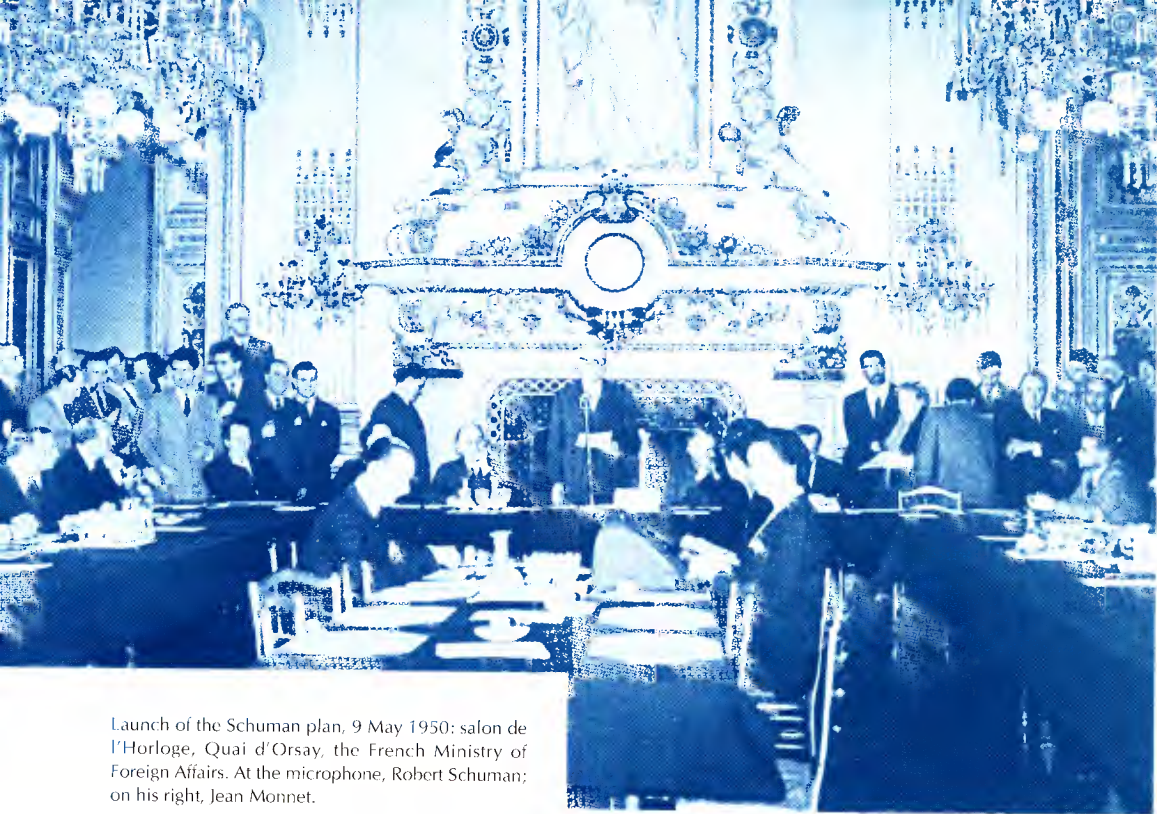
The European Organisation for Economic Cooperation, set up in 1948, had a purely coordinative mission and had been powerless to prevent the economic recovery of European countries coming about in a strictly national framework. The creation of the Council of Europe on 5 May 1949 showed that governments were not prepared to surrender their prerogatives. The advisory body had only deliberative powers and each of its resolutions, which had to be approved by a two-thirds majority, could be vetoed by the ministerial committee.

Jean Monnet had understood that any attempt to introduce a comprehensive institutional structure in one go would bring a huge outcry from the different countries and was doomed to failure. It was too early yet to envisage wholesale transfers of sovereignty. The war was too recent an experience in people's minds and national feelings were still running very high.

Success depended on limiting objectives to specific areas, with a major psychological impact, and introducing a joint decision-making mechanism which would gradually be given additional responsibilities.

The declaration of 9 May 1950

Jean Monnet and his co-workers during the close of April 1950 drafted a note of a few pages setting out both the rationale behind, and the steps envisaged in, a proposal which was going to radically shake up traditional diplomacy. As he set about his task, instead of the customary consultations of the responsible ministerial departments, Jean Monnet on the contrary maintained the utmost discretion in order to avoid the inevitable objections or counterproposals which would have detracted from the revolutionary nature of the project and removed the advantage of surprise. When he handed over his document to Bernard Clappier, director of Robert Schuman's private office, Jean Monnet knew that the minister's decision could alter the course of events. So when, upon his return from a weekend in his native Lorraine, Robert Schuman told his colleagues: 'I've read this proposal. I'll use it', the initiative had entered the political arena. At the same time as the French Minister was defending his proposal on the morning of 9 May, in front of his government colleagues, a messenger from his



Launch of the Schuman plan, 9 May 1950: salon de l'Horloge, Quai d'Orsay, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the microphone, Robert Schuman; on his right, Jean Monnet.

(EC)

private office delivered it personally to Chancellor Adenauer in Bonn. The latter's reaction was immediate and enthusiastic. He immediately replied that he was wholeheartedly behind the proposal.

So, backed by the agreement of both the French and the German Governments, Robert Schuman made his declaration public at a press conference held at 4 p.m. in the salon de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay. He preceded his declaration with a few introductory sentences: 'It is no longer a time for vain words, but for a bold, constructive act. France has acted, and the consequences of her action may be immense. We hope they will. She has acted essentially in the cause of peace. For peace to have a chance, there must first be a

Europe. Nearly five years to the day after the unconditional surrender of Germany, France is now taking the first decisive step towards the construction of Europe and is associating Germany in this venture. It is something which must completely change things in Europe and permit other joint actions which were hitherto impossible. Out of all this will come forth Europe, a solid and united Europe. A Europe in which the standard of living will rise thanks to the grouping of production and the expansion of markets, which will bring down prices ...'

The scene was thus set. This was no new technical arrangement subject to fierce bargaining. France extended a hand to Germany, proposing that it take part on an

Le 6 Mai 1950

*1. Projet -
L'Union Européenne
à P. -
R. Schuman*

La paix mondiale ne saurait être sauvegardée sans des efforts créateurs à la mesure des dangers qui la menacent.

La contribution qu'une Europe organisée et vivante peut apporter à la civilisation est indispensable au maintien des relations pacifiques. En se faisant depuis plus de 20 ans le champion d'une Europe unie, la France a toujours eu pour objet essentiel de servir la paix. L'Europe n'a pas été faite, nous avons eu la guerre.

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. Le rassemblement des nations européennes exige que l'opposition séculaire de la France et de l'Allemagne soit éliminée : l'action entreprise doit toucher au premier chef la France et l'Allemagne.

Dans ce but, le Gouvernement Français propose de porter immédiatement l'action sur un point limité mais décisif :

Le Gouvernement Français propose de placer l'ensemble de la production franco-allemande de charbon et d'acier, sous une Haute Autorité commune, dans une organisation ouverte à la participation des autres pays d'Europe.

La mise en commun des productions de charbon et d'acier assurera immédiatement l'établissement de bases communes de développement économique, première étape de la Fédération européenne, et changera le destin de ces régions longtemps vouées à la fabrication des armes de guerre dont elles ont été les plus constantes victimes.

Facsimile of a final draft of the Robert Schuman declaration of 9 May 1950. This final draft was the ninth. Robert Schuman's team put the final touches to it on 6 May 1950.

(Source: Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Lausanne).

equal footing in a new entity, first to manage jointly coal and steel in the two countries, but also on a broader level to lay the first stone of the European federation.

The declaration (see annex) puts forward a number of principles:

- Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through practical achievements which will first create real solidarity;
- the age-old enmity between France and Germany must be eliminated; any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries, but it is open to any other European nations which share the aims;
- action must be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point: Franco-German production of coal and steel must be placed under a common High Authority;
- the fusion of these economic interests will help to raise the standard of living and establish a European Community;
- the decisions of the High Authority will be binding on the member countries. The High Authority itself will be composed of independent persons and have equal representation. The authority's decisions will be enforceable.

The preparation of the ECSC Treaty

Swift action was needed for the French initiative, which quickly became a Franco-German initiative, to retain its chances of becoming reality. On 20 June 1950, France convened an intergovernmental conference

in Paris, chaired by Jean Monnet. The three Benelux countries and Italy answered the call and were at the negotiating table. Jean Monnet circumscribed the spirit of the discussions which were about to open: 'We are here to undertake a common task — not to negotiate for our own national advantage, but to seek it to the advantage of all. Only if we eliminate from our debates any particularist feelings shall we reach a solution. In so far as we, gathered here, can change our methods, the attitude of all Europeans will likewise gradually change' (1).

The discussions were an opportunity to clarify the type of international edifice envisaged. The independence and the powers of the High Authority were never questioned, for they constituted the central point of the proposal. At the request of the Netherlands, the Council of Ministers, representing the Member States and which was to give its assent in certain cases, was set up. A Parliamentary Assembly and a Court of Justice were to round off the structure which underpins the institutional system of the current Communities.

The negotiators never lost sight of the fact that they had the political mandate to construct an organisation which was totally new with regard to its objectives and methods. It was essential for the emerging institution to avoid all the shortcomings peculiar to the traditional intergovernmental organisations: the requirement of unanimity for national financial contributions, and subordination of the executive to the representatives of the national States.

(1) Jean Monnet, *Memoirs*, (trad. R. Mayne): London, etc., William Collins and Son Ltd, 1976, p. 323.



(EC)

Robert Schuman's declaration of 9 May 1950 was followed, on 18 April 1951, by the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the first of the Treaties establishing the European Community.

On 18 April 1951, the Treaty establishing the Coal and Steel Community was signed for a period of 50 years. It was ratified by the six signatory countries and on

10 August 1952 the High Authority, chaired by Jean Monnet, took up its seat in Luxembourg.

II — THE SCHUMAN PLAN: THE BIRTH OF COMMUNITY EUROPE

'The Schuman proposals are revolutionary or they are nothing. The indispensable first principle of these proposals is the abnegation of sovereignty in a limited but decisive field. A plan which is not based on this principle can make no useful contribution to the solution of the major problems which undermine our existence. Cooperation between nations, while essential, cannot alone meet our problem. What must be sought is a fusion of the interests of the European peoples and not merely another effort to maintain the equilibrium of those interests ...'

Jean Monnet

The innovatory principles of the first European Community

The reason it took nearly a year to conclude the negotiations of the Treaty of Paris was that these negotiations gave rise to a series of fundamental questions to which Jean Monnet wished to provide the most appropriate answers. As we have seen, this was no traditional diplomatic negotiation. The persons designated by the six governments had come together to invent a totally new — and lasting — legal and political system.

The preamble to the ECSC Treaty, comprising five short paragraphs, contains the whole philosophy which was to be the leitmotif of the promoters of European construction:

'Considering that world peace can be safeguarded only by creative efforts commensurate with the dangers that threaten it;

convinced that the contribution which an organised and vital Europe can make to civilisation is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations;

recognising that Europe can be built only through practical achievements which will first of all create real solidarity, and through the establishment of common bases for economic development;

anxious to help, by expanding their basic production, to raise the standard of living and further the works of peace;

resolved to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of their essential interests; to create, by establishing an economic community, the basis for a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared'.



The first European iron ingot was cast on 30 April 1953 in Esch-sur-Alzette, Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg. Jean Monnet, President, and the members of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community celebrate the event. (Source: Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Lausanne).

'World peace', 'practical achievements', 'real solidarity', 'merging of essential interests', 'community', 'destiny henceforward shared': these are all key words which are the embryonic form of both the spirit and the Community method and still today retain their rallying potential.

While the prime objective of the ECSC Treaty, i.e. the management of the coal and steel market, today no longer has the same importance as before, for the European economy of the 1950s, the institutional principles which it laid down are still very much topical. They started a momentum of which we are still reaping the benefits and which fuels a political vision which we must be careful not to depart from if we are not to call into question our precious '*acquis communautaire*'.

Four Community principles stem from the Schuman plan and they form the basis of the current Community edifice.

The overarching role of the institutions

The application to international relations of the principles of equality, arbitration and conciliation which are in force within democracies is progress for civilisation. The founding fathers had experienced the chaos, violence and the arbitrary which are the companions of war. Their entire endeavour was geared at creating a community in which right prevailed over might. Jean Monnet often quoted the Swiss philosopher Amiel: 'Every man's experience is a new start. Only institutions become wiser: they amass the collective experience and thanks to this experience and this

wisdom, the nature of men subordinated to the same rules will not change, but their behaviour gradually will.'

To place relations between countries on a pacific and democratic footing, casting out the spirit of domination and nationalism, these were the deep-seated motivations which gave the first Community its political content and placed it amongst the major historic achievements.

The independence of the Community bodies

If institutions are to fulfil their functions they must have their own authority. Today's Community institutions still benefit from the three guarantees which were given to the ECSC High Authority:

- the appointment of members, today commissioners, by joint agreement between the governments ⁽²⁾. These are not national delegates, but personalities exercising their power collegially and who may not receive instructions from the Member States. The European civil service is subordinated to this same and unique Community allegiance;
- financial independence through the levying of own resources and not, as is the case of international organisations, by the payment of national contributions which means they can be called into question;
- the responsibility of the High Authority, and today that of the Commission, exclusively to the Assembly (today the

European Parliament), which can cast, by a qualified majority vote, a vote of censure.

Cooperation between the institutions

For Jean Monnet, the independence of the High Authority was the cornerstone of the new system. However, as the negotiations continued, he acknowledged the need to give the Member States the opportunity to assert their national interests. This was the safest way of preventing the emerging community from being limited to excessively technical objectives, for it needed to be also able to intervene in sectors in which macroeconomic decisions would be taken and these were a matter for the governments. Hence the creation, alongside the High Authority, of our Council of Ministers the role of which was strictly limited in that it was not called upon to decide unanimously but by majority. Its assent was required only in limited cases. The High Authority retained the monopoly of legislative initiative, a prerogative which, extended to the competences of the present Commission, is essential in that it is the guarantee that all Community interests will be defended in a proposal from the college. From 1951 on, dialogue was organised between the four institutions on a basis not of subordination but of cooperation, each institution exercising its own functions within a comprehensive decision-making system of a pre-federal type.

Equality between Member States

As the principle of representation of States within the Council had been selected, there remained the delicate matter of their respective weighting. The Benelux countries and Italy, fearing that they would be placed in a minority situation on account of

⁽²⁾ The European Commission is also subordinated to the vote of investiture by the European Parliament.

the proportion of their production of coal and steel in relation to total production, argued in favour of the rule of unanimity. Germany, on the other hand, advocated a system of representation proportional to production, a proposal which of course could hardly allay partners' misgivings, quite the opposite.

Jean Monnet was convinced that only the principle of equality between countries could produce a new mentality. However, he was aware of how difficult it was to get six countries of unequal dimensions to forego the option of a veto. For the big countries in their relations with one another and for the smaller countries in their relations with the bigger countries '... Their innermost security lay in their power to say No, which is the privilege of national sovereignty' (3). The chairman of the conference accordingly met Chancellor Adenauer in Bonn on 4 April 1951 to convince him of the virtues of the principle of equality:

'I have been authorised to propose to you that relations between France and Germany in the European Community be based on the principle of equality in the Council, the Assembly and all future or existing institutions ... Let me add that this is how I have always envisaged the offer of union which was the starting point of the present Treaty; and I think I am right in saying this is how you envisaged it from the moment we first met. The spirit of discrimination has been the cause of the world's greatest ills, and the Community is an attempt to overcome it'.

The Chancellor replied immediately:

'You know how much I am attached to equality of rights for my country in the future, and how much I deplore the attempts at domination in which it has been involved in the past. I am happy to pledge my full support for your proposal. I cannot conceive of a Community based on anything but complete equality'.

Thus was laid one of the legal and moral foundations which gives the notion of Community its full meaning.

The ECSC, the first stone in the European edifice

In the absence of a peace treaty between the former warring sides, the first European Community was both an act of confidence in the resolve of France and Germany and their partners to sublimate the mistakes of the past and perform an act of faith in a common future of progress. Despite the ups and downs of history and of nationalist opposition, the process began in 1950 was never to stop. The failure of the project for a European Defence Community on 30 August 1954, after the rejection by the French National Assembly of the Treaty signed on 27 May 1952, did not halt the initial momentum. At the initiative of statesmen from the Benelux countries, Paul Henri Spaak, Jan Beyen and Joseph Bech, the process was relaunched at Messina in June 1955. The onward march towards the Treaty of Rome, signed on 25 March 1957, establishing the European Economic Community and Euratom, was boosted by external events: the Suez crisis and the repression in Hungary prompted Europe to close ranks. The European Communities set up in Brussels and Luxembourg grew in

(3) Jean Monnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 330 et seq.

terms of content and number of participants.

The common market was consolidated by common policies in agriculture, trade, regional affairs, social affairs, research, the environment, education, and cooperation with the third world. In 1972, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined the Communities; later the entry of Greece, Spain and Portugal brought a bigger Mediterranean presence into the Community. In 1995, the 15-country Europe emerges with the membership of Austria, Finland and Sweden.

Weakened by the two successive oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, the Community nevertheless resisted centrifugal tendencies and consolidated its cohesion by introducing a European Monetary System in 1979. This system gradually paved the way for a slow but irreversible move towards economic and monetary union which came to fruition on 1 January 1999 with the adoption of the euro by 11 Member States of the European Union.

Like any undertaking constantly evolving, Europe could not evade teething troubles and growing pains: the institutional crisis of 1965 when one Member State attempted to call into question the majority system of voting; and the financial crisis caused by the mismatch between own resources and the sharp increases in expenditure arising from the proliferation of new policies and the increasing costs of the common agricultural policy.

Nevertheless, no matter how categorical its demands may have been, no Member State has contemplated leaving a Community which is seen as an irreplaceable frame-

work for the development and international status of its member countries.

In 1984, the European Parliament adopted a draft treaty on European union, proposing that the institutions make a quantum leap in terms of integration. By adopting the White Paper on the large internal market in 1985, the Commission, headed by Jacques Delors, gave concrete expression to this resolve for recovery and set a target date of 1 January 1993.

By signing the Single Act in 1986, the Member States drew their inspiration and institutional method from the Schuman plan. They supplemented the Treaty of Rome with a series of specific objectives around the central objective of a large frontier-free market and established a timetable. They renewed the decision-making process by extending the scope for decision-making by a qualified majority vote. They restored hope to millions of European citizens by offering them a broader horizon and giving them the wherewithal to come to terms with a changing world.

While the European institutions were putting the finishing touches to the internal market and increasing the economic and social dimension of Community Europe, history made its presence felt again as an unforeseeable, mighty force, testing the capacities of Europeans to adapt and adjust to a changing world.

The fall of the Berlin Wall on 3 October 1990, followed by the reunification of Germany and the democratisation of the countries of central and eastern Europe, freed from the yoke of the Soviet Union, itself prey to its own disintegration in December 1991, brought about a radical

change in the political structure of our continent.

Once again, countries were faced with a dilemma, whether to take the soft option of focusing national policies on immediate interests or embrace a common vision and management of their joint future. Opting to give priority to respect their European commitment and acknowledging the need to incorporate such upheaval into a common perspective, the Member States committed themselves to a process of consolidation of the Union by negotiating a new treaty, of which the new guidelines were adopted at the Maastricht European Council meeting of 9 and 10 December 1991.

The Treaty on European Union, which entered into force on 1 November 1993 set an ambitious timetable for the Member States: monetary union by 1999, new common policies, European citizenship, common foreign and security policy, and

internal security. A revision clause in the Maastricht Treaty prompted the Member States to negotiate a new treaty, signed in Amsterdam on 2 October 1997, adjusting and strengthening the Union's policies and resources, particularly in the areas of legal cooperation, freedom of movement of persons, foreign policy and public health. The European Parliament, direct democratic expression of the Union, received new responsibilities confirming its role as co-legislator.

Fifty years of existence have not taken the edge off the driving inspiration from which the European Community emerged.

Will the heirs of the founding fathers, today responsible for the destiny of the peoples of the whole continent, from Lisbon to Tallinn, from Dublin to Warsaw, take on board the final message of Jean Monnet ⁽⁴⁾, the guiding light of this first Community, who urges them to adopt his vision of the future?

⁽⁴⁾ 'We cannot stop, when the whole world around us is on the move. Have I said clearly enough that the Community we have created is not an end in itself? It is a process of change, continuing that process which in an earlier period of history produced our national forms of life. Like our provinces in the past, our nations today must learn today to live together under common rules and institutions freely

arrived at. The sovereign nations of the past can no longer solve the problems of the present; they cannot ensure their own progress or control their own future. And the Community itself is only a stage on the way to the organised world of the future.'

Jean Monnet, *Memoirs* (trad. R. Mayne): London, etc., William Collins and Son Ltd, 1976, p. 524.

III — QUESTIONS FOR THE EUROPE OF THE 21ST CENTURY

The historians of the construction of Europe will no doubt have to consider the Helsinki European Council of 10 and 11 December 1999 to have been a turning point for the Union. This is the date on which the Heads of State or Government decided to increase to 12 the number of countries admitted to negotiate their membership of the Union. It was also in Helsinki that Turkey was given the status of an applicant country with which negotiations can commence as soon as the political and economic criteria have been met. By making 1 January 2003 the date on which the European Union should, at the close of the intergovernmental conference on the revision of the treaties, be in a position to welcome the first wave of new candidates, the Heads of State or Government set an ambitious agenda for the Union's institutions. At the same time, the European Council was anxious to draw the conclusions from the Kosovo war which had stressed the need for military means which would allow Europe to project itself beyond its frontiers and make a contribution to resolving a conflict taking place at its doorstep.

The Helsinki Summit thus laid the foundations for a huge edifice which will undoubtedly complete the construction commenced

50 years ago by the founding fathers. It is now up to the Union's institutional players and also to its citizens to respond to the three fundamental questions concerning the future:

- ***Europe, how far and for whom?***

The matter of the Union's geographical limits must now be addressed. What arguments, other than those corresponding to the need to respect democratic principles and the ability to take on board the *acquis communautaire*, namely all the common policies and Community legislation, are there to refuse access to the European Union to all the countries bordering on its current and future Member States?

- ***Europe, how?***

Over the next decade, the move from a Union of 15 countries to nearly 30 naturally raises the question of its operation, the effectiveness of its decision-making procedures, its homogeneousness and its relationship with the citizen: a federal union of States including currency, defence and common citizenship, or else a free trade area supervised by arbitration bodies to ensure that the rules of competition are respected?

• *Europe, what for?*

With globalisation forcing States and societies to undertake a gigantic effort to adapt and prompting them to redefine the bases of the social contract in line with new rules valid on a planetary level, Europeans will need to examine what gives them their identity and brings them together as Europeans. Is there a model of development which is peculiar to our continent, based on common values and on the awareness of belonging to one and the same civilisation? Do Europeans share the same image of man's place in society and will they respond together to the challenges of the future, such as sustainable development and bioethics? Will they be ready to take responsibility together for their internal security and their collective defence?

All these questions make the European debate indissociable from the internal political debate in which every citizen is required to participate in the context of active democracy.

The current enlargement process: an investment for peace in Europe

'Europe was not built, and we had war'.

**Robert Schuman declaration of
9 May 1950**

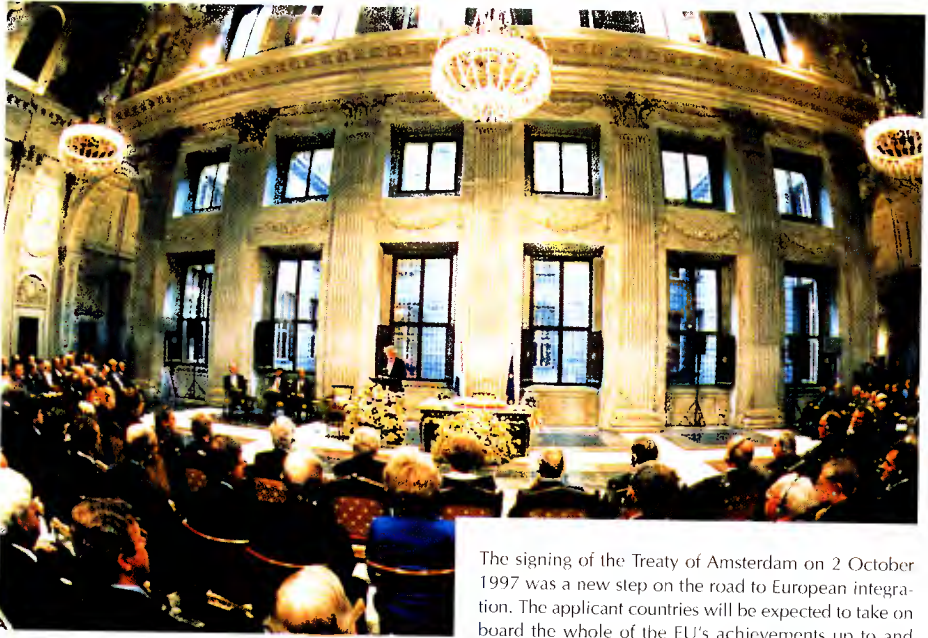
The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 was hailed as a wonderful beacon in the sky of the continent. The German people's aspiration for freedom and democracy, quickly shared by everyone in the Communist bloc, proved stronger than the dictatorship of the Leninist parties and withstood the threat from the Warsaw Pact armies. The Supreme Soviet in its turn, on 26 November 1991, confirmed the demise

of the Soviet Union. The end of the cold war heralded a new world, less stable, but more open to the legitimate and irrefragable resolve of peoples to take charge of their destinies. Will Robert Schuman's vision of the continent in its entirety, reunified in peace and prosperity, finally be fulfilled? The European Community endeavours to bring suitable responses to the new requirements of countries at last freed from external domination, but undermined by ruined economies and searching for a stable and democratic political system.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Phare programme in 1990 provided financial support for the new democracies of central and eastern Europe. Association agreements were signed with Hungary, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and then with the three Baltic States and Slovenia. In addition to emergency economic aid and assistance to smooth over the transition towards a market economy, however, a more ambitious process is shaping up for each of these countries, plus Cyprus and Malta: their membership in due course of the European Union.

The European Council meeting in Copenhagen on 22 June 1993 noted this aspiration and set out the conditions required for membership by an associated country:

- stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the primacy of law, and respect of human rights;
- the existence of a viable market economy and the ability to face up to the pressure of competition and the market forces within the Union;



The signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam on 2 October 1997 was a new step on the road to European integration. The applicant countries will be expected to take on board the whole of the EU's achievements up to and including this Treaty.

— the ability of the candidate country to assume the obligations stemming from membership, and particularly to take on board the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

These political and economic criteria call for substantial efforts by the applicant countries and impose upon their population the heavy sacrifices of an economy undergoing reconstruction and transition. However, the European Union itself has accepted its moral and political responsibilities to peoples long condemned to a status quo by the dramas of history. The reunification of Germany, the implementation of the

Maastricht Treaty signed on 7 February 1992 and leading 11 Member States to the introduction of the euro on 1 January 1999, followed by the signature and entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty, reflect the Union's resolve to continue along the road to integration.

Reshaping the common policies, launching new ones in the sectors which will emerge, consolidating the internal market on the basis of a standard currency and thus favouring job creation, ensuring freedom of movement for the citizens within an area of internal justice and security, these are the main tasks set by the institutions to

consolidate the edifice before opening its doors to the applicant countries.

Stability at the Union's frontiers was the primary concern of governments in the 1990s. There was grave concern over the possibility of a further outbreak of territorial conflicts, ethnic hatred and nationalistic tendencies in areas which had been under the yoke of totalitarian regimes for a long time. The breakup of former Yugoslavia was already a warning of things to come in the shape of the disastrous conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo, and threatened to spread to other regions. The solidarity shown by western Europe had to be commensurate with the risk of a flare-up in eastern Europe and the Balkans. The perspective of being an integral part of the European Union, its democratic institutions and its open economy has been and remains for the future an incentive for the progress which the young democracies of central and eastern Europe must achieve.

Through its decision to earmark a considerable part of the European budget to pre-membership and membership assistance for the applicant countries — EUR 80 billion, i.e. 11.83 % of the commitment appropriations for the period 2000–06 — the Berlin European Council of 25 March 1999 gave tangible expression to this need for solidarity. This is a vital investment for stability on the continent and the future of its reunification. But the challenge is not simply a financial one. It is first and foremost a political one and is in keeping with Robert Schuman's project. The reconciliation of the enemies of the first half of the 20th century will have been the major success story of the end of this century. The task awaiting the peoples of this other half of the continent which is converging towards the Union is on a similar scale: learning to

live together in peace and tolerance, to overcome ethnic prejudice and the hatred of the past, to reconcile identities and interdependence. These new States which have just reconquered by pacific means their national sovereignty must also agree to abide by the common rules of the European Union. They must understand that the force of a Community is based on the joint exercise of powers freely transferred to institutions responsible for managing the common good of the Union.

Institutional reform for a strong, democratic Union

'The essential thing is to hold fast to the few fixed principles that have guided us since the beginning: gradually to create among Europeans the broadest common interest, served by common democratic institutions to which the necessary sovereignty has been delegated.

This is the dynamic that has never ceased to operate, removing prejudice, doing away with frontiers, enlarging to continental scale, within a few years, the process that took centuries to form our ancient nations.'

Jean Monnet (Memoirs, p. 523)

Can a Union enlarged to over 25 Member States during the decade which has just started, a number which could subsequently rise to 30–35 countries, function with institutions designed in 1950 for six countries?

There is no doubt whatever that this spectacular development, while attesting to the success of the European undertaking, could well distort its foundations and weaken its decision-making mechanisms if reforms are implemented first. The European Commu-



Plenary session of the European Parliament : an essential political role at the service of the citizens of Europe.

nity has gradually changed into a political Union on the basis of the dual legitimacy of a Union of States and a Union of peoples. The election of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage since 1979 and the gradual increase of its legislative and supervisory powers have brought a democratic ferment to the institutions. A union of 25 countries representing 500 million citizens will be one of the leading players in tomorrow's world.

The negotiations for the Amsterdam Treaty which came into force on 1 May 1999 had already endeavoured to incorporate into the texts and institutional practice this increase in the Union's responsibility both with regard to its own nationals and with regard to the rest of the world. But provisions were also needed to maintain the effectiveness of decision-making procedures and to safeguard the balance between the Member States as a function of their respective demographic weight. The Helsinki European Council on 11 December 1999 therefore decided to convene a new inter-governmental conference to decide what changes should be made to the European treaties by December 2000. This confer-

ence will be held during the first half of the year under the Portuguese Presidency and under the French Presidency for the second. Its purpose is explicitly to examine the size of the European Commission, the weighting of votes in the Council of Ministers and a possible increase in the number of decisions which could be taken by qualified majority. Other reforms could be adopted, shaped possibly by the vital need to have a Union which is bigger but still capable of taking effective decisions and providing a response to citizens' expectations. At the June 1999 European elections, the citizens showed they wanted greater transparency and greater proximity from the institutions: who takes decisions in the Union? how are decisions taken? how can checks be strengthened on how public money paid to the Community budget is used?

In a resolution voted on 18 November 1999, the European Parliament evaluated the scale of the institutional reform in progress and set an ambitious objective for it, namely the 'constitutionalisation' of the Union. The purpose of this is to bring Europe closer to its citizens, to clarify and make more comprehensible the different

responsibilities of the common institutions. This exercise would involve unifying the treaties into a single text and differentiating between two parts:

- a constitutional part setting out the aims of the Union, fundamental rights and the provisions concerning institutions and decision-making procedures;
- a part describing the common policies, with provision for making review procedures more flexible.

Along with the representatives of the Member States, the national parliaments and the European Commission, the European Parliament is also involved in the drafting of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights; the work began in December 1999 on the basis of a mandate given by the European Council of Cologne on 4 June 1999.

The Commission, presided since 15 September 1999 by Romano Prodi, has, with the support of the European Parliament, resolutely undertaken the reform of the Union. In a document submitted on 10 November 1999 by the President of the Commission and the Member of the Commission responsible, Michel Barnier, and entitled 'Adapting the institutions to make a success of enlargement', it states that the reform in progress is not only paving the way for enlargement but must also make it possible to bring stability to the European institutional system. The Commission emphasises the need to extend qualified-majority voting in the Council:

'The fact that the number of Member States is set to almost double means we have to go a great deal further. The interests of the various members will soon be so diverse

that the working of the Union could easily be blocked (...). Qualified-majority voting should therefore become the norm, apart from a very few exceptions for issues which are truly fundamental or felt to be extremely sensitive politically'.

Jean Monnet had personally witnessed the experience of the League of Nations and had seen the limits of an institution in which each State had the power to say no. He felt that 'The veto was at once the cause and the symbol of this inability to go beyond national self-interest' ⁽⁵⁾.

The extension of qualified-majority voting in the Council, associated with the co-decision procedure with the European Parliament, and respecting the Commission's right of initiative, has been the cornerstone of the Community institutional system since its creation. Can a Union of 30 Member States be considered viable if one of them can bring any decision to a standstill simply by exercising its right of veto?

The strengthening, consolidation and enlargement of the Union must under no circumstances be dissociated or considered as irreconcilable imperatives. It is in the interests of the applicant countries to become part of an institutional system which is coherent in its structures and effective in its decision-making procedures. This system must also remain legitimate in the eyes of its citizens and be identifiable for non-member countries which expect the Union to address them in a single voice. The intergovernmental conference in progress should end by the close of 2000 and prepare the Union for the signature of the first accession treaties starting from

⁽⁵⁾ Jean Monnet, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

2003 provided negotiations with the applicant countries have been completed by then, and the treaties have been ratified by the Member States and submitted to the assent of the European Parliament. The June 2004 elections of the European Parliament, followed as from 2005 by the arrival of a new European Commission, will no doubt involve the peoples of central and eastern Europe and of the Mediterranean. This perspective presupposes that the Union's institutions and the governments of the Member States, along with those of the applicant countries, are ready to rise to the challenges. A Union which has succeeded in reforming its institutions, in expanding without becoming weaker, in consolidating its body of achievements while making strides forward along the road to political construction, will be the follow-up and the fulfilment of the dream of the founding fathers.

A political union to safeguard the security of Europe's citizens

A defence arm for the European Union in the service of peace

The desire of peoples everywhere for security and peace is one of the strongest and most legitimate foundations of the social contract between the citizen and the public authorities. In these modern times, international society has hardly been up to the task of guaranteeing this security throughout the European continent. The dramatic events in Bosnia, Kosovo and Chechnya cruelly affect innocent populations. They bring back the dark memories of the mass atrocities committed throughout the 20th century by armies or militias in the name of ideologies of hatred and exclusion.

The European Union has undertaken to rise to the challenge of violence. Not only by making the peaceful settlement of conflicts of interests the founding principle of the treaties, but also by projecting outside its frontiers a momentum for peace and security underpinned by active preventive diplomacy. This diplomacy is backed by financial resources, economic assistance and established know-how when it comes to settling conflicts.

The Maastricht Treaty, which came into force on 1 November 1993, codified and strengthened a set of rules and practices for diplomatic cooperation already used by the European Communities. The objective is set out in Title V of the Treaty: 'A common foreign and security policy encompassing all matters relating to the security of the European Union, including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence'. The Amsterdam Treaty gives the CFSP new instruments while strengthening its consistency with the European Community's traditional external action. The Union now has political and administrative structures enabling it to speak 'with a single voice' in international politics. The high representative for the CFSP, also Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers, acts under the authority of the European Council and in close conjunction with the Commission to follow through the Union's diplomatic guidelines. The Union's vocation is to exercise its responsibilities on the world stage. It must take care to safeguard the common values, the fundamental interests, the independence and the integrity of the Union, as well as its security. It acts to maintain peace, to strengthen international security, to promote democracy and the rule of law.

The Western European Union

The WEU comprises 28 countries for which it constitutes a forum for dialogue and cooperation on matters relating to security and defence.

Ten of these countries are Member States and are also signatory to the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaties. The five other countries of the European Union have observer status (Denmark and the other four Member States of the European Union, that is, Ireland, Austria, Finland and Sweden, which remained outside NATO).

The European members of NATO which do not belong to the EU, along with the countries of central and eastern Europe which have signed the Europe agreements with the EU, also form part of the WEU as associate members or associate partners.

The European Union is an economic, monetary and commercial power which is henceforth emerging as a diplomatic player with the resources to make its voice heard. Developments prompt the Union to avail itself of the Western European Union (WEU) which has competence for military matters. The Amsterdam Treaty opens up the long-term possibility of the full integration of the WEU into the European Union.

The Helsinki European Council meeting of 11 December 1999 marked a further step in the construction of the European identity in terms of security and defence. The principle of an autonomous capacity to launch and conduct military operations under the direction of the European Union is a big step forward in asserting Europe's political role. The Washington Summit of 24 April 1999 bringing together the heads of governments of NATO welcomed 'the new impetus given to the strengthening of a common European policy in security and defence by the Amsterdam Treaty', emphasising that 'a stronger European role will help contribute to the vitality of our alliance for the 21st century, which is the foundation of the collective defence of its members' and that NATO therefore stood ready 'to define and adopt the necessary arrangements for ready access by the European Union to the collective assets and capabilities of the alliance, for operations in which the alliance as a whole is not engaged militarily as an alliance' ⁽⁶⁾.

The Helsinki European Council accordingly drew the conclusions of the Union's political resolve to take on an autonomous capacity for European action within the Alliance. It decided that 'the Member States, cooperating on a voluntary basis in operations directed by the European Union must be capable by the year 2003 of deploying within 60 days and sustaining for at least a year military forces of up to 50 000–60 000 persons'. These forces should be able to jointly carry out 'humanitarian and evacuation missions, peace-keeping missions and combat missions to manage crises, including missions to restore peace', as set out in Article 17 of the Treaty on

⁽⁶⁾ NATO press release NAC-S(99) 64.

European Union, amended by the Amsterdam Treaty. The setting up of a political and security committee, a military committee and a common headquarters will give the European Union the operational instruments needed to fulfil such missions.

The European Union is thus gradually erasing the sad memory of the failure of the European Defence Community which in 1954 had brought the momentum towards integration to a standstill. Events in Kosovo, the new geopolitical situation stemming from the end of the cold war, the need to build a political union commensurate with the Union's increasing weight in international affairs have made it possible to get this perspective of a strong autonomous Europe, capable of asserting its interests while respecting its alliances, on the road again.

Preventive diplomacy to guarantee the rights of minorities

Armed intervention is the last resort for democracies when all diplomatic means and negotiations have failed. The Union's foreign policy is by way of priority based on exporting the principles which have ensured its own peaceful development: the quest for the common good, the respect of law, arbitration through institutions, the rejection of discrimination and of the spirit of superiority.

These principles, on which the CFSP is based, have already proved fruitful and augur well for the future of the troubled regions of the continent. One of the first joint actions conducted by the Union pursuant to the Maastricht Treaty helped to secure the conclusion in Paris on 21 March 1995 of the Stability Pact. The purpose of

this pact, managed since then by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, was to consolidate frontiers and ensure the respect of the rights of minorities in central Europe and in the Baltic States. The Union has advocated the method of regional round table negotiations in central and eastern Europe. This pattern of dialogue has led to bilateral and multilateral treaties between the States concerned, thus putting an end to old historical disputes.

By supporting the Stability Pact for south-east Europe, established in Cologne in June 1999 and stemming from the resolve to learn the lessons from the Kosovo war, the Union has once again sought to prove the peaceful virtues of dialogue and the quest for the common good. Can the regional round table method be applied to the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean? The European Union has a vocation to be an 'engineer of peace' and regional integration, thus continuing the message which Jean Monnet delivered to the Parliament in Strasbourg on 30 November 1954: 'Between different countries, each one's advantage is limited to the results of its own efforts, to the gains obtained in relation to its neighbour, and to the difficulties it manages to transfer to it. In our Community, the advantage of each of the member countries is the effect of the prosperity of the whole'.

Moving around the Union in complete freedom and safety

The freedom to move around without checks or restrictions within the Community territory was already an objective and a right for the citizens of the Union in the Single European Act of 1986 and the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. It would have been unthinkable to have a single market where

goods, capital and services could cross borders freely, but where people did not enjoy a similar freedom of movement. Over and above the economic logic designed to facilitate the mobility of labour and the best distribution of human resources, it is the concept of European citizenship which prevailed in justifying the removal of personal checks. The Schengen Agreements, signed on 14 June 1985, between five Member States and extended gradually to all the countries of the Union, with the exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland, have made it possible to give mate-

rial expression to this measure which has been very well received by the people of Europe. How many of us today would surrender this elementary right to travel from Berlin to Lisbon or from Rome to Strasbourg just as freely as when we move around in our own country? The Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 incorporated the Schengen principles into the texts establishing the Union.

The calling into question of one of the traditional prerogatives of a State as part of its national sovereignty, frontier checks, could



Freedom of movement for people and goods is the lynchpin of the European system. Its success is increasing all the time. The Community area of freedom, safety and justice defined in 1997 by the Treaty of Amsterdam must facilitate freedom of movement for people and introduce common standards for immigration and the right of asylum. Stronger judicial and police cooperation will at the same time help to prevent and punish international crime.

not be achieved without guaranteeing citizens that their safety would be ensured both in Europe as a whole and in their own countries. Public opinion is increasingly worried by day-to-day insecurity, petty and serious crime — boosted by illicit trafficking in arms and drugs — international crime, clandestine immigration and terrorism. If it is to be experienced as a benefit of the Union, the area of freedom must be accompanied by an area of security and justice. A vast effort has been undertaken to harmonise regulations on the right of asylum and immigration, to bring national legislations closer into line when it comes to civil law and civil procedure. Judicial cooperation in criminal matters and police cooperation also need to be strengthened in order to cope effectively with transnational crime. How paradoxical it would be if criminals could evade the law and proceedings because they find refuge in another Member State, leaving the police and the judges still powerless to pursue them.

The Amsterdam Treaty has given a fresh boost to the construction of a Community area of security, freedom and justice. A five-year programme has been adopted involving the institutions of the Union in establishing common rules on immigration, the right of asylum, based on the respect of fundamental rights and making provision in due course for freedom of movement for immigrants in the Union. After this first phase during which unanimity is needed for the decisions to be taken by the Council, it will be possible to use the qualified-majority vote and the co-decision procedure whereby the European Parliament, the Commission and the Court of Justice can play their full part. As part of intergovernmental cooperation the Member States will also establish binding rules in criminal and

police matters. Europol's resources will be stepped up in order to fight more effectively against drug trafficking and international crime. A new unit, Eurojust, will be introduced and will include prosecutors, magistrates and police officers in order to better coordinate the national authorities' efforts in the fight against organised crime.

During the Finnish Presidency, a special meeting was held at the Tampere European Council of 15 and 16 October 1999 to examine the implementation of the Amsterdam provisions. This meeting stressed the impact of these provisions on the daily life of the people of Europe: 'The enjoyment of freedom requires a genuine area of justice, where people can approach courts and authorities in any Member State as easily as in their own. Criminals must find no ways of exploiting differences in the judicial systems of Member States (...). People have the right to expect the Union to address the threat to their freedom and legal rights posed by serious crime. To counter these threats a common effort is needed to prevent and fight crime and criminal organisations throughout the Union. The joint mobilisation of police and judicial resources is needed to guarantee that there is no hiding place for criminals or the proceeds of crime within the Union'.

'We are not forming coalitions between States, but union among people', said Jean Monnet.

This prospect of a Union of security, external and internal alike, must obtain the support of the citizens and be achieved in a climate of transparency and democratic control. The European Council has stated its intention to instigate an open dialogue with civil society on the objectives and practicalities of this area being prepared. There is

no doubt that the democratic debate is indispensable for such an ambitious project to come to fulfilment, just as there is no doubt that the Union will have an important and delicate task on its hands when it comes to negotiate, with the applicant

countries of central and eastern Europe, the matter of taking on board the Union's accumulated achievements in this context in order to ensure the control of the external frontiers of a Union which will extend as far as the borders of Asia and Russia.



Young people are Europe's future. Accordingly, the European Union has prepared for them ambitious programmes in areas such as education, training, exchanges and employment. This is one of the essential aspects of the Europe of the citizens.

CONCLUSION: THE CITIZEN AT THE HEART OF THE EUROPEAN PROJECT

'What we now need to build is a union of hearts and minds, underpinned by a strong shared sentiment of a common destiny — a sense of common European citizenship.'

Romano Prodi,

President of the European Commission

addressing the European Parliament on 14 September 1999

It would be a serious error of judgement to consider European integration as nothing more than an effort to adapt the economies of our countries to the challenges of free international trade and globalisation. The European idea stems from the observation that 'men who are placed in new practical circumstances, or subjected to a new set of obligations, adapt their behaviour and become different. If the new context is better, they themselves become better: that is the whole rationale of the European Community, and the process of civilisation itself' (7). Man is at the centre of the European project as part of a voluntarist and positive vision of his capacity to learn from the mistakes of the past in order to prepare a better world for future generations. As a continent which has witnessed the most

tragic events in history, as a battleground between sovereign nations and totalitarian ideologies which have sent off cohorts of innocent people to war or for planned extermination, the Europe of the 20th century is completing its mutation and is commencing the third millennium having consolidated the instruments which offer everyone the promise of lasting peace.

With the institutions and the message left by Robert Schuman and the architects of his time as a basis, it is now up to the people of Europe to complete the unity of the continent and to constantly think about what this Union can contribute to civilisation.

(7) Jean Monnet, op. cit., pp. 389-390.

ANNEXES

Declaration of 9 May 1950

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organised and living Europe can bring to civilisation is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point:

It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organisation open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have

long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification.

This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and to promoting peaceful achievements. With increased resources Europe will be able to pursue the achievement of one of its essential tasks, namely, the development of the African continent.

In this way, there will be realised simply and speedily that fusion of interest which is indispensable to the establishment of a common economic system; it may be the leaven from which may grow a wider and deeper community between countries long opposed to one another by sanguinary divisions.

By pooling basic production and by instituting a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and other member countries, this proposal will lead to the realisation of the first concrete foundation of a European federation indispensable to the preservation of peace.

To promote the realisation of the objectives defined, the French Government is ready to open negotiations on the following bases:

The task with which this common High Authority will be charged will be that of securing in the shortest possible time the modernisation of production and the improvement of its quality; the supply of coal and steel on identical terms to the French and German markets, as well as to the markets of other member countries; the development in common of exports to other countries; the equalisation and improvement of the living conditions of workers in these industries.

To achieve these objectives, starting from the very different conditions in which the production of member countries is at present situated, it is proposed that certain transitional measures should be instituted, such as the application of a production and investment plan, the establishment of compensating machinery for equating prices, and the creation of a restructuring fund to facilitate the rationalisation of production. The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed from all customs duty, and will not be affected by differential transport rates. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously provide for the more national distribution of production at the highest level of productivity.

In contrast to international cartels, which tend to impose restrictive practices on distribution and the exploitation of national markets, and to maintain high profits, the organisation will ensure the fusion of markets and the expansion of production.

The essential principles and undertakings defined above will be the subject of a treaty signed between the States and submitted for the ratification of their parliaments. The negotiations required to settle details of applications will be undertaken with the help of an arbitrator

appointed by common agreement. He will be entrusted with the task of seeing that the agreements reached conform with the principles laid down, and, in the event of a deadlock, he will decide what solution is to be adopted. The common High Authority entrusted with the management of the scheme will be composed of independent persons appointed by the governments, giving equal representation. A chairman will be chosen by common agreement between the governments. The authority's decisions will be enforceable in France, Germany and other member countries. Appropriate measures will be provided for means of appeal against the decisions of the authority.

A representative of the United Nations will be accredited to the authority, and will be instructed to make a public report to the United Nations twice yearly, giving an account of the working of the new organisation, particularly as concerns the safeguarding of its objectives.

The institution of the High Authority will in no way prejudge the methods of ownership of enterprises. In the exercise of its functions, the common High Authority will take into account the powers conferred upon the International Ruhr Authority and the obligations of all kinds imposed upon Germany, so long as these remain in force.

Chronology of the building of Europe

1950

9 May

In a speech inspired by Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, proposes that France, the Federal Republic of Germany and any other European country wishing to join them should pool their coal and steel resources.

1951

18 April

The Six sign the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in Paris.

1952

27 May

The Treaty establishing the European Defence Community (EDC) is signed in Paris.

1954

30 August

The French Parliament rejects the EDC Treaty.

20–23 October

Following the London Conference, agreements on a modified Brussels Treaty are signed in Paris and the Western European Union (WEU) comes into being.

1955

1 and 2 June

The foreign ministers of the Six, meeting in Messina, decide to extend European integration to all branches of the economy.

1957

25 March

The Treaties establishing the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community are signed in Rome.

1958

1 January

The Treaties of Rome enter into force and the EEC and Euratom Commissions are set up in Brussels.

1960

4 January

The Stockholm Convention establishing the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) is signed on the initiative of the United Kingdom.

1962

30 July

A common agricultural policy is introduced.

1963

14 January

General de Gaulle announces at a press conference that France will veto the United Kingdom's accession to the Community.

20 July

An association agreement is signed between the Community and 18 African countries in Yaoundé.

1965

8 April

A treaty merging the executives of the three Communities is signed in Brussels. It enters into force on 1 July 1967.

1966

29 January

The 'Luxembourg Compromise' is agreed, France resuming its seat in the Council in return for retention of the unanimity requirement where very important interests are at stake.

1968*1 July*

Remaining customs duties in intra-Community trade in manufactured goods are abolished 18 months ahead of schedule and the Common Customs Tariff is introduced.

1969*1 and 2 December*

At the Hague Summit, the Community's Heads of State or Government decide to bring the transitional period to an end by adopting definitive arrangements for the common agricultural policy and agreeing in principle to give the Community its own resources.

1970*22 April*

A treaty providing for the gradual introduction of an own resources system is signed in Luxembourg. It also extends the budgetary powers of the European Parliament.

30 June

Negotiations with four prospective Member States (Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom) open in Luxembourg.

1972*22 January*

The Treaty on the Accession of Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom is signed in Brussels.

24 April

The currency 'snake' is set up, the Six agreeing to limit the margin of fluctuation between their currencies to 2.25 %.

1973*1 January*

Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the Community (Norway withdrew following a referendum).

1974*9 and 10 December*

At the Paris Summit, the Community's Heads of State or Government decide to meet three times a year as the European Council, give the go-ahead for direct elections to the European Parliament by universal suffrage and agree to set up the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

1975*28 February*

A first convention between the Community and 46 States in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) is signed in Lomé.

22 July

A treaty giving the European Parliament wider budgetary powers and establishing a Court of Auditors is signed. It enters into force on 1 June 1977.

1978*6 and 7 July*

At the Bremen European Council, France and Germany present a scheme for closer monetary cooperation, the European Monetary System (EMS), to replace the currency 'snake'.

1979*13 March*

The EMS starts to operate.

28 May

The Treaty on the Accession of Greece is signed.

7 and 10 June

The first direct elections to the 410-seat European Parliament are held.

31 October

A second convention between the Community and 58 States in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific is signed in Lomé.

1981

1 January

Greece joins the Community.

1984

28 February

'Esprit', the European strategic programme for research and development in information technologies, is adopted.

14 and 17 June

Direct elections to the European Parliament are held for the second time.

8 December

The third Lomé Convention between the Ten and the ACP States, now numbering 66, is signed in Togo.

1985

January

Jacques Delors is appointed President of the Commission.

2–4 December

At the Luxembourg European Council the Ten agree to amend the Treaty of Rome and to revitalise the process of European integration by drawing up a 'Single European Act'.

1986

1 January

Spain and Portugal join the Community.

17 and 28 February

The Single European Act is signed in Luxembourg and The Hague.

1987

14 April

Turkey applies to join the Community.

1 July

The Single Act enters into force.

27 October

The WEU adopts a joint security policy platform in The Hague.

1988

February

Financing of EEC policies reformed. Multiannual programme of expenditure for 1988–92. Reform of the Structural Funds.

1989

January

Jacques Delors is reappointed President of the Commission for a further four years.

15 and 18 June

Direct elections to the European Parliament are held for the third time.

17 July

Austria applies to join the Community.

9 November

The Berlin Wall is breached.

9 December

The Strasbourg European Council decides to convene an intergovernmental conference.

15 December

The fourth Lomé Convention with the ACP States is signed.

1990

29 May

The agreement establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is signed in Paris.

19 June

The Schengen Agreement on the elimination of border checks is signed.

4 July

Cyprus applies to join the Community.

16 July

Malta applies to join the Community.

3 October

Germany is united once more.

14 December

Two intergovernmental conferences, one on economic and monetary union, the other on political union, open in Rome.

1991

1 July

Sweden applies to join the Community.

21 October

Agreement is reached on setting up a European Economic Area (EEA) linking the Community with its western European neighbours.

9 and 10 December

The European Council meets in Maastricht.

1992

7 February

The Treaty on European Union is signed in Maastricht.

18 March

Finland applies to join the Community.

25 March

Norway applies to join the Community.

2 May

Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) is signed in Porto.

2 June

Denmark rejects the Maastricht Treaty by referendum.

20 June

A referendum in Ireland approves the Maastricht Treaty.

20 September

A referendum in France approves the Maastricht Treaty.

11 and 12 December

The European Council meets in Edinburgh.

1993

1 January

Introduction of the single market.

18 May

The Maastricht Treaty is approved in a second referendum in Denmark.

1 November

The Maastricht Treaty enters into force.

1994

1 April

Hungary applies to join the European Union.

8 April

Poland applies to join the European Union.

15 April

The Final Act of the GATT Uruguay Round negotiations is signed in Marrakesh.

9 and 12 June

Direct elections to the European Parliament are held for the fourth time.

A referendum in Austria approves the Treaty of Accession.

24 and 25 June

The European Council meets in Corfu.

Treaties of Accession to the European Union are signed by Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

16 October

A referendum in Finland approves the Treaty of Accession.

13 November

A referendum in Sweden approves the Treaty of Accession.

27 and 28 November

A referendum in Norway rejects the Treaty of Accession.

9 December

The European Council meets in Essen.

1995

1 January

Austria, Finland and Sweden join the Union.

23 January

A new Commission starts work with Jacques Santer as President (1995–2000).

26 March

The Schengen Agreement comes into force.

2 June

The reflection group on a new intergovernmental conference responsible for revising the treaties holds its first meeting.

12 June

Europe agreements with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

22 June

Romania applies to join the Community.

26 and 27 June

The European Council meets in Cannes. Reflection group instructed to prepare for the intergovernmental conference.

27 June

Slovakia applies to join the Community.

27 October

Latvia applies to join the Community.

24 November

Estonia applies to join the Community.

27 and 28 November

Euro-Mediterranean conference in Barcelona.

8 December

Lithuania applies to join the Community.

14 December

Bulgaria applies to join the Community.

15 and 16 December

Madrid European Council.

1996

16 January

Slovenia applies to join the Community.

17 January

The Czech Republic applies to join the Community.

29 March

The intergovernmental conference opens at the Turin European Council.

21 and 22 June

Florence European Council.

13 and 14 December

Dublin European Council.

1997

17 February

Jacques Santer intervenes on bovine spongiform encephalitis (BSE) at the European Parliament.

16 and 17 June

Amsterdam European Council.

16 July

Agenda 2000 presented to the European Parliament.

2 October

'Consolidated' Treaty signed in Amsterdam

20 and 21 November

Summit on jobs in Luxembourg.

12 and 13 December

Luxembourg European Council.

1998

1 January

Britain's Presidency of the Community starts.

30 March

Membership process of the 10 prospective Member States of central and eastern Europe and Cyprus starts, followed by bilateral intergovernmental conferences, initially with Cyprus, Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia.

31 March

Schengen: abolition of immigration control at Italy's land borders.

1–3 May

European Council of finance ministers and European Council. Decision on Member States ready to enter the third stage of the EMU.

15 and 16 June

Cardiff European Council.

1 July

Austria's Presidency of the Community starts.

1999

1 January

Eleven countries of the European Union enter the third phase of EMU and adopt the euro. Start of the German Presidency.

25 March

Berlin European Council — global agreement on Agenda 2000 and renewal of the financial perspective.

1 May

Entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty.

3 and 4 June

Cologne European Council.

8–13 June

Fifth direct elections to the European Parliament

1 July

Finland's Presidency of the Community starts.

15 September

Investiture by the European Parliament of the European Commission under the Presidency of Romano Prodi.

10 and 11 December

Helsinki European Council.

2000

1 January

Portugal's Presidency of the Community starts.

1 July

France's Presidency of the Community starts.

2002

1 January

Euro coins and notes come into circulation.

1 July

Coins and notes in national currency withdrawn.

European Commission

A NEW IDEA FOR EUROPE

The Schuman declaration — 1950–2000
Second edition

Pascal Fontaine

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9 MAY 1950-2000



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